THE GUHILA DYNASTIES OF MEWAR

(C. A.D.550-1303)

by

Jogendra Prasad Singh

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

C7 - 6 JAN 1965

1965

ProQuest Number: 10731220

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS
The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript
and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed,
a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10731220

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.
This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

ABSTRACT

The present work deals with the history of the Guhilas of Mewar from c. A.D.550 up to the conquest of Chit by 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khaljī in A.D.1303, when Mewar was sacked ar for a short time this brave Rajput clan remained in abeyanc

The first chapter is a brief introduction to this monograph, in which we have outlined the sources of ou history and discussed the importance of this Rajput race, which produced personalities such as Mahārāṇā Kumbhakarṇa, Mahārāṇā Saṁgrāmasiṁha and Mahārāṇā Pratāpa, who never bent before the Muslim monarchs of their times.

The second chapter deals with the origin of the Guhilas, controversial like those of other ruling dynasties of India. After examining all known sources we have found reason to believe in their priestly origin, similar to those of the Kādambas, Sātavāhanas, Cāhamānas, Pratihāras and other important dynasties, who after acquiri kingdoms gave up their priestly calling and gradually becam known as the important Rajput or Kṣatriya races of India.

The rise of the Guhilas is included in the third chapter, which presents the history of Guhila, the founder this dynasty, and other princes up to Kālabhoja or Bappa, t eighth prince, whose reign ended in A.D.753 and who is regarded as the founder of the importance of this dynasty.

The fourth chapter is devoted to the history the Guhilas, whose power was in abeyance at the time when struggle for empire convulsed the whole Indian polity from the ninth century onwards. The tripartite struggle between the Pālas, Pratihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas left no room for the rise of the Guhilas and they were insignificant during this period. This chapter includes the history of the Guhi princes from Khommāṇa I to Śaktikumāra, i.e. from A.D.753 the last quarter of the tenth century.

Our fifth chapter covers the history of this dynasty from Ambāprasāda to Sāmantasiṁha, i.e. from about end of the tenth century to A.D.1179, the last known date Sāmantasiṁha, who tried to consolidate the Guhila power an ultimately came into conflict with the Caulukyas of Gujara and the Cāhamānas of Jalor.

The Guhilas at their zenith and at the beginning their decline are discussed in the sixth chapter, which covers the history of Mewar up to A.D.1301-2. The reign of Jaitrasiṁha marked an epoch in the history of the Guhilas, when Mewar faced various attacks but successfully repelled its enemies. Jaitrasiṁha founded a very strong government which lasted for some time, but during the reign of Samarasiṁha Mewar could not resist the Muslim raids and he finally saved the country only after paying homage to the Muslims.

The seventh chapter gives the history of the fall of the Guhilas in the reign of Ratnasiṁha, when Chitor was sacked by 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khaljī. We have discussed at length the various traditions and legends about the Padminī episode and its historicity.

The conclusion consists of a short accou of Mewar under the governorship of Khiẓr Khān, the son of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, and then under the Songirā Cāhamānas of Jalo enlisted as vassals of the Delhi sultanate. The monograph ends with a short account of the recovery of Mewar by the Sesodiya (Guhila) Hammīra, who was remotely related to th Guhilas of the main line.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have already explained the nature of my work in the abstract and this explanation is further developed in the introduction. Here I must express my gratitude to Liut. Col. James Tod, rightly said to be the father of the histor of Rajasthan, and to Pandit G.H.Ojha, and Professor H.C.Ray to whom I owe much and whose valuable works certainly showe me the right path to pursue research on the history of the Guhilas, though, where necessary, I have begged to differ with the views of these two great scholars.

In the preparation of this work I received adequate reading facilities and feel satisfaction in giving thanks to the librarians, superintendents and other members of the libraries of the School of Oriental ar African Studies, the University of London, the British Museum and the India Office, without whose assistance the work was not possible. I especially owe much to Dr. John Walker, the keeper of coins in the British Museum and his staff who greatly helped me in checking the coins of the early Guhilas, particularly those from the collection of Si A. Cunningham.

My hearty thanks are also due to Dr. R.Islam, Department of History, School of Oriental and African Studie who gave unlimited time in helping me to understand the original Persian texts, without whose help I could not have judged my subject, and also to Dr. Gupta of the Hindi Department, with whom I read the original works in old Hindi Marwari, Dingal and other regional languages. I am thankful to my friend Mr. M.Rahman, Curator, Varendra Research Museum Rajshahi (East Pakistan), who helped me in reading a few sources in the Bengali language. I am also thankful to Dr. L. Gupta, Superintendent, Patna Museum (India) and Mr. R.C. Agrawala, Superintendent, Archaeology and Museum, Udaipur (India), who supplied me with valuable information and suggestions in the course of my study.

I must express my gratitude to my esteemed teacher, Professor R.S.Sharma, Head of the Departm of History, Patna University (India), whose valuable suggestions and encouragement from time to time greatly hel me in completing my work. Above all I do not find words to express my sincere gratitude and best regards to my supervisor, Professor A.L.Basham, whose fatherly care, ungrudging help, true sympathy, unfailing encouragement and able guidance greatly helped me in completing this work.

To conclude, I am highly obliged to the following bodies, which gave me financial assistance during my stay a London:

1. Education Department, Government of Bihar, Patna (India)
2. Sir Ernest Cassel Educational Trust, Edwina Mountbatten Grants to Commonwealth Students, Sussex, England.
3. Afro-Asian Educational Trust Limited, London.

London
4 December, 1964

Jogendra Prasad Singh

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

Abstract 1

Acknowledgements 4

Abbreviations 12

Chapter I: Introduction 18

Chapter II: The Origin of the Guhilas of Mewar ... 32

The Dynastic Names 32

Origin 34

The Idea of Solar Origin 39

Solar Origin of the Guhilas 53

Priestly Origin of the Guhilas ... 60

Lunar Origin of the Guhilas 80

Conclusion 81

Chapter III: The Rise of the Guhilas 84

Guhila or Guhadatta 84

Was Goha of Tradition a Historical Figure or a Legendary Eponymous Ancestor ? . 91

PAGE

The Date of Guhila 95

Bhoja 96

Mahendra I and Nāga 98

Śīla or Śīlāditya 99

Aparājita and Mahendra II 107

Bappa or Kālabhoja 108

The date of Bappa 114

Identification of Bappa 119

The Guhila Bappa and His Connection with Various Bappas of the Valabhi Grants 126

Bappadatti of the Dhulev Plate and the Guhila Bappa 130

The Arab Invasion of Mewar and Bappa ... 142

Coins of Bappa 144

Chapter IV: The Guhilas in Abeyance 150

Khommāṇa or Khummāṇa I 150

Mattaṭa 156

Bhartṛpaṭṭa I 159

Siṁha 163

Khommāṇa II 164

PAGE

Mahāyaka 169

Khommāṇa III 170

Bhartṛpaṭṭa II 173

Allaṭa 178

Naravāhana 183

Śālivāhana 185

Śaktikumāra 186

Chapter V: The Struggle for the Consolidation of Power ..196

Ambāprasāda 196

Śucivarman 198

Naravarman, Kīrtivarman, Yogarāja & Vairaṭa ..201

Haṁsapāla 208

Vairisiṁha 212

Vijayasiṁha 215

Arisiṁha 223

Coḍasiṁha, Vikramasiṁha, Raṇasiṁha and Kṣemasiṁha 225

Sāmantasiṁha 233

Chapter VI: The Guhilas at Their Zenith and the Beginning of Decline 266

PAGE

Kumārasiṁha 266
Mathanasiṁha 267
Padmasiṁha 271
Jaitrasiṁha 273
War with the Ruler of Gujarat 283
War with the Ruler of Mālavā 287
War with the Cāhamānas of Nadol 293
War with the Sindhuka Army 298
War with the Mlecchas 300
Tejasiṁha 312
Samarasiṁha 320

Chapter VII: The Fall of the Guhilas 329
Ratnasiṁha and the Padminī Episode ... 329
The Account of Tod 330
The Account of Jāyasī 333
The Account of Amīr Khusrau 335
The Account of Firishta 33
The Account of Abul Faẓl 341
The Account of Naiṇsī 341
Duration of the Siege 346
The Fate of Ratnasiṁha 349

PAGE

Was Ratnasiṁha Actually Rescued ? ... 366

Does Khusrau Convey Veiled Information About Padminī ? 373

Was Padminī a woman of Flesh and Blood ?..378

The Relationship of Padminī to Ratnasiṁha 382

The Ancestry of Padminī 387

Ratna, the Son of the Cāhamāna Hammīra, and the Sack of Chitor 390

The Actual Cause of 'Alā-ud-Dīn's Invasion of Chitor 406

Chapter VIII: Conclusion 411

Chitor Under the Songirā Cāhamānas ... 421

Hammīra's Recovery of Chitor 426

Genealogical Table: 431

Plate I: Palace and Tank of Padminī 434

Plate II: Guhila Coins 435

Plate III:Guhila Coins 436

Plate IV: A Coin of Tejasiṁha 437

Plate V: The Old Fortress of Chitor 438

Map of Mewar: 439

Bibliography 440

ABBREVIATIONS

ABNUHS	Annual Bulletin of the Nagpur University Historical Society.
AIHT	Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, by F.E. Pargiter.
AIK	The Age of Imperial Kanauj, edited by R.C. Majumdar, Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan's Vol.IV.
AIU	The Age of Imperial Unity, edited by R.C. Majumdar, Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan's Vol.II.
AR	Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, by J. To edited by W. Crooke.
ARBP	Antiquarian Remains of the Bombay Presidency.
ARRMA	Annual Report on the Working of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.
ASB	Asiatic Society of Bengal.
ASIAR	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report
ASIR	Archaeological Survey of India Reports by Cunningham & Co.
ASI, WC or PRASI, WC	Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India Western Circle.

Asopa	Muhaṇot Naiṇsī Kī Khyāta, Vol.I, edited by R.K. Asopa.
ASS	Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona.
ASWI	Archaeological Survey of Western India.
BG	Gazetteer of the Bòmbay Presidency or Bombay Gazetteer.
Bh.I	Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kattywar & cf. also known as Bhavnagar Inscriptions, Bhavnagar Archaeological Department, edited by P. Peterson.
Bh.V.Bh	Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan.
Bib.Ind	Bibliotheca Indica.
BPSS	Bhāvanagara Prācīna Śodha Saṁgraha, Bhavnagar Archaeological Department, Bhavnagar, edited by V.G.Oza.
Briggs	Translation of Firishta under the title The History of the Mahomedan Power in India, till the year A.D.1612.
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
DG	Dungarpur Gazetteer by K.D. Erskine.
DHNI	The Dynastic History of Northern India, by H.C. Ray.
Duff's Chronology	The Chronology of India, by C.M.Duf

ECD	Early Chauhān Dynasties, by D. Sharma.
EI	Epigraphia Indica.
Elliot	The History of India as Told by its own Historians, by H.M. Elliot & Dowson.
Firishta	Tārīkh-i-Firishta.
GOS	Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda.
GP	The Gurjara Pratihāras, by R.C. Majumdar.
HD	The History of Dungarpur, (Hindi) by G.H.Ojha.
HGD	The History of the Gāhadavāla Dynasty, by R.Niyo
HK	History of Kanauj, by R.S. Tripathi.
HM	History of Mewar, by G.C. Raychaudhuri.
HMHI	History of Mediaeval Hindu India, by C.V. Vaidya
HMK	Hammīra-mahākāvya, by Nayacandra Sūri.
HMM	Hammīra-mada-mardana, by Jayasiṁha Sūri.
HPD	History of the Paramāra Dynasty, by D.C.Ganguly.
HQT	A History of the Qaraunah Turks in India, by Ishwari Prasad.
HR	The History of Rajputana, (Hindi) by G.H. Ojha.
HMR	Hammīra-Rāso of Jodhrāja.
IA	Indian Antiquary.
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly.
Jarrett	Ā'īn-i-Akbarī, translated by H.S. Jarrett

JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JDL	Journal of the Department of Letters.
JIH	Journal of Indian History.
JNSI	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
JOIB	Journal of the Oriental Institute Baroda.
JPPS	Jaina Pustaka Praśasti Saṁgraha, edited by Jinavijaya Muni.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JRNS	Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society.
JUPHS	Journal of the U.P. Historical Society.
KB	Khaljī Kālīna Bhārata (~~History of the Khaljīs~~), by S.A.A. Rizvi.
Khyāta	Muhaṇot Naiṇsī Kī Khyāta, edited by R.K.Asopa and translated by R.N.Dugaḍa.
Kh.F	Khazā'īn-ul-Futūḥ of Amīr Khusrau, translated by M. Habib.
KNPS	Kāśī Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā.
Mbh	Mahābhārata, edited by P.P.S. Shastri and translated by P.C.Roy.
MGSI	Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India.

MVL	The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan, by G.A. Grierson.
Nainsī	Muhaṇot Naiṇsī Kī Khyāta, edited by R.K. Asopa, Vol.1, translated by R.N.Dugaḍa, Vol.1.
NPG	Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Granthamālā.
NPP(NS)	Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā, New Series.
Num.Chron	Numismatic Chronicle.
NS	New Series.
Num.Sup.	Numismatic Supplement.
Or. Conf.	Oriental Conference.
PV	Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya of Jayānaka, edited by G.H.Ojha & c∅.
PHI	Political History of Ancient India, by H.C. Raychaudhuri.
PTAIOC	Proceedings and Transactions of the All India Oriental Conference.
Raverty	Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī of Maulānā Minhāj-ud-Dīn, translated by Raverty.
RS	Rajput Studies, by A.C. Banerjee.
RB or RBh	Rājasthān Bhāratī.
SJG or SJGS	Siṅghī Jaina Granthamālā Series.

Str.Emp	The Struggle for Empire, Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan, edited by R.C. Majumdar.
SRH	Studies in Rajput History, by K.R. Qanungo.
TA	Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, translated by B. Dey.
TN	Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī, translated by Raverty.
VOJ or WZKM	Vienna Oriental Journal or Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
Watters	On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, by Thomas Watters.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The history of the Guhilas is not confined only to the history of Mewar, for in the later period it affected the whole of Indian politics especially during the Muslim rule of India. Owing to its strategic position Mewar was like a bulwark which was enough to obstruct the conquest of southern India and its subjugation was necessary for any expansionist. The dynasty of the Guhilas of Mewar, who are now known as the Sesodiyas, with certain breaks, continuously ruled the Mewar territory or parts thereof fro about the middle of the sixth century A.D. up to 1948, when the Mahārāṇā of Udaipur willingly gave his consent to include his territory in the Indian Union and thereby strengthened the Republic of India. In the history of the world perhaps there is not a single dynasty which ruled for such a long time over the same land.

Muhaṇot Naiṇsī, the Abul Faẓl of Rajasthan, tried his utmost to write a grand history of

Rajasthan in the seventeenth century. Though he could not complete his work, he used his able intellect to give a good description of the Guhilas of Mewar. Even if his work is a mere collection of bardic traditions, it cannot be regarded as an useless book. The work, known as Muhaṇot Naiṇsī Kī Khyāta, is written in Marwari and has been edited by R.K. Asopa. R.N. Dugaḍa has translated its first volume in Hindi.

The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, which immortalized Lieut. Col. James Tod, contains the first attempt to write a systematic history of the Guhilas of Mewar. But as there was a great paucity of materials Tod was inclined to write his Annals mainly on the basis of local traditions prevalent during his time in Rajasthan as well as some written bardic works, excluding the work of Naiṇsī. However, Tod fully utilized the epigraphic and literary sources known to him. Tod's Annals showed the way for the future historians to construct a sober history of the Guhilas of Mewar and his work became a guide book for coming generations. After Tod Kavirāja Śyāmal Das was entrusted by Mahārāṇā Sajjana Singh of Udaipur to write a lengthy history of Udaipur and other states of Rajasthan. The work, named

Vīravinoda, was completed after many years, but only a few copies came from the press. Recently the same work has been republished in five volumes. Though the Kavirāja utilized some known epigraphs and other sources, the work is still by no means perfect, as various bardic traditions have been accepted as historical truth. However, the work is valuable for the reconstruction of the history of the Guhilas. After Tod some English writers such as J.C. Brooks (History of Mewar), J.P. Stratton (Chitor and the Mewar Family) and the editors of various Gazetteers of the ~~subject~~ region concerned also wrote on the history of the Guhilas, but their works are only based on Tod's Annals. Early in this century Professor D.R. Bhandarkar[1] and M.V. Pandia[2] wrote on the Guhilas. There is no doubt that Professor Bhandarkar's article on the subject is most scholarly and throws considerable light on the origin of the Guhilas and gives some stray traces of their history. Pandia's article is merely a criticism of Bhandarkar's views. Since them various articles on the subject have been written and they have been referred to their appropriate places in this monograph. C.V. Vaidya in his History of Mediaeval Hindu India has also written

---

1. JASB, vol.5 (1909), p.167ff. and IA, vol.39, p.186 ff.
2. JASB, vol.8 (1912), p. 63 ff.

briefly on the Guhilas of Mewar. About 1927 Pandit G.H. Ojha started to write his systematic History of Rajputana in Hind The work has been published in many parts, dealing with the history of the separate states of Rajasthan. Its first and second volumes cover the history of the Guhilas of Mewar up to the present time. These two volumes have also been separately published under the title of the History of Udaipur. Ojha wrote a real historical masterpiece on the history of the Guhilas and used all available sources known to him, and as a true scholar he recognized the distinction between history and the bardic traditions, which misguided Tod and other subsequent writers. No doubt his work is the most valuable hitherto written on our subject. Since then some new sources have come to light and have been utilized here fully. At the time when some parts of Ojha's work were published, Professor H.C.Ray was also engaged in writing his monumental work The Dynastic History of Northern India. Volume II of hi work contains the history of the Guhilas up to the Muslim conquest. But he himself admitted that his work was not complete and exhaustive, but a "preparatory cleaning ground for further researches. However, Professor Ray's work is

also very valuable for our reconstruction of the history of the Guhilas. Since then some stray studies on aspects of ou subject have been published in various Journals, and short works and articles by R.R.Halder, S.C.Butta, A.C.Banerjee, Dr. M.L. Mathur, Dr. G.C. Raychaudhuri, Dr. K.R. Qanungo and others and they are certainly valuable for our research

SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF THE GUHILAS:

What was the actual extent of Harṣa's empire is a question of controversy. But we have no positive evidence to say that interior Rajasthan or Mewar was under his control. Hiuen-Tsang informs us that during Harṣa's regime Valabhi was under the control of Harṣa's son-in-law[1]. But it is apparent that Valabhi was too far from Mewar. A few coins of Guhila, the founder of this Guhila dynasty, have been recently discovered. The bust of the king bearing a crown is distinctly visible on the coins[2]. Hence we can undoubted conclude that Guhila was an independent ruler long before the accession of Harṣa. Harṣa's contemporary Guhila ruler was Śīlāditya, as is evident from the date of his inscription of A.D.646 (V.S.703)[3]. Though the epigraph does

---

1.Watters, vol.2, p.246 ff.

2.JNSI, vol.20, pt.1, p.27 ff ~~and pl. figs.~~ ; see o pl.II figs.1-9

3.EI, vol.20, p.99.

not ascribe any paramount epithet of Śīlāditya, it can be well gathered that he was in a position to issue coins independently, which is certainly a sign of a sovereign ruler. All this evidence show that whatever may have been the extent of Harṣa's empire, Mewar was certainly not under his control and the Guhilas enjoyed sovereignty even before and after the death of Harṣa.

The Arabs' invasion of Sind and their gradual incursion on Mewar, Marwar, Mālava, Broach and othe parts of India brought about a sudden change in Indian polity. Most probably the Arabs also raided Chitor some tim after A.D.725 and the Guhilas under the leadership of Bappa or Kālabhoja successfully repelled them from Mewar. Bappa perhaps found his opportunity in this state of chaos and confusion created by the Arabs, and acquired the territory of the Mauryas, who were then ruling in some parts of Mewar The continuous Arab invasion not only harassed the Guhilas but also greatly disturbed the peace of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Pratihāras and other great powers of India. It seems that i later raids the Guhila Khommāṇa II also faced the army of t Arabs and forced them to retreat to their own territory.

The history of India from the ninth century onwards is a history of the struggle for empire which convulsed the whole Indian peninsula. The tripartite struggle for existence and expansion between the Pālas, Praihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas created great confusion and unrest in Indian polity, and the Guhilas remained out of the scene during this period. We have no positive evidence to show that the Guhilas of Mewar held a feudatory position during this period, though some scholars have maintained that they were actually vassals of the Pratihāra monarchs. But neither the Pratihāra nor the Guhila records ever suggest such a sweeping conclusion. No doubt, major parts of Rajasthan wer under the control of the Pratihāras, but the Guhilas of Mewar maintained their suzerainty over their territory during the period under review, though the Guhilas of Chats certainly owed allegiance to the Pratihāras. However, durin this period the Guhilas of Mewar were insignificant in comparison with the great powers of India and played only a very small part in the Indian polity.

The rise of the Paramāras and the Caulukyas certainly affected the Guhila rule of Mewar and the Guhilas

were forced to confine themselves to the hilly tracts of Mewar. The Paramāra Vākpatirāja Muñja was a great adversary of the Guhilas and attacked Mewar and destroyed their capita city Āghāṭa[1]. There is no want of evidence that the great Paramāra Bhoja was the master of Chitor. After the fall of the Paramāras Chitor was undoubtedly held by the great Caulukya ruler Kumārapāla. Even Āghāṭa (Āhaḍa), the ancient capital of the Guhilas, was under the control of the Cauluky Bhīma II. But the conclusion that the Guhilas of Mewar were the vassals of the Paramāras or the Caulukyas is again by no means certain. Neither the Guhila records nor other ~~other~~ non-Guhila sources ever maintain that the Guhilas of Mewar occupied a feudatory position under the Paramāras or the Caulukyas. We have ample evidence that the Guhilas came into conflict with the Paramāras and the Caulukyas as well as with the Cāhamānas. The Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya claims that Ambāprasāda was killed on the battlefield by the Cāhamāna Vākpatirāja II[2]. The Guhila prince Sāmantasiṁha was expelle from Mewar by the Cāhamāna Kīrtipāla of Jalor. The enmity between the Guhilas and the Paramāras seems to have been pacified during the reign of Vijayasiṁha, because Śyāmalade

---

1. EI, vol.10, p.20, v.10.

2. Canto V, vs.58-60.

the daughter of the Paramāra prince Udayāditya, was given in marriage to Vijayasiṁha. This matrimonial alliance was probably concluded in order to check the rise of the Cāhamānas and the Caulukyas of Gujarat. Sāmantasiṁha tried to consolidate his power and ultimately came into conflict with the Caulukya Ajayapāla, who was wounded on the battlefield by Sāmantasiṁha[1]. Jaitrasiṁha, one of the most powerful rulers of Mewar, waged wars with the Caulukyas of Gujarat, the Cāhamānas of Nadol, the Paramāras of Mālava and also with some Muslim rulers. He successfully directed these wars and established a very powerful government over an extensive area. Though Jaitrasiṁha bravely resisted the Muslim invasion of Mewar, after his death the Guhilas could not stand before the mighty arms of the Muslims and ultimately, during the reign of Ratnasiṁha, Mewar fell into the hands of 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khaljī in A.D.1303.

In contrast to the other ruling dynasties of India the Guhilas of Mewar after losing their kingdom did not give up the idea of reconquering their ancestral territory, which they had held from the sixth century A.D. Mewar could not remain under the yoke of the Muslims and

---

1. Someśvara's Surathotsava, canto XV, v.32.

Hammīra, a worthy son of this brave Rajput clan, reconquered his lost ancestral territory after turning aside the Songira Cāhamānas of Jalor, enlisted as vassals of the Delhi Sultanate, some time after A.D.1335. Though Hammīra was not a direct descendant of Ratnasiṁha, the ruling Guhila prince at the time of the Muslim conquest, he was certainly distantly related to Ratnasiṁha of the main branch and was famous as the Sesodiya Guhila, because his ancestor's headquarters were Sesoda, a place in Mewar. These Sesodiyas were feudatory chiefs under the Guhilas of the main branch.

The chivalrous deeds of the Guhilas of Mewar have brightened the history of India. It was this dynasty which produced Bappa, the valiant fighter and the founder of the importance of this dynasty. Jaitrasiṁha, who was certainly the builder of this dynasty, not only glorified Mewar or Rajasthan but also dominated the whole Indian polity. Hammīra freed his motherland from the yoke of the Muslims. Mahārāṇā Kumbhakarṇa (Kumbha) waged wars with various rulers of India and successfully repelled many Muslim intruders. The joint attack of the Sultans of Mālava and Gujarat was also successfully faced by him and they were

forced to retreat. This brave son of Mewar founded a very strong government and was the master of the most extensive areas of Rajasthan and other parts of India ever controlled by his any other predecessor. Even Muslim rulers of his time bent before him and called him the Hindu Emperor. Not only this, he was also a lover of wisdom and learning and patronized various scholars in his court. He himself wrote the Rasikapriya, a commentary on Jayadeva's Gītagovinda.

The greatness of the Guhilas, which was further renewed by Mahārāṇā Kumbha, continued in the reign of Mahārāṇā Saṁgrāmasiṁha. He waged wars with the Sultan of Gujarat and defeated him. He faced the army of the Delhi Sultan Ibrāhim Lodī and defeated him twice. But ultimately he was defeated by Bābar, though he was the most important and powerful adversary of Bābar in India. After defeating the Sultan of Delhi he extended his kingdom up to the borde of Agra. The Sultans of Delhi, Gujarat and Mālava were frightened of his power. Even Bābar has himself accepted th fact that he was the most powerful ruler of India[1]. He united almost all Rajput race under his banner to expel the Turks from India.

---

1. Tuzuk-i-Bābarī, translated by Beveridge, pp.483 and 561-6

The same Guhila dynasty further produced a grand personality in the form of Mahārāṇā Pratāpa, whose act of valour is still remembered in the Haldī valley. He was one of the most important rulers among the descendants of Guhil The great Mughal Emperor Akbar could not bend him with his mighty arms. He was a staunch lover of freedom and a patrio of his nation. His deeds not only glorified Mewar but he wa the hero of the whole India. Even now he is admired as a brave warrior and fighter for freedom. How Col. Tod was moved by the chivalrous deeds of Pratāpa can be shown in hi own words: "Undaunted heroism, inflexible fortitude, that which 'keeps honour bright', perseverance,——with fidelity such as no nation can boast, were the materials opposed to a soaring ambition, commanding talents, unlimited means, an the fervour of religious zeal; all, however, insufficient t contend with one unconquerable mind. There is not a pass in the alpine Aravalli that is not sanctified by some deed of Pratap,—— some brilliant victory or, oftener, more gloriou defeat. Haldighat is the Thermopylae of Mewar; the field of Dawer her Marathon"[1]. Mahārāṇā Pratāpa was a worthy son of India who never intended to buy his comfort at the cost of

---

1. AR, vol.1, pp.406-7.

his freedom. Even Akbar recognized his zeal and love of honour and glory. In contrast to other Rajput or Hindu princes of India, only Pratāpa saved the glory and honour o Rajasthan and never compromised his honour and freedom for comforts and safety. Akbar, even after adopting every possible means to make Pratāpa his subordinate, could not succeed and died with this desire unfulfilled. The glory of the Guhilas was thus maintained by Pratāpa and other heroes of this dynasty. The importance of the dynasty was rightly recognized by the famous English historian James Tod, who maintained "What nation on earth would have maintained the semblance of civilization, the spirit or the customs of their forefathers, during so many centuries of overwhelming depression but one of such singular character as the Rajput Though ardent and reckless, he can, when required, subside into forbearance and apparent apathy, and reserve himself f the opportunity of revenge. Rajasthan exhibits the sole example in the history of mankind of a people withstanding every outrage barbarity can inflict, or human nature sustai from a foe whose religion commands annihilation, and bent t the earth, yet rising buoyant from the pressure, and making

calamity a whetstone to courage. How did the Britons at onc
sink under the Romans, and in vain strive to save their
groves, their druids, or the altars of Bal from destruction
To the Saxons they alike succumbed; they, again to the
Danes; and this heterogeneous breed to the Normans. Empire
was lost and gained by a single battle, and the laws and
religion of the conquered merged in those of the conquerors
Contrast with these the Rajputs; not an iota of their
religion or customs have they lost, though many a foot of
land. Some of their States have been expunged from the map
of dominion; and, as a punishment of national infidelity,
the pride of the Rathor, and the glory of the Chalukya, the
overgrown Kanauj and gorgeous Anhilwara, are forgotten name
Mewar alone, the sacred bulwark of religion, never
compromised her honour for her safety, and still survives h
ancient limits"[1]. There could be no more appropriate praise
of this dynasty than that expressed by Tod.

1.AR, vol.1, p.303.

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGIN OF THE GUHILAS OF MEWAR

THE DYNASTIC NAMES: In epigraphic records there are various expressions for the dynastic name of the Guhilas of Mewar and their sub-branches. The Samoli inscription of Śīlāditya, dated A.D.646 (V.S.703), which is the earliest epigraphic record of the princes of Mewar, does not mention the dynastic name of Śīlāditya at all. This record simply refers to him as svakulāmbara-caṁdramāḥ,'the moon of his dynasty'[1]. But an inscription of his immediate successor, Aparājita, dated A.D.661 (V.S.718) distinctly refers to Aparājita as Guhilānvaya, 'in the family of Guhila'[2]. In a copper plate grant of Bhāvihita, dated A.D.653 (Harṣa(?) year 48) the family is referred to as Guhilaputtrānvaye[3]. Another grant dated A.D. 688 (Harṣa (?) year 83) knows this family as Guhila-narādhipa-vaṁśe[4]. The family is frequently referred to as the Guhila dynasty in the various

---

1. EI, vol.20, p.99, line 5. The attribution to this inscription to the Guhila Śīlāditya will be discussed in the context.
2. Ibid, vol.4, p.31, v.3.
3. Ibid, vol.34, pp.171-72.
4. Ibid, vol.34, p.174, line 1.

inscriptions of the Guhilas of Mewar[1]. At the same time there are other forms of the name known through the various records, such as Guhilaputra[2], Gobhilaputra[3], Guhalutra[4], Gūhilota[5], Guhil-āṁgaja-vaṁśa[6], Gūhilākhyānvaya[7] and Guhilya-vaṁśa[8] etc. The late traditional name Gehlot or Guhilot is actually a corruption of the Sanskrit word Guhila-putra. Though there are a few differences in the forms, it is clear that all these names have been derived from one Guhila, Guhādatta or Guhāditya, the founder of the Guhila dynasty. In local traditions, as will be shown later, Guhila is said to have been born in a guha (cave) and therefore he was named Goha, Guha or Guhila[9].

---

1. Bh.I, p.70, line 5; p.75, v.5; p.85, v.5; IA, vol.39, p.191, v.1.
2. JASB, vol.55, pt.1, p.48.
3. EI, vol.2, pp.11-12.
4. ASI,WC, 1911-12, p.53.
5. IA, vol.41, p.19.
6. EI, vol.22, p.288, v.3; also VOJ, vol.21, p.155, v.3.
7. Bh.I, p.158, lines 4-5.
8. Ibid, p.75, v.13.
9. AR, vol.1, p.259.

ORIGIN: The origin of the Guhilas of Mewar is not excluded from the controversies on the origin of the other Kṣatriya clans of India. Various views have been expressed on the subject by scholars such as Professor D.R.Bhandarkar[1], M.V.Pandia[2], C.V.Vaidya[3], G.H.Ojha[4], R.R.Halder[5], Professor H.C.Ray[6], A.C.Banerjee[7], Dr. M.L.Mathur[8], Mrs. M.Sharma[9], Dr. G.C.Raychaudhuri[10] and others.

There are two main important views on the origin of this dynasty. While one school lays much stress on the tradition that Guhilas were originally Brāhmaṇas and afterwards were converted into Kṣatriyas, the other school relies on the tradition that they were the Sūryavaṁśī (Solar) Kṣatriyas and claimed to be the direct descendants of Rāma, the son of Daśaratha of Ayodhya. Recently Mr. R.Samar has

---

1. JASB, vol.5 (1909), p.167 ff; IA, vol.39, p.188 ff.
2. JASB, vol.8 (1912), p.63 ff.
3. HMHI, vol.2, pp.
4. HR, vol.1, p.374 ff.
5. IA, vol.56, p.169 ff.
6. DHNI, vol.2, p.1153 ff.
7. RS, p.3 ff.
8. IHQ, vol.26, p.263 ff.
9. Ibid, vol.28, p.83 ff.
10. HM, p.20 ff.

tried to prove the theory that the Guhilas were of Hūṇa origin, because their early coins are of Indo-Sassanian type[1]. As Mr. Samar's paper on this subject has not yet been published, at present we can only say that we consider that his view is far-fetched. It is unreasonable to base an conjecture simply on the type of coins struck by the kings of a particular dynasty. Evidence is not wanting that the types and styles of a particular dynasty were used by another dynasty. The famous Hūṇa prince Mihirakula himself copied the mintage of the Sassanian princes of Iran[2].

Abul Faẓl, in his Ā'īn-i-Akbarī, states that the Guhilas were the descendants of Noshirwān the Just (A.D.532-579), the king of Persia[3]. Following him the autho of the ~~Māsir~~ Ma'āsir-ul-Umrā, and Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa Shafiq Aurangābād also record the same story[4]. According to them the Rāṇās of Udaipur are the descendants of Noshirwān. During the lifeti of Noshirwān his son Nausheẓād came to India. After collecting a large army from India Nausheẓād rebelled, invaded Iran against his father, and died in battle. But hi

---

1. JIH, vol.40, pt.2, p.349, fn.16a. Mr.Samar confirms this view in a personal communication.
2. HR, vol.1, p.130.
3. Jarrett, vol.2, p.268.
4. AR, vol.1, p.275 ff.

descendants remained in India and the Rāṇās of Udaipur are the remaining descendants of Nausheẓād. But these later traditions are far from the historical truth, as they have not been corroborated by any earlier work than that of Abul Faẓl. Even the account of the arrival of Nausheẓād in India is false, as has been rightly remarked by W. Crooke[1]. It is here not necessary to discuss at length these statements of the Muslim historians. Early travellers such as Sir Thomas Roe records that the Guhilas of Mewar were the descendants of Porus, the well known opponent of Alexander[2], though we have no surviving Indian tradition to this effect. In his Rājavilāsa, a work of A.D.1677 (V.S.1734), the Jaina author Māna states that Guhāditya was a son of the king of Valabhī and after the fall of Valabhī he came to Mewar and took in marriage Dhanavatī, the daughter of the Solanki king Saṁgrāmasiṁha of Nāgadraha[3].

Relying on these later works and other traditions, Tod gives two accounts of the origin of the Guhilas[4]. In his first statement he speaks very highly of t Rāṇās of Mewar and says that the Guhilas of Mewar were of t Solar (Sūryavaṁśī) Kṣatriyas and were the direct descendant

---

1. AR, vol.1, p.276, fn.2.
2. Ibid, p.49 and fn.4.
3. Vilāsa I, pp.18-20, vs.24-35.
4. AR, vol.1, p.241 ff.

of Rāma, the son of Daśaratha of Ayodhya. Kanakasen, a descendant of Rāma, came to Saurāṣṭra from Lohkot in A.D. 145 (V.S.201) and established his rule at Bīranagara after wresting the principality from a Paramāra prince. Vijayasen the fourth descendant of Kanakasen, again established his rule at Valabhīpura. Vijayasen has been called Noshirwān by Jayasiṁha of Amber. Śīlāditya, the last prince of Valabhī, was killed in a barbarian attack in A.D.524. His only surviving queen Puṣpāvatī, however, escaped and, as she was pregnant, took refuge in a cave near a mountain and gave birth to a child in the same cave. According to the custom of the family she mounted the funeral pyre after giving the charge of the newly born son to Kamalāvatī, a Brāhmaṇa lady of Bīranagara. The child was styled Goha as he was born in a cave. Goha, after attaining the age of maturity, was elected the king of Idar by the Bhils and his descendants became known as Guhilot or Gehlot after his name. In this connection Tod also conjectures the Scythian origin of the Guhilas. The next tradition recorded by him is that of the Sassanian descent of the Guhilas, where they are said to be the descendants of Nauśheẓād, the son of the Persian monarc

Noshirwān, or of Māh Bānū, the eldest daughter of Yazdegird, a descendant of Noshirwān[1].

All these views of Tod are unhistorical and based on late tradition, for they do not stand on epigraphic evidence. It is now an established fact that the Maitraka princes of Valabhī were not connected with the Guhilas. The last known date of Śīlāditya VII, the last prince of Valabhī is A.D.766 (Gupta year 447=V.S.823)[2], whereas an inscription of the Guhila Śīlāditya is dated A.D.646 (V.S.703)[3]. Thus it is evident that the Guhilas of Mewar were ruling much before the sack of Valabhī and it is impossible to connect them with Śīlāditya VII. Secondly, Kanakasen of Tod seems to be mythical because we do not find his name in the genealogical list of the Valabhī dynasty and the dates of the establishment and destruction of the kingdom of Valabhī are not the same as recorded by Tod. Hence it is impossible to agree with him. We have already shown that the second tradition recorded by Tod, about the Persian descent of the Guhilas, is also baseless.

---

1. AR, vol.1, p.275 ff.
2. Alīnā Grant, CII, vol.3 (Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions), pp. 178 and 173, fn.; see also IA, vol.7, p.79 ff.
3. EI, vol.20, p.99.

THE IDEA OF SOLAR ORIGIN

The traditional belief as recorded by Tod that th Guhilas were of the Sūryavaṁśī Kṣatriyas and were the direct descendants of Rāma, deserves more careful scrutiny The literal meaning of the word Sūryavaṁśī is obviously a member of a clan whose founder was the Sun. Thus the progenitor of the Sūryavaṁśī Kṣatriyas was believed to be the Sun. It is, however, very puzzling that the word Sūryavaṁśī does not appear in any of the Vedas to which Hindu traditions give much emphasis. These works are reall very old and throw a flood of light on the social as well as on the political life of the ancient Indian people. Unfortunately, though they mention the names of certain kings, they failed to give linked genealogies. But the mos tedious difficulty which the historian finds in these work is the dislocation of events. Pargiter has rightly remarke that "there is no want of references to prior events in th Rigveda as well as some to contemporaneous occurences, and allusions to bygone men and events were necessarily drawn from traditions"[1]. For example, Nahuṣa, Yayāti and other figures in the Veda are certainly historical, but they are

---

1. AIHT, p.61.

only allusively referred to on the basis of traditions, which were well known at the time but are now lost. The next puzzling issue is that these texts give some description of kings and their families but not of their progenitors. We have references to Yadu, Turvaṣu, Druhyu, Anu and Pūru and their families and descendants, but there is no reference to their forebears, who became ~~the~~ men of tradition during the time of the work. We have references to Bharata and his descendants, but from whom Bharata himself had descended is nowhere stated. Hence it is impossible to establish the correct genealogy of the kings referred to in the Vedas.

The question as to why the ideas of the Solar and Lunar origin of the Kṣatriyas originated during the time of the Purāṇas, which are very late, and not during that of the Vedas, demands clarification. The idea, though connected with the Vedas, finds no place in the Vedas themselves. In the Purāṇic tradition, Rāma, the famous epic hero, is said to be a Sūryavaṁśī Kṣatriya, but we have no reference in the Vedas to the fact that the progenitor of Rāma was a Sūryavaṁśī Kṣatriya. Other older legends also fail to throw any light on the problem.

One factor, which should not be forgotten in this connection, is the age of Buddhism. The period between third century B.C. and third century A.D. was a period of comparative stagnation for Hinduism or Brāhmaṇism. During this period of abeyance for the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas when the caste system was shaken, the system of preserving the Kṣatriya genealogies was neglected. But during the reign of the Gupta dynasty this system was revived. The Brāhmaṇas with the King's aid began to collect materials for the genealogies and to reconstruct the Purāṇas. But the material which they collected were full of exaggerations and incoherent, because traditional elements came into their sources. Vaidya has rightly remarked that "the Kṣatriya traditions preserved in the Purāṇas are incomplete, conflicting and generally untrustworthy"[1]. It is true that we do not find any direct word like Sūryavaṁśī in the Rigveda, but if we connect the Purāṇas with the Rigveda, we can infer some hints about the descendants of Sūrya, always remembering that Hindu mythology is full of exaggerations and usually conveys a symbolic idea.

In one of the hymns of the Rigveda one

---

1. HMHI, vol.2, p.262.

Nābhānediṣṭha, the son of Manu, claims himself as the bandh of the Sun and says that according to his pedigree there is a little distance between him and the Sun, as is evident from the following hymn:

Tad-bandhuḥ Sūrir-divitedhiyaṁdhā Nābhānediṣṭho-rapati pravenan.
Sāno nābhiḥ paramāsya vāghā-ahaṁ tat paścā katithaścidāsa[1].

Translation: "Their kin, the prince in heaven, thy(the Sun nearest kinsman, turning his thought to thee, thus (Nābhānediṣṭha) speaks in kindness: This is our highest bond: I am his (the Sun's) offspring. How many others came (before) I succeeded"?[2].

From this hymn it appears that in the Rigveda itself the idea of having originated from the Sun was not unknown. Nābhānediṣṭha is a human being and claims relationship with the Sun. The word vaivasvān, which frequently occurs in the Rigveda as a secondary formation from vivasvān the Sun, also came to be applied to Manu in the same work[3]. In five sūktas of the Rigveda the Ṛṣi Manu

---

1.X, 61, 18.
2.Tr.by Griffith, Second Ed., vol.2, p.467.
3.Vālakhilya Sūkta, Sūkta 4, hymn 1.

is again referred to as Manur-vaivasvat[1]. Another hymn of the Rigveda is also important, where it is distinctly state that Manu is the son of Vivasvān (the Sun)[2], and it can be inferred that the descendants of Manu were Sūryavaṁśī. Sometimes the Rigveda also refers to Manu as Vivasvān[3]. Thu the idea that Manuputras were related to the Sun was known even in the Vedic period.

After examining various sources, C.V.Vaidya came to the conclusion that two Aryan hordes who came to India one after another came to be known as the Solar and Lunar Kṣatriyas from the time of the Mahābhārata onwards. In this connection he finds a clear reference in the Mahābhārata where Kṛṣṇa says to Yudhiṣṭhira that the dynasties of Aila and Ikṣvākū (the Solar and Lunar) Kṣatriyas are most numerous and at present there are 101 such families in India, of whom the Bhojas are most important[4]. Hence during the time of the epic, the Kṣatriyas were already regarded as of either the Solar or the Lunar race. Vaidya has also tried to connect the Bharatas of the Rigveda with the Solar Kṣatriyas of the

---

1.VIII, 27-31.
2.X, 63, 1.
3.Vālakhilya Sūkta, Sūkta 4, hy.1.
4.Sabhā Parva, XV, 1-6.

epic and the Purāṇas[1]. But in the Rigveda the successors of Bharata are called Bharatāḥ, i.e. the members of the Bharat dynasty[2] and at one place they are distinctly called Bharatasya-putrā[3]. This Bharata of the Rigveda is certainly different from Bharata, the son of Śakuntalā and Duṣyanta, the famous king of the Lunar race. Though the difference cannot be noticed from the Rigveda, the Bhāgavata gives a clear reference to Bharata of the Rigveda. According to thi work Manu, who is called Svāyaṁbhuva, had a son named Priyavrata. Agnīdhara, Nābhi and Ṛiṣabha were respectively the son, grandson and great-grandson of Priyavrata. Ṛiṣabha had one hundred sons and amongst them the eldest was Bharata, after whom India was called Bhāratavarṣa[4]. Thus this Bharata was evidently a great-grandson of Manu and a son of Ṛiṣabha, completely different from Bharata, the son of Duṣyanta, and there were two traditional figures of the same name. The Nirukta, which is older than most of the Purāṇas, refers to a certain Bharata as Āditya or the Sun[5]. According to Vaidya this Bharata is evidently the king of the Rigveda, and later on his descendants became famous as

---

1. HMHI, vol.2, p.266 ff.
2. III, 33, 11-12.
3. III, 53, 24.
4. XI, 2, 15-17.
5. VIII, 13.

the Solar Kṣatriyas[1]. Hence during the time of the Nirukta, the Bharatas were known as the Solar Kṣatriyas. But it is almost impossible to identify Bharata of the Rigveda with Bharata of Yāska. It seems probable that it was only to identify Bhāratī of the Rigveda[2], that Yāska in his Nirukta created Bharata as the father of Bhāratī, because the name Bhāratī (daughter) can only be derived from Bharata, at lea on the phonetic grounds.

In the later Vedic period when the caste system became more or less rigid, the Kṣatriyas became powerful as a ruling class. The king was generally a Kṣatriya and the office of the monarch was normally hereditary, though from the coronation songs of the Atharvaveda we have instances of the election of the king. In this period also the term Sūryavaṁśī Kṣatriya was not known to any one, as far as we can gather from the sources. Moreover the idea of the Solar origin of the Kṣatriyas is not mentioned in any works of the Maurya period. Paṭañjali shows some acquaintance with the Kiṣkindhyā episode of the Rāma story, but it is not clear that he had any knowledge of the Sūryavaṁśī tradition. Similarly while the Mahābhārat

---

1. HMHI, vol.2, p.268 ff.
2. X, 110, 8.

was known to Aśvalāyana and Pāṇini, there is no evidence of their knowledge of the Rāmāyaṇa. According to Aśvaghoṣa the Śākya-vaṁśa originated from the race of Ikṣvāku, but it is evident that he had also no knowledge of the Sūryavaṁśī tradition[1]. The Daśaratha Jātaka also shows some acquaintance with Daśaratha, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and others[2], but the dynastic name Sūryavaṁśī is not mentioned there.

The dynasty of the kings of Ayodhyā, which was headed by Ikṣvāku, is called in the Mahābhārata[3] and the Rāmāyaṇa[4] the Ikṣvāku dynasty. It is in these works that for the first time we hear clearly about it. However, the Ikṣvākus are not connected here with the Solar race. They are first called Sūryavaṁśī in the Agni, Viṣṇu, Garuḍa and the Matsya Purāṇas.

The Agni Purāṇa distinctly refers to this dynasty as Sūryavaṁśī in the lines: Ikṣvāku-vaṁśa-prabhavaḥ Sūrya-vaṁśa dharāḥ smṛtāḥ[5]. In its forecast the Viṣṇu Purāṇ refers to the dynasty as Sūryavaṁśī: Āgāmi-yuge Sūrya-vaṁśa kṣatra-pravarttayitā bhaviṣyati[6]. The next line of the same

---

1. Saundarananda, cant.1, vs.18-26.
2. Ed.by Fausboll, vol.4, No.461.
3. Vana Āraṇyaka Parva, III, 193, 1.
4. Bāla Kāṇḍa, cant.70, v.44.
5. Cant.273, 39.
6. IV, 4, 110.

work also refers to the genealogy of the Solar Kṣatriyas[1]. Hari in the Garuḍa Purāṇa speaks of this dynasty as of the Solar race[2]. The Matsya concludes its twelfth chapter after giving the genealogy of the Solar Kṣatriyas[3]. The Bhāgavata also knows the dynasty by the name of the Solar dynasty[4].

In the Vāyu, which is believed to be one of the oldest Purāṇas, we find the genealogy of the Solar Kṣatriyas from Manu and Ikṣvāku down to Bṛhadbala[5], who was believed to have been killed in the Mahābhārata war[6]. The Brahmāṇḍa also gives the complete genealogical account of th Solar Kṣatriyas[7]. Various other Purāṇas like the Brahma[8], Harivaṁśa[9], Matsya[10], Padma[11], Śiva[12], Liṅga[13], Karma[14],

---

1.IV, 2, 3-4.
2.I, 139, 1.
3.XII, 57 (last line).
4.IX, 12, 1-8.
5.88, 8-214.
6.Mbh, tr.VII, 47.
7.III, 63, 8-214.
8.VII, 44-VIII, 94.
9.XI, 660-XV, 832.
10.XII, 25-27 and 271, 4-17.
11.V, 8, 130-162.
12.VII, 60, 33-61 and 73.
13.I, 65, 17-56.
14.I, 20, 10-21, 60, ~~71, 2-4; 4, 1-110~~.

Viṣṇu[1], Agni[2], Garuḍa[3], and the Bhāgavata[4] etc. also give more or less complete genealogical accounts of the kings of the Solar race. Bhavabhūti in his Uttara Rāmacarita also gives some reference to this dynasty[5]. Thus the majority of the Purāṇas give the genealogy of the Solar Kṣatriyas and some of them expressly call this dynasty Sūryavaṁśī. Though they differ in the names and chronology, nevertheless they all agree with regard to the kings of the Solar race who reigned at Ayodhyā.

The genealogical account of the Solar Kṣatriyas is also known from the Mahābhārata[6]. The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki gives this account up to Rāma. Sudās, who is a Bharata king in the Rigveda and a Solar king in the Purāṇas is also mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa[8], where Vālmīki tells Śatrughna that Sudās was one of his ancestors. But it is not safe to identify these two Sudāsas only on the similari of names.

1.IV, 2, 3, and 4, 1-110.
2.273, 18-39.
3.I, 138, 17-44.
4.IX, 6, 4-12 and 9.
5.Chapter 4.
6.Tr.Vana Āraṇya Parva, 202-203 and 107.
7.Bāla Kāṇḍa, 70, 21-44; Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa, 110, 6-35.
8.Uttara Kāṇḍa, canto 65.

From the above mentioned sources we may conclude that the idea of the Solar origin of the Kṣatriyas is clearly mentioned only in the later works. We do not find any clear evidence to prove that this idea was widespread before the Christian era, though, as we have seen, we have some reference to the descent of kings from the Sun in the Rigveda. The earliest record in which the tradition is clearly known is the Vāyu, with which perhaps the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa is roughly contemporary.

The idea of the Solar and Lunar origin of the Kṣatriyas which was prevalent at the time of the Purāṇas, became widespread in the later period. For this we have considerable epigraphic as well as literary evidence. An undated Praśasti of the reign of Bhojadeva (c. A.D.836-9[illegible] connects the Pratihāras with the Solar Kṣatriyas or the descendants of Lakṣmaṇa[1]. The last verse of the Praśasti sections of the Candrāvati grants dated A.D.993 and 1100 (V.S.1050 and 1156) compares Candra with the kings of the Solar and Lunar dynasties of the past[2]. The Rāhan grants of Mahārājaputra Govindacandra dated A.D.1109 (V.S.1166) state that after the destruction of the Solar and Lunar dynasties

---

1. ASIAR, 1903-4, p.280
2. IHQ, 1949, p.37.

of the Kṣatriyas, the Gāhaḍavālas came into power[1]. At the same time in the Badera inscription of Madanapāla dated A.D 1107 (V.S.1164) the Gāhaḍavāla rulers claim to have descended from the Solar Kṣatriyas[2]. The Mount Abu inscription of Luṇṭigadeva dated A.D.1320 (V.S.1373) states that the Cāhamāna race came to power after the end of the Solar and Lunar races[3]. In the Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya, the Cāhamānas are called Sūryavaṁśī Kṣatriyas[4]. The Hammīra-mahākāvya[5] and the Surjanacarita[6] of Candraśekhara know these Cāhamānas as Solar Kṣatriyas. Yaśovigraha, the first known member of the Gāhaḍavāla family, is described as a noble personage who lived after the death of the kings of the Solar race[7].

These references show that the idea of the Solar origin of the Kṣatriyas continued throughout the medieval period, from the time of the Purāṇas. The records prove that this idea became more popular amongst the Rajput

---

1.IA, vol.18, pp.14-19.
2.JUPHS, vol.14, pt.1, p.70.
3.EI, vol.9, p.79; see also, ECD, p.6, fn.19.
4.II, 71; VII, 50; VIII, 54.
5.I, vs.14-17.
6.VIII, vs.151-62.
7.HGD, p.38.

of the early medieval period and afterwards. Although there are differences of opinion on the origin of some important Rajput clans, such as the Pratihāras, the Cālukyas, the Cāhamānas, the Gāhaḍavālas and others, nevertheless these clans regard themselves as originating from the Solar race. But we have no evidence other than these late records to connect them with the Ikṣvākus of ancient times.

The question remains to be decided as to why the ideas of the Solar and the Lunar races became so popular in the epic and the Purāṇic days. It may be argued that some of the Purāṇas were compiled during the Gupta period and the rest even later. Thus it is apparent that this idea first became widespread during the Gupta period, which marked an epoch in the history of Brāhmaṇism. During this period Brāhmaṇism enjoyed the imperial patronage. The Gupta age also proved fertile for literary works as well as traditional history in the form of Purāṇas. The Vedic traditions were reinforced. As the Gupta kings were apparently great admirers of ancient traditions, it was quite natural for the scholars of that time to write on subjects which were somehow or other connected with the

Vedic tradition. They new the king's predilections and to gain his favour they devoted their intellects in fabricating traditional history, full of heroism, and chivalrous and adventurous deeds of ancient heroes, connecting them with the Vedic Aryans. High birth in an ancient family was regarded as a matter of great pride. Samudra Gupta delighted to call himself the Licchavidauhitra. Thus purity of race and caste were much emphasized in the Gupta age. The question of purity and high birth also gained strength owing to the inclusion of foreign tribes in Hindu society, among whom the Śakas and the Hūṇas were the most outstanding. These foreign tribes slowly and gradually accepted the Hindu religion and became members of the important Hindu class of Kṣatriyas. As the idea of high birth was so prevalent in society the original Kṣatriyas may have jealously tried to differentiate themselves from the newly created Kṣatriyas. To reinforce this feeling the idea of their Solar origin came into existence and prevailed in their society. The famous epic hero Rāma was a most suitable legendary ancestor for such Kṣatriyas and therefore they connected themselves with him as a class distinguished by valorous deeds worthy

of their great ancestor. The authors of the time took up th theme and began to write on the subject, and they produced the Purāṇas, the Rāmāyaṇa and other traditional history. As time rolled on the monkey king Sugrīva, the Aśvins, Revanta and Yama also came to be known as the sons of Sūrya[1].

SOLAR ORIGIN OF THE GUHILAS

Coming to the origin of the Guhilas let us first decide on the soundness of the theory of their Solar origin as propounded by various scholars. According to G.H.Ojha[2] and following him, C.V.Vaidya[3], R.R.Halder[4] and Dr. M.L. Mathur[5], a fragmentary inscription of the time of the Guhil prince Naravāhana, dated A.D.971 (V.S.1028)[6] for the first time clearly decides the controversial question of the origin of the Guhilas. In the opinion of these scholars thi inscription distinctly states that the Guhilas were Raghuvaṁśī or the Sūryavaṁśī Kṣatriyas. They quote the

---

1.PV, canto II, vs.31-84.
2.HR, vol.1, pp.378-79;also NPP(NS), vol.1, pt.3, p.259.
3.HMHI, vol.2, p.332 ff.
4.IA, vol.56, pp.173-74.
5.IHQ, vol.26, p.263 ff.
6.Bh.I, p.70; also JBBRAS, vol.22, p.166 ff.

following passage of the epigraph in question:

.....yoginaḥ. Śāpānugrahabhūmayo Himaśilābandho jvalādāgire-rāseto Raghuvaṁśa kīrtipiśunātrivraṁtapaḥ...[1]

The supporters of the Solar origin of the Guhilas interpret this passage to mean that "some ascetics had spread the fame of Raghuvaṁśa from the Himalayas to the bridge of Rāma or cape Comorin". The word Raghuvaṁśa apparently meaning the early Guhilas, such as Guhila, Bappa and Naravāhana, whose names are referred to in this epigraph. These ascetics were no other than the preceptors of the Guhilas and the priests of the temple of Ekaliṅgajī. As Guhila kings were staunch devotees of Ekaliṅgajī, these priests were highly paid by them and it was but natural for these priests to speak highly of their supporters, who were famous as Raghuvaṁśīs or Solar Kṣatriyas. Thus the believers in the Solar origin of the Guhilas find in this inscription a conclusive proof that the Guhilas were evidently Sūryavaṁśī Kṣatriyas.

While re-editing the inscription under review, Professor D.R.Bhandarkar interpreted this passage to mean that "the fame of the ascetics had spread from the

---

1.The reading āseto Raghuvaṁśa kīrtipiśunāttīvraṁ of Bh.I is correct (p.70, line 13).

Himalayas to Rāma's bridge[1]. As stated above, this inscripti is very fragmentary and it is most unreasonable to derive an definite conclusion from such a damaged epigraph which does not contain sufficient legible phrases on which to form any accurate ideas of its full contents. However, it should be noted here that the word yoginaḥ is not associated with Raghuvaṁśa kīrtipiśunātrivraṁ tapaḥ . In fact the phrase comes to qualify the word āseto (setu) and the whole passage can be well interpreted to mean that the massive bridge (setu), which is said to have been constructed by Rāma to cross over the sea in order to rescue Sītā and punish Ravana was the displayer or the proclaimer of the glory of the Raghuvaṁśa. Whatever might have been the fact, it is impossible here to say that the passage under discussion conveys the idea that the Guhilas were of the Solar Kṣatriya

The supporters of this school next put forward the evidence of the Atpur inscription of Śaktikumāra dated A.D.977 (V.S.1034), where for Naravāhana the expressions vijaya-vasatiḥ and kṣatra-kṣetraṁ are used[2]. Here kṣatra-kṣetra has been taken by Ojha[3] and his followers to be a decisive proof of the Kṣatriya origin of the Guhilas

---

1.JBBRAS, vol.22, p.152.
2.IA, vol.39, p.191, v.6.
3.HR, vol.1, p.378.

though the term is vague and may mean that Naravāhana was possessed of military prowess rather than that he was a Kṣatriya by caste. In this connection it is very remarkable that the first verse of the same inscription refers to Guhadatta, the progenitor of Naravāhana, as a Brāhmaṇa (mahīdeva), a point which we will discuss in the context of the Brāhmaṇical origin of the Guhilas. Even if we accept the interpretation of Ojha, it is here quite reasonable to hold that during the time of Naravāhana the Guhilas may have given up their priestly calling and become known as Kṣatriyas, which was not uncommon in various Rajput dynasties such as the Cāhamānas, Pratihāras and others.

Ojha has discovered one gold coin, which he ascribes to Bappa. According to him the coin bears the legend Śrī Voppa, which is certainly equivalent to Bappa, the famous Guhila ruler of Mewar. The coin in question also bears the symbol of the Sun and this, according to Ojha and others, is a conclusive proof that the Guhilas regarded themselves as Solar Kṣatriyas, at least during the time of Bappa[1]. But the reading of the inscription and its attribution to Bappa is very doubtful.

---

1. NPP(NS), vol.1, p.245 ff; also JASB, vol.23(1929), Num. Sup., No.40, p.14 ff.

The find-spot of the coin is also not known. Above all it is almost impossible that, as a king of a small principality, Bappa should have issued gold coins. In this connection it is also very remarkable to note that a number of coins of the Guhila princes, from Guhila to Ratnasiṁha, have been recently discovered[1] and none of them has any similarity with this coin assigned to Bappa, as will be shown in the context. Hence it is most unreasonable to base any conjecture on the authority of this coin or its symbol, and Ojha and others are wrong to do so.

The Chitor inscription of the reign of Samarasiṁha dated A.D.1278 (V.S.1335) refers to Siṁha, a Guhila prince, as Kṣatriya-Guhila-putra-Siṁha[2]. Though this is a clear reference to the Kṣatriya origin of the Guhilas, the evidence must be taken with suspicion owing to its lateness. In another inscription of the time of Mokala, the father of Kumbha, dated A.D.1428 (V.S.1485) Kṣetrasiṁha, the grandfather of Mokala, is known as Kṣatriya-vaṁśa-maṁḍana-maniṁ[3], which does not require clarification as evidence that he was known as a Kṣatriya. In the Chitor fragmentary inscription of the time of Mokala, Guhila is

---

1. JNSI, vol.20, pt.1, p.26 ff, pl.II, III; see our pl.II & III.
2. JASB, vol.55, pt.1, p.48; also HR, vol.1, p.370, fn.1.
3. EI, vol.23, p.235, v.5; also HR, vol.1, p.382, fn.1.

said to be of Saptāśva-vaṁśa (Sūryavaṁśa)[1]. Guhila, Bappa and other princes of this dynasty are referred to as Sūryavaṁśī Kṣatriyas in a late inscription of the time of Rāyamalla, the son of Rāṇā Kumbhakarṇa, dated A.D.1500 (V.S.1557)[2]. Again the lateness of these inscriptions, which for the first time clearly refer to the Guhilas as Sūryavaṁśī Kṣatriyas, renders it impossible to base any definite conclusion on them.

Refuting Bhandarkar's argument, Dr.M.L Mathur finds a clear reference to the Kṣatriya origin of the Guhilas in the Samoli inscription of Śīlāditya dated A.D.646 (V.S.703)[3], which is the earliest known inscription of the Guhilas. According to Dr. Mathur the introductory words jayati-vijayī-ripuṇāṁ-deva-dvija-gurū-janānandī-Śrī-ŚīlāditYo narapatiḥ svakulāmbara-candramāḥ, applied in this inscription to Śīlāditya, expressly convey the idea that "Śīlāditya was a Kṣatriya quite distinct from the Brāhmaṇas to whom he afforded delight"[4]. But we do not find any such indication as Dr. Mathur suggests. All the praises given in this epigraph are only those appropriate to a king. Whether

---

1. ARRMA, 1931-32, p.4, No.5.
2. Bh.I, p.141, line 28. The date of inscription printed here is wrong. Vide NPP(NS), vol.1, p.268, fn.53.
3. EI, vol.20, p.99.
4. IHQ, vol.26, p.274.

the king is of Kṣatriya, Brāhmaṇa or any other caste, cannot be detected from the lines in question and thus Dr. Mathur conjecture is far-fetched. He further quotes some similar qualifying lines of the inscription of Aparājita dated A.D. 661 (V.S.718)[1] and states that these qualifying phrases and adjectives could only in practice to be used for a Kṣatriya and not for a Brāhmaṇa, and hence, even in the earlier Guhila epigraphs, they were known as Kṣatriyas. But these are very weak arguments and we cannot be convinced. It must be taken into consideration that these epigraphs praise Śīlāditya or Aparājita only as a king and not otherwise, and it is impossible to derive any conclusion about the origin of the Guhilas from these records. If their composer had had the slightest intention of throwing some light on the origin of the Guhilas, he would have done so clearly, as do other epigraphs of various dynasties.

---

1. EI, vol.4, p.31.

PRIESTLY ORIGIN OF THE GUHILAS

The great exponent of the theory of the priestly origin of the Guhilas was no other than the veteran scholar Professor D.R. Bhandarkar, who devoted a valuable paper to this subject[1]. The Atpur inscription of Śaktikumāra dated A.D.977 (V.S.1034)[2] for the first time gives a clear reference to the origin of the Guhilas. Verse 1 of this inscription reads as follows:

Ānaṁdapura-vinirgata-vipra-kul-ānaṁdano-mahīdevaḥ.
Jayati Śrī-Guhadattaḥ prabhavaḥ Śrī-Guhila-vaṁśasya.

Translation: "Triumphant is Śrī Guhadatta, the founder of the Guhila family, a Brāhmaṇa and the delighter of the Brāhmaṇa family, (who) emigrated from Ānandapura"[3].

The same verse is repeated in the Kadmal plates of Vijayasiṁha dated A.D.1083 (V.S.1140)[4] and with certain variations in the Ekaliṅga-māhātmya of the time of Rāṇā Kumbha[5]. The word mahīdeva, which comes for Guhadatta or Guhila, has become a bone of contention amongst various scholars. According to Professor Bhandarkar and others the

---

1. JASB, vol.5, p.167 ff.
2. IA, vol.39, p.191.
3. Ibid, p.190.
4. EI, vol.31, p.245.
5. Bh.I, p.89, fn.; also JASB, vol.5, p.172.

word mahīdeva cannot mean other than a 'Brāhmaṇa', as is given in the translation above. But C.V.Vaidya[1] is inclined to think that this word here means a king and not a Brāhmaṇa. A.K.Vyas goes further to say that this word means a ruling prince of the Kṣatriya stock[2]. Ojha has omitted to take it into consideration, though he refutes Professor Bhandarkar's argument without a critical examination of the word mahīdeva which applies apparently to Guhadatta[3]. According to Dr. Mathur this word may mean a Kṣatriya because its literal meaning is 'the lord of the earth'[4]. In support Dr. Mathur states that in various epics and dramas the word deva is used for a king (rājā). But it is impossible to agree with Dr. Mathur. The words deva and mahīdeva are certainly not identical. In the vast field of the Sanskrit literature we have not a single instance where the word mahīdeva is used fo a king or for other castes than the Brāhmaṇa. The word mahīśvara is applied to a Guhila king named Śucivarman[5], but the difference between these two words is quite apparent. Eve in Hindi literature the word mahīdeva or mahideva can only

---

1. HMHI, vol. pp.85-86 and 333.
2. EI, vol.31, p.239; see fn.1, where Professor Sircar has rejected his view.
3. HR, vol.1, p.378.
4. IHQ, vol.26, p.266.
5. Bh.I, p.77, v.52.

mean a Brāhmaṇa[1]. Dr. Mathur further finds inconsistency and "superfluous duplication" in this record that Guhadatta, being a Brāhmaṇa by caste, was a source of delight to the family of the Brāhmaṇas. According to him the composer of this epigraph has not the slightest intention to convey that Guhadatta was a Brāhmaṇa. But we see no inconsistency or supposed duplication in the present lines of the epigraph no: is there any psychological inconsistency in a Brāhmaṇa delighting another Brāhmaṇa. A Brāhmaṇa can easily be a source of delight to a Brāhmaṇa family, and what would be more delightful to a Brāhmaṇa family than for the king himself to be a Brāhmaṇa by caste ? Hence all these argument are very weak and cannot convince us. Professor Bhandarkar i wholly right in taking the word mahīdeva to mean a Brāhmaṇa and the other scholars who refute Professor Bhandarkar in this respect are obviously wrong.

The Chitor stone inscription of the time of Samarasiṁha dated A.D.1274 (V.S.1331) refers to Bappa as a vipra (Brāhmaṇa)[2]. The Abu inscription of the same prince dated A.D.1285 (V.S.1342) states that "Bappa obtained regal

---

1. Bhāṣā Śabda Koṣa, by R.S.Shukla Rasāl,1937, p.1389; also Bṛhat Hindī Koṣa, by Kalika Prasad & Cf., 1936, p.1042.

2. Bh.I, p.75, v.9; also IA, vol.22, p.81 ff.

splendour in the guise of an anklet after bestowing on the sage Harīta his priestly ~~priestly~~ splendour under the guise of his devotion[1]. These two inscriptions distinctly say that Bappa was a Brāhmaṇa. Curiously enough Dr. Mathur does not accept the word vipra to mean Brāhmaṇa by birth[2]. In this connection he quotes a statement of so later a teacher and unorthodox as Dayānanda Sarasvatī to prove his weak conjecture. Mrs M.Sharma has rightly remarked that according to Dayānanda Svāmī no one can be regarded as a Brāhmaṇa or Kṣatriya by birth[3]. Dr. Mathur fails to give a single instance from the vast field of the Sanskrit literature where the word vipra is used for a non-Brāhmaṇa by caste. These weak arguments can in no case satisfy the scholar. Dr. Mathur is even unwilling to attach any importance to these two inscriptions on the ground that Vedaśarman, their composer, had no knowledge of history, because he gives an incomplete genealogy of the Guhila princes and makes Guhila a descendant of Bappa. But incomplete and wrong genealogies and the reference to Bappa as an ancestor of Guhila occur in most of the later inscriptions, including the Rāṇapur and the Kumbhalgarh inscriptions. Hence it is most unreasonable

---

1. Bh.I, p.85, v.11; also IA, vol.16, p.347.
2. IHQ, vol.26, p.269 ff.
3. Ibid, vol.28, pp.85-86.

to regard these epigraphs as merely waste paper simply because they are incorrect in some particulars. That Dr. Mathur should condemn so learned a scholar as Bhandarkar on these grounds is in our opinion highly objectionable.

Refuting the arguments advanced by Professor Bhandarkar, Ojha claims to give the reason why in later inscriptions some earlier Guhila Princes are referred to as Brāhmaṇas. He quotes the traditional history of the ancestors of Guhila as recorded by Naiṇsī in the seventeenth century[1]. According to Naiṇsī the Guhilas were first ruling in the south near Nāsika-Trayambaka. One of the ancestors of Guhila had no issue. He prayed for this to the Sun. The Sun asked him to promise to make a pilgrimage to the temple of Ambā Devī. The king did so and his wife became pregnant. The queen started on the same pilgrimage[2] and after completing it she reached Nāgdā, where she received the news of her husband's death in battle and the capture of the fortress in which she and her husband had dwelt. After hearing this sorrowful news, the queen intended to become a satī, but she was restrained by the local Brāhmaṇas of that place, who suggested that for a pregnant lady to

---

1. HR, vol.1, p.379 ff.
2. In the text the king is also said to have accompanied with her. Thus Naiṇsī gives contradictory statement (vol.1, p.2).

become a satī was against the custom of society. After 15 days she gave birth of a son, and when 15 further days had elapsed she had the funeral pyre made and prepared to become a satī. She intended to give her son to a Brāhmaṇa named Vijayadatta, who was desirous to have a son. But Vijayadatta first refused to take the child, saying that th Rajput child would prove a heavy burden for him because in his youth he would kill annimals and do other sinful acts. But the queen gave him her word as a satī and promised that up to the tenth generation the descendants of this child al would follow the rites and rituals of the Brāhmaṇas. Vijayadatta then accepted that child, who was named Somadatta and who was actually a Sūryavaṁśī Gehlot. As promised, his descendants up to the tenth generation followed the Brāhmaṇic rites and were called Nāgadahā Brāhmaṇas. Guhāditya (Guhila) was the tenth in succession counting from Somadatta[1]. With certain variations, Tod has also recorded the same story of the birth of Guhila and hi support by a Brāhmaṇa family[2].

Thus, according to Ojha and others, this traditional story that some of the early Guhila princes

---

1.Text, vol.1, pp.1-3; tr., pp.10-11.
2.AR, vol.1, p.258 ff.

followed the rites of the Brāhmaṇas led scribes and composers of epigraphs to record that they were Brāhmaṇas. But it is most unreasonable to argue on the basis of the traditional history, which is thoroughly unreliable. At the same time it is also not plausible to connect the earlier epigraphs of the tenth to thirteenth century with the bardic chronicle of the late seventeenth century. A question may be raised as to how this tradition arose. We may suggest that perhaps it was known that certain traditions held that the Guhilas had originally been Brāhmaṇas, and these had to be harmonized with their Sūryavaṁśī connections. Naiṇsī himself further quotes the following lines about the origin of the Guhilas:

> Ādi mūla utpatti Brahma piṇa(paṇa) Khatrī(Kṣatrī)jāṁṇāṁ,
> Ānaṁdapura siṇagāra nayara Āhora bakhāṇāṁ[1].

Bhandarkar's translation: "A Brāhmaṇa is the first cause of (his) extraction, but (we) regard (him) as a Kṣatriya. He is the ornament of Ānaṁdapura, (and) his (capital) town, we say was Āhora"[2].

However, the account of Naiṇsī is very late and cannot be accepted independently.

1.Text, p.14; tr., p.11.
2.JASB, vol.5, p.179.

In his support to the priestly origin of the Guhilas, Professor Bhandarkar refers to the Chatsu (Jaipur) inscription of Bālāditya, a Guhila chief of another branch. The epigraph is not dated but believed to be of the tenth century and refers to the Guhila Bhartṛpaṭṭa as follows:

Brahma-Kṣatrānvito-asmin-samabhava-dasame-Rāma-tulyo-viśalyaḥ.

Śauryādhyo-Bhartṛpaṭṭo-ripu-bhaṭa-viṭap-iccheda-kelī-patīyān[1].

Bhandarkar's translation: "In this unequalled (family) there was Bhartṛpaṭṭa, who, like Rāma (i.e. Paraśurāma), was possessed of (both) priestly and martial energy, was free from turmoil, full of bravery and proficient in the sport of cutting off trees, viz, the soldiers of (his) enemies".

According to Professor Bhandarkar this verse distinctly conveys the idea that Bhartṛpaṭṭa was a Brāhmaṇa by caste but did the duties of a Kṣatriya, just like Paraśurāma. The term Brahmakṣatra has been also used for various other dynasties. In the Vāyu[2], Matsya[3], Viṣṇu[4]

---

1. EI, vol.12, p.13, v.7.
2. Canto 99, vs.278-79.
3. Canto 50, v.88.
4. IV, cant.20.

and the Bhāgavata[1] Purāṇas king Kṣemaka of the Paurava dynasty is referred to as the progenitor of the Brahmakṣatra This term of the Purāṇas can only mean possessed of both priestly and martial qualities and cannot refer to a distinctive caste of Brahmakṣatra. The Devapara inscription of the Sena Vijayasena of Bengal refers to Sāmantasena as having belonged to the Brahmakṣatriyas, whereas the same inscription states that the ancestors of Vijayasena were of the Lunar dynasty[2]. In his commentary on the Chandas Śāstra of Piṅgala Ācārya, Halāyudha refers to the Paramāra Vākpatirāja Muñja as belonging to the Brahmakṣatra dynasty[3]. This shows that the term Brahmakṣatra simply means possessed of both priestly and martial qualities and cannot be taken as a particular caste. Even if we accept the term as a particular caste, various explanations can be adduced for it which show that its implications are certainly different from those of the term viprakula or Kṣatriyakula:

1.A family originally Brāhmaṇa and later becoming Kṣatriya.
2.A family from which Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas both originate
3.A family originating from Brāhmaṇa and Ksatriya parents.

1.IX, 22, vs.44-45.
2.EI, vol.1, p.307, v.5.
3.Ed.by Kedar Nath & Co., p.34, IV, 19.

After giving various examples of this term Professor Bhandarkar accepts the first interpretation and concludes that the Guhilas were first Brāhmaṇas and afterwa took to martial pursuits, though he himself accepts that even in the Purāṇas the term was not settled[1]. But another explanation can also be given to interpret this verse, namely that Bhartṛpaṭṭa was surrounded by both Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas in his court, i.e. he was honoured by both Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas. However, the term Brahmakṣatriya was certainly used to denote the priestly as well as the martial qualities of a king, as is evident from the inscription of the Sena king of Bengal. It is thus most unreasonable to base any definite opinion on such a vague term and we are not in a position to give any value to this term in determining the origin of the Guhilas. Hence Bhandarkar's view is far-fetched.

In his Rasika-priya, a commentary on Jayadeva's Gītagovinda, Mahārāṇā Kumbha refers to Bappa as a dvija, belonging to Baijavāpa gotra[2]. According to Professor Bhandarkar here the word dvija cannot mean other than a Brāhmaṇa and the gotra Baijavāpa was apparently a gotra of

---

1. IA, vol.40, p.37.
2. Canto I, v.5, p.2, ed.by M.R.Telang & cf.

Nāgara Brāhmaṇas. The word dvija has been also used for Bappa by the Brāhmaṇas of Mewar[1]. In the Ekaliṅga-māhātmya of the time of Rāṇā Kumbha, Kesava, the supposed ancestor of Guhila, is also called a dvija[2], and the same work again refers to Guhila as a Brāhmaṇa. The Chatsu inscription of Bāllāditya speaks of the Guhila Harṣarāja, a ancestor of Bāllāditya, as a dvija, and according to Bhandarkar in the inscriptions of this period (tenth century) this word simply denotes Brāhmaṇa and nothing else[3]. C.V.Vaidya[4], and following him Dr. Mathur[5], do not agree with Bhandarkar's conjecture and state that the word dvija cannot be taken to mean Brāhmaṇa, rather it means 'twice born' and applies to the three upper castes of Hind society. In this connection Vaidya also remarks that even if Bappa, the founder of the Guhila dynasty of Mewar[6], was a Brāhmaṇa, his descendants cannot be regarded as Brāhmaṇa

---

1. JASB, vol.5, p.173.
2. Ibid, p.171.
3. EI, vol.12, p.15, v.18, and pp.11-12.
4. HMHI, vol.2, p.335.
5. IHQ, vol.26, p.271.
6. Vaidya does not accept that the founder of the Guhila dynasty of Mewar was Guhila. According to him the actual founder of the family was Bappa and Guhila was his son. (vide, HMHI, vol.2, pp.79 and 336).

unless it is proved that Guhila, his son, was born from a Brāhmaṇa wife. According to him during the time of Bappa, a son born from a Brāhmaṇa father through a Kṣatriya mother was regarded as a Kṣatriya and his descendants were known as Kṣatriyas[1]. He quotes various conflicting and ambiguous authorities in this connection and himself accepts that according to Manu a son born to a Kṣatriya mother from a Brāhmaṇa father was treated as a Brāhmaṇa. Whatever might have been the fact, he has not quoted a single authority to suggest that the same rule was adopted in the case of the Guhilas. His main hypothesis that Guhila was a son of Bappa is based on the superficial old theory that the Guhilas emanated from Valabhī, which, as we have seen, cannot now convince any one. It is now an established fact that the Guhilas had no connection with the Valabhī princes and that Guhila, the founder of the family, was an ancestor of Bappa as will be shown later.

Coming to the question of the word dvija it is highly objectionable to base a view on the literal meaning of the word as given in the dictionary. The current or the prevalent meaning of a particular word in a

---

1. HMHI, vol.2, pp.194 and 336.

particular sense is the best way to decide such a question and we fully agree with Professor Bhandarkar that during the time under review the word dvija denoted only a Brāhmaṇa. Leaving aside the other examples from the vast field of the Sanskrit literature, let us see what the various inscription of the Guhilas convey as to the use of this term. The Samoli inscription of Śīlāditya dated A.D.646 (V.S.703), which is the earliest known record of the Guhilas, refers to Śīlādity as deva-dvija-gurū-janānandī Śrī-Śīlādityo narapatiḥ, the 'bestower of delight on Gods, Brāhmaṇa (dvija) and preceptors'[1]. Here the word dvija cannot denote the three upper castes, but only the Brāhmaṇas. Curiously enough Dr. Mathur himself translates this word as a Brāhmaṇa[2] but elsewhere, as we have seen, he denies it. He is obsessed by the theory of the Kṣatriya origin of the Guhilas and gives contradictory statements. In a copper plate grant of a Guhil chief named Bābhata, of a different branch, dated A.D.688 (Harṣa (?) year 83), the words dvijagaṇa and dvija-vasatiḥ apparently apply to Brāhmaṇas only[3]. The Ahar inscription of the Guhila Bhartṛpaṭṭa II dated A.D.944 (V.S.1000) also conveys the same idea in the word dvija-janasya[4]. The

---

1. EI, vol.20, p.99, lines 4-5.
2. IHQ, vol.26, p.274.
3. EI, vol.34, pt.4, p.174.
4. JIH, vol.35, p.358.

Sārṇeśvara temple inscription of the Guhila prince Allaṭa dated A.D.953 (V.S.1010) refers to one Vasantarāja, a member of the committee formed for the construction of that temple as a dvija[1], which here can only mean a Brāhmaṇa, because amongst various persons mentioned in this inscription only he is thus referred to. If we take the term to mean 'twice-born', then the all persons mentioned, including Allaṭa and his son Naravāhana, must have been Sūdras, which is virtuall impossible. There are various other inscriptions of the Guhilas, ranging from A.D.1285 (V.S.1342) to A.D.1489 (V.S. 1545), where the word dvija definitely can only mean a Brāhmaṇa[2]. Thus these scholars are wrong to say that the word dvija when applied for the Guhila princes cannot be definitely said to mean a Brāhmaṇa. As we have shown, from the seventh century onwards, this term was definitely used only for Brāhmaṇas. If anyone is still in doubt, this can b removed by reference to the Jodhpur inscription of the Pratihāra Bauka, dated A.D.837 (V.S. 894), where Haricandra, the ancestor of the Pratihāras, is referred to both as a vipra and dvija in the same verse[3]. However, as the

---

1. Bh.I, p.68, v.4.
2. Ibid, p.85, v.16; p.118, v.16; p.118, v.12; p.119, v.40. Two of these (p.118, vs.12 and 18) refer to Bappa as a dvija.
3. EI, vol.18, p.95, v.7.

inscriptions which record Bappa or others as a dvija, are late they do not deserve much credence without reinforcing evidence.

Professor Bhandarkar finds support for his view in the fact that the gotra of the Guhilas was Baijavāpa and the same gotra was acquired by the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of Ānandapura, which has been identified by him as Vadnagar in Gujarat. Hence from this point of view also the Guhilas were originally Nāgara Brāhmaṇas. He points out that Nāgara Brāhmaṇas were also styled Mitra, and Mitra is synonymous with Mihira that is Mer or Mehr, a well known foreign tribe still existing in Rajasthan and Kathiawar; hence he tentatively suggests that the Guhilas were also a foreign tribe. Thus he finds that the Guhilas were somehow or other connected with the Maitrakas of Valabhī[1].

Let us first decide the question whether the Ānandapura referred to in various Guhila records is actually the Ānandapura as identified by Professor Bhandarkar and accepted by Ojha[2]. The Atpur inscription of Śaktikumāra dated A.D.977 (V.S.1034) for the first time

---

1. JASB, vol.5, p.182 ff.
2. HR, vol.1, p.378.

records the name of Ānandapura and refers to Guhadatta as a delighter of a certain Brāhmaṇa family, which came from that city[1]. Here it should be carefully noted that Guhadatt himself is stated to have come from Ānandapura as can be gathered from the verse in question:

Ānaṁdapura-vinirgata-vipra-kul-ānaṁdano mahīdevaḥ.
Jayati Śrī-Guhadattaḥ prabhavaḥ Śrī Guhila-vaṁśasya.

Here a certain Brāhmaṇa family is stated to have come from Ānandapura and we see no reason to disagree with Bhandarkar who says that Guhadatta, being a Brāhmaṇa, belonged to the same Brāhmaṇa family of Ānandapura whom he is said to have delighted. In other words Guhadatta's ancestor emigrated from Ānandapura[2]. The identification of Ānandapura cannot be determined here through the help of this record, but, fortunately, the Chitor inscription of the time of Samarasiṁha, dated A.D.1274 (V.S.1331) conveys some idea of the identification of this place, from where Bappa is stated to have come and worshipped the feet of Hārītarāśi[3]. Verse 6 of this epigraph first gives the description of the beautiful country of Medapāṭa. Then verse 8 states that Nāgahrada is situated within the limits of Medapāṭa. Here

---

1. IA, vol.39, p.191, v.1.
2. Ibid, p.190.
3. Bh.I, p.75, v.9; also IA, vol.22, p.80 ff.

Nāgahrada is referred to as ilākhaṁḍa-avanī-bhūṣanaḥ. Verse 9 of this epigraph then gives the description of Ānandapura in the following words:

jīyād-Ānaṁdapurvaṁ-tad-iha-puram-ilākhaṁḍa-sauṁdaryaśobhi.

It should be noted that Nāgahrada and Ānandapura are both referred to as ornaments of ilākhaṁḍa. This implies that both these places were situated in the same territory. If any one still doubts, the word iha (here) must convince him that Ānandapura was located within Mewar and we fully agree with Vaidya in this identification[1]. Professor Bhandarkar quotes a few lines of the Ekaliṅga-māhātmya of the time of Rāṇā Kumbha, where Vijayāditya, Kesava, Nāgā Rāula, Bhojā Rāula and other fictitious Nāgara Brāhmaṇas are referred to as the ancestors of Guhadatta[2]. On the authority of the earlier epigraphic records it can be easily concluded that the persons referred to as the ancestors of Guhila are not historical. The lateness of this record finally renders it unconvincing. Hence we see no reason to agree with Bhandarkar's identification of Ānandapura, mentioned in the earlier Guhila records. In this connection it should be also noted that as late as the time of Tod, Āhār or

---

1. HMHI, vol.2, pp.85 and 337.
2. JASB, vol.5, p.171 ff.

Āghātapura was also known as Ānandapura[1]. Professor Bhandarkar's theory that the Guhilas were originally Brāhmaṇas of Ānandapura (Vaḍnagar in the old Baroda State) and that Ānandapura Brāhmaṇas were Nāgara Brāhmaṇas, and hence the Guhilas were also Nāgara Brāhmaṇas, does not stand close scrutiny. Thus the question of connecting these Guhilas with the Mers and other foreign tribes does not arise at all.

Coming to the question of the gotra of the Guhilas, the earlier Guhila records do not inform us about this. The earliest reference to the gotra of the Guhilas is given in the Pushkar memorial stone inscription, dated A.D. 1186 (V.S.1243), where Ṭhākura Kolhaṇa, a Guhila chief, is referred to as being of the Gautama gotra[2]. Another late inscription of a Guhila chief Vijayasiṁha, speaks of him as of the Viśvāmitra gotra[3]. In the Rasika-priya, a commentary on Jayadeva's Gītagovinda by Rāṇā Kumbha, Bappa is said to have been a member of the Baijabāpa gotra[4]. The local tradition also confirms this view[5]. All these indications

---

1. AR, vol.2, p.912.
2. ARRMA, 1919-20, p.3, No.5.
3. HR, vol.1, p.528, fns.2-3.
4. Cant.I, v.5, p.2.
5. JASB, vol.5, p.173.

show that various gotras were acquired by the Guhilas and i
is wrong to conclude that the Guhilas were Nāgara Brāhmaṇas
because the gotra of the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas was also Baijavāp
Though various views have been expressed on the question of
the gotras of the Kṣatriyas and others, the view of Ojha is
convincing that the Guhilas, consistently with other
Kṣatriyas, acquired their gotra from their priests[1] and tha
changing of gotras after the change of priests was the
common practice in those days. Vaidya's argument that the
gotra denotes the progenitor of the family is very weak and
unconvincing[2], as it goes even against the Saundaranandaṁ-
kāvya of Aśvaghoṣa[3], a work of first century A.D. and the
Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara[4], a commentary on Yājñavalkyasmṛt
a work of about the last quarter of eleventh or the first
quarter of the twelfth century. As we have seen above, some
earlier epigraphs refer to Guhila and Bappa as Brāhmaṇas,
and since they do not state their gotra, the question
remains doubtful as to its actual name. If we regard the
earlier Guhila princes as belonging to the priestly class,
the question of the changing of their gotra becomes

---

1. HR, vol.1, p.523 ff.
2. HMHI, vol.2, p.40 ff.
3. Cant.1, vs.18-22.
4. A Commentary on Yājñavalkyasmṛti, ed.by N. Shastri & cf.,
   pp.110-11, v.53, p.107.

irrelevant, as a Brāhmaṇa does not acquire the gotra of his Purohita.

Professor Bhandarkar finally maintains that the priestly origin of the Guhilas was not forgotten even as late as the seventeenth and nineteenth century, as is evident from the Khyāta of Naiṇsī and the Tawārīkh-i-Mālwā written by Qarim-ud-Dīn[1]. It is virtually needless to discuss this point as these records are very late and of less importance. The traditional story that the Guhilas were known as Brāhmaṇas owing to the fact that a Brāhmaṇa nurtured their ancestor, is also recorded by Abul Faẓl, who is certainly an older authority than Naiṇsī and Qarim-ud-Dīn[2].

Bhagwanlal Indraji maintains that the Guhilas might have had some blood relations with the Brāhmaṇ In this connection he states that the family name Guhila-putra seems to have been derived from Gobhila-putra, a well known name of a Brāhmaṇa gotra, and this view finds support in the Atpur inscription where Guhadatta is referred to as Brāhmaṇa[3]. A fragmentary inscription of the time of th Guhila Naravāhana dated A.D.971 (V.S.1028) refers to Bappa

---

1. JASB, vol.5, p.179.
2. Ā'īn-i-Akbarī, tr.by Jarrett, vol.2, p.269.
3. BG, vol.1, pt.1, p.98, fn.

as Guhila-gotra-narendra-candra[1]. The Bheraghat inscription of Alhanadevī dated A.D.1155 (Cedi year 907) refers to a Guhila prince named Haṁsapāla as belonging to the family of Gobhila-putra-gotra[2]. Do these epigraphs convey that the Guhilas originated from Brāhmaṇas of the Gobhila-gotra, as was suggested by Indraji, though on different grounds ? In our opinion this presumption is unwarrented and it seems that these epigraphs record such words only to mean the dynasty of Guhila or Guhadatta, because an earlier inscription of the time of Aparājita dated A.D.661 (V.S.718) refers to him as Rājā Śrī-Guhilānvaya[3]. Thus it is impossible to infer that the Guhilas descended from Brāhmaṇas of the Gobhila-gotra.

LUNAR ORIGIN OF THE GUHILAS

The Nārlāi inscription of the time of Rāṇā Rāyamalla dated A.D.1500 (V.S.1557) refers to Mokala as mṛgāṁka-vaṁśodyotakāraka[4], which means 'possessed of prowess which exalted the Lunar race, or extraction from the Lunar race'.

---

1. Bh.I, p.70, line 5; also JBBRAS, vol.22, p.166 ff.
2. EI, vol.2, pp.11-12.
3. Ibid, vol.4, p.31.
4. Bh.I, p.141, lines 32-33. But the date given here is wrong vide, NPP (NS), vol.1, p.268, fn.53.

But the same inscription also refers to the Guhilas as of the Solar race. Mṛgāṁka was also a biruda of Rāṇā Mokala[1]. The question may arise as to whether we can connect the Guhilas to the Lunar race of the Purāṇas, which, as we have shown, say that Kṣemaka of the Paurava family of the Lunar race was the progenitor of the Brahmakṣatras. The term Brahmakṣatra is also used for the Guhila Bhārtṛpaṭṭa, as we have seen above. Some late European travellers have concluded that the Rāṇās of Mewar are the descendants of Puru (Paurava)[2]. But on the above mentioned evidence it is really impossible to connect the Guhilas with the Lunar Kṣatriyas, because all these traditions are very late.

CONCLUSION

We have examined different views expressed by various scholars on the basis of the Guhila records. The theory of the Solar origin of the Guhilas is as late as the fifteenth century, and it is most unreasonable to base any opinion on the authority of such late records. The theory of the general Kṣatriya origin of the Guhilas is also very

---

1. EI, vol.21, p.284, v.216.
2. AR, vol.1, p.49 and fns.4 & 5.

late. But one fact must be noted in this connection, that the earlier Guhila princes are said to have taken their consorts from important ruling races who were ranked as Kṣatriyas. The Atpur inscription of Śaktikumāra dated A.D. 977 (V.S.1034) gives considerable information regarding the matrimonial relations of the Guhilas with other ruling dynasties. Bhartṛpaṭṭa II had a queen named Mahālakṣmī, who was born in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. Hariyadevī, who was a daughter of a Hūṇa prince, was a queen of Allaṭa. Naravāhana's consort was a daughter of the Cāhamāna Jejaya[1] Guhila II, the grandfather of Bālāditya of the Chatsu branch, took in marriage one Rajjhā, who was a daughter of the Paramāra Vallabharāja. Bālāditya's queen Raṭṭvā was a daughter of the Cāhamāna king Śivarāja[2]. Śyāmaladevī, the daughter of Udayāditya, the ruler of Mālava, was given in marriage to the Guhila prince Vijayasiṁha. The daughter of Vijayasiṁha named Alhaṇadevī was married with the Kalacuri Gayakarṇa[3]. All this evidence certainly shows that as early as the first half of the tenth century the Guhilas took their consorts only from the important races ranked as Kṣatriyas or Rajputs. One may argue that anuloma or

---

1. IA, vol.39, p.191, vs.4-5 and 7-8.
2. EI, vol.12, pp.16-17, vs.24 and 33-34.
3. Ibid, vol.2, p.12, vs.21-23.

pratiloma marriages were quite well known in society in those days and it would not have been surprising if the Guhilas, though ranked as Brāhmaṇas, took Kṣatriya women in marriage. But our Guhila records do not give a single instance of any early or later Guhila prince choosing a Brāhmaṇa lady for his wife, as the Pratihāra Haricandra did. Hence there should be no doubt that the Guhilas were ranked as Kṣatriyas, at least from the tenth century onwards. But various records, older as well as later distinctly convey the idea that the earlier Guhila princes were known as Brāhmaṇas. This tradition was not forgotten as late as A.D. 1285, when Bappa was known to have changed his priestly splendour for regal lustre. Hence the Guhila records, like those of the Pratihāras, Sātavāhanas, Kādambas, Cāhamānas and other important clans, undoubtedly convey the idea that they originally belonged to the priestly class. It seems that when they acquired power as a ruling class they gave up their priestly occupation and after some generations they became famous as Kṣatriyas, to whom was generally assigned the task of ruling.

---

1. EI, vol.18, p.95, v.7.

CHAPTER III

THE RISE OF THE GUHILAS

GUHILA OR GUHADATTA: The dynasty of the Guhilas had their seat of power at Medapāṭa or Mewar. We have shown in the preceding pages that the founder of this dynasty is referred to variously as Goha, Guhadatta, Guhaditya or Guhila, after whom this dynasty was called Guhilot or Gehlot. The word Guhilot or Gehlot, perhaps a corruption of the Sanskrit word Guhila-putra, obviously means the son of Guhila. In some of the late Guhila inscriptions Bappa is referred to as the founder of the Guhila dynasty and Guhila is said to be a descendant of Bappa[1]. But this is evidently wrong, as the earlier inscription of Aparājita dated A.D.661 (V.S.718)[2] and the Atpur inscription of Śaktikumāra dated A.D.977 (V.S.1034)[3] distinctly suggest that Guhila was the founder of this dynasty. Even the stone inscription of king Naravāhana dated A.D.971 (V.S.1028)[4], which for the first time records the name of Bappa, refers to him as Guhila-gotra-narendra-cam̐dra. Hence there remains no doubt that th

---

1. IA, vol.22, p.80 ff; also Bh.I, pp.84 and 114.
2. EI, vol.4, p.31.
3. IA, vol.39, p.191.
4. Bh.I, p.70; also JBBRAS, vol.22, p.166 ff.

actual founder of the Guhila dynasty of Mewar was Guhila and not Bappa. But M.V.Pandia[1] and C.V.Vaidya[2], the supporters of the Valabhi theory, have questioned this view. C.V.Vaidya does not accept that Guhila was the actual founder of the dynasty. According to him Bappa was the father of Guhila and the dynastic name was derived from the Valabhi prince named Gūhāditya[3]. Even more unacceptable than this is his hypothesis that Guhadatta of the Atpur inscription is no other than Bappa, and Guhila and Guhadatta are not the same person[4]. The differentiation between Guhila and Guhadatta is also supported by Mr. Samar on an unsound basis[5]. These conjectures are mainly based on the traditional history concocted by bards, and we will discuss them in the context of Bappa.

No inscription of Guhila has yet been found, nor have we any other record to determine his dates. However, more than two thousand small silver coins were dug up at Agra in A.D.1869, bearing inscriptions said to be Guhila Śrī or Śrī Guhila, in the writing of "an ancient western form of the Sanskrit character". Carlleyle assigns

---

1. JASB, vol.8, p.76 ff.
2. HMHI, vol.2, pp.72 ff and 337 ff.
3. Ibid, p.88.
4. Ibid, p.85.
5. JNSI, vol.20, pt.1, p.29.

these coins to Guhila, the founder of the Guhila dynasty, who, according to him, was once ruling over Agra[1]. G.H.Ojha too is inclined to believe that these coins were possibly issued by Guhila and that his territory extended from the upper valley of the Sabarmati to the neighbourhood of Agra[2]. Another coin bearing the legend Śrī Guhilapati was discovered in Narwar[3], and according to Ojha[4] that too might have been issued by a prince of the Guhila dynasty. But Cunningham suspected that the coin in question was issued by a prince of the family of the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa[5]. After examining the facsimile of the coin of Cunningham we believe that it is impossible to read the inscription of the coin as Śrī Guhilapati. The beginning of the inscription Śrī is correctly read by Cunningham, but the next word cannot be read as Guhila. Cunningham himself is very doubtful about this reading[6]. Hence Carlleyle[7] and Ojha are wrong to assign this coin to Guhila or to any descendant of Guhila.

---

1. ASIR, vol.4, p.95.
2. HR, vol.1, p.400 ff.
3. JASB, 1865, p.122 ff.
4. HR, vol.1, p.400, fn.1.
5. JASB, 1865, p.122 ff.
6. Ibid, p.125, fig.19.
7. ASIR, vol.4, p.95 ff.

Unfortunately no examples of these coins are to be found in any of the standard catalogues. It may be that they disappeared when Cunningham's personal collection was lost at sea[1]. But it is surprising that none of the more than 2000 coins discovered at Agra has found its way into a museum collection.

According to Professor H.C.Ray, it is more than likely that the silver coins referred to by Carlleyle were issued by Guhila II, the successor of Harṣarāja of the Chatsu branch of the Guhilas[2]. Professor Ray does not believe in the sweeping conclusion of Ojha that after the fall of the Hūṇa Mihirakula, Rajasthan and its neighbouring countries came under the sway of Guhila[3].

The question of the identity of this Guhila Śrī or Śrī Guhila of the Agra coins is a difficult and tedious one. There are at least three persons named Guhila in the history of the Guhila dynasty. Two of them belong to the Chatsu branch and one is referred to as the founder of the ancient dynasty of the Guhilas. As stated above we have not a single epigraphic record of the first prince, nor do we certainly know from other sources whether

---

1. Dictionary of National Biography, Suppl., vol.2, p.96.
2. DHNI, vol.2, p.1199.
3. HR, vol.1, p.401.

he was ruling over Agra. The fact that some silver coins bearing his name were found at Agra is not sufficient to establish that he was ruling over that city, especially when we do not know with certainty that the coins were issued by him. Thus it would be quite unjustified, without any stronger evidence, to conclude that in the sixth century A.D. Guhila was ruling over such a vast area of land, from the former state of Idar and South-West Mewar to Agra. It is most probable, as Professor Ray suggests, that the coins in question were issued by Guhila II, the son and successor of Harṣarāja, a Guhila prince of the Chatsu branch, in the ninth century A.D. According to the Chatsu inscription Guhila II vanquished the overlord of Gauḍa (Gauḍādhināṭha) and levied tribute upon the princes of the east[1]. The importance and power of Guhila II, praised in the Chatsu inscription, may suggest that the Agra coins were issued by him. In support we can further say that Chatsu, once the seat of power of the Guhilas of this branch, is not far from Agra, where the coins were dug up. The arguments advanced by Carlleyle and Ojha can easily be refuted on the ground that these coins were possibly

---

1. EI, vol.12, p.15, v.23.

carried by some businessman or other person to Agra, where Guhila had no control. The findspot of coins does not necessarily prove that the issuing authority was once ruling over that part. Instances are not wanting of coins of a given king being dug up at a place where he never reigned. If these coins had been discovered in various places in and around Agra there would have been some reason to believe that they were common currency in the district, but as they were found in a hoard it is impossible to derive any valid inference to this effect. Ojha, on the contrary, is of the opinion that this is very strong evidence in support of his conjecture[1]. However, Dr. P.L.Gupta suggests that the reading of the coin is very doubtful[2].

All controversies regarding these coins have been finally settled by the recent discovery of some coins, which have been attributed to Guhila or Guhadatta, the founder of the Guhila dynasty of Mewar. These coins have been discovered from the various government treasuries of Mewar and are of Indo-Sassanian type. The following nine coins have been attributed to Guhila[3].

---

1. HR, vol.1, p.401.
2. In a personal communication (3 September, 1963).
3. JNSI, vol.20, pt.1, p.28 and pl.II, figs.1-9; see our pl.I figs.1-9.

1. This coin is of copper and on the obverse a portion of the bust of the king as well as some faint traces of a Sassanian fire altar are visible. The coin bears the legend Guha in late Gupta script. The palaeography and legend suggest that it was issued by Guhila.
2. Though the legend Guha is indistinct on this copper coin, the bust of the king with a part of the crown on his head is distinctly visible. The traces of the Sassanian fire altar can be seen on the reverse of the coin.
3. This is a silver-plated copper coin similar to that of No. 2, with the legend Guha. But the reverse is blurred.
4. Silver-plated copper bearing the legend Guha, though the reverse is again blurred.
5. From the photograph this silver-plated copper coin appears to be totally worn out and no legend is visible. But according to Mr. Samar the letter ha is clear and in front of the king's face something like the Sun's rays is visible. This, he suggests, may be a symbol of the Solar origin of the Guhilas. But the photograph of the coin does not convey any such idea.
6. This is also a silver-plated copper coin bearing the legen Guha but it is different from the other coins. The reverse

side is blurred.

7. On this silver-plated copper coin the bust of the king is more visible and bears the legend Guha in angular form. But the reverse is again blurred.

8. The legend Guha is clear on this coin. The metal is again silver-plated copper and the reverse is blurred.

9. The bust of the king is crude on this coin, bearing the legend Guha. The reverse is again blurred.

All these coins are completely different from the numerous silver coins referred to by Carlleyle and this suggests that Carlleyle's coins cannot be attributed to this Guhila, the founder of the Guhila dynasty. These coins, showing a crown on the head of the king, also suggest that Guhila was an independent king ruling over a portion of Mewar.

WAS GOHA OF TRADITION A HISTORICAL FIGURE OR A LEGENDARY EPONYMOUS ANCESTOR ?

The early history of Guhila is shrouded in mystery and this leads us to question his identity and historicity. We are completely ignorant as to the name of his father and the

circumstances in which he came to power. There is no dispute at all that he was a ruling prince, as is evident from his various coins and other Guhila records. A tradition is recorded by Tod[1] that the founder of the famil was born in a cave (guha) and hence came to be known as Goha, after whom the family name was derived variously as Gehlot, Guhilot or Grahilot. This story seems to be a mythical one and throws no light on the historical Guhila. We have a number of examples to show how mythical accounts could be made up regarding the origin of a clan or the first ancestor of a dynasty. The traditional origin of the Mauryas[2] and Licchavis[3] in ancient Indian history are

---

1. AR, vol.1, p.258 ff.
2. Pariśiṣṭaparvan or Sthavirāvalīcarita of Hemacandra, cant.VIII, vs.227-240, pp.215-16. Here it is said about the ancestry of Candragupta Maurya that he was a son of a daughter of the chief of a village of peacock tamers. Buddhist tradition also connects him with peacocks, vide Malalasekera's Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, vol.2, p.673.
3. The first Licchavi was born without skin (nicchavi) and hence anything put into his stomach looked as of it were put into a vessel of precious transparent stone. The nex story is that the thing in the stomach and the skin were attached to each other (līnāchavi). Owing to nicchavi (no skin) or līnā-chavi (attached skin or same skin) he

(continued on the next

striking examples of such mythical accounts. Both of these accounts are typical examples of the invention of stories of eponymous ancestors on the basis of fanciful etymologies of the clan name. We have a number of other mythical tales regarding the origin of many important dynasties and their eponymous ancestors. For instance according to Ratnapāla's plates Cāhamāna, the eponymous ancestor of the Cāhamānas, was born the eye of the lord of the eastern quarter (Sūrya)[1]. Like the Cāhamānas, the families of the Hoysalas[2], Pallavas[3],

---

continued from the back page) became famous as Licchavi and after him the family came to be known as the Licchavis. (vide, Buddhaghosa's Paramatthajotikā on the Khuddakapātha, ed.by H.Smith, vol.1, pp.158-60). The same stories with certain variations are also known in other Buddhist works, see Kṣatriya Clans in Buddhist India, by B.C.Law, pp.17-22.

1. EI, vol.11, p.308 ff. A more common legend tells that from the fire-pit dug up by Vaśiṣṭha on Mount Ābū, there issued forth four-armed figure (caturāṅga), who was named by the sages Cāhamāṇa. Vide, Pṛthvīrāja-Rāso, ed.by Pandia & Cϕ., pt.1, pp.45-51; also AR, vol.1, p.112 ff and vol.3, p.1441 ff; ECD, pp.3-4.

2. The story is variously told about the eponymous Sala (Poysala), see Dyn. of the Kanarese Dist., by Fleet, p.490 f

3. The eponymous ancestor was Pallava (lying on a couch covered with a heap of sprouts (pallava); see ibid, p.317; also HMHI, vol.1, p.285.

Caulukyas[1], Candellas[2], Haihayas[3], Paramāras[4] and the Kadambas[5] claimed eponymous ancestors who were in most cases not historical figures, but only legendary heroes.

Thus we must entertain a very grave suspicion regarding the historicity of Goha or Guha of tradition. The earliest inscription of the main branch, which records the dynastic name, gives only the name of the family as Guhila[6]. We have for the first time a clear indication of Guhila as a historical figure in a grant of th early Guhilas of Kiṣkindha dated A.D.653 (Harṣa (?) year 48)

---

1. The eponymous founder of the family was named Culukya, because he was born in the culuka (cupped hand) of the Creator; see EI, vol.1, p.294. For various tales see Majumdar's Chaulukyas of Gujarat, p.6 ff.
2. History of the Candellas of Jejak., by N.S.Bose, p.1 ff ; also DHNI, vol.2, p.665 ff.
3. DHNI, vol.2, p.738.
4. Ibid, p.843 ff.
5. Kadamba the eponymous hero is said to sprung into being under a Kadamba tree from a drop of sweat that fell on the ground from the forehead of Śiva. For various stories see Sircar's The Successors of the Sātvāhanas, p.225 ff.
6. EI, vol.4, p.31.
7. Ibid, vol.34, pt.4, p.172, line 2.

and in the Bheraghat inscription dated A.D.1155 (Cedi year 907)[1], where we find the words Guhila-puttra and Gobhila-putra respectively. We therefore suspect that the tradition behind the name Goha or Guha has no historical value and believe that he was a legendary figure, the mythical eponymous ancestor of the Guhilas, invented in accordance with the widespread custom among Indian dynasties of the times.

THE DATE OF GUHILA: The actual date of Guhila is not known to us from any available source. The earliest known date is of Śīlāditya, the fifth prince of this line, who was ruling in A.D.646 (V.S.703) as is evident from his Samoli inscription[2]. If we assign 20 years for each reign, the date of Guhila would result as A.D.566. It is evident that Śīlāditya's date A.D.646 is not the date of his accession, but he was ruling in that year, hence we may place Guhila's accession some years earlier than A.D.566. Thus we may tentatively suggest that Guhila ascended the throne some time about the middle of the sixth century.

---

1. EI, vol.2, p.11 ff.
2. Ibid, vol.20, p.99.

BHOJA

According to the Atpur[1], Chitor[2], Abu[3], Rāṇapura[4] and Kumbhalgarh[5] inscriptions dated A.D.977, 1274, 1285, 1440 and 1460 respectively (V.S.1034, 1331, 1342, 1496 and 1517) Guhila was succeeded by Bhoja. No inscription of Bhoja has yet been discovered. In the local tradition Bhoja is referred to as Bhojāditya or Bhogāditya[6]. He perhaps issued some coins. A copper coin, which is crudely executed, is believed to have been issued him[7]. The bust of the king is indicated by dots, whereas his hair flows down the neck. The word Bho, which is said to be the abbreviation of Bhoja, is engraved before the bust of the king. The reverse of the coin is totally blurred. On another copper coin, the bust of the king is clearly distinct. The legend Śrī Bho is engraved before the bust of the king, and is said to be the abbreviation of Śrī Bhoja. The reverse of the coin is blurred[8]. Though, as stated above, the findspot of these

---

1. IA, vol.39, p.191.
2. Bh.I, p.75; also IA, vol.22, p.80 ff.
3. Bh.I, p.85 ff; also IA, vol.16, p.345 ff.
4. Bh.I, p.114 ff.
5. EI, vol.24, p.314 ff.
6. Naiṇsī's Khyata, text, vol.1, pp.22 and 30; HR, vol.1,p.30
7. JNSI, vol.20, pt.1, p.29; see our plate II, fig.10.
8. Ibid, p.30; see our plate II, fig.11.

coins is not known, it is evident that they have been discovered from the various government treasuries of Mewar. The legend of the coins is not clear and precise. But as his ancestor Guhila issued some coins and these two coins have some similarity to them, we may attribute them to the Guhila Bhoja. Our Bhoja's coins cannot be confused with the coins of the Pratihāra Bhoja of Kanauj[1] because the latter's coins are completely different from those in question and on palaeographic grounds it is impossible to assign them to the Paramāra Bhoja of Mālava.

Carlleyle, in his report on Agra[2], mentions an ancient garden and palace, which, according to the local tradition, was built by Rājā Bhoja of Mālava. This, according to Carlleyle, is still called the garden and palace of Rājā Bhoja, and was in existence before the Muhammadan conquest of this part of the country. Carlleyle is inclined to suggest that the Rājā Bhoja in question may have been the Guhila prince Bhoja, the successor of Guhila. But we have not a single literary, epigraphic or other piece of evidence to show that either the Paramāra Bhoja of Mālava or the Guhila prince Bhoja ever ruled at Agra[3]. The Pratihāra

---

1.HK, p.247 ff.
2.ASIR, vol.4 (1871-72), pp.96-97.
3.For the Paramāras see Ganguly's HPD and Ray's DHNI, vol.2.

Bhoja I was apparently ruling at Agra in the ninth century and if there is any truth in this tradition the palace and garden might have been built by him. Moreover in ascribing this palace to the pre Muslim period Carlleyle relied entirely on local tradition. It has not been noticed by any later scholar to the best of our knowledge, and is not illustrated by Carlleyle. We have little doubt that it is a much later construction. Unfortunately we do not have any other knowledge of the reign of the Guhila prince Bhoja.

MAHENDRA I AND NĀGA

Bhoja was succeeded by Mahendra I, whose history is totally in the dark. We do not know of any epigraphic or literary record of his reign. The same is the case with Nāga, who succeeded Mahendra I, and who has been recorded as Nāgāditya in the local tradition[1]. According to this local tradition Nāgdā (Nāgahrada or Nāgadraha) was founded by this prince and the name of this town was derived from him[2]. But Ojha seems to be right in saying[3] that the Nāgas

---

1. HR, vol.1, p.302.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

evidently ruled in Rajasthan and Mathura in the third and fourth centuries A.D.[1] and this ancient place may have been named after them. The Kumbhalgarh inscription perhaps alludes to the same story that Nāganagara was built by Takṣaka, the king of the serpents[2].

No definite date of the reign of these princes is known to us. The date of Śīlāditya, the fifth prince of this line, is A.D.646 (V.S.703)[3]. If we assign the average reign of 20 years to each prince, the probable dates of Bhoja, Mahendra I and Nāga would be A.D.586, 606 and 626 respectively.

ŚĪLA OR ŚĪLĀDITYA

In the Atpur inscription dated A.D.977 (V.S.1034)[4] Śīla or Śīlāditya is placed as the fifth amongst the prince of the Guhila dynasty, whereas the Chitor[5], the Abu[6], and

---

1.Raychaudhuri's PHI, 1932, p.328.
2.EI, vol.24, p.318, v.31.
3.Ibid, vol.20, p.99.
4.IA, vol.39, p.191
5.Ibid, vol.22, p.80, v.18; also Bh.I, p.75.
6.Bh.I, p.85, v.14; also IA, vol.16, p.345 ff.

the Rāṇapura[1] inscriptions dated A.D.1274, 1285 and 1440 (V.S.1331, 1342 and 1496) respectively place this prince as the fourth, and Bappa is referred to as the founder of this dynasty. In the Kumbhalgarh inscription[2] dated A.D. 1460 (V.S.1517) the name of Śīlāditya is not mentioned at all, and in place of Śīlāditya Bappa occupies the fifth position from Guhila. In the chronicle of Naiṇsī and in other local traditions, he has vanished from the genealogical account of the Guhila princes. Relying on the Kumbhalgarh inscription and other bardic traditions, Tod accepted that Bappa was the title of Śīlāditya, whose date of accession, according to him, was A.D.728 (V.S.784)[3]. Tod cannot be blamed for this error, because the Samoli inscription of Śīlāditya was not discovered during his time.

Śīlāditya succeeded Nāga or Nāgāditya towards the end of the second quarter of the seventh century A.D. In his inscription dated A.D.646 (V.S.703)[4], which is the earliest known record of the Guhila family of Mewar, discovered from the village of Samoli in the Bhomat district of Mewar, Śīlāditya is referred to as the 'moon in his family'. This inscription certainly establishes that

---

1.Bh.I, p.114.
2.EI, vol.24, p.314 ff, v.139.
3.AR, vol.1, p.261, fn.1 and p.268 ff.
4.EI, vol.20, p.99.

Guhila could not have been descended from the last Śīlāditya of Valabhi[1], as Tod believes[2]. We have epigraphic evidence dated A.D.766-67 (G.S.447) to show that Śīlāditya VII, the last prince of Valabhi, was ruling at least up to this date[3], whereas our Śīlāditya was ruling in A.D.646, more than a century earlier than Śīlāditya VII of Valabhi. Thus Guhila, the founder of the dynasty, had no connection with the Valabhi princes.

---

1. The last Śīlāditya is numbered VII by Dr. Fleet (CII, vol 3, p.171 ff), whereas some scholars, such as R.R.Halder (EI, vol.20, p.98; see also Fn.9), number this last Śīlāditya as VI. The actual controversy regarding this number arises owing to the fact that Fleet's Śīlāditya II did not reign at Valabhi (IA, vol.5, p.208; see also Duff's Chronology, p.308), therefore some scholars do not place him in the list. But in our opinion it would be unjustified to discard him from the list, whether he reigned at Valabhi or not. It is an established fact that after Kharagraha or Dharmāditya II Śīlāditya III, the son of Śīlāditya II, who was the elder brother of Kharagraha II, ascended the throne (CII, vol.3, introd. p.41). Professor Kielhorn, following Dr. Fleet, places the last Śīlāditya as number VII (EI, vol.5, Append.A, p.68, fn.5). Thus this is a matter of opinion only.

2. AR, vol.1, p.253 ff.

3. The Alina copper plate, CII, vol.3, p.171 ff.

The Samoli inscription of Śīlāditya does not mention the name of his family, but simply says that he is the moon of his dynasty: Śrī Śīlāditye narapatiḥ svakulāmbara-candramāḥ. This ambiguous term svakulāmbara led Professor D.C. Sircar to suggest that Śīlāditya of the Samoli inscription may be Harṣa, the paramount ruler of Kanauj. According to him the paternal kingdom of Harṣa, whose other name or title was Śīlāditya, was to the extent of Eastern Panjab and the contiguous areas of Rajasthan[1]. Professor Mirashi, on the other hand, is of the opinion that Harṣa's suzerainty or political influence could never have spread over Rajasthan[2]. Whatever might have been the extent of Harṣa's empire, we have not a single piece of literary, epigraphic or other evidence to show that the old Udaipur state, where our inscription was discovered, was part of it. Hiuen-Tsang informs us that Valabhi was in the occupation of the son-in-law of Harṣa[3], but it is apparent that Samoli or Udaipur is far from Valabhi. Secondly, as far as our knowledge goes, we do not have a single inscription where Harṣa's title is given as Śīlāditya, nor does the poet-laureate Bāṇa know about this title of Harṣa.

---

1. EI, vol.30, p.5 ff and p.7, fn.5; also vol.34, p.170 ff.
2. Ibid, vol.30, p.2 ff.
3. Watters, vol.2, p.246 ff.

Even Harṣa's own charters are unaware of this title[1]. Though Hiuen-Tsang attributes this title to Harṣa[2] and relying on this, R. Burn assigned some silver coins inscribed usually Śrī-Śaladata to Harṣa[3], we have no clear indication that the inscription under review is of Harṣa. On the other hand we may note that this epigraph does not contain any paramount epithet such as those which the inscriptions known to be of Harṣa of Kanauj contain.

There is no doubt that the Guhila kings of Mewar were ruling at least in the old Udaipur state of Rajasthan, where this inscription was discovered . This fact is also proved by an inscription of the Guhila prince Aparājita, dated A.D.661 (V.S.718)[4], which was discovered in the same region where the inscription of Śīlāditya was found. The dates of both these inscriptions are also very close, with only a difference of 15 years. Both inscriptions are engraved in virtually the same alphabet of the northern class. Lastly, in the Atpur inscription, which is the earliest record containing a full genealogical account from Guhila to Śaktikumāra, Aparājita is referred to as a direct

---

1. JRAS, 1909, pt.1, p.447 ff.
2. Watters, vol.1, p.343 ff.
3. JRAS, 1906, pt.2, p.843 ff.
4. EI, vol.4, p.29 ff.

descendant of Śīlāditya[1]. Thus we can safely conclude that the Samoli inscription should be attributed to Śīlāditya, the fifth prince of the Guhilas of Mewar.

Unfortunately the present epigraph does not contain any historical fact about Śīlāditya, except his date. In this inscription, as is usually done in others, Śīlāditya is referred to as the conqueror of his enemies and the rejoicer of Brāhmaṇas and others. In the Chitor inscription dated A.D.1274 (V.S.1331)[2], his acts of valour are referred to in three verses. During his reign the condition of trade and commerce was at its zenith. As appears from his inscription, the guilds and other mercantile and craft organizations were functioning well, and the businessmen occupied an important position in society. Jentaka, who was the head of the mahājana community and came from Vaṭanagara (the present Basantpur or Basantgarh), started a mine, which became a source of livelihood for the people of that country. According to Ojha the word āgara of this epigraph comes to mean in Rajasthanī a mine of salt[3]. But we have no positive evidence that the same meaning was also current during the period of

---

1. IA, vol.39, p.191.
2. Bh.I, p.75, vs.18-20; see also IA, vol.22, p.80 ff.
3. HR, vol.1, p.403, fn.2.

this epigraph. Though in later periods salt working at Sambhar, Didwana, Nuh etc. are known to us[1], we are not in a position to say that during the seventh century salt was manufactured at Samoli. The word āgara is a corruption of ākara, which certainly means a mine, and it seems that some sort of mining industry was started by Jentaka in Āraṇyakūpagiri[2].

Śīlāditya perhaps issued some coins. A copper coin, which was in possession of the late Pandit Shobhalal Shastri of Udaipur, had been observed by Ojha[3]. According to Ojha the legend of the coin on one side is indistinct and on the other side the inscription Śīla is fully preserved. But neither has this coin ever been published nor is it traceable now. In Mr. Samar's collection there is also a copper coin of Śīlāditya bearing the legend Śīla, which is inscribed in front of the bust of the king[4]. The king is wearing a crown which can be partly seen on the facsimile of the coin. On the reverse the Sassanian motif of the fire altar is visible. The legend of the coin seems to be in the alphabet

---

1. Census of India, vol.22, pt.1, p.4, 1911; see also MGSI, vol.35, pt.1, p.41 ff; ibid, vol.45, pt.1, p.128; vol.65, pt.2, p.107 ff.
2. We have referred to the publications of the Geol.Survey of India and other sources, but can find no record of any mineral ores of commercial importance or of mining

(continued on the next page)

of the sixth or seventh century A.D. and suits the date of Śīlāditya. Though we do not know the exact findspot of the coin, it may be presumed that it was in use at Udaipur or in the neighbouring areas, because Mr. Samar has discovered this coin with others in the district treasuries of Mewar. If this coin was issued by the Guhila prince Śīlāditya, we may safely conclude that he was an independent ruler and Harṣa, who was a contemporary of this prince, had no control over the territories occupied by the Guhilas of Mewar. This presumption is supported by the fact that not only Śīlāditya, but also other rulers of his dynasty issued coins[1].

(continued from the back page) operations in this district in recent times.

3. HR, vol.1, p.403, fn.5.

4. JNSI, vol.20, pt.1, p.30; see our pl.II, fig.12.

1. JNSI, vol.20, pt.1, p.26 ff.

APARĀJITA AND MAHENDRA II

After Śīlāditya, Aparājita ascended the throne. The Nagda or Udaipur stone inscription of Aparājita, dated A.D. 661 (V.S.718), tells clearly that Aparājita belongs to the glorious Guhila family[1]. He is said to be the conqueror of his enemies, a very common phrase used for the king in most of the inscriptions. Aparājita chose Mahārāja Varāhasiṁha, the son of Śiva, for his chief leader (of troops). The purpose of this inscription was probably to record the erection of a temple by Yaśomatī, the wife of Varāhasiṁha. Nothing of historical or political importance of the reign of Aparājita is known from this inscription except his date. One interesting point is to be noted, that Aparājita in this inscription is called Rājā, whereas Varāhasiṁha is mentioned as Mahārāja. The epithet Mahārāja attributed to Varāhasiṁha seems to be superfluous, because his overlord Aparājita is simply called here Rājā.

Aparājita was succeeded by Mahendra II of whose reign nothing is known. According to the tradition recorded by Tod, while Bappa was three years old his father

---

1. EI, vol.4, p.31.

Nāgāditya, the eighth prince, was killed in a rising of the Bhils[1]. This eighth prince Nāgāditya has been wrongly recorded. According to the correct genealogy given in the Atpur inscription Mahendra II should have been the seventh prince, not the eighth and if there is any truth in this tradition, Mahendra II may have been killed by the Bhils. Though we are unaware of the exact date of his accession, we may assume that he ascended the throne some time after A.D.661 (V.S.718), the date of Aparājita.

BAPPA OR KĀLABHOJA

There are various controversies regarding the name of Bappa and his date of accession and retirement from the throne. The earliest epigraphic record which mentions the name of Bappa in the Guhila dynasty, is the Ekalinga inscription of king Naravāhana, dated A.D.971 (V.S.1028), where Bappa is referred to as Guhila-gotra-narendra-caṁdraḥ Śrī-Bappakaḥ, 'the moon amongst the kings of the Guhila-gotra (family)[2].

1.AR, vol.1, pp.260-66.
2.Bh.I, p.70, v.5; also JBBRAS, vol.22, p.166.

The name of Bappa is mentioned in the various inscriptions in different forms, such as Vappaka[1], Bappaka[2], Bappa[3], Bāṣpa[4], Bappāka[5], Bāppa[6], Bāpā[7] etc. The word bappa in Prakrit means 'father'[8]. Another Prakrit word for this is bāpa, and bappa as well as vappa also mean 'warrior'[9]. The connection of bappa and the common word bāp, 'father' is apparent. In Sanskrit the word vāpa or vapa means sower of seeds, i.e. father[10]. In other languages this word in various forms certainly means father[11]. The word bappa in various forms is also applied to an old man as well as to a child or son in Rajasthan, Gujarat and other parts of India[12]

---

1. JBBRAS, vol.22, p.166.
2. VOJ, vol.21, p.155, v.3; also EI, vol.22, p.288.
3. IA, vol.16, p.347, v.10; also Bh.I, p.85, vs.10-11.
4. Bh.I, p.118, v.17.
5. Ibid, p.141.
6. NPP(NS), vol.1, p.249, fn.14.
7. Bh.I, p.123.
8. Turner's Nepali Dict., 1931, p.434, in context of bāp.
9. Pāia-sadda-Mahaṇṇavo, Pk.Hindi Dict., by H.Das Tikam Chand, V.S.1984, pp.778 and 926.
10. Apte's Stud.Sans.Eng.Dict., 1959; also Fleet's CII, vol.3, p.304.
11. Turner's Nepali Dict., 1931, p.434; also Ardha-Magadhi Dict., by Ratnachandraji, vol.3, p.668.
12. HR, vol.1, p.405, fn.4.

According to Bhandarkar[1], who accepts the view of Bhagwanlal Indraji[2], Bappa in this context means the same as bāpa or bāvā, which are terms of respect used for ascetics. Tod is of opinion that Bappa here means a child, whereas Crooke emphasizes that Bappa is the old Prakrit form of bāp, 'father'[3]. After examining various epigraphic records, Fleet came to the conclusion that the term generally means father[4]. Thus there are differences of opinion regarding the meaning or application of the term Bappa, which appears in many forms, and which scholars have interpreted in various ways. In modern times most Indians use bāpa, bāpū, bābū or bāpā in the sense of father, as well as in addressing respectable older persons, whereas bāpū and bābū are also used for child or son.

Let us now examine the contemporary records to show what bappa was actually meant ? Though scholars are not unanimous about the exact date of Bappa, it is an undisputed fact that he was living during the second quarter of the eighth century A.D. We have epigraphic evidence to show that during the period under review this term was used

---

1. IA, vol.39, p.190.
2. BG, vol.1, pt.1, p.84.
3. AR, vol.1, p.261 and fn.1.
4. IA, vol.15, p.272 ff; also CII, vol.3, p.186, fn.1.

in the sense of father and was a term of high respect.

In the various Valabhi grants of Śīlāditya IV, V, VI and VII, fathers are honoured by the title of bappa, as is evident from the following lines:

Paramabhaṭṭāraka- mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-bappa-pādānudhyātaḥ-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvaraḥ Śrī-Śīlādityaḥ[1].

We know that each of these Śīlādityas came in direct succession after his father, hence the term bappa seems to mean simply 'father'. In the inscription of Śivadeva, the king of Nepal, dated A.D.635 (G.S.316 or 318), the term bappa comes in a context which certainly shows that the word simply signifies father[2]. The same term certainly means father in various other inscriptions of Nepal[3]. Even in the Hirahadgalli grants of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman, the earliest known Pallava king is called

---

1. IA, vol.7, p.84 ff; CII, vol.3, No.39, p.178; for further details on this term see IA, vol.15, p.272 ff.
2. IA, vol.14, p.98, lines 1-2: svasti-māna-grahādaparimita-guṇa-samudayodbhāsita-diśo-bappa-pādānudhyāto-Licchavi-kula-ketur-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja-Śrī-Śivadevaḥ kuślī.
3. IA, vol.9, pp.169; 170, No.7; 171, No.9; 173, No.10; 174, No.12; 176, No.13; 167, No.3 etc.

Bappadeva by his son[1]. Other pallava grants also suggest the same view[2]. Hence we fully agree with Fleet that in various contexts the term bappa is applied to the father and predecessor of the king.

The earliest full genealogical list of the Guhilas is contained in the Atpur inscription of Śaktikumāra, dated A.D.977 (V.S.1034)[3]. But the name of Bappa does not occur in this epigraph and this causes confusion in determining the identification of Bappa. The absence of this name is really very significant. This does not necessarily imply that Bappa was not known to the scribe of the epigraph, because in an epigraphic record of king Naravāhana, dated 6 years earlier in A.D.971 (V.S.1028)[4], Bappa is referred to as the ancestor of the family and as the moon among the kings of the Guhila dynasty. As shown above, Bappa is not strictly a proper name but an epithet, and it appears that the scribe of the Atpur inscription recorded the actual or official name of Bappa in place of the nickname by which he was known to his successors. But it should be noted that the epithet Bappa is absent from

---

1. EI, vol.1, p.2 ff.
2. IA, vol.5, pp.51, 155 and 176; vol.8, p.168.
3. IA, vol.39, p.191.
4. Bh.I, p.70; see also JBBRAS, vol.22, p.166.

the Atpur inscription alone. The other inscriptions, which also record the genealogy, frequently mention his name[1]. Thus the obvious inference is that the scribe of the Atpur inscription preferred to record the actual name of Bappa in place of his nickname, thinking this better and more dignified.

Now the question of the identification of Bappa amongst the princes referred to in the genealogical record of the Atpur inscription remains to be decided. We have not a single contemporary record which can throw light on the date of Bappa or his position amongst the Guhila princes of Mewar. Some late inscriptions of the thirteenth century and onwards place Bappa even before Guhila[2], who according to the earlier inscriptions was the founder of the Guhila dynasty. But this seems certainly incorrect, as we have an earlier inscription of Naravāhana, dated A.D.971 (V.S.1028), where Bappa is said to have been a descendant of Guhila. Hence we can safely conclude that at least Bappa was not a predecessor of Guhila and that he flourished before A.D.971. Let us first decide the date of Bappa,

---

1.(a) Chitor inscription (V.S.1331), IA, vol.22, p.80 ff.
(b) Abu inscription (V.S.1342), IA, vol.16, p.345 ff; also Bh.I, p.84.
(c) Rāṇapura inscription (V.S.1496), Bh.I, p.114.

2. Ibid; also Chirava inscription (V.S.1330), VOJ, vol.21, p.155 ff; also EI, vol.22, p.288 ff.

which would help us in determining his position and identification amongst the Guhila princes.

THE DATE OF BAPPA: The Ekaliṅga-māhātmya, composed during the reign of Rāṇā Kumbha, gives the following date for Bappa:

Yad-uktaṁ-purātanaiḥ kavibhiḥ:
Ākāśa-caṁdra-diggaja-saṁkhye-saṁvatsare-babhū-vādyaḥ.
Śrī-Ekaliṅga-Śaṁkara-labdhavaro-Bappa-bhūpālaḥ.[1]

Translation: "As said by the ancient poets:
In V.S.810, king Bappa getting a boon from Śrī Ekaliṅga Śaṁkara, became the first king".

This verse does not specify clearly the events which took place in V.S.810, but shows that they occured in Bappa's lifetime. But another work of the same name, composed during the reign of Rāyamalla, the son of Rāṇā Kumbha, distinctly says that Bappa abdicated the throne in favour of his son in V.S.810, as is evident from the following lines:

Rājyaṁ-datvā-svaputrāya-Ātharvaṇamupāgataḥ,
kha-caṁdra-diggajākhye-ca-varṣe-Nāgahrade-mune.
kṣetre-ca-bhuvi-vikhyāte-sva-gurorgurū-darśanam,
cakāra-sa-samitpāṇiś-caturthāśrama-mācaran[2].

1. HR, vol.1, p.410. 2. Ibid, p.411.

Translation: "O Muni, in V.S.810, after giving the kingdom to his son, he (Bappa), (taking samidh (fire-wood) in his hand), came to the scholar of Atharva-vidyā (his teacher or preceptor) at the world famous place Nāgahrada and saw his own preceptor, with fire-wood in his hand, leaving (the life of the) fourth āśrama".

The above verses, though composed as late as the fifteenth or first quarter of the sixteenth century A.D., are the oldest known sources, which give a clear date of Bappa. In a late bardic tradition another date of Bappa is given as Śaka year 685 (V.S.820=A.D.763), just 10 years later than the Ekaliṅga-māhātmyas, but it does not specify the events which took place in that year.[1] Owing to its lateness, the Śaka year 685, given in the bardic tradition, deserves less credence than the date given in the Ekaliṅga-māhātmyas.

We have some further dates for Bappa given in the later traditions. Tod records a tradition that he was born in A.D.135 (V.S.191)[2]. The Rājapraśasti-mahākāvya, inscribed on many big slabs of stone, gives the

---

1.Tessitori's Catalogue of the Bardic MS., pt.2 (Bikaner state), p.63; see also HR, vol.1, pp.411-12, fn.3.

2.AR, vol.1, p.268.

year 191 as that of Bappa's accession on the throne[1]. Muhaṇot Naiṇsī also records that in Saṁvat 191 there was none like Bappa as a ruler[2]. The same date is also given in a copy of the Ekaliṅga-māhātmya of the time of Rāṇā Kumbha, transcribed in A.D.1681 (V.S.1738)[3], with the date A.D.753 (V.S.810). Other bardic works also convey the same date[4]. Evidently this tradition is wrong and it has been interpreted in various ways. According to Tod the year 191 should be counted from the year of the sack of Valabhi, which is given as V.S.580[5]. But this interpretation is quite unconvincing. It would seem that two different systems of dating have here been confused, both being called the Vikrama Saṁvat. Moreover there is positive evidence to show that Śīlāditya VII, the last king of Valabhi, was ruling in A.D.766 (G.S.447)[6], and we have no information about the sack of Valabhi in the sixth century. The destruction of the city by the Arabs occured about 200 years later.

---

1. EI, vol.29, Append., p.14, cant.3, v.11; see also vol.30, Append., p.93 ff.
2. Khyāta, text, vol.1, p.17, No.10.
3. HR, vol.1, p.413.
4. Ibid, p.396, fn.1.
5. AR, vol.1, p.269.
6. CII, vol.3, p.178; also BG, vol.1, pt.1, p.93.

Tod, relying on these traditions, concludes that Bappa was born in A.D.713 (V.S.769), won the throne of Chitor from the Maurya Māna in A.D.728 (V.S.784) and abdicated it in A.D.763 (V.S.820)[1]. Thus Bappa occupied the throne of Chitor at the tender age of 15 years. The dates given by Tod are questionable, because, if true, Bappa could not have usurped the throne of Chitor so easily. The inscription of king Māna of the Maurya dynasty[2] clearly suggests that in A.D.713 (V.S.770) Chitor was in his occupation. It therefore appears that Bappa occupied the fortress of Chitor some time after this date. That his accession on the throne of Chitor was a usurpation and that he occupied it at 15, seem at least improbable. Thus Tod's view is unacceptable.

C.V.Vaidya's explanation of the date 191 differs from that of Tod[3]. He believes that there is some connection between the year 191 and A.D.509, which he takes as the year of the foundation of the Valabhi kingdom by Bhaṭārka. In his opinion the Idar branch of the Valabhi dynasty may have kept the year in mind and thus the bards of Mewar, taking it as an important era, counted the

---

1.AR, vol.1, pp.268-71.
2.Ibid, vol.2, p.919 ff.
3.HMHI, vol.2, pp.75 and 338 ff.

birth date of Bappa from A.D.509. Thus, according to Vaidya, if we add 191 to A.D.509 it gives A.D.700 as the date of Bappa's birth, which is not opposed to the history of the period. Relying on the traditional date of V.S.820 as that of Bappa's abdication, he concludes that Bappa was born in A.D.700, ascended the throne in 730 and retired in A.D.763[1].

But G.H.Ojha gives a completely different explanation of this date[2]. In his opinion if the date V.S.191 of Bappa's accession is really based on ancient data, we can only infer that the figure 191 is a misreading for 791. In support he gives the example of the Samoli inscription of Śīlāditya, dated A.D.646 (V.S.703), where the figure 7 is very similar to that of 1. Thus according to Ojha V.S.769 given by Tod as the date of Bappa's birth may be accepted as approximately correct, though arrived at by wrong mathod.

The traditional belief that Bappa ascended the throne of Chitor in V.S.191 is obviously incorrect. It appears probable that, like other bardic traditions, this date is a product of the imagination and has nothing to do with the actual date of Bappa's accession. Thus relying on

---

1.HMHI, vol.2, p.341.
2.HR, vol.1, p.414 and fn.2.

the Ekaliṅga-māhātmya, we can only infer that Bappa was living between A.D.713 (V.S.770), the date of the inscription of Māna, and A.D.753 (V.S.810), the date of Bappa's abdication. We have not a single known record by which we can establish the dates of particular events in Bappa's life.

IDENTIFICATION OF BAPPA

Tod, relying on the Kumbhalgarh inscription, dated A.D.1460 (V.S.1517)[1], identifies Bappa as the title of Śīlāditya and mentions A.D.728 (V.S.784) as the date of his accession on the throne[2]. But we cannot identify Bappa with Śīlāditya as we know that Śīlāditya was ruling in A.D.646 (V.S.703)[3] and his successor Aparājita in A.D.661 (V.S.718)[4]. Thus Bappa could not have ended his reign in A.D.753 (V.S. 810).

Kavirāja Śyāmal Dās is of the opinion that Bappa was the title of Mahendra, the successor of Aparājita[5].

---

1. EI, vol.24, p.314 ff.
2. AR, vol.1, p.268.
3. EI, vol.20, p.99.
4. Ibid, vol.4, p.31.
5. Vīravinod, vol.1, p.250, as cited in HR, vol.1, p.409.

He bases his view on the Ekaliṅga-māhātmya of the time of Kumbha, where Bappa is described as the father of Bhoja. At the same time he accepts the tradition that Bappa abdicated the throne in favour of his son in A.D.753 (V.S.810). It is evident that Aparājita was ruling in A.D.661 (V.S.718). Thus Aparājita and Mahendra reigned for about 100 years. Kavirāja's conjecture is unconvincing and we cannot believe that these two princes ruled for such a long period without any stronger support.

Professor D.R.Bhandarkar, after some calculation, asserts that Bappa must be the title of Khommāṇa, the ninth prince of the Atpur inscription. He argues that we have two definite dates of Aparājita and Allaṭa, A.D.661 (V.S.718) and 953 (V.S.1010) respectively. The difference between the two is 292 years. During 292 years we have 12 generations and this gives $24\frac{1}{3}$ years to each generation. The date of Bappa's abdication is A.D.753 (V.S.810). Thus the difference between A.D.661, the date of Aparājita and 753, the date of Bappa, is 92 years. According to the above calculation if we assign $24\frac{1}{3}$ years to each ruler, then Bappa is placed in the fourth generation from

Aparājita and in the Atpur inscription the fourth prince from Aparājita is Khommāṇa I. Hence Bappa must be identified with Khommāṇa I[1]. Elsewhere Professor Bhandarkar further suggests that as the name of Simha, the twelfth prince, is associated with the sage Hāritarāśi in the inscription of Samarasiṁha, dated A.D.1278 (V.S.1335)[2], he may be identified with Bappa, whose name is always associated with Hāritarāśi in the epigraphic as well as in the traditional records[3]. It shows that Bhandarkar is not on terra firma with regard to the identification of Bappa. The argument is by no means perfect. In his calculation Bhandarkar has completely ignored the dates of Śīlāditya, Bhartṛpaṭṭa II, Naravāhana and Śaktikumāra (V.S.703, 1000, 1028 and 1034, respectively); if these dates are taken into account the identification cannot stand. At the same time the assigning of $24\frac{1}{3}$ years to each generation is not convincing, because the average length of reign for 12 generations need not necessarily apply to 4 generations, when we have some definite dates for earlier Guhila princes. The calculation and assigning of $24\frac{1}{3}$ years to each generation also differ from the known dates of the earlier Guhilas and none of

---

1. IA, vol.39, p.190.
2. JASB, vol.55, pt.1, p.48, No.5; also HR, vol.1, p.370,fn.1.
3. EI, vol.20, Appendix, p.84, fn.6.

these dates agrees with Bhandarkar's attribution of $24\frac{1}{3}$ years for one generation, as is evident from the above mentioned given dates of Śīlāditya and other Guhila rulers.

Ojha, in refuting Bhandarkar, gives the recent example of Mahārāṇā Rāmasiṁha and his son Raghuvīrasiṁha of Bundi, who ruled for more than 105 years. He gives various arguments to prove that Bappa was the epithet of Kālabhoja, the eighth Guhila prince, and not of Khommāṇa[1]. He says that Khommāṇa is regarded as the son of Bappa in the bardic tales[2], in the Rājapraśasti-mahākāvya[3] and in the chronicle of Naiṇsī[4], whereas in the Atpur inscription Khommāṇa is referred to as the son of Kālabhoja[5]. Hence Bappa must be the title of Kālabhoja.

Professor H.C.Ray supports the identification of Bappa with Kālabhoja on the ground that the period of 92 years calculated by Bhandarkar can be

---

1. HR, vol.1, p.408 ff.
2. Vīravinod, vol.1, p.234, as cited in HR, vol.1, p.408 ff.
3. EI, vol.29, Append., p.14 ff, cant.III, vs.19-20.
4. Khyāta, text, vol.1, pp.8-9.
5. IA, vol.39, p.191. Ojha is wrong to say that the Atpur inscription refers to Khommāṇa as the son of Kālabhoja. Actually Khommāṇa is here simply referred to as the immediate successor of Kālabhoja. Professor Ray (DHNI, vol. 2, p.1159) did not notice the mistake of Ojha.

covered by three or four generations and as the Mewar tradition tells us that Bappa ruled for a long time[1], it is probable that this period of 92 years was covered by only three generations. This third generation from Aparājita brings us to Kālabhoja[2].

S. Dutta[3], on the other hand, favours identifying Bappa with Khommāṇa. He maintains that some ~~some~~ inscriptions of the fifteenth century and later refer to the Guhilas as originated from Bappa-vaṁśa, while at the same time some earlier epigraphs say that they belong to Khommāṇa-vaṁśa. The fame of Khommāṇa is not less than that of Bappa, because at least three kings of this dynasty bore that name. Moreover the fame of Khommāṇa is also recognized by the fact that a work named Khuṃmān-Rāso, which is believed to be a work of ninth century[4] recomposed in the sixteenth century, has been devoted to the valorous deeds of Khommāṇa. Thus, according to Dutta, Bappa has been

---

1. AR, vol.1, p.267.
2. DHNI, vol.2, p.1159.
3. IHQ, vol.4 (1928), p.796 ff; see also, The Classical Age, Bh.V.Bh., p.159.
4. G.A.Grierson's Mod.Ver.Lit., p.1, No.2; see also, DHNI, vol.2, p.1159, fn.3. The evidence of the early date of the original composition of this work is, in our opinion, rather unconvincing. It has been rejected by Ojha (HR, vol.1, p.424, fn.1.).

rightly identified with Khommāṇa I. K.D.Erskine has suggested that Bappa can be identified with either Mahendra II or Kālabhoja[1].

Thus scholars are not unanimous on the identification of Bappa. But the argument advanced by Ojha is really very strong. Though late, the Mewar traditions, the chronicle of Naiṇsī and the Rājapraśasti-mahākāvya (also known as the Rājapraśasti inscription of Udaipur), as we have seen, undoubtedly say that Khommāṇa was the son of Bappa, whereas in the Atpur inscription, Khommāṇa is referred to as the immediate successor of Kālabhoja. This obviously suggests that Bappa's actual name was Kālabhoja. The local tradition records that after conquering Chitor, Bappa led an expedition to Caula (Saurāṣṭra)[2] and after defeating its ruler, took his daughter in marriage. An almost similar story is recorded in an inscription of Samarasiṁha, dated A.D.1285 (V.S.1342), where Kālabhoja is glorified as Coḍa-strī-rati-khaṇḍanaḥ[3]. Caula and Coḍa may be taken to signify the same place. This further strengthens the identification of Bappa with Kālabhoja. Tod records a tradition that Kālabhoja constructed the temple of Ekaliṅgajī[4] near the hermitage of Hāritarāśi,

---

1. RG, vol.2A (Gaz. of Udaipur), p.13 ff.
2. AR, vol.1, pp.282-83 and fn.2.
3. Bh.I, p.85, v.15; also IA, vol.16, p.348.
4. AR, vol.1, p.283, fn.2.

whereas the name of Bappa is always associated with Hāritarāśi and Ekaliṅgajī. Thus from the available evidence the identification of Bappa with Kālabhoja is the most probable and we may conclude that Ojha, Ray and others are correct.

There are various bardic tales, where Bappa is referred to as a diciple of Hāritarāśi, a teacher of the Śaiva sect[1]. In these traditions Bappa is believed to have obtained the throne of Chitor through the grace of Hāritarāśi. His name comes repeatedly in the stories of Bappa and even the inscriptions of the Guhila dynasty take care to mention the name of this sage with great respect[2]. According to these inscriptions and the chronicle Hāritarāśi played a part in Bappa's life just like that of Cāṇakya, who helped Candragupta Maurya in throwing out the Nandas from Magadha. Though these traditions are unhistorical, we may tentatively suggest that Hāritarāśi was a historical figure, who helped Bappa in his administration. On the other hand, it is even more probable that Hāritarāśi, referred to as the head priest of the temple of Ekaliṅgajī, received much respect from Bappa, who

---

1.Naiṇsī's Khyāta, text, vol.1, p.7 ff.
2.Bh.I, p.74, v.9 and p.84 ff.

was a staunch devotee of Ekaliṅgajī. This relation between Bappa and Hāritarāśi was magnified by later bards, and hence formed a good background for fabricating various tales about them both in later period, until Hāritarāśi came to be known as a sort of superman, by whose favour Bappa acquired the throne of Chitor.

THE GUHILA BAPPA AND HIS CONNECTION WITH VARIOUS BAPPAS OF THE VALABHI GRANTS :

M.V.Pandia[1] and C.V.Vaidya[2], the staunch supporters of the Valabhi theory, suggest that Bappa was related to the Valabhi dynasty. According to Pandia, the identification of Bappa with any other princes given in the Atpur inscription is wrong. Vaidya goes further to say that Guhadatta of the Atpur inscription, who is different from Guhila, should be identified with Bappa. It seems that both these scholars have confused the epithets bappa of the fathers of various Śīlādityas of Valabhi and have come to the conclusion that the Guhila Bappa may be one of them. But it is wrong to base any conjecture only on the

---

1.JASB, vol.8 (1912), p.90 ff.
2.HMHI, vol.2, pp.85 ff and 342 ff.

similarity of names or epithets when we have no solid evidence to support it. As we have shown, the Valabhi theory in the light of more recent knowledge has no basis. We have not a single instance in the Guhila records where the epithet bappa of the Guhila Bappa occurs in the same compounds as paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-bappa-pād-ānudhyāta of the various Valabhi grants of the different Śīlādityas. If our Bappa had had any connection with the Valabhi dynasty, the same expression with the paramount titles would have probably occured in the Guhila records. We have no positive evidence to connect Bappa with the Valabhi dynasty and we may safely conclude that Pandia and Vaidya are wrong.

Vaidya's hypothesis that Guhila and Guhadatta are two different persons and that Guhadatta of ~~th~~ the Atpur inscription can be identified with Bappa is also unconvincing. It arises from Vaidya's obsession with the hypothesis that Bappa was the founder of the Guhila dynasty. Guhadatta was also called Guhila, as is evident from the earliest grant of the Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā, dated A.D.653 (Harṣa(?) year 48), where we have an expression Guhila-puttr-ānvaye[1]. It is here needless to say that the grant in

---

1. EI, vol.34, pt.4, p.172, line 2.

question is older than the Atpur inscription, dated A.D. 977 (V.S.1034). Taking Guhadatta as another name of Bappa, Vaidya himself admits that the family name derived from Guhila, the son of Bappa (Guhadatta)[1], though he fully agrees with the fact that Bappa was the most important ruler amongst the early Guhila princes. It seems most unconvincing that the family name should have derived from the son of Bappa and not from Bappa himself, who was so famous for his chivalrous deeds. The very basis of Vaidya's conjecture, that Guhadatta should be distinguished from Guhila. is wrong. This is not a satisfactory explanation of the absence of Bappa's name in the Atpur inscription. If we accept Vaidya's view that Guhadatta of the Atpur inscription is no other than Bappa himself, it would certainly lead us to think that the name of Guhila, the founder of this dynasty, is not mentioned in this record. But this is obviously wrong, as the epigraph gives a complete list of the Guhila princes up to Śaktikumāra. The very line of the Atpur inscription jayati-Śrī-Guhadattaḥ-prabhavaḥ-Śrī-Guhila-vaṁśasya shows that Guhadatta or Guhila was the actual founder of the Guhila dynasty, and cannot be

---

1.HMHI, vol.2, pp.343-44.

interpreted otherwise. But Vaidya does not accept this, as it conflicts with his weak hypothesis. He relies on late epigraphs, where Bappa's name comes before Guhila, but discredits other earlier epigraphs. In a defaced inscription of the time of Naravāhana, dated A.D.971 (V.S. 1028), Bappa is referred to as Guhila-gotra-narendra-candrah[1]. Vaidya takes this Guhila dynasty as founded by Guhasena of Valabhi and maintains that as Bappa's name is not preceded by any other prince, it certainly shows that he was the actual founder of the Guhila dynasty of Mewar and the father of Guhila. He forgets to note that the present epigraph is defaced and some lines before the name of Bappa are lost. At the same time he fails to give any evidence in support of his conjecture that the dynastic name of this epigraph, which mentions only Bappa and Naravāhana, is derived from Guhasena of Valabhi. In this connection he even ventures to say that Śīlāditya and Aparājita, whose inscriptions have been discovered, are the descendants not of Guhila of Mewar, but of Guhasena of Valabhi. Thus he completely confuses the history of the early Guhila princes.

---

1. Bh.I, p.70.

BAPPADATTI OF THE DHULEV PLATE AND THE GUHILA BAPPA *

In his article entitled "New Aspect of Dhulev Plate of Mahārāja Bhetti, year 73", Mr. R.Samar has given an interpretation of his source which has upset the well established history of the early Guhila princes of Mewar[1]. The Dhulev copper plate was first noticed by G.H.Ojha[2]. Professor Mirashi edited this plate[3] and since then interpretations have been offered by Professor Mirashi, Professor Sircar[4] and Mr. Samar. According to Ojha the year 73 given in this plate is of the Harṣa era and thus is equivalent to A.D.679[5]. Professor Mirashi does not agree with Ojha and says that the year 73 is of the Bhātika era. Professor Sircar, refuting the view of Professor Mirashi, agrees with Ojha that the date is of the Harṣa era. Mr. Samar disagrees with both theories and maintains that the year 73 is neither of the Bhātika era, nor of the Harṣa era, but of a local era starting from the acquisition of the throne by Bappa, the famous Guhila prince of Mewar. Here we do not

---

* The substance of this section has been published as an article in JIH, August, 1964.

1. JIH, vol.40, pt.2, p.345 ff.
2. ARRMA, 1932-33, p.2, No.1.
3. EI, vol.30, p.1 ff.
4. Ibid, p.5 ff and 140 ff.
5. ARRMA, 1932-33, p.2, No.1.

discuss at length whether this year is of the Bhātika era or of the Harṣa era, but confine ourselves to the statements of Mr. Samar, which in our view contain several inaccuracies and go against the epigraphic evidence.

Mr. Samar's main hypothesis is based on the words Mahārāja Bappadattiḥ of the Dhulev plate, which records the donation of a village named Ūbbaraka to a Brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭināga by Mahārāja Bhetti of Kiṣkindhā for the religious benefit of Mahārāja Bappa. Though the dynastic name of Mahārāja Bhetti is not given in this record, Professor Sircar as well as Mr. Samar suggest that Mahārāja Bhetti of Kiṣkindhā might have been related to the family of the Guhila chiefs of Kiṣkindhā, who are known from two other copper plates[1]. On this basis Mr. Samar maintains that Mahārāja Bappa of the Dhulev plate is no other than the famous Guhila prince of the same name of Mewar, who was not related to the main line of the Guhila princes but was a chief or a feudatory of Kiṣkindhā and later on, during the period of chaos brought about by the Arabs invasion or by the revolutionary activities of the Bhilas, Bappa got the opportunity and turning out the Guhila princes of the main

---

1. EI, vol.34, p.167 ff.

line usurped the throne of Mewar. In this process Mr. Samar accepts various legends and traditional fictions connected with the history of Bappa.

Let us first decide the controversy over the words Mahārāja Bappadattiḥ. Ojha took Bappadatti as a proper name[1]. Professor Mirashi also takes this word as a proper name of an individual and suggests that he might have been the father of Mahārāja Bhetti[2]. According to Professor Sircar the word bappa comes to mean father and datti stands for a gift. Thus the village Ūbbaraka was previously granted by Bhetti's father, whose personal name is not given in this record. As the original donor died without executing the deed, this was done by Bhetti, the donor's son. In other words Bhetti here simply ratifies the grant[3]. In his further note on this plate Professor Mirashi agrees with Professor Sircar that the emendation of the words Maharaja-bappa-dattiḥ into Mahārāja-bappa-dattau is quite possible, but maintains that nevertheless his interpretation is not impossible. Thus Bappadatti may be a personal name just as Bālaprasāda, because names ending in prasāda and datta have the same meaning of a gift[4]. In any

---

1. ARRMA, 1932-33, p.2, No.1.
2. EI, vol.30, p.2.
3. Ibid, p.7.
4. Ibid, p.141.

case these two scholars do not identify this Bappa or Bappadatti with the Guhila prince of the same name.

According to Mr. Samar the word Bappadatti is a proper name. He argues that the biruda Mahārāja would be superfluous and inconsistent if we take the words bappa-datti to mean father's gift. It is surprising that Mr. Samar does not appear to be aware that similar phrases are frequently found in both early and later epigraphic records. Various Valabhi grants not only mention the word Mahārāja before the word bappa (father) but they use more powerful epithets, for instance in such formulae as paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-śrī-bappa-pād-ānudhyāta. Various epithets before the word bappa, which certainly means father, are also found in the inscriptions of Nepal and other dynasties[1]. If Mr. Samar is still in doubt, it can be removed by the grant of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman, issued in the eighth year of his reign and similar to the Dhulev plate, where the words Mahārāja-bappa-sāmīhi (svāmin) definitely imply father[2]. This evidence renders his view unconvincing. Even if we consider the word Bappadatti as a proper name, it

---

1. IA, vol.7, p.84 ff; vol.15, p.272 ff; CII, vol.3, pp.178, 186 n.; EI, vol.14, p.98; see also above, p. 111 f.

2. EI, vol.1, p.2 ff.

would be rash to identify him with the Guhila prince of Mewar. Though the name of Bappa appears in various forms[1], we have not a single instance in the vast range of the Guhila records, where Bappa is also referred to as Bappadatti or Bappadatta. Mr. Samar's hypothesis appears even more illogical when we realize that there is no definite evidence to show that Bhetti of the Dhulev plate was really a Guhila chief. Thus the superstructure is erected on a very unsound basis.

Mr. Samar gives various arguments to strengthen his hypothesis. Refuting Ojha, Professor Mirashi and Professor Sircar, Mr. Samar suggests that the year 73 of the Dhulev plate is of a local era which was founded by Bappa in the year A.D.753 (V.S.810), when he acquired the kingdom of Mewar after ousting the Guhilas of the main branch. From that year an era started and became widespread in the records of the Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā who were the descendants of Bappa. But Mr. Samar does not quote a single instance of the same era being also used by the successors of Bappa of the main branch. Though he does not give the further history of Bappa, it is evident that after his death

---

1. NPP(NS), vol.1, p.248 ff; see also above, p.109.

his son or successor ascended the throne of Mewar. If that era had been adopted by Bappa's descendants in Kiṣkindhā, we see no reason why the same was not adopted by his successors in Mewar, amongst whom it would have become more famous as they were certainly more powerful than the Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā. Mr. Samar fails to consider this question.

In this connection he refutes almost all earlier scholars, who have established A.D.753 (V.S.810) as the date of Bappa's abdication of the throne[1] and not that of his accession. The first version of the Ekaliṅga-māhātmya, composed during the reign of Rāṇā Kumbha, simply gives V.S. 810 as the date of Bappa and does not mention clearly the event which took place in this year[2]. But the fact is revealed in the later Ekaliṅga-māhātmya, composed during the reign of Rāṇā Rāyamalla, son of Rāṇā Kumbha, where the date V.S.810 is distinctly given as that of Bappa's abdication of the throne in favour of his son[3]. Mr. Samar ~~Samar~~, basing his conjecture solely on an unidentified inscription of

---

1. Bhandarkar, IA, vol.39, p.190; Ojha, HR, vol.1, p.410 ff; Vaidya, HMHI, vol.2, p.74 ff. According to Vaidya Bappa abdicated in V.S.820; H.C.Ray, DHNI, vol.2, p.1158 ff, etc.
2. HR, vol.1, p.410; IA, vol.39, p.190.
3. Ibid.

Chitor, came to the conclusion that this date of Bappa's abdication is wrong, for if true Bappa could not have conquered Chitor before A.D.755 (V.S.811). Tod in his Annals refers to this inscription dated A.D.755 (V.S.811) and says that the temple of Kukkuṭeśvara Mahādeva, where this was found, was constructed by Rājā Kukkuveśvara and a fountain was also excavated by him[1]. The inscription was not published nor is it now known to anyone. Hence it is unreasonable to base any conjecture on such evidence, when we neither know the identity of Rājā Kukkuveśvara nor the name of his dynasty. Mr. Samar relies on the date given in the first Ekaliṅga-māhātmya and interpreting it in his own manner accepts that A.D.753 (V.S.810) was the date of Bappa's accession to the throne. But he does not accept the year V.S.810 as the date of Bappa's abdication, given in the Ekaliṅga-māhātmya of the time of Rāyamalla, the son of Kumbha.

Mr. Samar does not believe in the theory that the name Bappa was merely a nickname of our Guhila prince. The earliest inscription to record the name of Bappa is one of the time of Naravāhana, dated A.D.971

---

1. AR, vol.3, p.1823.

(V.S.1028)[1]. But the Atpur inscription of Śaktikumāra, dated A.D.977 (V.S.1034), which is the earliest inscription of the Guhilas to contain reliable and full genealogical information, does not mention Bappa. This clearly shows that Bappa was not a proper name but merely a nickname and the scribe of this epigraph recorded his official or proper name, which has been identified as Kālabhoja by various scholars[2]. Mr. Samar rejects this view and suggests that, as time elapsed, the chronology of the ancient kings was forgotten and hence the Atpur inscription fails to record the name of Bappa. But is it at all likely that the name of Bappa was known in A.D.971, but after only six years (A.D. 977) he was forgotten by all, to be remembered again in the later epigraphic and other records?

To prove his hypothesis, Mr. Samar goes on to say that the traditional story that Bappa tended the cows of the sage Hāritarāśi has some historical value. He finds its confirmation in the fact that as Bappa was not related to the main line of the Guhilas, it is quite possible that, like an ordinary man, he tended the cows of his preceptor. But if he was not a prince or a chief of some

---

1. Bh.I, p.70; also JBBRAS, vol.22, p.166 ff.
2. Ojha, HR, vol.1, p.406 ff; Ray, DHNI, vol.2, p.1159; Mathur, IHQ, vol.29, pp.324-25; see also above, p.122 ff.

kind, how could he suddenly become so powerful from being a mere shepherd boy to usurp the Guhila territory of Mewar ? It is really a matter of great surprise that these fictions, which are generally told to children, should still be taken as historical facts. Mr. Samar himself implicitly contadicts this tradition when he states that Mahārāja Bappadatti and Mahārāja Bhetti were feudatory chiefs, owing allegiance to the Guhilas of Mewar. He finds support for this from the inscription of Aparājita, dated A.D.661 (V.S. 718)[1], where Mahārāja Varāhasiṁha is referred to as the commander of troops of Aparājita. Taking the word mahārāja to denote a particular family, he thinks that Mahārāja Varāhasiṁha was also a Guhila chief of Kiṣkindhā. As he was holding a key post in the reign of Aparājita, he must have been a kinsman or a near relative by blood. He finds support for this in the convention prevalent even now, by which all the kinsmen of the Rāṇās of Udaipur are called Mahārājas. It seems that Mr. Samar wants to suggest that all the chiefs who are called Mahārājas in the various inscriptions found at different places in Mewar or in the southern Arāvali region were certainly blood relations of the Guhilas of Mewar. Even if we accept this weak argument, it would merely

---

1. EI, vol.4, p.29 ff.

show that Mahārāja Bappadatti of Kiṣkindhā was also a kinsman of the Guhila family of Mewar because his ancestor Mahārāja Varāhasiṁha was also a Guhila chief. If Bappadatti was a member of this Mahārāja's family, why did he tend cows, a very humble task, which should not have been done by a chief's son ?

Coming to the question of the plate itself, Mr. Samar maintains that this is not a true grant, because it is not referred to as a Pattā and in the plate various officers are addressed, whereas in Mewar grants are called Pattās (Title-deeds) and they are addressed to the donees only and not to other officers. The documents which are addressed to various officers are called Parwānā Uthantri (Orders to transfer possession). He finds support in the word annumatiḥ dattā of the plate and suggests that as the original grant executed by Mahārāja Bappadatti was lost or some kind of dispute arose about the validity of the old grant, the son or grandson of Bappadatti issued the fress one, which was confirmed by Mahārāja Bhetti and other kinsmen of the family. According to the rule or usage of the land, any grant issued by the ruling king was not regarded as valid unless it was confirmed by his kinsmen and

feudatories, because the king had no absolute power. Mr. Samar gives the example of the usage in Mewar, where since Rāṇā Mokal's time every grant had to be countermarked by the sign of a lance, which was the special sign of Cuṁḍā, who abdicated the throne of Mewar in favour of his younger brother Mokal, and this system continued for a long time. In this way Mr. Samar completely rejects the view of Professor Sircar, who states that as the original donor died without executing the deed, his son Mahārāja Bhetti executed it in favour of the same person.

Mr. Samar forgets to note that this grant is even according to him of the early ninth century, at which time we have no evidence that the custom was prevaleht that every grant should be addressed only to the donee concerned and not to the officers of the king. In ancient times grants were not called Pattās or Parwānā Uthantri. The very comparison of the practice of this period with medieval or present day customs is wrong. If Mr. Samar still has any doubt on this matter, it can be removed on an examination of the numerous grants issued by the Valabhi, Kanauj and other kings[1]. Leaving aside all other evidence, Mr. Samar's

---

1. EI, vol.3, p.320; vol.4, pp.101, 102, 104, 105, 106, 108, 110, 111; vol.11, p.110; vol.15, pp.256-57; vol.17, pp.107 and 109; vol.19, p.135 etc.

argument can be proved wrong on the authority of the contemporary Guhila grants of Kiṣkindhā, two of which are addressed to the officers of the issuing chiefs[1]. We are not convinced that in Mewar at this time kings or chiefs had no absolute power to issue a grant and if issued it was invalid without the consent of kinsmen and feudatories.

Refuting the view of Professor Mirashi, Mr. Samar states that the dūtaka of the plate has nothing to do with the execution of the grant, but his work is simply to convey the royal order, and that here Professor Mirashi is certainly wrong. It seems that Mr. Samar takes this dūtaka only as an ordinary messenger or peon. He should have noted before refuting so learned a scholar that dūtakas were not generally regarded as simply conveyers of the royal or official order when they were mentioned in the grants. It is evident from the various Valabhi and other grants that even princesses, princes, immediate successors of the kings, important feudatories and high officers served as dūtakas[2]. It is most unreasonable to treat them as simply messengers, whose duties were merely to convey the royal order.

---

1. EI, vol.34, p.167 ff.
2. Bhandarkar's list of Inscriptions, EI, vol.20, Append., p.176 ff, Nos. 1293, 1326, 1329, 1340, 1341, 1342, 1345, 1349, 1350, 1351, 1355, 1357, 1358, 1362, 1365, 1368, 1375 etc.

THE ARAB INVASION OF MEWAR AND BAPPA

Tod[1], and following him S. Sharma[2] and others, have conjectured that Bappa, being a feudatory chief of the Maurya Māna of Chitor, faced the army of Muhammad bin Qāsim under the Caliph Walid (A.D.690-715), when the Arabs tried to penetrate into the interior parts of Rajasthan, then under king Māna. But we have no positive evidence to show that Qāsim ever tried to sack Chitor or any such part of Rajasthan, which was very far from Sindh. Even if we accept this view, it seems impossible that Bappa could have faced the Muslim invader during the period, when he would have been undoubtedly a mere child, incapable of waging war with others.

Various legends and traditions connect Bappa with the Maurya Māna. Naiṇsī records that Bappa took Chitor after killing the Maurya king[3]. The Rājapraśasti-mahākāvya also suggests that Bappa took Chitor from the same prince[4]. An inscription of Māna, dated A.D.713 (V.S. 770), which was discovered by Tod[5] in Chitor, suggests that

---

1. AR, vol.1, p.270.
2. Maharana Pratap, p.6.
3. Khyāta, text, vol.1, pp.8 and 15, No.8.
4. EI, vol.29, Append., p.14, Cant.III, vs.9-10 and 18.
5. AR, vol.2, p.919 ff.

he was ruling there at least in A.D.713. That the Arabs invaded various parts of India including the Maurya territory is confirmed by the Navasāri grant of Pulakeśi II, dated A.D. 738 (Kalacuri year 490)[1]. Al-Bilādurī also records that Junaid, the Muslim governor of Sindh (A.D.717-26), invaded various parts of India including Gujarat and Rajasthan some time after A.D.725[2]. That Mewar and Marwar were invaded by the Muslims during Junaid's governorship also finds support from some Arab coins discovered from these regions, especially from Mewar[3]. All these facts go to prove that Chitor was invaded by Junaid during the reign of the Maurya Māna, some time between A.D.717 and 726, the date of Junaid's governorship. Various late traditions, as we have seen, record that Bappa took Chitor from Māna. Hence scholars including Vaidya[4], Mathur[5] and others are inclined to think that during this attack Bappa took part in repelling the Arabs and later took Chitor from the Maurya prince Māna. Hence this traditional story that Bappa took Chitor from Māna has some historical value. We have no earlier epigraphic or

---

1. EI, vol.20, Append., p.163, No.1220.
2. Elliot, vol.1, pp.126 and 441; also BG, vol.1, pt.1, p.109.
3. JIH, vol.40, pt.2 (Aug.1962), pp.349-50.
4. HMHI, vol.2, p.73.
5. IHQ, vol.29, p.327 ff.

other evidence to prove that Chitor was under the Guhilas during the time of Bappa and his successors, though during the reigns of Jaitrasiṁha and Samarasiṁha it was evidently under their rule. An inscription of Rājā Kukkuveśvara, dated A.D.755 (V.S.811), was discovered at Chitor[1] by Tod, but his identity is unknown to us. We do not even know about the present whereabouts of that inscription. However, we may tentatively accept that Bappa took advantage of the chaos created by the Arabs and after repelling them from his territory, somehow or other usurped the Maurya throne and occupied Chitor some time before A.D.753 (V.S.810), the date of his abdication. As far as the question of Rājā Kukkuveśvara of Tod's inscription is concerned, we can simply say that he may have been a chief under Bappa, to whom Bappa gave the charge of the administration of Chitor.

COINS OF BAPPA

G.H.Ojha published an illustration of a gold coin which he attributed to Bappa, the famous Guhila ruler of Mewar[2]. The coin in question bears the legend Śrī Voppa and

---

1. AR, vol.3, p.1823.
2. JASB, ~~vol.~~ 1927, Num.Suppl., No.40, p.14 ff; also NPP(NS), vol.1, p.241; see our plate II, fig.14.

on the palaeographic ground Ojha suggested that the coin was issued during the eighth century A.D. Besides this the following marks on the coin is noteworthy.

Below the legend there is a standing trident and to the right of it a Śiva-liṅgam is represented on a platform of two steps. To the right of the Śiva-liṅgam, a bull is sitting and his mouth is just near the Śiva-liṅgam. Below these, a man is lying prostrate; his ears are pierced and seem large in comparison to the average man's ears. On the reverse of the coin a folded camara (fly-whisk) is visible. The next sign is ⊕, which according to Ojha represents the Sun and proves that Bappa or the Guhilas were of the Solar race. According to Ojha another sign on the coin is most probably of umbrella. Below these signs a cow facing right is standing and is suckling her calf. Above the tail of the calf two parallel lines are indicated and to the right a fish is shown in a standing position. While dealing with symbols, Ojha suggests that this coin, which he discovered in a shop in Ajmer, was issued by Bappa of Mewar and as he was a devotee of Ekaliṅgajī, the sign of Śiva-liṅgam, bull, trident, river etc. on the coin are understandable. The cow suckling

a calf seems to be the cow of Hāritarāśi, his preceptor. The river indicated by two lines with fish is perhaps the Kutila river, near Ekaliṅgajī. The man lying is perhaps Bappa or Hāritarāśi. The chatra (umbrella) and camara signify an independent sovereign.

Almost similar to the above coin, another gold coin, bearing the signs of bull, Śivaliṅga, a recumbent figure of a man wearing a dhoti, a cow suckling her calf, some dots, a water vessel and a fish etc. was also illustrated by Hoernle[1]. Dr. Hoernle read the legend on the coin as Śrī Dhairyārājā. But later Sir R.Burn again illustrated that very coin and read the legend as Śrī Vigharaha. He suggested that the style of the letters was that of the coins of Indo-Sassanian type[2]. The reading of the legend on this coin created further controversy and Dr. A.S.Altekar refuting both these scholars, read the legend as Śrī Dhogharāja or Dhopparāja or Vopparāja or Vogharāja . But finally he established that the intended reading should be Vopparāja[3]. Though the findspot of the coin is not known, Dr. Altekar suggests that the coin, which also bears the sign of the Sun, was

---

1. JASB, Proceedings, 1881, p.39; see our pl. II fig.16 .
2. Ibid, 1904, Num.Suppl., p.65, pl.I, fig.2; see our pl.II, fig.17 .
3. PT.OIOC (7th), Baroda, 1933, p.703 ff.

issued by Bappa of Mewar and the sign of the Sun clearly suggests his Solar origin. Thus Dr. Altekar fully believes that it is a coin of Bappa.

A third gold coin, bearing the legend Kasava or Kesava, has been discovered by Ajit Ghose. With certain variations this coin too bears the same symbols as are found on the coins of Hoernle and Ojha. Ajit Ghose does not know the findspot of his coin but suggests that this was also issued by a prince of the Guhila dynasty of Mewar during the eighth century A.D., though the identification of prince Kasava or Kesava is not known to us[1].

However, various factors render it impossible to agree with Ojha and others that these coins were issued by Bappa and other rulers of the Guhila dynasty. Firstly, the findspots of all these coins are unknown to us. Secondly, the reading of these coins is not certain. Bappa of Mewar is not known as Vopparājā in any Guhila records. It seems unlikely that the early Guhilas, being such small princes, should have issued gold coins, when Mewar is not known to have had been rich in gold in ancient days. The early Guhila coins, which have been recently discovered, are

---

1. Num.Chron, (JRNS), 5th Series, vol.13, p.139 ff.

mostly of copper or silver-plated copper of Sassanian type bearing the Sassanian symbol of the fire altar[1]. It is noteworthy that not a single coin known to have been issued by the Guhilas, such as those of Guhila, Bhoja, Śīlāditya, Bhartṛpaṭṭa and others, bears any symbol resembling those of the gold coins described above.

A copper coin bearing the legend Śrī Vappa, though the last letter ppa is not clear, has been attributed to Bappa. Both obverse and reverse of this coin are very similar to those of the coins of Guhila[2]. All these considerations suggest that the gold coins described above were not issued by Bappa or any other Guhila princes of Mewar. The coins bearing the symbol of the cow suckling her calf were issued by the kings of Nepal[3]. The device of a cow suckling a calf is also found on the gold coins of Vatsadāman[4], who has been identified by Professor Mirashi as the famous ruler of the Śūrasena dynasty. He is said to have ruled over the territories of Kaman and Bayana[5]. R.C.

---

1. JNSI, vol.20, pt.1, p.26 ff.
2. Ibid, pl.II, fig.13; see our pl.II, fig.13.
3. Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, pl.XIII, figs.3-4; also JNSI, vol.21, pt.1, p.39 ff.
4. JRAS, 1900, p.123 ff; also Num.Chron, 5th Series, vol.17, p.99.
5. IHQ, vol.18, p.71.

Agrawala[1] suggests that Vappa or Voppa of the gold coins stated above may have been the same as Vappuka of the Śūrasena dynasty, mentioned in the Bayana inscription, dated A.D.955 (V.S.1012)[2].

---

1. JNSI, vol.22 (Altekar Volume), p.278.
2. EI, vol.22, p.120 ff.

CHAPTER IV

THE GUHILAS IN ABEYANCE

KHOMMĀṆA OR KHUMMĀṆA I

We have shown in the preceding pages that Bappa abdicated the throne in A.D.753 (V.S.810) and we have no evidence against this date, which agrees fairly well with other evidence. So we accept it as probably correct. We have also seen that Bappa was the epithet of Kālabhoja and in various sources Khommāṇa is referred to as the son of Bappa[1]. According to the Atpur inscription[2], dated A.D.977 (V.S. 1034), Khommāṇa I ascended the throne after Kālabhoja.

The Khummāṇa-Rāso, a work of the seventeenth century or later[3], gives a description of the conflict between the Guhila prince Khommāṇa and Mahmud Khorasan Pat, who invaded Chitor during ~~during~~ Khommāṇa's

---

1. See above, p. 124ff.
2. IA, vol.39, p.191.
3. HR, vol.1, p.424, fn.1.

reign[1]. According to Tod the Abassid Caliph Al-Ma'mūn, who reigned between A.D.813 and 833, is by mistake called Mahmud in the Rāso[2]. Identifying Khommāṇa with the Guhila prince Khommāṇa I, he concludes that this invasion took place in the reign of Khommāṇa I. We have no positive evidence to contradict the identification of Tod, though the two names, Mahmud Khorasan Pat and Al-Ma'mūn, are not at all similar in sound. Scholars such as Ojha and others[3] are inclined to think that this invasion, if true, may have taken place during the reign of Khommāṇa II, who was the contemporary of the Caliph Al-Ma'mūn. Khommāṇa I's date of accession, as stated above, is A.D.753. Hence the difference between Khommāṇa I and that of Al-Ma'mūn is apparently of 60 years, which is opposed to the chronology of the Guhilas given in the various inscriptions. If there is any historical truth in the account given in the Rāso, the Arabs may have raided the Guhila territory during the reign of Khommāṇa II.

The controversy regarding the onslaught of the Arabs, resisted by Khommāṇa I or Khommāṇa II, seems to arise owing to the mention of only one

---

1. AR, vol.1, p.283 ff.
2. Ibid.
3. Ojha, HR, vol.1, p.420; Ray, DHNI, vol.2, p.1168; Ganguly, IHQ, 1938, p.813 ff; see also, AIU, Bh.V.Bh,vol.4, p.105.

Khommāṇa in the bardic traditions. Dr. M.L.Mathur still insists[1] that Khommāṇa I fought with the Arabs. He undoubtedly believes that Khommāṇa I was a contemporary of the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa I of Bhinmāl (A.D.756) and the Cāhamāna prince Gūvaka I, the successor of Durlabharāja I of Sāmbhar. But we know that Gūvaka I was a contemporary as well as a feudatory of the Pratihāra king Nāgabhaṭa II (V.S.872=A.D.815)[2]. In the Harṣa stone inscription we have the date A.D.973 (V.S.1030) for Vigraharāja II and Gūvaka I is the sixth king counting bachwards from Vigraharāja II[3]. If we assign at least 25 years for each reign, the date A.D. 823 will be arrived at for Gūvaka I. This date is very near to the date of Khommāṇa II. Hence the date of Gūvaka I can easily be accepted as some time after A.D.815. A.D.753-54 is the date of Khommāṇa I, accepted by most scholars. Even Mathur accepts this date. Thus the difference between the dates of Khommāṇa I and Gūvaka I is at least of 61-62 years. If we accept the view of Dr. Mathur, it would certainly show that Khommāṇa I ruled for the long period of 61-62 years. But this is evidently wrong, as we do not know even a single

---

1. IHQ, vol.30 (1954), p.31 ff.
2. EI, vol.2, p.121, v.13; see also, DHNI, vol.2, pp.1054, 1062-63; ECD, p.26; IHQ, 1938, p.813 ff; AIK, Bh.V.Bh, p.105; JDL, vol.10, p.46.
3. EI, vol.2, p.119 ff.

source where Khommāṇa I is said to have ruled for a such a long period. At the same time his conjecture does not even suit the chronology of the Guhila princes of Mewar. Hence Dr. Mathur's statement is incredible, based on unhistorical arguments.

In this connection Dr. Mathur's next statement, that Gūvaka I was a feudatory of the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa I (A.D.756), is also untrustworthy on the same grounds. There is a long difference between A.D.756, the date of the Pratihāra king Nāgabhaṭa I, and A.D.823, the approximate date of Gūvaka I. Hence Gūvaka I in any case cannot have been a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa I. Actually the controversy arose on the name Nāgāvaloka of the Harṣa stone inscription; this name has rightly been identified with Nāgabhaṭa II (A.D.815) by most scholars[1]. Dr. Mathur's opinion is based on Professor Kielhorn's wrong identification[2]. He is trying to keep alive a question which has been well settled long ago, and now there is no valid reason for dispute about it at all [3]. Thus, the

---

1. EI, vol.12, p.197 ff; see also, Bhandarkar, IA, 1911, p. 240 ff; Tripathi, HK, p.228 ff; Ray, DHNI, vol.2, pp.1054, 1062-63.
2. EI, vol.9, p.248 ff.
3. Dr. Mathur's paper seems to be self contradictory. He states on the basis of the Hansot copper plate that

(continued on the next page)

Prabandhakośa[1] is perhaps right in its statement that Govindarāja or Gūvaka I defeated the Sultan Vega Varisa, who has been identified with Bashar[2], the Muslim governor of Sindh under the Caliph Al-Ma'mūn (A.D.813-33). But as far as the date of this battle is concerned it must have been fought some time after A.D.815-20, and not between A.D.754 and 758 as Dr. Mathur suggests. He also believes that Khommāṇa I was a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa I, who was the master of a major portion of Rajasthan and Gujarat and thus he may have joined hands with Nāgabhaṭa I in resisting the Muslim attack. But we have no solid evidence to this effect and hence we cannot rely on these arguments without any stronger support.

The Gwalior inscription informs us that Nāgabhaṭa I (A.D.756) "crushed the large army of the powerful Mleccha king, the destroyer of virtue[3], and it is

---

(continued from the back page) Gūvaha I was a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa I, but it is evident from the Harṣa stone inscription(EI, vol.2, p.121, v.13) that Gūvaka I was a feudatory of a king Nāgāvaloka, who is to be identified with Nāgabhaṭa II and not Nāgabhaṭa I. Apparently Mathur recognizes this fact in a foot note of the same paper.

1.Ed.by Jinavijaya Muni, vol.1, Append.2, p.133, Genealogy, No.8.

2.IHQ, vol.14, p.815 ff.

3.EI, vol.18, p.107 ff.

also evident from the information supplied by Al-Bilādurī[1]. The hansot grant[2] refers to the increasing victory of Nāgabhaṭa I, who carried his arms to Broach. All these references show that during the reign of Nāgabhaṭa I the Arabs invaded Western India and he took up the fight hand to hand with the invader. But whether Khommāṇa I's reign was affected by this Muslim raid is not known to us, though from the geography of the region this is quite probable.

Dr. G.C.Raychaudhuri[3], assigning the date of Khommāṇa I in the first half of the eighth century, believes that the army of Junaid, the Arab governor of Sindh, who fought many battles in the kingdom lying in the vicinity of Mewar, may have raided the territory of Khommāṇa I and he may have defended his territory. But it is evident from the date of Caliph Hishām (A.D.724-43) that Junaid, the governor of Sindh under Hishām, raided some parts Western India during the period from A.D.724 to 743[4]. According to R.C.Majumdar Junaid led these expeditions shortly after A.D.724[5]. We have seen that Bappa or

---

1.Elliot, vol.1, p.126 ff.
2.EI, vol.12, p.203 ff.
3.HM, p.32 ff.
4.Elliot, vol.1, p.126 ff; see also, HK, p.227.
5.GP (JDL, vol.10), p.21 ff.

Kālabhoja abdicated the throne in favour of his son Khommāṇa I some time in A.D.753. Thus it is clear that Khommāṇa I never faced the army of Junaid. If Dr. Raychaudhuri's conjecture about the Arab invasion of the kingdom lying in the vicinity of Mewar is correct, then Bappa, the father of Khommāṇa I, may have faced the Arab army, as we have shown in the context of Bappa[1].

MATTAṬA

Khommāṇa I was succeeded by Mattaṭa. According to the Rajput tradition[2] Khommāṇa is said to have been slain by his son Maṅgal. This Maṅgal may be identified with Mattaṭa of the Atpur inscription[3]. But whether Mattaṭa really usurped the throne after murdering his father Khommāṇa I is not known to us. Hence we cannot take this tradition as more than a legend.

The Chitor inscription of the time of Samarasiṁha, dated A.D.1274 (V.S.1331)[4], praising his

---

1. See above, p. 142 ff.
2. AR, vol.1, p.296 ff.
3. IA, vol.39, p.191.
4. Bh.I, p.75, v.25.

chivalrous acts of war, says that he "wrote the praises of his victory with the ink of tears dripping from the eyes of the wives of the proud kings of Mālava". No inscription of the reign of Mattaṭa has yet been found, nor do we possess any other source to determine his date. But we may place him during the last quarter of the eighth century, because he was the second prince ruling after A.D.753, the date of Bappa's abdication. As stated above he is said to have won a victory over Mālava. During this period, we are informed that Mālava was passing through a critical phase. Dr. Fleet, commenting on a passage of the colophon of the Harivaṁśa Purāṇa of the Jaina Jinasena II, notices that Ujjain was under the control of the Pratihāra Vatsarāja during A.D. 783-84 (Śaka Saṁvat 705)[1]. Dr Fleet's view that Ujjain was then under the yoke of the Pratihāras is also supported by the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa I[2]. It seems that the Gurjara prince of Ujjain was defeated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga (A.D.745-56), as is evident from a verse of the Sanjan plates[3]. The Gwalior Praśasti clearly states that the hill-forts of Mālava were occupied for the first time

---

1. EI, vol.6, p.195 ff; also, HK, p.225 ff; JDL, vol.10, pp. 23-25; AIK, Bh.V.Bh, pp.21-22.
2. EI, vol.18, p.239 ff.
3. Ibid, p.243, v.9.

by Nāgabhaṭa II[1]. We are informed from the Wani[2] and the Radhanpur[3] grants that the Pratihāra king Vatsarāja was defeated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruvarāja and as a result he was compelled to quit Mālava. We may place the Guhila Mattaṭa, during this time, as a contemporary of Dhruvarāja and Vatsarāja. From the reference we have quoted, it seems that Mattaṭa may have participated in this war in Mālava fought between the Pratihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The question then arises under what capacity he participated in this battle, whether he was a feudatory of either of these kings or a friend allied to one of them. He is said to have got victory over Mālava. We know from the above mentioned grants that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king was victorious. This evidence tends to support the view that Mattaṭa joined hands with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power and defeated the Pratihāra king Vatsarāja. Some scholars are inclined to think that the Guhila princes were feudatories of the Pratihāra kings[4]. Though the conjecture that the Guhila princes were vassals of the Pratihāras during the eighth and ninth centuries is not impossible, it is more probable that the Guhila princes

---

1. EI, vol.18, p.108.
2. IA, vol.11, p.161.
3. EI, vol.7, p.243 ff.
4. IHQ, 1928, p.798 ff; Ibid, 1954, p.34; RS, p.38 ff etc.

of the main branch were independent rulers. Other branches may have owed allegiance to the Pratihāras, as is evident from the Chatsu inscription of Bālāditya[1], which states that the Guhila prince Harṣarāja, after conquering the kings of the north, presented horses to Bhoja, who is identified with the famous Pratihāra king Mihira Bhoja (A.D.836-90). If the Chitor inscription is right, Mattaṭa may have been allied with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Pratihāra king Vatsarāja ultimately had to bow before these powers. But we can place little reliance on the statement given in the Chitor inscription, which records an incident nearly 500 years old at the time of the record's composition.

BHARTṚPAṬṬA OR BHĀRTṚPAṬṬA I

Mattaṭa was succeeded by Bhartṛpaṭṭa or Bhartṛbhaṭa I. Nothing of historical importance is known about this prince. The Atpur inscription of Śaktikumāra, dated A.D.977 (V.S.1034)[2], refers to two princes who are named Bhartṛpaṭṭa

---

1. EI, vol.12, p.15.
2. IA, vol.39, p.191.

But other inscriptions containing the genealogy of the Guhila princes[1] ignore the name of Bhartṛpaṭṭa II, who according to the Atpur inscription was the son and successor of Khommāṇa III. The Chatsu inscription of Bālāditya[2] mentions one Guhila Bhartṛpaṭṭa, who according to Ojha is identical with Bhartṛpaṭṭa I of the main branch[3]. Following Ojha Dr. Mathur is also of the same opinion[4]. But Professor Ray has every doubt about this assumption[5]. Unfortunately the Chatsu inscription is undated, and this led scholars to interpret it in different ways. The Dabok inscription records the date Harṣa year 207 (if Ojha and Halder are correct)[6], and thus the date of Dhanika, the contemporary ruler of the Chatsu branch, is given as A.D.813. In the Chatsu as well as in the Dabok inscriptions Dhanika is said to have been the son of Guhila of the Chatsu branch. The Chatsu inscription clearly refers to Bhartṛpaṭṭa as the fifth prince counting backwards from Dhanika. If we assign an average of 20 years to each reign the date of Bhartṛpaṭṭa

---

1.The Chitor, Abu, Rāṇapura and the Kumbhalgarh inscriptions.
2.EI, vol.12, p.13, v.7.
3.HR, vol.1, p.420 ff.
4.IHQ, vol.30, p.34 ff.
5.DHNI, vol.2, p.1168, fn.3.
6.EI, vol.20, p.123 ff. Ojha does not agree with Bhandarkar's reading of the date (HR, vol.1, p.421, fn.1).

would be approximately A.D.713. But we evidently know that Bappa, the third ancestor of the Bhartṛpaṭṭa of the main branch, abdicated the throne in A.D.753 (V.S.810)[1]. Even Ojha accepts this date of Bappa's abdication. Hence it is impossible to identify Bhartṛpaṭṭa I of the main branch with Bhartṛpaṭṭa of the Chatsu inscription. Ojha seems to be confused in this identification. He fully accepts that Harṣarāja, the ninth prince from Bhartṛpaṭṭa of the Chatsu inscription, was contemporary as well as feudatory of the famous Pratihāra king Bhoja I (A.D.836-90)[2]. According to this assumption the date of Bhartṛpaṭṭa would come roughly about the first half of the eighth century A.D. But we know that during this period Bappa, the remote ancestor of Bhartṛpaṭṭa of the main branch, was ruling. Thus in any case Bhartṛpaṭṭa of the Chatsu inscription cannot be identified with Bhartṛpaṭṭa I of the main branch, and Ojha as well as Mathur are here certainly wrong in their statements that Īśāṇabhaṭa of the Chatsu branch was the younger son of Bhartṛpaṭṭa I of the main branch of the Guhilas.

Bhartṛpaṭṭa I perhaps issued some coins. A debased silver coin has been found bearing the legend

---

1.See above, p.114ff.
2.HR, vol.1, p.421, and fn.2.

Śrī Bhartra before the bust of the king[1]. Mr. Samar is inclined to believe, on the basis of the style of the script, that this coin might have been issued by Bhartṛpaṭṭa I of the Guhila dynasty of Mewar. In the photograph of the coin in question the legend is not clear and makes the reading doubtful. But we know that the Guhila princes issued coins, therefore we may tentatively accept that the present coin was issued by Bhartṛpaṭṭa I, though it may have been issued by Bhartṛpaṭṭa II, the famous prince who bore the epithet of Mahārājādhirāja in the Partabgarh inscription of Mahendrapāla II (A.D.946)[2]. This conjecture is also supported by the fact that the coin in question contains more silver than copper, which is not the case with most of the coins of the period, and thus is perhaps a sign of prosperity. Bhartṛpaṭṭa II's title shows that he was a more prosperous and powerful king than the other early rulers of this dynasty.

---

1. JNSI, vol.20, pt.1, p.32; see our pl.II, fig.18.
2. EI, vol.14, p.187.

SIṂHA

After Bhartṛpaṭṭa I Siṁha ascended the throne. Most of the inscriptions containing the genealogical list refer to his name. Ojha[1] seems to be wrong in his statement that after Bhartṛpaṭṭa I his elder son Siṁha ascended the throne of Mewar and his younger son Īśāṇabhaṭa and his successors ruled over most of the territory around Chatsu, as is evident from the Chatsu inscription of Bālāditya[2]. We have seen above that Bhartṛpaṭṭa I of the Atpur inscription in any case cannot be identified with Bhartṛpaṭṭa of the Chatsu inscription. Hence Īśāṇabhaṭa evidently cannot be the son of Bhartṛpaṭṭa I of the Atpur inscription. We have no positive evidence that Siṁha was the son of Bhartṛpaṭṭa I. Though in the Mount Abu inscription the relation of father and son is determined between some of the kings and their successors, Siṁha is here simply referred to with the formula that after Bhartṛpaṭṭa "came the victorious king Siṁha[3].

According to Mr. Samar a large number of coins of Siṁha have been discovered[4] and these are mostly of copper. The bust of the king is visible on some of the

---

1. HR, vol.1, p.420 ff.
2. EI, vol.12, p.10 ff.
3. Bh.I, p.85, v.17; also IA, vol.16, p.347 ff.
4. JNSI, vol.20, pt.1, p.32; see our pl.II, fig.19 and pl.III, figs. 1-3

coins. In one of them the bust and the legend Siṁha seem to be clear[1]. The photograph and legend of other coins are not clear, and thus the reading is doubtful. Mr. Samar is of the opinion that the reign of Siṁha was not peaceful and this affected the coinage, most of which is debased and very crudely executed. But he does not give any other evidence of battles fought by Siṁha or of any attack faced by him.

KHOMMĀṆA II

Amongst the inscriptions which contain the genealogy of the Guhila princes only the Atpur inscription refers to the name of Khommāṇa II, who is said to be the son of Siṁha[2]. While dealing with Khommāṇa I, we have stated above that if the Khuṁmāṇa-Rāso is right, Khommāṇa II may have faced the Arab army in defence of his territory. That there was an Arab invasion during the time of Khommāṇa II (approximately second quarter of the ninth century) is also supported by other records. The Prabandhakośa of Rājaśekhara

---

1. JNSI, vol.20, pt.1, p.32; see our pl.III, fig.2.
2. IA, vol.39, p.191, v.3.

Sūri, a work of the first half of the fourteenth century, records a fight between Govindarāja or Gūvaka I and Sultan Vega Varisa wherein Vega Varisa was defeated by Gūvaka I[1]. This Vega Varisa is identified with Bashar[2], who was the governor of Sindh during the reign of Caliph Al-Ma'mūn (A.D. 813-33)[3]. Śākambharī, the seat of the power of the Cāhamāna Gūvaka I, was not far from the border of the Arab kingdom of Sindh. Thus we tentatively accept the statement of the Prabandhakośa, remembering that the evidence for these Muslim raids is really not very good, since the names of the invaders bear no resemblance whatever to those of any historical personages. Again the Gwalior inscription of the Pratihāra king Bhoja[4] records that Nāgabhaṭa II seized the hill-forts occupied by the kings of Turuṣka and others. Here Turuṣka has reasonably been identified with the Muslim rulers of Sindh[5]. We know from other sources that Gūvaka I was a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa II[6]. Thus it seems likely that Gūvaka I took part with his overlord in repelling the Arabs.

1.Ed.by Jinavijaya Muni, vol.1, p.133, genealogy, No.8.
2.IHQ, vol.14, p.815 ff.
3.Elliot, vol.1, p.128 ff.
4.EI, vol.18, p.112 ff.
5.AIK, Bh.V.Bh, p.126.
6.See above, p.152 ff.

Tod, relying on the Khuṁmāṇa-Rāso, concludes that Khommāṇa (I) fought with the Arabs and about 38 kings of different parts of India joined hands with him and defeated them[1]. In this statement the figure and the names of some clans are absolutely fictitious, for they are quite incompatible with the chronology of the inscriptions. During this period (A.D.812-836) a number of dynasties mentioned in the chronicle were not even in existence. The account of the territories occupied by the kings is also unhistorical in some cases. However, as stated above, this battle may have been fought by Khommāṇa II and not Khommāṇa I[2]. It is apparent from the date of Khommāṇa II that he was a contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa II and Gūvaka I. Hence we safely conclude that these powers along with Khommāṇa II formed a confederacy against the Arabs and forced them to take refuge in Sindh. The Khoṁmāṇa-Rāso in this connection seems to be reliable.

Dr. D.C.Ganguly believes that the Kalacuri king Kokkala I was a contemporary of Khommāṇa II and he also may have joined the confederacy to face the army of Bashar, the governor of Sindh[3]. The conjecture of

---

1.AR, vol.1, p.283 ff.
2.See above, p. 151 ff.
3.IHQ, vol.14, p.816 ff.

Dr. Ganguly that Kokkala I was a contemporary of Khommāṇa II is questionable. He himself accepts that Khommāṇa II was a contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa II (A.D.815-33) and Gūvaka I (approximately A.D.815). Thus,if Kokkala I was a contemporary of these powers, he must have reigned at least during the second quarter of the ninth century A.D. In order to account for this discrepency Dr. Ganguly thinks that Kokkala I may have been born in about A.D.816[1]. In this connection he believes that Vijambā, the fourth princess counting from Kokkala I of the Cambay plate of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda IV, became a mother at the tender age of 14 years, which in any case cannot be accepted as true without any stronger evidence. Cunningham[2] assigns the period of Kokkala I's reign between A.D.860 and 900. Professor Ray[3] and Dr. Tripathi[4] believe with certainty that Kokkala I was a contemporary of the Pratihāra king Bhoja II (A.D.908-14). Dr. Tripathi's argument seems to be very strong that Bhoja of the Benares grant of Karṇadeva[5] must be identified with Bhoja II, because it seems unbelievable that

---

1. IHQ, vol.13, p.484 ff.
2. ASIR, vol.9, p.103.
3. DHNI, vol.2, p.754 ff.
4. HK, p.256 ff.
5. EI, vol.2, p.306, v.7.

Bhoja I, who was himself a mighty emperor, could have retained his position after getting protection from Kokkala I. However, if we accept the middle way as adopted by Professor Ray[1] that Kokkala I was a contemporary of Bhoja I as well as Bhoja II, even then Kokkala I could not have participated in the battle fought by Khommāṇa II and other allied powers against the Arabs. Even if we accept the weak argument of Dr. Ganguly that Kokkala I was born in A.D.816, it would hardly have been possible for Kokkala I to make an alliance with the allied powers and to have fought with the Arabs at the tender age of 17 years at most. The Prabhāvakacarita of the Jaina Prabhācandra[2] states that Nāgāvaloka (Nāgabhaṭa II) died in A.D.833 (V.S.890). The confederacy was almost certainly formed in or before this date, which is the last known date of Nāgabhaṭa II, and at this time Kokkala I could not have been more than 16 or 17 years old on Dr. Ganguly's assumption. Thus the statement of Dr. Ganguly is wrong and unhistorical. If the Amoda plates[3] are right, Kokkala I may have fought with another Turuṣka army which is at present not possible to identify, though Professor Ray regards these verses as mere praśasti, far from any historical truth[4].

---

1. DHNI, vol.2, p.754. He assigns the period of Kokkala I between A.D.875 and 925.
2. Ed.by Jinavijaya Muni, vol.1, p.109, vs.719-24.
3. EI, vol.19, p.78, vs.4-5.
4. DHNI, vol.2,p.755.

MAHĀYAKA

In the Atpur inscription[1], dated A.D.977 (V.S.1034), Mahāyaka is said to have ascended the throne after his father, Khommāṇa II. On the contrary the Mount Abu inscription of Samarasiṁha, dated A.D.1285 (V.S.1342)[2], distinctly states that Siṁha was succeeded by his son Mahāyaka. But the Atpur inscription is more reliable than the Mount Abu inscription, which is very late. Nothing of historical importance is known about this prince. A.C.Banerjee[3] tentatively thinks that the Guhila prince Harṣarāja referred to by R.C.Majumdar[4] may be identical with Mahāyaka or Khommāṇa III. In this connection he states that the name of Harṣarāja does not find mention in any of the inscriptions containing genealogical records of the Guhila princes. In our opinion Banerjee seems to be confused in this respect, and does not differentiate between the Guhilas of the main branch and the Guhilas of other branches. He is apparently unaware that there were different branches in the Guhila dynasty. The Chatsu inscription of

---

1.IA, vol.39, p.191, v.3.
2.Ibid, vol.16, p.347, v.18; also, Bh.I, p.85.
3.RS, p.38.
4.GP, p.47; also JDL, vol.10, p.47.

Bālāditya[1] clearly gives a genealogy of the Guhilas of the Chatsu branch where Harṣarāja, the ninth prince counting from Bhartṛpaṭṭa, is said to have conquered the kings of the north and presented horses to Bhoja, who has been rightly identified with the Pratihāra Bhoja I[2]. Thus there is not even the slightest likelihood that Mahāyaka or Khommāṇa III was referred to as Harṣarāja. It is evident from the inscriptions of the Guhila princes that Mahāyaka and Khommāṇa III were the princes of the main Guhila branch and Harṣarāja was a prince of the Chatsu branch. Hence Banerjee is here mistaken.

KHOMMĀṆA III

Most inscriptions of the Guhilas record the name of Khommāṇa III, who succeeded his father, Mahāyaka[3]. Again practically nothing of historical importance is known about this prince. Only conventional praises of Khommāṇa III are

---

1. EI, vol.12, p.15, vs.18-19.
2. Ibid, p.12.
3. IA, vol.39, p.191, v.3.

inscribed in the records of the later period. In the Rāṇapur[a] inscription of the time of Kumbha, dated A.D.1440 (V.S.1496), he is said to have made gifts of gold (tula-tolaka) to the extent of his weight with his son and wife[1]. We have one more reference to Khommāṇa in the Kumbhalgarh inscription of Kumbha, dated A.D.1460 (V.S.1517)[2], where he is also said to have made gifts of gold to the extent of his weight with his son and wife. In the same inscription he is credited with very wide conquests of various countries and with defeating the people of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Triliṅga, Surāṣṭra, Coḍa, Draviḍa and Gauḍa[3]. These verses seem to be a mere praśasti, which sounds impressive, but is unhistorical. We have no positive evidence to conclude that any of the Khommāṇas ever conquered such wide areas of the country. According to Dr. G.C.Raychaudhuri[4] the above mentioned Khommāṇa of the Kumbhalgarh inscription may be identified with Khommāṇa III, who, according to the Rāṇapura inscription, is also said to have made gifts of gold. The earlier verses of the Kumbhalgarh inscription dealing with Bappa, Guhadatta and Khommāṇa are not

---

1.Bh.I, p.114, lines 4-5.
2.EI, vol.24, pp.323-24, v.134.
3.Ibid, p.324, vs.136-37.
4.HM, p.38.

chronologically true[1]. This Khommāṇa seems merely a legendary hero, as the original portion of the inscription, which is called Rāja-varṇana, gives the genealogy of the Guhila princes from verse 139. In the Rāja-varṇana the other Khommāṇa, as usual, is placed after Kālabhoja. Thus Khommāṇa I of this inscription in any case cannot be identified with Khommāṇa III, simply on the basis of similarity of gifts. Actually the Kumbhalgarh inscription chronologically refers to only one Khommāṇa, who can easily be identified with Khommāṇa I of the other inscriptions.

Dr. Raychaudhuri's next conjecture[2], on the basis of the list of people said to have been conquered, that he may have joined hands with the Pratihāra king Mahīpāla in repulsing the army of Indra III, is also not convincing. His opinion is again based on the similarity of the relevant verse to one by Rājaśekhara which praises victories of Mahīpāla over the Muralas, Mekalas, Kaliṅgas, Keralas, Kulūtas, Kuntalas and the Ramathas[3]. Though the first known date of Bhartṛpaṭṭa II (A.D.942)[4], the successor of Khommāṇa III, leads us to think that Khommāṇa

---

1. EI, vol.24, p.309, vs.127-137.
2. HM, p.38.
3. Pracaṇḍa-Pāṇḍava or Bālabhārata, ed.by Carl Cappeller, p. 2; also Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, introd., I, 7-8.
4. EI, vol.14, p.187, pt.III, line 27.

III may have been the contemporary of the Pratihāra Mahīpāla (approximately A.D.915), we have no positive evidence to say that he took part with Mahīpāla in repelling the army of Indra III (A.D.915-17). To us these verses seem to be a mere fiction.

BHARTṚPAṬṬA II

Bhartṛpaṭṭa II succeeded his father Khommāṇa III[1]. So far as we know, only two inscriptions of his time have been discovered. In the Partabgarh inscription, dated A.D. 942 (V.S.999)[2], he is referred to as Mahārājādhirāja. The purpose of the inscription was to record grants, one of which was issued by Bhartṛpaṭṭa II for the religious benefit of his family. This grant of a field named Vavvulika (Babbulika) was issued in favour of the Sun-god Indrarājāditya-deva of Ghoṇṭāvarṣi. The village Palāsa-Kūpika, where the field was situated, is identified with Prāsia, 15 miles south of Mandasor, and Ghoṇṭāvarṣi with Ghotārsi, which is 7 miles east of Partabgarh[3]. The present

---

1.IA, vol.39, p.191, v.3.
2.EI, vol.14, p.187, pt.III, line 27.
3.Ibid, pt.III, p.181.

grant is the third recorded on a certain slab of stone, where other grants are also inscribed. The first grant was issued by the Pratihāra king Mahendrapāla II in A.D.946 (V.S.1003). The second was issued at the request of Indra-rāja, a Cāhamāna feudatory, by Mādhava, who was the provincial governor of Ujjain under Mahendrapāla II. There are four other minor grants issued by different persons in favour of different deities. Evidently these grants were consolidated on one slab by the authorities of the monastery, because all the shrines and temples concerned were connected. It appears that it was this consolidation of the grants that led Professor H.C.Ray to think that Bhartṛpaṭṭa II was a feudatory of the Pratihāra king Mahendrapāla II (A.D.946)[1]. He firmly believes on the basis of this inscription that Bhartṛpaṭṭa II acknowledged the sovereignty of Mahendrapāla II. But he does not put forward a single piece of positive evidence which may prove his conjecture. The inscription under review is very clear and precise, and contains no word which might show that Bhartṛpaṭṭa II was a feudatory of the Kanauj emperor. If he had been a feudatory of Mahendrapāla II, he would have been referred to as Mahāsāmanta or by some other title of a

---

1. DHNI, vol.2, pp.1161 and 1168 ff.

feudatory, as is the case with the Cāhamāna Indrarāja, who in the same inscription is referred to as Cāhamāṇa-ānvaya-mahāsāmanta-Śrī-Indrarāja[1]. This clearly shows that Bhartṛpaṭṭa II was not a feudatory of the Kanauj emperor. It is also evident from the same inscription that he was a Mahārājādhirāja , a title which was generally used by an independent ruler. Lastly we may add that the grants were issued by different persons in different times and in favour of different deities, which were worshipped by Hindus without any restriction. Hence the fact that Bhartṛpaṭṭa granted a field in favour of a deity, whose shrine was attached to the same monastery, in favour of which Mahendrapāla granted a field, in any case cannot be regarded as evidence that he was a feudatory of the Pratihāra king. This type of inscriptions, which consolidates various grants issued in favour of one institution, is not unknown in Rajasthan[2]. The Vasiṣṭha temple inscription of Mount Abu is an example of it[3]. Thus it is wrong to suggest any relation between Mahendrapāla II and Bhartṛpaṭṭa II on the basis of the Partabgarg inscription, and in our opinion Professor Ray is here wrong.

---

1. EI, vol.14, p.186, line 21.
2. IA, vol.2, p.256 ff.
3. EI, vol.14, p.177.

The next fragmentary inscription of the time of Bhartṛpaṭṭa II was discovered at Ahar near Udaipur, dated A.D.943 (V.S.1000), just a year after his Partabgarh inscription, and records the installation of an image of Ādivarāha (an avatāra of Viṣṇu)[1]. Bhartṛpaṭṭa is here simply referred to as Bhartṛ. Nothing of historical importance can be derived from these two inscriptions, except the date of Bhartṛpaṭṭa II.

Ojha believes that Bhartṛpura (the present village of Bhatevar), after whose name the Jaina gaccha Bhartṛpurīya is known, was founded by Bhartṛpaṭṭa II[2]. We have no positive evidence to establish this, though one cannot doubt that there were two Bhartṛpaṭṭas in the main Guhila family.

In the Atpur inscription[3], dated A.D.977 (V.S.1034), Bhartṛpaṭṭa is referred to as the "ornament of the three worlds", and he is said to have a queen named Mahālakṣmī, who was a princess of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. According to Ojha[4] this Mahālakṣmī may have been the

---

1. JIH, vol.35, p.355 ff. R.C.Agrawala, the editor of this inscription, prefers to read the date as V.S.1001; see also ARRMA, 1913-14, p.2; HR, vol.1, p.425.
2. HR, vol.1, p.426.
3. IA, vol.39, p.191, v.3.
4. HR, vol.1, p.425.

daughter or sister of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Maṁmaṭa of Hastikuṇḍi[1], who was a contemporary of Bhartṛpaṭṭa II. This is also proved by the fact that Dhavala, the son of Maṁmaṭa, helped the prince of Āghāta (whose name is lost in the inscription), when the Paramāra king Muñja sacked that city[2]. The prince, whose name is lost in the inscription, is identified with the Guhila prince Śaktikumāra[3]. Though his dynastic name is not mentioned, one Maṁmaṭa is referred to as the minister of the Guhila prince Allaṭa[4], the son of Bhartṛpaṭṭa II. Though there is no chronological difficulty to identify the minister Maṁmaṭa with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince of the same name, we have no other positive evidence except the similarity of names. In any case this shows that Bhartṛpaṭṭa strengthen his power after making a matrimonial alliance with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who were the hereditary enemies of the Pratihāras. In our opinion this matrimonial alliance with a hereditary enemy of the Pratihāras also shows that Bhartṛpaṭṭa II was not a feudatory of the Pratihāra Mahendrapāla II, but was an independent ruler.

---

1. EI, vol.10, p.20.
2. Ibid, p.20, v.10.
3. AIK, p.108 ff.
4. Bh.I, pp.67-68.

ALLAṬA

Allaṭa was the son and successor of Bhartṛpaṭṭa II, by his Rāṣṭrakūṭa queen Mahālakṣmī. In the local tradition Allaṭa is also known as Ālu Rāval[1]. The last known date of Allaṭa's father is A.D.943 (V.S.1000) and the first known date of Allaṭa is A.D.951 (V.S.1008), hence we may presume that Allaṭa ascended the throne some time between these two dates. In the Āhar Sāraneśvara temple inscription, dated A.D.951 and 953 (V.S.1008 and 1010), Allaṭa is referred to as medinī-patiḥ[2] . The purpose of this inscription was to record the erection of a temple dedicated to the god Murāri (Viṣṇu), which was completed in A.D.953 (V.S.1010) after two years of its beginning in A.D.951 (V.S.1008). The inscription also records various gifts or endowments for the maintenance of the temple. Traders and even gamblers are directed to contribute for its maintenance. The traders of Karṇāṭa (called Karṇāṭaka, a region of southern India comprising the area from Rāmanāth to Śrīraṇgapaṭṭaṇ) , Lāṭa (south Gujarat, comprising the land between the Tāptī river and the Mahī river), Madhyadeśa (upper Ganges valley, comprising the territories from Himālaya to Vindhyācala and

---

1.HR, vol.1, p.426.
2.Bh.I, p.67; see also IA, vol.58, p.162.

from Kurukṣetra to Prayāga) and Ṭakka (a part of Panjab, whose capital was Śākala, synonymous with the Madra and Vahika country)[1] are specified in the inscription as making endowments in favour of the temple. The inscription also throws some light on the system of government managed by high officials. Mammaṭa was the Amātya of king Allaṭa. Other officials referred to in the inscription are Durlabharāja as the Sāndhivigrahika (minister of peace and war), and Mayūra and Samudra as the Akṣapaṭalikas (keepers of accounts). Nāga was the Vandipati (most probably officer in charge of prisons)[2] and the post of Bhiṣagādhirāja (royal physician) was held by Rudrāditya. All these facts go to show that the reign of Allaṭa was prosperous and that merchants from other parts of India frequently used to visit Āghāta, which was perhaps a big centre of trade and commerce during his reign.

That the matrimonial alliance, which may have proved beneficial during the time of Bhartṛpaṭṭa II, was continued by Allaṭa is evident from the Atpur inscription of Śaktikumāra, dated A.D.977 (V.S.1034), where Allaṭa is said to have a queen named Hariyadevī, who

---

1.HR, vol.1, p.427, fns.8-11; also Bh.I, p.69 fn.
2.Ojha takes it as chief bard (HR, vol.1, p.426).

was a daughter of a Hūṇa prince, whose name is not mentioned in the inscription[1]. According to Dr. G.C. Raychaudhuri[2] this Hūṇa queen Hariyadevī was apparently a princess who belonged to the Hūṇamaṇḍala referred to in the Gaonri copper plate inscription of the Paramāra Vākpati Muñja, dated A.D.981 (V.S.1038)[3]. Though we have no positive evidence to say so, we may suggest that she was a princess of a Hūṇa king who ruled over the northern part of Mālava. Another Hūṇa princess Āvalladevī is said to be the queen of the Kalacuri king Karṇa[4]. We evidently know that the Hūṇas of this area were defeated by the Paramāra king Harṣa-Sīyaka II (c. A.D.948-974)[5] and also by his son Vākpati Muñja[6]. The Guhila prince of Āghāta is also said to have been attacked by the Paramāra king Muñja[7]. The above mentioned records show that the Paramāras were the hereditary enemies of the Guhilas as well as of the Hūṇas. Thus it was quite natural for the common enemies of the Paramāras to become united.

---

1. IA, vol.39, p.191, v.5.
2. HM, p.41.
3. EI, vol.23, p.108, line 7.
4. Ibid, vol.12, p.212, v.15; see also, vol.23, p.102, where these Hūṇas are said to be of the Kṣatriya clan.
5. Ibid, vol.1, p.225; see also, Navasāhasāṅka-carita, XI, 89-90.
6. IA, vol.14, p.156.
7. EI, vol.10, p.20, v.10.

This unity apparently took the shape of a matrimonial alliance and Hariyadevī was given in marriage to Allaṭa. The marriage may have been solemnized after the defeat of the Hūṇa prince by Harṣa-Sīyaka II, who was a contemporary of Allaṭa, some time after A.D.953, the date of Allaṭa's inscription, where there is no reference to the name of Hariyadevī and in our opinion this may have been one of the causes that led Vākpati Muñja to sack Āghāta, which was under the Guhilas.

In the Atpur inscription the fame of Hariyadevī is referred to as shining in the form of Harṣapura[1]. This may suggest that she founded a town of this name, though we have no positive evidence to arrive at this conclusion.

A fragmentary and damaged inscription found in a Jaina temple at Ahar refers to a powerful enemy of Allaṭa as Devapāla, who is said to have been killed in battle by Allaṭa[2]. The inscription also refers to the name of Mayūra, the Akṣpaṭalika of Allaṭa, mentioned in the Sāraṇeśvara temple inscription. According to Ojha this Devapāla may be identified with the Pratihāra

---

1.IA, vol.39, p.191, v.5.
2.HR, vol.1, p.428, fn.3.

king of the same name, who perhaps invaded the Guhila territory and was killed by Allaṭa[1]. In Dr. Barnett's opinion this identification is "possible but not very probable"[2]. Though we have no positive evidence to arrive at this conclusion , we may tentatively regard it as true. We know that the Pratihāra Devapāla, a contemporary of Allaṭa, was a weak ruler, and during his time the kingdom of the Gurjaras began to decline.

According to Dr. Ganguly[3] Devapāla might have been killed by Allaṭa when the former came to Śākambhari to rescue his feudatories, who were imprisoned by the Cāhamāna Siṁharāja[4]. The Pratihāra king who came to liberate his feudatories cannot be identified with certainty as Dr. Ganguly believes. According to Dr. D.Sharma[5] this Pratihāra king can be identified with Vijayapāla (A.D.959), the successor of Devapāla. Thus the ground on which Dr. Ganguly based his conjecture is very weak. However, at present we can simply say that he may have been the Pratihāra king Devapāla, who was killed by Allaṭa.

1.HR, vol.1, p.428, fn.2.
2.DHNI, vol.2, p.1170, fn.2.
3.AIK, p.108.
4.Harṣa inscription, IA, 1913, pp.58 and 62, v.19.
5.ECD, p.29.

In the local tradition Ālū Rāval (Allaṭa) is glorified as the founder of the town named Āḍa (Āhāḍa, Āghāta or Ahar)[1]. Ojha tentatively thinks that a number of inscriptions of the Guhila princes found at Ahar may suggest that Allaṭa founded his new capital there or that he lived there owing to its being a place of religious importance[2].

NARAVĀHANA

Allaṭa was succeeded by his son Naravāhana[3]. A stone inscription of his reign, dated A.D.971 (V.S.1028) has been

---

1. HR, vol.1, p.427.
2. Ibid, p.428; see also, DHNI, vol.2, p.1172, fn.4.
3. IA, vol.39, p.191, v.6. A.K.Vyas, with his own omissions and additions, has tried to prove on the basis of the Kadmal plates of the Guhila Vijayasiṁha, dated A.D.1083 (V.S.1140 ?), that Allaṭa had another younger son named Mahīpāla, who is not known from any other record of the Guhilas (EI, vol.31, p.240 ff). The published photograph of the Kadmal plates is extremely faulty and their language is very corrupt but they apparently contain a reference to one Mahāpāmana as the son of Allaṭa. Vyas has corrected this Mahāpāmana to Mahīpāla and himself accepts that the name of Naravāhana, who was evidently a son of Allaṭa, is not mentioned in this epigraph. But Professor Sircar, the general editor of Epigraphia Indica, has rightly rejected

(continued on the next page

found in the Nātha temple, about 14 miles north from Udaipur[1]. The inscription first refers to the name of Bappa, who is said to be a moon amongst the kings of the Guhila dynasty. The name of Naravāhana, who was then ruling, comes after another name which is missing in the inscription, and this tends to suggest that the missing name might have been of Allaṭa. The inscription is important for the history of the Lakulīśa sect. Nothing of historical importance about the reign of Naravāhana can be gathered from this inscription except his date. An undated fragmentary inscription of Ahar, of the same period, records that Śrīpati, the son of Mayūra, was appointed as the Akṣapaṭalādhīśa by Naravāhana[2]. Only conventional praise of Naravāhana in vague terms is found in the Atpur inscription[3]. Verse 7 of this epigraph vaguely gives a reference to the Cāhamāna princess, who was the queen of Naravāhana and is referred to as the daughter of the Cāhamāna Jejaya. This Jejaya cannot be identified, but the

---

(continued from the back page) the view of Vyas and established that the intended reading may have been Naravāhana, which is consistent with all other Guhila records (EI, vol.31, p.242, fn.4; see also, p.246, fn.1).

1. Bh.I, p.70 ff; also, JBBRAS, vol.22, p.166 ff.
2. HR, vol.1, p.429.
3. IA, vol.39, p.191, vs.6-7.

inscription shows that the Guhilas during the tenth century were very active in strengthening their power by making matrimonial alliances with other princes. In the three generations from Bhartṛpaṭṭa II, the Guhila princes took in marriage the princesses of three different clans. From these examples we may infer a consistent policy of matrimonial alliances, which may have proved useful for their expansion and consolidation of power.

ŚĀLIVĀHANA

Śālivāhana was the son and successor of Naravāhana, sprung from the Cāhamāna queen, the daughter of Jejaya[1]. No inscription of the reign of Śālivāhana has so far been discovered nor do we have any other evidence which may throw light on his reign. He reigned in or after A.D.971 (V.S.1028) and before A.D.977 (V.S.1034), the last and the first known dates of his father and son respectively.

Ojha has tried to establish that the Guhilas of Kathiawar are the descendants of the Guhila

---

1. IA, vol.39, p.191, vs.7-8.

prince Śālivāhana, and not of the Śālivāhana of the Andhra dynasty of the south[1]. His arguments are mostly based on the fact that the ancestor of the Kathiawar line bears the name Śālivāhana, and this fits chronologically with this king better than with Sātavahana or Śālivāhana[2], though we have no positive evidence to support this assumption.

A silver-plated copper coin is said to have been found, bearing the legend Śrī Śā[3]. Mr. Samar believes that the inscription Śrī Śā is the abbreviation of Śālivāhana. Though the reading seems to be doubtful, we may tentatively presume that the coin in question was issued by this prince, since it was evidently minted at about this time.

ŚAKTIKUMĀRA

Śālivāhana was succeeded by his son Śaktikumāra, as is evident from the Atpur inscription of the latter, dated

---

1. HR, vol.1, p.431 ff and fn.
2. BG, vol.6, p.109, fn.1.
3. JNSI, vol.20, pt.1, p.33; see our pl.III, fig.4.

A.D.977 (V.S.1034), which eulogizes him as being possessed of three powers (śakti-trayorjitaḥ)[1], Prabhu-śakti, Mantra-śakti and Utsāha-śakti[2]. It is evident from this inscription that Śaktikumāra established himself at Āṭapura (Ahar) and that probably Vaṭasthāna (Vasantgarh, Sirohi) was under his domain. The importance of the Atpur inscription lies in the fact that it gives the complete genealogical account of the early Guhila princes up to Śaktikumāra. The purpose of this inscription was to record the erection of a temple of the god Nānigasvāmī.

An undated stone inscription of the reign of Śaktikumāra was discovered in the village of Ahar near Udaipur. The inscription records the offering of 14 drammas to the Sun god (tapana) by the order of the king Śaktikumāra, who was requested to do so by his Akṣapaṭalādhipati, Mattaṭa[3]. The need to record the donation of the small amount of 14 drammas shows that these coins were considered to be of great value and might have been of gold.

A third fragmentary and undated stone inscription incised in a Jaina temple at Ahar, refers to the name of the Akṣapaṭalika Śrīpati's son Mattaṭa and Gundala as

---

1.IA, vol.39, p.191, v.9.
2.HR, vol.1, p.434.
3.C.Bendall, Journey in Nepal, p.82; see also, HR, vol.1, p.434.

the two arms of Śaktikumāra. These two officials are said to be the ornaments of the capital[1] and masters of politics.

Nothing much can be gathered from the above mentioned inscriptions of Śaktikumāra about his reign. A silver-plated copper coin has been found bearing the legend Śrī Śa[2], which, according to Mr. Samar, is the abbreviation of Śaktikumāra[3]. It is impossible to say anything definitely about this conjecture, though coins bearing one letter are not uncommon in Rajasthan, and the coin in question appears to belong to this period.

In the Bijapur inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Bālaprasāda, dated A.D.997 (V.S.1053)[4], Dhavala, the father of Bālaprasāda, is said to have given shelter to the armies of the king of Āghāṭa, when Muñjarāja, who has rightly been identified with the Paramāra Vākpati Muñja (A.D.974-75)[5], attacked and destroyed Āghāṭa (Ahar). Śaktikumāra was evidently a contemporary of Vākpati Muñja. This led scholars to think that the name of the king of

---

1. HR, vol.1, p.434, fn.2; see also ASI,WC, 1906, p.62.
2. Not to be confused with the coin ascribed to Śālivāhana, which bears the legend Śrī Śā (see above, p. 186).
3. JNSI, vol.20, pt.1, p.33; see our pl.III, fig.5.
4. EI, vol.10, p.20, v.10.
5. JASB, vol.62 (1893), pt.1, p.311.

Āghāṭa, which is missing in the Bijapur inscription, might have been Śaktikumāra[1]. We have seen above that Śālivāhana ruled between A.D.971 and 977 (p.185). Thus it is obvious that Śālivāhana was also a contemporary of Vākpati Muñja. The Bijapur inscription does not mention the actual date of the destruction of Āghāṭa by Muñja. We have two inscriptions of the reign of Muñja, dated A.D.974 (V.S.1031)[2] and 979 (V.S.1036)[3], but no reference to this attack can be gathered from them. Thus it is quite reasonable to think that Muñja attacked Āghāṭa after A.D.979. It is also indicated by the Atpur inscription that in A.D.977, Āghāṭa, a prosperous city, was the seat of power of Śaktikumāra. This leads us to think that Śālivāhana never faced the army of Muñja. It was Śaktikumāra who probably came into conflict with this Paramāra king. The last known date of Muñja is A.D.993 (V.S.1050)[4] and he was killed by the Cālukya Taila or Tailapa II before A.D.998[5]. According to the Bijapur inscription Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍī abdicated the throne in favour of his son Bālaprasāda[6]. We may evidently say that

---

1. HR, vol.1, p.435; DHNI, vol.2, p.855.
2. IA, vol.6, p.51; see also, HPD, p.45.
3. Ibid, vol.14, p.160.
4. HPD, p.62.
5. Ibid; see also, DHNI, vol.2, p.857; EI, vol.1, p.228; IA, vol.21, pp.167-68; BG, vol.1, pt.2, p.432.
6. EI, vol.10, p.21, v.19.

his abdication took place before A.D.997. All this evidence shows that the destruction of Āghāṭa might have taken place between A.D.979 (V.S.1036), the second known date of Muñja, and A.D.997 (V.S.1053), the last known date of Dhavala.

The question may arise about the authenticity of the statement given in the Bijapur inscription, because it was written in the praise of a princ by the pen of his own servant. It is evident from the Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya[1], said to be a work of the Kashmirian poet Jayānaka, that Ambāprasāda, the son of Śaktikumāra, was Āghāṭa-pati, the lord of Āghāṭa. A damaged and undated inscription of Ambāprasāda found at Ahar (Āghāṭa) also indicates that Āghāṭa was under his control[2]. Thus on these grounds one can easily question the genuineness of the statement of the Bijapur inscription referring to Muñja's conquest. It is evident that Śaktikumāra as well as his son Ambāprasāda both established themselves at Āghāṭa. There is no doubt that Muñja was a victorious prince, who is said to have invaded various parts of India and brought under his sway the lands of the Kalacuris, Cāhamānas, Hūṇas, Caulukyas and the rulers of Lāṭa, Karnāṭa etc[3]. Thus, if the

---

1.Canto V, vs.59-60.
2.HR, vol.1, p.438, fn.1.
3.HPD, p.45 ff.

Bijapur inscription is correct, the only possibility in our opinion is that Muñja may have sacked Āghāṭa during the reign of Śaktikumāra, but he or his successor could not retain his power at Āghāṭa and ultimately the city came under the rule of the Guhila prince Ambāprasāda.

According to Ojha Muñja destroyed Āghāṭa about A.D.973 (V.S.1030)[1]. The first known date of Muñja, as stated above, is A.D.974 (V.S.1031), attested by an inscription in which no reference to this attack has been made. Thus Ojha's conjecture is really surprising. At the same time he himself accepts that this destruction of Āghāṭa may have taken place during the reign of Śaktikumāra, whose only known date is A.D.977 (V.S.1034). Thus his contradictory statement can no longer be acceptable. His next conjecture in this respect is noteworthy. He states that the fortress of Chitor and its neighbouring areas might have been annexed in the domain of Muñja in the course of his attack on Āghāṭa[2]. Chitor was apparently under the Paramāra prince Bhoja, as is evident from the Chirava inscription[3] and other records[4]. Hence Ojha's suggestion may be true. However, we have no positive

---

1.HR, vol.1, p.335.
2.Ibid, p.435 ff.
3.EI, vol.22, pp.288 and 290, v.31.
4.HR, vol.1, p.435, fn.3 and pp.436-37, fn.1.

evidence to say that Āghāṭa was under the control of the Paramāras.

In this connection Dr. G.C.Raychaudhuri's remark is also noteworthy. On the basis of the Ujjain plate, dated A.D.1021 (V.S.1078)[1], he believes that the Guhilas were under the direct control of the Paramāra king Bhoja[2]. This plate was found near a small stream called Nāgajhari. The grant states that Bhoja granted a village named Vīrāṇaka, situated within the district to the west of Nāgadraha. Here the name Nāgadraha-paścima-pathaka led Dr. Raychaudhuri to think that this locality may be identified with modern Nagda (Nāgadraha or Nāgahrada), the ancient capital of the Guhilas of Mewar, about 14 miles north of Udaipur and just near the temple of Ekaliṅgajī[3]. But Nāgadraha-paścima-pathaka of the Ujjain plate has rightly been identified with the neighbouring areas around the stream Nāgajhari, which is within the sacred Pañcakoṣī of Ujjain[4], and there is now no dispute about the matter at all. On what authority or authorities Dr. Raychaudhuri based his opinion is not known. Simply the similarity of names is not sufficient to arrive at any definite conclusion. Nāgadraha or Nāgajhari of the

---

1.IA, vol.6, p.53.
2.HM, pp.43-44.
3.HR, vol.1, p.338; also, DHNI, vol.2, p.1157, fn.7.
4.HPD, pp.84-85; see also, IA, vol.6, p.49 ff.

Ujjain plate is far from Nāgadraha or Nagda of Udaipur, and in our opinion the identification of Dr. Raychaudhuri cannot be accepted. Hence it is most unreasonable to determine on the basis of the Ujjain plate that the Guhilas of the main branch owed allegiamce to the Paramāra Bhoja.

In this respect Dr. Raychaudhuri's next argument is also based on very weak grounds. He thinks that a tank named Bhojasara near Nagda, referred to in the Kumbhalgarh inscription[1], is clear evidence of the rule of Bhoja near that city[2]. But he forgets to note that in ancient India there were many kings bearing this name, who ruled at different times. It is evident that Nāgadraha or Nāgahrada (Nagda) was a capital of the ancient Guhila principality, and this Bhojasara, situated to the east of the nearby temple of Ekaliṅgajī, is not far from Nagda. This tank is now popularly famous as Indrasāgara and is called Indratīrtha-Bhojasara in this inscription. The name Bhojasara may have been derived from the name of an early Guhila prince Bhoja[3], the successor of Guhila or Guhadatta. This view is more coherent and reliable than Dr. Raychaudhuri's conjecture and there is no reason to believe to the contrary

---

1. EI, vol.24, p.317, vs.25-28.
2. HM, p.44.
3. EI, vol.24, p.306.

Thus we have no positive evidence to say that the Paramāra king Bhoja ever ruled at Nagda.

Dr. Raychaudhuri further insists that from the inscriptions engraved on two pillars at Deoli in Jiran (Gwalior), dated A.D.1000 and 1008[1], we can presume that Muñja or his successors Sindhurāja and Bhoja held sway over the principality of the Guhilas. The inscriptions in question simply refer to the name of Vigrahapāla, who is said to have born in the family of the Guhilas of Nāgahrada. His title of Mahāsāmantādhipati shows that he was a feudatory of some other king. But the identification of this Guhila chief is not known to us. It is evident that there were many branches of the Guhila dynasty and according to this inscription Vigrahapāla might have been descended from one of the princes of the Nāgahrada branch, but he was evidently not a ruling prince of this branch. There is no doubt that some Guhila princes of other branches owed allegiance to different rulers, and Vigrahapāla may be placed in that catagory. But this does not apply in the case of the Guhilas of the main branch. The findspot of the inscriptions obviously indicates that Vigrahapāla's

---

1. ARRMA, 1935-36, p.2, as quoted in HM, p.44 ff. The actual Vikrama Saṁvat dates are not given by Dr. Raychaudhuri and the publication containing the inscription is not available to us.

principality was somewhere in Gwalior, which is far from Nagda. Hence the Guhilas of the main branch cannot be regarded as feudatories of the Paramāra without any stronger evidence.

In the Chitor inscription, dated A.D.1274 (V.S.1331)[1], Śaktikumāra is said to have destroyed the enemies of religion. According to Vaidya[2] this tends to suggest that Śaktikumāra defeated the Muslims. A.C.Banerjee thinks that Śaktikumāra might have joined the confederacy of Jayapāla in repulsing the army of Sabuk-tigīn[3] (A.D.977-97). No doubt, Sabuk-tigīn was a contemporary of Śaktikumāra and it is evident from the Muslim historians[4] that Jayapāla, the Śāhi prince joined hands with other powers of India in defending his territory and made a very vigorous attack on the Muslim army. But whether Śaktikumāra participated in this battle is not definitely known to us. The praise of Śaktikumāra in the Chitor inscription may be merely a poetic fancy. We are not in a position to establish simply on the basis of the contemporaneousness of Śaktikumāra and without any further evidence that he took part in repelling the Muhammadans.

---

1. Bh.I, p.76, v.46.
2. HMHI, vol.3, p.154.
3. RS, p.40.
4. TA, tr., p.3; also, Briggs, vol.1, p.18; see also DHNI, vol.1, p.83; HK, p.282.

CHAPTER V

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF POWER

AMBĀPRASĀDA

The Atpur inscription, which is very important for the reconstruction of the early genealogy of the Guhila princes, ends with the name of Śaktikumāra[1]. According to the Chitor inscription, dated A.D.1274 (V.S.1331)[2], Śaktikumāra was succeeded by his son Āmraprasāda, who is evidently the same as the king usually known as Ambāprasāda or Aṁbāprasāda; but in the Abu[3] as well as in the Rāṇapura inscription[4], dated A.D.1285 (V.S.1342) and 1440 (V.S.1496) respectively, Śaktikumāra is said to have been succeeded by Śucivarman. Both these inscriptions fail to mention the name of Ambāprasāda. The name of Ambāprasāda as the son and successor of Śaktikumāra is also referred to in the Kumbhalgarh inscription of Rāṇā Kumbha, dated A.D.1460 (V.S.1517)[5]. A fragmentary stone inscription of Ahar refers to the queen of Ambāprasāda as born in the family of Caulukya, but both the names of the queen and her Caulukya father have been lost[6].

---

1. IA, vol.39, p.191.
2. Bh.I, p.76, v.49; also IA, vol.22, p.80 ff.
3. IA, vol.16, p.348, vs.22-23; also, Bh.I, p.85.

(continued on the next page)

Hence it is impossible to identify the Caulukya family mentioned in this damaged inscription. In the Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya Ambāprasāda the Āghāṭapati, with his army, is said to have been sent to the abode of Yama by the Śākambharī Cāhamāna Vākpatirāja II, who tore the mouth of Ambāprasāda with a dagger (churikā)[1]. This Ambāprasāda can easily be identified with the Guhila Ambāprasāda, who was evidently the lord of Āghāṭa, as an undated fragmentary inscription of his time has been discovered from Ahar (Āghāṭa)[2]. The actual date of this event cannot be said with certainty. We have no date even for Vākpatirāja II and his father Govindarāja III. C.M.Duff mentions A.D.1030 as the date of Vīryarāma, the successor of Vākpati II[3]. But she does not state the source of her information. The known date of Durlabharāja II, the grandfather of Vākpati II, is A.D.999 (V.S.1056)[4]. Thus we may tentatively fix the date of Vākpati II as ruling in the beginning of the second quarter of the

---

(continued from the back page) 4.Bh.I, p.114.
5.EI, vol.24, p.324, v.141.
6.HR, vol.1, p.438, fn.1.

1.PV, cant.V, vs.58-60.
2.HR, vol.1, p.438, fn.1.
3.The Chronology of India, p.115.
4.EI, vol.12, p.59 ff; see also, ECD, p.35 ff; DHNI, vol.2, p.1068.

eleventh century. Śaktikumāra, the father of Ambāprasāda, was ruling in A.D.977 (V.S.1034)[1]; thus Ambāprasāda might have been ruling in the beginning of the first quarter of the eleventh century, if we assign an average of 20 years to each reign from the date of Śaktikumāra. This creates a little chronological difficulty with regard to the date of the clash between Ambāprasāda and Vakpati II. However if the Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya is right in recording the slaying of Ambāprasāda by Vākpati II, the only conclusion we can draw is that either Śaktikumāra or Ambāprasāda ruled for a long time.

ŚUCIVARMAN

According to the Chitor inscription, dated A.D. 1274 (V.S.1331), Ambāprasāda was succeeded by Śucivarman[2], but according to the Kumbhalgarh inscription[3] he was succeeded by his brother Nṛvarman or Naravarman. Thus H.C. Ray is wrong to say that the Kumbhalgarh inscription refers to Ambāprasāda as the predecessor of Śucivarman[4]. The name

---

1. IA, vol.39, p.191.
2. Bh.I, p.77, v.52; also, IA, vol.22, p.80 ff.
3. EI, vol.24, p.324, v.142.
4. DHNI, vol.2, p.1174.

of Śucivarman does not find mention at all in the Kumbhalgarh inscription, though he was evidently a successor of Ambāprasāda. A much mutilated inscription of his reign has been found in the temple of Hastmātā just near Udaipur[1]. The epigraph is so much defaced that it is impossible to read the date and the whole contents of the inscription. Śucivarman is stated to be the son of Śaktikumāra and this may suggest that Śucivarman was a younger brother of Ambāprasāda. The inscription also refers to the name of the Caulukya Soḍuka and his daughter Mahimā. But nothing can be definitely said about the relationship of Mahimā with the other persons referred to in this inscription. The object of this inscription was probably to record the construction of the temple to the god Śrī-Rāhileśvara, which is derived from the name of the founder's father. Only conventional praise of Śucivarman can be gathered from this inscription.

There is some confusion with regard to the chronology of the successors of Śaktikumāra and Ambāprasāda. As stated above, the Kumbhalgarh inscription fails to mention the name of Śucivarman, but here for the first time we find the name of Anantavarman, which is not mentioned in any other inscription of the Guhila princes.

---

1. Bh.I, p.72 ff.

This led Dr. D.R.Bhandarkar to suggest that they are identical[1], though their names are not synonymous as is the case with Kīrtivarman and Yaśovarman, the successor of Naravarman or Nṛvarman. However we may tentatively accept this as true because the earlier inscriptions of Chitor, Abu and Rāṇapura, dated A.D.1274, 1285 and 1440 (V.S.1331, 1342 and 1496)[2] respectively, refer to the name of Śucivarman. Thus Bhandarkar may be right in this assumption and in our opinion it is probably wrong to say that Śaktikumāra had five sons, as Dr. Ganguly believes[3], only on the basis of the Kumbhalgarh inscription , which is so late (V.S.1517=A.D.1460). Professor H.C.Ray is also of the opinion that Anantavarman was one of the successors of Śucivarman[4]. On the other hand Mr. Samar thinks that Śucivarman was a grandson of Śaktikumāra[5], but he does not mention the authority on which his opinion is based. The relationship between Śaktikumāra and Śucivarman is determined in an undated Hastamātā temple inscription, probably of the reign of Śucivarman[6] and in the Mount Abu

---

1. EI, vol.23, Append., p.389, fn.1.
2. Bh.I, p.74 ff.
3. AIK, p.109.He includes Anantavarman and Śucivarman separately.
4. DHNI, vol.2, pp.1175-76.
5. JNSI, vol.20, pt.1, p.33.
6. Bh.I, p.72, line 1.

inscription, dated A.D.1285 (V.S.1342)[1], where Śucivarman is distinctly referred to as the son of Śaktikumāra. Hence Mr. Samar is obviously wrong.

A copper coin bearing the legend Saca, vertically engraved in front of the king's face, has been found. The back portion of the head and the crown is visible on the coin. According to Mr. Samar the coin in question was issued by this Guhila prince Śucivarman, because the legend of the coin is obviously an abbreviation for Śucivarman[2]. We may accept the view of Mr. Samar, as from its style the coin appears to have been issued at about this time.

NARAVARMAN (NṚVARMAN), KĪRTIVARMAN, YOGARĀJA & VAIRAṬA

The history of the successors of Śucivarman is shrouded in darkness and there are differences of opinion with regard to them. In the Chitor inscription, dated A.D.

---

1. Bh.I, p.85, v.23; also, IA, vol.16, p.347 ff.
2. JNSI, vol.20, pt.1, p.33; see our pl.III, fig.6.

1274 (V.S.1331)[1], Naravarman is stated to be the son of Śucivarman. Dr. G.C.Raychaudhuri[2] is wrong in his statement that in the Mount Abu inscription, dated A.D.1285 (V.S.1342), Naravarman is referred to as the son of Śucivarman. The relationship of father and son between Śucivarman and Naravarman cannot be established on the basis of this inscription[3]. He seems to have confused the Chitor inscription of A.D.1274 with the Mount Abu inscription of A.D.1285. The latter simply states that Naravarman came after Śucivarman. The Rāṇapura inscription, dated A.D.1440 (V.S.1496)[4], does not mention the name of Naravarman, and Śucivarman is referred to as succeeded by Kīrtivarman, Yogarāja and Vairaṭa. The Kumbhalgarh inscription of Rāṇā Kumbha, dated A.D.1460 (V.S.1517)[5], distinctly states that Nṛvarman, Anantavarman and Yaśovarman were the three brothers of Ambāprasāda. Nṛvarman obviously is the same as Naravarman. Yaśovarman (yaśa=fame) and Kīrtivarman (kīrti=fame) are most probably synonym of one name, and as, we have seen, Anantavarman may be another name of Śucivarman, because no other inscriptions containing the genealogical account of the

---

1.Bh.I, p.77, v.56; also, IA, vol.22, p.80 ff.
2.HM, p.44.
3.Bh.I, p.85, v.24; also, IA, vol.16, p.347.
4.Bh.I, p.114.
5.EI, vol.24, p.324, v.142.

Guhilas refer to the name of Anantavarman except a late inscription of Kumbhalgarh, dated A.D.1460 (V.S.1517), where the name of Śucivarman is omitted. Thus a critical examinatio of all these Guhila inscriptions shows that Śucivarman was succeeded by Naravarman (Nṛvarman), Kīrtivarman (Yaśovarman), Yogarāja and Vairaṭa. Nothing much can be said about the reigns of these princes.

According to the Kumbhalgarh inscription[1] the line of Yogarāja became extinct after him. In this connection there is much confusion and scholars are not unanimous. Verse 143 of this inscription has been interpreted differently. Ojha states that the line of Yogarāja became extinct in his own lifetime and Vairaṭa, a descendant of Allaṭa, ascended the throne after Yogarāja[2]. But A.K.Vyas, the editor of the Kumbhalgarh inscription, maintains that Ojha, with his own omissions and additions, has interpreted this verse wrongly. The verse is clear and obviously refers to the fact that the line of Yogarāja became extinct apparently owing to some family dissension, and Vairaṭa, a

---

1. EI, vol.24, p.324, v.143.
2. HR, vol.1, p.443 and fn.2:

Tataś ca Yogarājo bhūn Medapāṭe mahīpatiḥ,
api rājye sthite tasmiṁs tacchā-(no divaṁ) gatāḥ.
paścād Allaṭa-saṁtāne Vairaṭo bhūn nareśvaraḥ.

descendant of Allaṭa, came on the throne[1]. Actually the difference between these two scholars arose owing to the damaged condition of the epigraph where the relevant portion of the information in question is missing. This led them to interpret it each in his own manner. Even if we accept the view of Vyas, it is certain that the information supplied by the Kumbhalgarh inscription is very late and is not corroborated by any other earlier epigraph[2]. This tends to suggest that the Kumbhalgarh inscription may be wrong in this respect. Even Naiṇsī, a seventeenth century chronicler, was unaware that after Yogarāja his line became extinct. He distinctly states that Vairaṭa was the son of Yogarāja[3]. However, the epigraphic records of the thirteenth century onwards show that even during that period the history of the Guhilas, with regard to the genealogy or order of

---

1. EI, vol.24, p.310 and 324, vs.143-144:
   Tataś ca Yoga(rā) jo bhū(n-Me)dapāṭe mahīpatiḥ,
   api rājye sthite tasmin tacchāṣā(khā)no [chṛ(cchra)yaṁ]
   gatā. paścād Allaṭa saṁtāne Vairaṭo-bhū(n-na)reśvaraḥ.
2. But see, EI, vol.31, p.240. Here Vyas has again tried to maintain the same view, though on very unsound basis. Professor Sircar has rightly rejected the view of Vyas (Ibid, p.242, fn.4 and p.246, fn.1).
3. Khyāta, text, vol.1, p.12; see also, tr., vol.1, p.20.

succession, was obscure and there were differences of opinion amongst the composers of the epigraphs.

The above mentioned princes are mere names and practically nothing is known about them. According to Naiṇsī Beraḍa (Vairaṭa) never bowed before the kings of Gurjara and Dāhala[1]. Hence G.C.Raychaudhuri is inclined to think that Vairaṭa was ruling during the time of the great Paramāra king Bhoja of Mālava, when the latter was attacked by the allied forces of the Caulukya Bhīma I of Gujarata and the Kalacuri king Karṇa of Dāhala[2]. Though we have no definite date for Vairaṭa, it is evident from the contemporary epigraphs that between A.D.977 (V.S.1034), the date of Śaktikumāra[3] and A.D.1116 (V.S.1173), the date of Arisiṁha[4], there were at least 10 Guhila princes who succeeded one after another. This gives an average of about 14 years to each reign. Thus the reign of Vairaṭa may be placed approximately between A.D.1061 and 1075. But it is certain that Bhoja died some time in or before A.D.1055-56 (V.S.1112), as it is evident from the Mandhata plate that his successor Jayasiṁha was ruling in that year[5]. Hence most

---

1.Khyāta, text, vol.1, p.12; transl., vol.1, p.20.
2.HM, p.45.
3.IA, vol.39, p.191.
4.EI, vol.30, p.8 ff.
5.Ibid, vol.3, p.46 ff.

probably Vairaṭa was not a contemporary of the Paramāra Bhoja I. We may also question the rightness of the conclusion of Dr. Raychaudhuri on other grounds. The Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya of Jayānaka distinctly states that Ambāprasāda was killed by the Cāhamāna Vākpatirāja II[1]. Hence Vākpatirāja II was evidently a contemporary of Ambāprasāda. The same text confirms that Vīryārāma, the successor of Vākpatirāja II, was killed by the Paramāra Bhoja (c. A.D.1010-1055), the lord of Avanti[2]. Thus Vīryārāma was apparently a contemporary of Bhoja. On the basis of the Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya we can safely conclude that Śucivarman, the brother and successor of Ambāprasāda, was a contemporary of either Vākpatirāja II or his successor Vīryārāma, who was also a contemporary of Bhoja. If we accept the conjecture of Dr. Raychaudhuri that Vairaṭa "witnessed the overthrow" of Bhoja but did not surrender to the invader, then we shall also have to accept the view that Bhoja was a contemporary of at least five Guhila princes, counting from Śucivarman to Vairaṭa, which cannot be accepted without much stronger evidence, even if we admit that Bhoja had a very long reign[3] from about A.D.1010 to

---

1. Cant.V, vs.59-60.
2. Ibid, vs.66-67.
3. DHNI, vol.2, p.866; see also, EI, vol.1, pp.232-33.

1055. We have no positive evidence to support the statement of Naiṇsī nor can we rely on a chronicle written as late as the seventeenth century. In our opinion this may be merely a praśasti, the work of a family bard glorifying the remoter ancestors of his patrons without consideration for historical truth. Some epigraphic records obviously state that the Paramāra Bhoja held sway over some parts of Mewar. We can gather from the Chirava inscription of Samarasiṁha, dated A.D.1273 (V.S.1330)[1], that Citrakūṭa or Chitor was under the control of Bhoja[2]. This may suggest that the Guhila principality was the border of Bhoja's kingdom, and if there is any truth in the chronicle of Naiṇsī, one may infer that the Guhilas during the period under review were independent rulers.

According to Mr. Samar a copper coin bearing the legend Śrī Vairaṭa has been discovered[3]. Though the bust of the king can be seen, the legend is not clear on the photograph. In this connection Mr. Samar states that Vairaṭa was the successor of Haṁsapāla. But he is evidently wrong. All inscriptions which refer to Vairaṭa know him only as the predecessor of Haṁsapāla or his son Vairisiṁha.

1.VOJ, vol.21, pp.158-59, vs.27-31; also EI, vol.22, p.288 f
2.HR, vol.1, p.435 ff and fn.; DHNI, vol.2, p.1177 ff.
3.JNSI, vol.20, pt.1, p.34; see our pl.III, fig.8.

Mr. Samar seems to have confused the name of Vairaṭa with Vairisiṁha, who was actually the son and successor of Haṁsapāla[1].

HAṀSAPĀLA

According to the Abu inscription of Samarasiṁha, dated A.D.1285 (V.S.1342)[2], Vairaṭa was succeeded by Vairisiṁha, but according to the Rāṇapura[3] and Kumbhalgarh[4] inscriptions of Rāṇā Kumbha, dated A.D.1440 and 1460 (V.S. 1496 and 1517), Vairaṭa was succeeded by Vaṁśapāla or Haṁsapāla, who was in turn followed by Vairisiṁha. The controversy regarding the order of succession is resolved in an earlier Bheraghat inscription of the Dāhala Kalacuri queen Alhaṇadevī, dated A.D.1155 (Cedi or Kalacuri year 907)[5]. The inscription gives the correct order of succession of three Guhila princes from Haṁsapāla to Vijayasiṁha. Thus Haṁsapāla evidently succeeded Vairaṭa and the Abu inscription

---

1. EI, vol.2, p.12, v.18.
2. Bh.I, p.87, vs.26-27; also, IA, vol.16, p.347 ff.
3. Bh.I, p.114.
4. EI, vol.24, p.325, v.144.
5. Ibid, vol.2, p.12, vs.17-20.

is obviously wrong in this respect. The undated Karanbel stone inscription of the Kalacuri Jayasiṁha also supports this view[1]. The above mentioned inscriptions do not reveal any historical information about the reign of Haṁsapāla. In the Bheraghat inscription he is stated to have humbled the combined forces of his enemies[2]. To us this verse is merely conventional praise without any significance.

In the Karanbel stone inscription Haṁsapāla is referred to as the king (?) of Prāgvāṭa, Prāgvāṭa vanipāla-bhāla-tilakaḥ śrī-Haṁsapāla[3]. The word Prāgvāṭa is here noteworthy. So far as we know this is the only inscription which refers to a Guhila prince as the king (?) of Prāgvāṭa. The word Prāgvāṭa finds mention in the literature of the thirteenth century A.D.[4]. In certain Jaina manuscripts of texts by Hemacandra and others, which were copied for certain individuals of an otherwise unknown dynasty or clan, referred to by this name. Some other epigraphic[5]

---

1. IA, vol.18, p.217, line 15.
2. EI, vol.2, p.12, v.17.
3. IA, vol.18, p.217, line 15. The meaning of vanipāla is not clear. If we emend to vanapāla or vanīpāla the sense would be "the adornment on the brows of the forest chiefs in Prāgvāṭa", but the i is quite clear in the original. See also, above, p.224 .
4. Peterson's Third Report on Sanskrit MSS, Appendix, pp.37, 40, 45 and 187, Nos.219, 220, 337 etc.; see also IA, vol.18, p.215.
5. EI, vol.8, p.209, v.4; p.212, v.50 etc.; Someśvara's Kīrtikaumudī, III, v.1; Bālacandra's Vasantavilāsa, III, v.53.

and literary sources also refer to the family of Prāgvāṭa. However we have no positive evidence to say that the dynastic name Prāgvāṭa is derived from the name of a country called Prāgvāṭa, where the ancestors of these dynasties once lived. Even if we accept this conjecture, it is not known that whether Medapāṭa or Mewar was also called Prāgvāṭa or whether Mewar was itself a part of an extensive area of land called Prāgvāṭa. Vāṭa may here possibly have the sense "district", in which case Prāgvāṭa means "the eastern district", of a wider region, presumably the desert tracts of Rajasthan.

The history of the Guhilas during this period is shrouded in darkness. We have no date for Haṁsapāla. The definitely known date of Arisiṁha, the son of Vijayasiṁha, is A.D.1116 (V.S.1173)[1]. Though the Kadmal plates of Vijayasiṁha also mention the year of his reign[2], the reading of this is very doubtful and scholars are not unanimous about it. However it is evident that Arisiṁha was ruling in A.D.1116, and as Haṁsapāla was the great-grandfat of Arisiṁha, we may tentatively fix his date as at the end of the third quarter or in the beginning of the last quarte

---

1. EI, vol.30, p.10 ff.
2. Ibid, vol.31, p.237 ff.

of the eleventh century. The history of Mewar after the death of the Paramāra Bhoja (c.A.D.1010-1055) is obscure. It is very difficult to say whether Mewar was then controlled by the Caulukya Bhīma I (A.D.1022-1064) or his successors. According to Ojha Chitor may have been occupie by the Caulukya Jayasiṁha (A.D.1094-1144) when he conquere Mālava from the Paramāras[1]. Though we have no definite evidence to arrive at this conclusion, it is evident from the Chitor inscriptions[2] that Chitor was under the sway of the Caulukya Kumārapāla in A.D.1150 (V.S.1207).

All these data suggest that Chitor was not under the control of the Guhilas even during the eleventh century and at least down to the middle of the twelfth; an they held sway only over a small principality of Mewar. Thus Prāgvāṭa, in any case, could have been a wider area o which Mewar was a part. If the Karanbel inscription is right, the only probability in our opinion is that Prāgvāṭ was the name of a small territory occupied by the Guhilas, whose existence was hardly noticed beside the empires of the other great powers like the Paramāras and the Caulukya

A silver-plated copper coin has been discovered, bearing the legend Śrī Ha[3], which according to

---

1.HR, vol.1, p.437.
2.EI, vol.2, p.421 ff; also, vol.20, p.209, No.1522.
3.JNSI, vol.20, pt.1, pp.33-34; see our pl.III, fig.7.

Mr. Samar is the abbreviation of Haṁsapāla. The coin still bears some traces of silver. The style and the palaeography of the coin recommends the notion of Mr. Samar.

VAIRISIṀHA

Vairisiṁha ascended the throne after his father Haṁsapāla. In the Bheraghat inscription, dated A.D.1155 (Cedi year 907)[1], he is credited with being the conqueror of the cities of his enemies. Other conventional praises are cited in favour of him, but they are not more than a general praśasti far from any historical truth. The name of Vairisiṁha finds mention in most of the Guhila inscriptions containing genealogical information. In the Abu inscription of Samarasiṁha, dated A.D.1285 (V.S.1342), he is referred as the successor of Vairaṭa[2], otherwise all inscriptions agree that he was the successor of Haṁsapāla. In the Kumbhalgarh inscription of Rāṇā Kumbha[3], dated A.D.1460 (V.S.1517), he is stated to have constructed a rampart

---

1. EI, vol.2, p.12, vs.18-19.
2. IA, vol.16, p.348, v.27; also, Bh.I, p.86.
3. EI, vol.24, p.325, vs.144-146.

around the city of Āghāṭa-pattana (Ahar) including four gopuras (gates or doors) on all the four sides. The inscription speaks of him as having 22 meritorious sons. The construction of rampart around Āghāṭa may tentatively suggest that it was built for the first time after the destruction of this city by the Paramāra Vākpati Muñja II (A.D.974-995)[1].

Tod, on the basis of the local annals, states that the Cāhamāna Durlabha, the father of Bīsala or Vīsala (Vigraharāja III), was slain by the Guhila Bersi Rāwal in the battle of Kawaria[2]. This Cāhamāna prince Durlabha can easily be identified with Durlabharāja III, who was the brother and not the father of Vigraharāja III[3]. The Guhila prince Bersi Rāwal cannot be other than Vairisiṁha. A critical examination of the records shows that the statement of Tod is based on false evidence. Though there is no chronological difficulty, it is evident from the Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya[4] that Durlabharāja III was slain in a battle with the Mātaṅgas. These Mātaṅgas have been identified with the Mlecchas by the commentator Jonarāja[5].

---

1. EI, vol.10, p.20, v.10.
2. AR, vol.1, p.297.
3. ECD, p.36; also, DHNI, vol.2, p.1069.
4. Cant.V, v.70.
5. Ibid, commentary; H.C.Ray has some doubt(DHNI, vol.2, p.1069, fn.6.).

This fact is also supported by other evidence that Durlabharāja III was slain by the Muslim invaders[1]. Thus there is no reason to believe Tod's notion. In this connection he also thinks that Bīsaladeva (Vigraharāja III) the son (brother) of Durlabharāja III allied with the Guhila Tejasiṁha of Chitor, opposed the Muhammadans. But this also cannot be possible because Tejasiṁha ruled about two centuries after the Cāhamāna Vigraharāja III[2].

Nothing of political importance is known about the reign of Vairisiṁha. Some copper coins have been attributed to him. According to Mr. Samar inscriptions on all these coins are Śrī Ve, which is the abbreviation of Vairisiṁha[3]. The legend Śrī on the first coin is not clear on the photograph, though Ve can be read with difficulty. The die has been not impressed clearly. The reading of the legends on the second and third coins is also very difficult on the basis of the photograph. Even if we admit the inscriptions as Śrī Ve, it is not possible to conclude whether the coins in question were issued by Vairaṭa, Vairisiṁha or Vijayasiṁha. Mr. Samar reads the name of

---

1. ECD, pp.35-36.
2. Vigraharāja III's date is about V.S.1136 (ECD, p.37), whereas Tejasiṁha ruled during V.S.1317, 1322 and 1324 (HR, vol.1, p.441).
3. JNSI, vol.20, pt.1, p.34; see our pl.III, figs.9-11.

Vairisiṁha as Verisiṁha. Almost all inscriptions of the Guhilas containing the name of this prince refer to him as Vairisiṁha[1]. Even the Bheraghat inscription of the Kalacuri queen Alhaṇadevī, dated A.D.1155 (Cedi year 907), refers to him as the same[2]. Thus Mr. Samar's attribution of the name as Verisiṁha cannot be accepted as true. Hence the coins in question cannot be definitely attributed to Vairisiṁha or Vairaṭa, even on the basis of the palaeography and style, a there is not so much difference between their times.

VIJAYASIṀHA

Vairisiṁha was succeeded by his son Vijayasiṁha. I the Rāṇapura inscription of Rāṇā Kumbha, dated A.D.1440 (V.S.1496), we find the name of Vīrasiṁha after Vairisiṁha[3]. The Kumbhalgarh inscription of the sane prince, dated A.D. 1460 (V.S.1517), states that Vairisiṁha had 22 meritorious sons, amongst whom one a narendra[4] (the inscription fails t

---

1.HR, vol.1, p.440.
2.EI, vol.2, p.12.
3.Bh.I, p.114.
4.EI, vol.24, p.325, v.146.

mention the name of this narendra) was the most virtuous. After the word narendra of this epigraph, the word tasmāt-su-Vairasiṁha, leads A.K.Vyas to think that the word narendra here applies to Vijayasiṁha, whose name has been ignorantly omitted by the author of this inscription and the word tasmāt in the beginning of verse 147 came to apply to narendra or Vijayasiṁha and not for Vairisiṁha[1]. Hence, according to Vyas, Vairisiṁha was succeeded by Vijayasiṁha and the latter by Vairasiṁha. In this connection he states that Ojha and D.R.Bhandarkar are wrong in fixing the order of succession. He gives further evidence in support of his conjecture and states that in the Haṁsapāla image inscription of Padarāḍā, Vīrasiṁha is referred to as the so of Vairasiṁha, though he himself accepts that it is very difficult to maintain this order of succession on the basis of the date given in that inscription. But later on, while editing the Paldi inscription of Arisiṁha, Vyas himself refuted his own view and accepted that the order of succession of these princes is evidently Vairisiṁha, Vijayasiṁha and Arisiṁha instead of Vairisiṁha, Vijayasiṁha

---

1. EI, vol.24, p.311. Text as follows:
Vairisiṁho.....dvāviṁśatiḥ-sutāsta[sya] babhūvuḥ-sagu(dgu)ṇālayāḥ, teṣāṁ-madhye-babhūvaiko-nareṁdraḥ-puṇyabhājanaṁ (nam). [tasm]āt-su-Vairasiṁho.....

Vairasiṁha and Arisiṁha[1].

It is evident from the Bheraghat inscription, dated A.D.1155 (Cedi year 907), that Vijayasiṁha was the son and successor of Vairisiṁha[2]. The same order of succession is repeated in the undated Karanbel inscription of Jayasiṁhadeva[3]. The Abu inscriptio of Samarasiṁha, dated A.D.1285 (V.S.1342), distinctly mentions that Vijayasiṁha came after Vairisiṁha and that t former was followed by Arisiṁha[4]. In the Rāṇapura inscription, as stated above, Vairisiṁha is stated to have been succeeded by Vīrasiṁha and the latter by Arisiṁha. Thus in this inscription the name of Vijayasiṁha is replac by Virasiṁha. It is apparent from the earlier inscription of Abu that Vijayasiṁha was succeeded by Arisiṁha and the later authors of the inscriptions seem to have been confused between the names of Vairisiṁha, Vijayasiṁha,

---

1. EI, vol.30, p.9.
2. Ibid, vol.2, p.12, v.20.
3. IA, vol.18, p.217, lines 13-17.
4. Bh.I, p.86 ff; also, IA, vol.16, p.347 ff. A.K.Vyas is wrong in stating that the Abu inscription also refers to Vijayasiṁha as the son of Vairisiṁha and the grandson of Haṁsapāla. Actually this epigraph does not determine any relation between these princes and the name of Haṁsapāla finds no mention at all (EI, vol.24, p.311).

Vīrasimha and Vairasiṁha, which is quite possible. Hence Ojha[1] and Bhandarkar[2] are perfectly right in fixing the order of succession and the former conjecture of Vyas is far-fetched. Even if we accept the interpretation of the words narendra and tasmāt[3], by Vyas, the Kumbhalgarh inscription (A.D.1460) in any case cannot satisfy scholars owing to its lateness in comparison to the Abu (A.D,1285) an other records.

The importance of Vijayasiṁha as a ruling prince is established in the Bheraghat inscription of the Kalacuri queen Alhaṇadevī, dated A.D.1155 (Cedi year 907 where Śyāmaladevī, the wife of Vijayasiṁha, is stated to hav been the daughter of the Paramāra ruler Udayāditya[4] (A.D. 1059-1087). This matrimonial alliance between the Guhilas an the Paramāras was probably formed to check the rising power of the Caulukyas, who were trying to penetrate into the domain of the Paramāras, whose Sun was setting after the death of Bhoja I (A.D.1055). This alliance evidently confirms the ris

---

1. HR, vol.1, p.444, fn.3.
2. EI, vol.23, Appendix, p.389.
3. Ibid, vol.24, p.311 and v.147. In fact āt is legible in th inscription, but the first syllable tasm is a very reasonable reconstruction.
4. Ibid, vol.2, p.12, vs.20-21; see also the Karanbel inscription, IA, vol.18, p.217, lines 15-16.

of the Guhilas during the time of Vijayasiṁha and obviously suggests that he was a famous and powerful ruler, since he was in a position to take in marriage the daughter of a Paramāra prince. After the death of the Paramāra Jayasiṁha in a battle fought between him and the combined forces of the Caulukyas and the Kārṇāṭas (the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi), it was necessary for his able relative Udayāditya, a member of the junior branch, to make a successful attempt at ousting his great enemy. This was possible only after strengthening his power and naturally he allied himself with the Guhilas as well as with the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī, who were once a great enemy of the Paramāras. The Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya[1] as well as other records supports this view[2].

According to the tradition recorded in a work called Bīsalde-rāso, the Cāhamāna Vigraharāja II also married a Paramāra princess named Rājamatī, and Dr. D Sharma[3] seems to be right in identifying this princess with the daughter of the Paramāra Udayāditya instead of the daughter of Bhoja as recorded in the Rāso[4]. The daughter of Vijayasiṁha and Śyāmaladevī was Alhaṇadevī, who was given in marriage to the Dāhala Kalacuri prince Gayākarṇa[5]. The

---

1.Cant.V, vs.76-78.
2.ECD, pp.36-37; see also, DHNI, vol.2, p.1070.
3.ECD, p.36, fn.28.
4.Ed.by M.P.Gupta and A.C.Nahta, pp.64-65,vs.8-9 and p.52.
5.EI, vol.2, p.12, vs.22-23; also, IA, vol.18, lines 13-17

above mentioned relations show that the reign of Vijayasiṁha was important and that the Guhilas were connected with the Cāhamānas, Paramāras and the Kalacuris. Vijayasiṁha was perhaps playing a great role in matters of policy and thus centralized his powers after making matrimonial alliances with other ruling princes. The fame, power and prestige of Vijayasiṁha can also be recognized by the Kadmal plates of his own reign, where he is referred to as paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-maṇḍalīka[1] The title evidently shows that he was a powerful and independent ruler of the Guhila dynasty even though he retained the humbler maṇḍalīka, following his new imperial titles. These plates, perhaps the first metal records of th ruling family, are unfortunately very much defaced. The purpose of the plates was to record the donation of some portions of the produce of a village called Pallī. The most interesting thing which can be gathered from this inscription is the record of income and drainage taxes, which throws some light on the system of government during the period under review. The plates are also important for the genealogical account of the Guhilas up to Vijayasiṁha,

---

1. EI, vol.31, p.246, line 13. Some words on the inscription are wrongly inscribed.

though some verses seem to be copied from the Atpur inscription of Śaktikumāra, dated A.D.977 (V.S.1034)[1].

Though the present records mention a date for the reign of Vijayasiṁha, it is impossible to read the figure with certainty. 11 can be read easily, but the rest of the date seems to be rather the letter ka than a figure. A.K.Vyas reads the date as V.S.1140 (A.D.1083)[2]. He takes the letter ka as 4 and states that it was originally intended to engrave a cypher but later on it was corrected to 4, and the engraver could not engrave a cypher again. In other words the engraver intended to engrave the year V.S. 1140. But the interpretation of Vyas is far from being satisfactory. The letter ka is very distinct in the photograph after the figure 11 and it cannot be read otherwise. There are various other examples of ka in the photograph but they all are similar to this letter under review. Hence we do not find any reason to agree with Vyas, who fails to give any satisfactory explanation of his reading of ka as 4. G.H.Ojha tentatively reads the date as V.S.1164[3], but he fails to explain the reason for his reading. D.R.Bhandarkar first read it as V.S.1140[4], but

---

1.IA, vol.39, p.191.
2.EI, vol.31, p.243.
3.HR, vol.1, p.446.
4.IA, vol.39, p.191, fn.12.

later on accepted the reading of Ojha[1]. Thus the reading of the date is very doubtful and scholars are not unanimous. However it is evident from the Paldi inscription of his son and successor Arisiṁha[2] that the latter was ruling in A.D. 1116 (V.S.1173). Thus we may tentatively say that Vijayasiṁh ruled in or some time before A.D.1116.

Surprisingly Professor D.R.Bhandarkar identifies Rāṇā Śrī Rājakula Vijayasiṁha of the Pipad (old Jodhpur State) inscription, dated A.D.1168 (V.S.1224), with Vijayasiṁha of the Guhila dynasty[3], though he himself fixed the date of the Kadmal plates of Vijayasiṁha as V.S. 1164, as we have seen above. Thus according to him Vijayasiṁha ruled for a very long time at least from V.S.11 to 1224. But at the same time he himself gives a contradict statement. He refers to the Ajahari stone inscription (old Jodhpur State), dated A.D.1167 (V.S.1223)[4], of Mahāmaṇḍaleś- vara Rājakula Raṇasīdeva, whom he is inclined to identify with the Guhila prince Raṇasiṁha, the ruler of Mewar[5]. But Raṇasiṁha evidently ruled after four princes counting from

---

1. EI, vol.19, Appendix, p.28, No.176.
2. Ibid, vol.30, p.10 ff.
3. Ibid, vol.20, Appendix, p.49, No.328; see also, PRASI, WC 1911-12, p.52.
4. PRASI,WC, 1910-11, p.39.
5. EI, vol.20, Appendix, p.49, No.324; see also fn.1 of the same page.

Vijayasiṁha, and D.R.Bhandarkar himself accepts this fact[1]. Hence his interpretation places Raṇasiṁha before Vijayasiṁh as he gives the date V.S.1223 to Raṇasiṁha and V.S.1224 to Vijayasiṁha. But the Paldi inscription of Arisiṁha, the son of Vijayasiṁha, dated A.D.1116 (V.S.1173)[2], completely refutes his identification of Vijayasiṁha of the Pipad inscription.

ARISIṀHA

The Paldi inscription of Arisiṁha, dated A.D.1116 (V.S.1173)[3], reveals the truth about the disputed order of succession of the Guhilas, especially between Vijayasiṁha and Arisiṁha. This question was first brought to light by

---

1. EI, vol.23, Appendix, p.389.
2. Ibid, vol.30, p.8 ff.
3. Ibid. Since the publication of the Paldi inscription of Arisiṁha, Ojha (ARRMA, 1915-16, p.3, No.1; see also, HR, vol.1, p.445), Ray (DHNI, vol.2, p.1178) and following them all other subsequent scholars of the subject concerned, attributed this inscription to the reign of Vijayasiṁha. But, as revealed by A.K.Vyas, the last word Śrīman-Arisiṁha on the right portion of the second lintel of the epigraph evidently shows that the inscription actually belongs to the reign of Arisiṁha.

A.K.Vyas while he was editing the first and third slabs of the Kumbhalgarh inscription of Rāṇā Kumbha, dated A.D.1460 (V.S.1517)[1]. This inscription, as he himself accepts, settles the previous dispute and obviously shows that Vijayasiṁha was succeeded by his son Arisiṁha[2].

The present epigraph does not throw any valuable light on the history of the reign of Arisiṁha. His acts of valour with other qualities are stated in general terms. He is here called vanīpāla, certainly different from vanipāla, the appellation used for his predecessor Haṁsapāla in the Karanbel inscription of the Kalacuri Jayasiṁha[3]. It seems that the composer or engraver of the Karanbel inscription wrongly recorded the word vanipāla, which has no appropriate meaning. The present epigraph of Arisiṁha proves that the correct word should have been vanīpāla ("protector of the forest"). The inscription is important for its date because no epigraphic records after the Atpur inscription of Śaktikumāra, dated A.D.977 (V.S. 1034)[4], have so far been discovered, which may mention the definite date[5]. According to the pen of his own subject

---

1. EI, vol.24, p.311.
2. Ibid, vol.30, pp.10-11, vs.6-8.
3. IA, vol.18, p.217, line 15; see also, above, p.209 .
4. Ibid, vol.39, p.191.
5. Unfortunately the date given in the Kadmal plates of Vijayasiṁha (EI, vol.31, p.237 ff) cannot be read with certainty. See above, p.221 ff.

Arisiṁha in verse 9 is stated to have been the ruler of Medapāṭa (Mewar) at the time of the composition of this record. Thus we have no positive evidence to say that the Caulukya Jayasiṁha (c.A.D.1094-1144), who was a contemporary of Arisiṁha, held sway over the Guhila territory, even though it is evident that he was the master of a major portion of Rajasthan.

COḌASIṀHA, VIKRAMASIṀHA, RAṆASIṀHA AND KṢEMASIṀHA

According to the Abu inscription of Samarasiṁha, dated A.D.1285 (V.S.1342), Arisiṁha was succeeded by his son Coḍa (Coḍasiṁha), and the latter by his son Vikramasiṁha[1]. But the Kumbhalgarh inscription of Rāṇā Kumbha, dated A.D. 1460 (V.S.1517), distinctly states that Vikramakesarī (the same as Vikramasiṁha, siṁha and kesarī being synonyms) was the elder brother of Coḍa[2]; at the same time this epigraph also states that after Arasiṁha (Arisiṁha) Coḍa ascended th throne[3]. Thus the inscription leads us to think that either

---

1. Bh.I, p.86, vs.32-33; also, IA, vol.16, p.347 ff.
2. EI, vol.24, p.325, v.148.
3. Ibid, v.147.

Coḍa, being a younger brother of Vikramasiṁha, was preferred to ascend the throne after his father Arisiṁha, or there was some family feud between Coḍasiṁha and Vikramasiṁha in which Coḍasiṁha won. However the present epigraph seems to be wrong in establishing the relationship between these princes as the earlier inscription of Mount Abu clearly determines the exact relationship, and should be regarded as true.

Raṇasiṁha ascended the throne after Vikramasiṁha. The Kumbhalgarh inscription refers to him as the son of Vikramasiṁha[1], but on the basis of the Rāṇapura inscription of Rāṇā Kumbha, dated A.D.1440 (V.S.1496)[2], no relationship can be determined between these two princes[3]. The name of Raṇasiṁha is omitted in the Abu inscription and Vikramasiṁha is said to have been succeeded by Kṣemasiṁha[4]. According to Professor D.R.Bhandarkar Raṇasiṁha can easily be identified with the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rājakula Raṇasīdeva of the Ajhari (also known as Ajahari) inscription, dated A.D. 1167 (V.S.1223), who was ruling at Cāṁḍapallī. He tentatively thinks that Cāṁḍapallī is the same as Candrāvatī. Though

---

1. EI, vol.24, p.325, v.148.
2. Bh.I, p.114.
3. Professor H.C.Ray is wrong in stating that the relationship is given also in the Sadadi (Rāṇapura) inscription (DHNI, vol.2, p.1179).
4. Bh.I, p.86, vs.33-34.
5. EI, vol.20, Appendix, p.49, No.324 and fn.1; see also, PRASI,WC, 1910-11, p.39.

there may not be any chronological difficulty in this hypothesis, we have no positive evidence to say that the Guhilas during this time ruled in the old Jodhpur state. Some inscriptions of a prince named Sāmantasiṁha have been discovered in various parts of the old Jodhpur state, but, as will be shown, he was not the Guhila Sāmantasiṁha. The omission of the family name of Raṇasīdeva in this inscriptio creates much controversy and it is very difficult to say anything about him with certainty. In our view this prince may also have been a Paramāra of Candrāvatī, as other inscriptions of this clan have been found at Ajahari. A fragmentary inscription[1] of the reign of the Paramāra Yaśodhavala, dated A.D.1145 (V.S.1202), states that during the reign of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Yaśodhavala, the Caulukya queen Saubhāgyadevī made some grants at the village of Ajāharī[2]. The inscriptions ranging from A.D.1145 to 1183 obviously suggest that Ajhari (the same as Ajahārī, Ajāharī or Ājāharī) was under the control of the Paramāras of the Abu branch, who were the provincial governors of Candrāvatī under their Caulukya overlords[3]. Thus Raṇasīdeva of the Ajhari inscription cannot be the Guhila Raṇasiṁha.

1.IA, vol.56, p.12.
2.HPD, p.304.
3.Ibid, p.306.

A stone inscription of the Paramāra Dhārāvarṣa, the ruler of Candrāvatī, dated A.D.1183 (V.S.1240),distinctly states that the wife of the prince Prahlādana, who was the younger brother of Dhārāvarṣa, was once living at the village of Ājāharī[1]. Dhārāvarṣa was evidently a contemporary of Rājakula Raṇasīdeva of the Ajhari inscription, as a stone inscription of his reign, dated A.D.1163 (V.S.1220), has been found[2], where Dhārāvarṣa is referred to as Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, the same appellation used for Raṇasīdeva. Thus we may tentatively suggest that he was also a Paramāra and not our Guhila Raṇasiṁha.

The Ekaliṅga-māhātmya, composed during the reign of Rāṇā Kumbha, while dealing with other princes, refers to the name of Śrī Puñja and his son Karṇa as the ruling princes of Mewar. Ojha is inclined to identify this Karṇa with Raṇasiṁha. In this connection he further states that Puñja may have been another name of Vikramasiṁha[3]. The conjecture of Ojha is mainly based on the fact that in the genealogy of the Guhila princes given in the Ekaliṅga-māhātmya, the name of Raṇasiṁha is not mentioned and his place is occupied by Karṇa. Though we cannot regard this

---

1. HPD, p.306.
2. IA, vol.56, p.51.
3. HR, vol.1, pp.446-47 and fn.3.

work as a thoroughly reliable record, the conjecture of Ojh may be tentatively regarded as admissible.

According to this Māhātmya from Karṇa there sprang two branches bearing the separate names of Rāval and Rāṇā. Jitasiṁha (Jaitrasiṁha), Tejasiṁha, Samarasiṁha and Ratnasiṁha were the princes born in the Rāval branch, whereas Māhapa, Rāhapa and others represented the Rāṇā branch. The Rāvals were the rulers of Citrakūṭa or Chitor and the Rāṇās were simply the chiefs of Sesoda, and became famous as the Sesodia clan, as their place of residence was Sesoda. The Rāval branch ended after Ratnasiṁha, who lost Chitor in A.D.1303 (V.S.1360). After some time Hammīra, a member of the Rāṇā family, having conquered Chitor from the Muslims, established the rule of Mewar under the Rāṇās[1]. How far these accounts are correct cannot be said with certainty, though the extreme exaggeration of Karṇa's fame and the omission of five ruling princes from Kṣemasiṁha to Padmasiṁha tends to make us suspect the authority of the Ekaliṅga-māhātmya. In the same work Karṇasiṁha is stated to have built a citadel on the mount of Āhora[2].

1.HR, vol.1, p.447, fns.2-3.
2.Ibid, fn.3.

Raṇasiṁha was succeeded by Kṣemasiṁha, who in the Kumbhalgarh inscription is said to be the younger brother of Mahaṇasiṁha[1]. Thus this Mahaṇasiṁha evidently did not rule. What was the cause of his failure to achieve royal power is not known to us. His name as an elder brother of Kṣemasiṁha is not mentioned in any other epigraphic record of the Guhilas except the Kumbhalgarh inscription. There was one more Guhila prince named Mahaṇasiṁha or Mathanasiṁha, but he in any case, cannot be identified with this Mahaṇasiṁha, as he flourished even after Kumārasiṁha, the third from Kṣemasiṁha. However, if the Kumbhalgarh inscription is right this Mahaṇasiṁha either predeceased Raṇasiṁha, as Ojha thinks[2], or he willingly sacrificed the throne in favour of his younger brother Kṣemasiṁha, as Professor H.C.Ray suggest But Professor Ray gives no arguments for this view, and it would seem that the former suggestion is intrinsically more probable, though it is also not impossible that Mahaṇasiṁha could not get the throne owing to family feuds or that he wa incompetent in comparison with his younger brother and hence the throne ultimately passed on to Kṣemasiṁha.

1.EI, vol.24, p.325, v.149.
2.HR, vol.1, p.448, fn.1.
3.DHNI, vol.2, p.1180.

According to Ojha[1] and D.R.Bhandarkar[2] Kṣemasiṁha was the son of Raṇasiṁha. Bhandarkar's view is based on the Kumbhalgarh inscription. Following Bhandarkar and Ojha Professor Ray[3] is also of the same view and it seems that his opinion is based on the Rāṇapura (Sadadi)[4] and the Kumbhalgarh[5] inscriptions of Rāṇā Kumbha, dated A.D.1440 and 1460 (V.S.1496 and 1517) respectively. But these two inscriptions obviously fail to determine any relation betwee Raṇasiṁha and Kṣemasiṁha. The earlier Mount Abu inscription of Samarasiṁha, dated A.D.1285 (V.S.1342), places Kṣemasiṁha just after Vikramasiṁha and omits the name of Raṇasiṁha[6]. Thus it is not possible to determine any relation between Raṇasiṁha and Kṣemasiṁha on the basis of the present available epigraphs of the Guhilas. Politically nothing is known about the reigns of the above mentioned princes, who seem to be mere names.

During the period under review the Guhilas held a very insignificant position in the history of Mewar. The Caulukya Kumārapāla (c.A.D.1144-73)

1.HR, vol.1, p.448.
2.EI, vol.23, Appendix, p.388, fn.7 and p.389.
3.DHNI, vol.2, p.1180, fn.3.
4.Bh.I, p.114.
5.EI, vol.24, p.304 ff.
6.Bh.I, p.86, vs.33-34; also, IA, vol.16, p.347 ff.

was the master of a major portion of Mewar, as is evident from the epigraphic and other records. The Kumārapāla-carita of Jayasiṁha Sūri distinctly states that during his compaign against Mālava and other countries, the ruler of Mewar humbled himself before Kumārapāla[1]. Jayasiṁha Sūri also informs us that Kumārapāla proclaimed an order prohibiting the killing of animals and this order became effective even in Medapāṭa (Mewar), including other countries[2]. The Sukṛta-kīrti-kallolinī of Udayaprabha states that the Vāghelā Arṇorāja, a feudatory of Kumārapāla, killed the chiefs of Medapāṭa and Candrāvatīpura[3]. It can be also gathered from the Chitor inscription, dated A.D.1150 (V.S.1207)[4], and the Chitor praśasti[5] of the same prince that Chitor was under his control. Kumārapāla no doubt was also a believer in the Jaina faith and the above mentioned works, written by Jaina authors, cannot be regarded as wholly true. But it can be gathered from these records that Kumārapāla held sway over a major part of Mewar. Hence we may tentatively suggest that the Guhilas during this period held a very small principality, most probably the hilly region of Mewar, and

---

1.Canto IV,
2.Canto VII, vs.581-82.
3.GOS, No.X, p.78, v.75; see also, v.60.
4.EI, vol.2, p.422 ff.
5.ARRMA, 1930-31, pp.3-4, No.4.

were insignificant before the Caulukya monarchs. But in any case we have no positive evidence to say that they occupied a feudatory position under the Caulukya kings.

SĀMANTASIṂHA

Sāmantasiṁha was the son and successor of Kṣemasiṁha[1]. Three inscriptions of his reign have so far been discovered. The Ghaṇṭā Mātā temple inscription of Sāmantasiṁh dated c. A.D.1167 (V.S.1224), has been recently discovered by Dr. R.C.Rai[2]. This temple is located about 2 miles from the village Jaswantgarh and about 30 miles from Udaipur, and records the construction of this temple in the above mentione year while Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Sāṁvatasiṁha (Sāmantasiṁha) was ruling. Thus the inscription is important as it pushes back the reigning period of Sāmantasiṁha up to 4 years which previously was fixed from c.A.D.1171 to 1179 (V.S.1228-1236). Now the ruling period of this prince should be regarded from c. A.D.1167 to 1179.

1.Bh.I, p.86, v.36; also, IA, vol.16, p.347 ff.
2.IHQ, vol.37 (1961), p.215.

The Jagat stone inscription, dated A.D.1171 (V.S. 1228), records that Mahārāja Sāmantasiṁhadeva made a gift of a suvarṇa-kalaśa (golden pinnacle) to the temple of Aṁbādevī[1]. The donation of the golden pinnacle suggests that his reign was prosperous. The next inscription of his reign has been found in the temple of Boreśvara Mahādeva near the village Solaj in the old Dungarpur state of Rajasthan. The inscription is dated A.D.1179 (V.S.1236) and records the name of Sāmantasiṁha as ruling during that time[2].

There are at least five other inscriptions, which are attributed to the reign of this prince. They are the Uthman (Sirohi)[3], Bamnera I (Jodhpur)[4] Bamnera II[5], Sanderav (Jodhpur)[6] and Bamnera III[7] inscriptions, the first dated A.D.1200 and the others 1202 (V.S.1256 and 1258) respectively. D.R.Bhandarkar is of the opinion that all these inscriptions were issued by the Guhila Sāmantasiṁha[8]. Though the name Sāmantasiṁha (with

---

1. ARRMA, 1914-15, p.3, No.6; see also, HR, vol.1, p.449.
2. Ibid, No.7.
3. PRASI,WC, 1916-17, pp.65-66; also, EI, vol.20,App.,p.64, No.441.
4. Ibid, 1908-9, p.52; also, EI, vol.20, Append.,p.64, No.44
5. EI, vol.20, Append., p.64, No.445.
6. Ibid, No.446.
7. Ibid, No.447.
8. Ibid, Nos.441, 444 to 447.

certain variations Sāṁvatasiṁha and Sāmantasīhadeva) is evidently mentioned in all these inscriptions, unfortunately his dynastic name is not stated in any of them. Professor Ray has also attributed these inscriptions to the reign of the Guhila Sāmantasiṁha[1]. In this connection he further states that the Unstra (Jodhpur) pillar inscription, dated A.D.1192 (V.S.1248)[2], must be referred to the reign of Sāmantasiṁha. This inscription records that Rājī, a Mohilī (sub-division of the Cāhamāna family), became a satī after the death of her husband Guhilautra Rāṇā Motisvarā. We have one more inscription at the same place in which Pālhaṇadevī and Mātādevī, the queens of the Guhila Rāṇā Tihuṇapāla, are said to have become satīs after the death of their husband[3]. This memorial pillar inscription is dated A.D.117[illegible] (V.S.1235). It is not possible to identify these Guhilas, but we may tentatively suggest that they were small chiefs or feudatories. However we cannot establish on the basis of these inscriptions that Sāmantasiṁha was ruling at Jodhpur, as Professor Ray suggests. All controversies can easily be settled on the basis of the Ata temple inscription, found near the village of Korabar in Udaipur. The inscription is

---

1. DHNI, vol.2, p.1181 and fn.6.
2. Ibid; see also, PRASI,WC, 1911-12, p.53.
3. PRASI,WC, 1911-12, p.53. The name Unstra derived from the original name Unichatrā.

dated A.D. 1182 (V.S.1239) and refers to the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Mahaṇasiṁhadeva, ruling at Nāgadraha (Nagda)[1]. It seems that the present inscription was not noticed by Professor Ray and this led him into error, although the inscription was first noticed in 1927-28. A recent discovery of the Pañcāyatana temple inscription at th village of Īsvāl, about 13 miles from Udaipur, has finally settled all these disputes[2]. The inscription is dated A.D. 1185 (V.S.1242) and records the donation of some land previously granted to the temple of the god Vohighasvāmi (Vohigasvāmi). It is needless to say that the present inscription belongs to the reign of Mahaṇasīhadeva (Mathanasiṁha), the third ruling descendant from Sāmantasiṁh

It is evident from the above mentioned inscriptions that Mathanasiṁha was ruling at least between A.D.1182 and 1185, hence Sāmantasiṁha, his second predecessor, could have ruled during A.D.1200 and 1202 (V.S. 1256 and 1258). Thus Sāmantasiṁha of other five inscriptions referred to above, apparently cannot be identified with the Guhila Sāmantasiṁha. One may question that Mathanasiṁha and his successor Padmasiṁha (V.S.1251=c.A.D.1194) were not the

---

1. ARRMA, 1927-28, p.3, No.4; also, RBH, vol.7, pt.4, p.47.
2. RBH, vol.7, pt.4, pp.47-48. This short inscription was discovered by Mr. R.C.Agrawala in 1958.

direct descendants or successors of Sāmantasiṁha and thus these five inscriptions may have been issued in his reign some time after his banishment from Mewar by Kītu or Kīrtipāla. As will be shown, Sāmantasiṁha founded a new kingdom in Vāgaḍa and it is evident from a grant of the Guhila Amṛtapāla, most probably a successor of Sāmantasiṁha, that Amṛtapāla was ruling at Vatapadraka or Vāgaḍa (Baroda) in A.D.1185 (V.S. 1242)[1]. Thus Sāmantasiṁha apparently died some time before A.D.1185 and the inscriptions under review cannot be attributed to the Guhila Sāmantasiṁha. Dr. D.Sharma has identified this Sāmantasiṁha of the five inscriptions with a Sāmantasiṁha of Nadol[2]. He tentatively suggests on the basis of the findspots of these inscriptions in the principality of Nadol, that Sāmantasiṁha was a successor of the Cāhamāna Jayatasiṁha of Nadol. Though we do not have any other evidence about a Nadol Cāhamāna named Sāmantasiṁha, we may tentatively accept the hypothesis of Dr. Sharma.

In the Neminātha temple inscription (also known as the Mount Abu inscription), dated A.D.1230 (V.S. 1287)[3], Prahlādana, the younger brother of the Candrāvatī Paramāra Dhārāvarṣa (A.D.1163-1219), is stated to have

---

1.HD, p.50, fn.1.
2.ECD, p.140.
3.EI, vol.8, p.211, v.38.

defended the illustrious Gurjara king, when Sāmantasiṁha attacked on him. Unfortunately the epigraph fails to mention the name of the Gurjara king . The family name of Sāmantasiṁha is also not mentioned. According to Lüders Sāmantasiṁha of the present epigraph, in all probability, can be identified with the Guhila Sāmantasiṁha[1], and the Gurjara king with Bhīmadeva II. The dates of Sāmantasiṁha ranged from A.D.1167 to 1179. The contemporary Caulukya rulers, who ruled during this period, were Kumārapāla(c.A.D. 1144-73), Ajayapāla (A.D.1173-76), Mūlarāja II (A.D.1176-78) and Bhīma II (A.D.1178-1241)[2]. Kumārapāla was a great ruler and Chitor was under his control, as is evident from the two inscriptions of his reign found there. One of them is dated A.D.1150 (V.S.1207)[3]. Hence it is quite reasonable to think that Sāmantasiṁha was naturally very anxious to recover Chitor, an important fortress of Mewar, from the yoke of the Caulukya monarch, and he was waiting for a favourable opportunity to do this.

As Kumārapāla was also a believer in the Jaina faith, a number of works was written during and after his reign by Jaina scholars. These works throw a good deal

---

1. EI, vol.8, p.202.
2. DHNI, vol.2, pp.985-1016.
3. EI, vol.2, p.421 ff. The second inscription is undated; see, PRASI,WC, 1905-6, p.61, No.2220; also, EI, vol.20, Append., p.209, No.1522.

of light on the history of Kumārapāla's reign, but we do not get any hint about this struggle. Hence it is not unreasonable to suggest that this event did not take place during his reign. At the same time it was not possible for Sāmantasiṁha to overthrow the great Caulukya monarch, but he probably got this opportunity after the death of Kumārapāla. Kumārapāla was succeeded by his nephew Ajayapāla, who was evidently a very weak ruler and a great enemy of the Jaina faith. The murders of Kumārapāla and Ajayapāla also show that there was some internal dissension during the end of Kumārapāla's reign and the beginning of that of Ajayapāla. Thus the time was ripe for expansion, and naturally Sāmantasiṁha wanted to fish in troubled waters. It is stated in the Surathotsava-kāvya of Someśvara[1] that Kumāra, a predecessor of Someśvara, cured the wounds of Ajayapāla, who was wounded in the battlefield. Thus the evidence show that this war was most probably fought between the Guhila Sāmantasiṁha and the Caulukya Ajayapāla, and Ojha seems to be quite right in this conclusion[2]. We may further prove this conjecture from other indications.

It is evident from the Mount Abu inscription, dated A.D.1208-9 (V.S.1265)[3], and the Neminātha

---

1.Canto XV, v.32, p.106.
2.HR, vol.1, pp.449-50.
3.IA, vol.11, pp.221-22, lines 20-22.

temple inscription (also known as Abu inscription), dated A.D.1230 (V.S.1287)[1], that the Candrāvatī Paramāras were feudatories of the Caulukya rulers and owed great allegiance and rendered many services to their overlords[2]. As to the date of Prahlādana, who defended the Caulukya king from Sāmantasiṁha, it is evident from the Kayadra (Sirohi) temple inscription of the Paramāra Dhārāvarṣadeva, dated A.D.1163 (V.S.1220)[3], that Pālahaṇadeva (Prahlādana)[4] was the younger brother of Dhārāvarṣa. That Prahlādana was a yuvarāja in A.D 1209 (V.S.1265) is stated in the Abu inscription of the same date[5]. Hence the dates of Prahlādana range from A.D.1163 to 1209 and thus he was a contemporary of the Guhila Sāmantasiṁha (A.D.1167-79). Thus it is quite reasonable to suggest that during the attack of Sāmantasiṁha the Paramāra Dhārāvarṣa, a feudatory of the Caulukya Ajayapāla, deputed his younger brother Prahlādana to help his overlord.

---

1. EI, vol.8, pp.201 and 211, v.35.
2. HPD, pp.304 and 306.
3. IA, vol.56, p.51; see also, EI, vol.8, p.201 ff.
4. The name Pālhaṇadeva is the same as Prahlādana. Prahlādana is said to have constructed a temple named Pālhavihāra (HPD, p.319). Giving the name of the temple after the name of the builder is not uncommon (ARRMA, 1920-21, p.4, No.8). The names Pālhaṇapura(modern Palanpur in Gujarat) and Pālhavihāra are said to have been derived from the name of this prince (HPD, p.320).
5. IA, vol.11, p.222.

No references to this attack have been found in any other records except the Abu or Neminātha temple inscription dated A.D.1230 (V.S.1287)[1]. The omission of the name of the Caulukya prince led scholars to put forward different interpretations. Professor Lüders has identified this Caulukya prince with Bhīmadeva II (A.D.1178-1241)[2] on the basis of his own conjectural date of Sāmantasiṁha as A.D. 1200, which according to him suits the date of Prahlādana, who was a yuvarāja in A.D.1209. As we have seen that Sāmantasiṁha's reign ended in about 1179, Professor Lüders' date cannot be accepted. It is evident from the Prabandha-cintāmaṇi that Mūlarāja II (A.D.1176-1178) ascended the throne in his childhood and ruled for only two years. The same work also calls him Bāla-Mūlarāja[3]. This fact is also supported by other evidence[4]. His younger brother Bhīmadeva II was also a child at the time of his accession[5]. Hence it was quite impossible for these two princes to cross swords in the battlefield with Sāmantasiṁha. All these statements show that this attack of Sāmantasiṁha took place during the reign of Ajayapāla, some time between A.D.1173 and 1176.

1.EI, vol.8, p.211, v.38.
2.Ibid, p.202.
3.Ed.by Jinavijaya, p.97; tr.by Tawney, p.154.
4.DHNI, vol.2, pp.1003-4.
5.BG, vol.1, pt.1, p.196.

In the Abu inscription of Samarasiṁha, dated A.D. 1285 (V.S.1342)[1], Sāmantasiṁha is said to have seized all the possessions of his neighbouring chiefs or feudatories. We have seen above that he tried to consolidate his power, in course of which he crossed swords with the Caulukya monarch. Thus on the basis of the Abu inscription it is quite reasonable to suggest that Sāmantasiṁha wanted to establish a centralized and powerful government and this led him to seize the small pricipalities occupied by the petty chiefs. But these steps, as will be shown, were not in accordance with the sound foreign policy of a successful monarch. Verse 37 of the Abu inscription distinctly states that Kumārasiṁha, Sāmantasiṁha's younger brother, again recovered the earth and gave it a good or real king when the land, which had never before been separated from the Guhila kings, was occupied by the enemy[2].

---

1. IA, vol.16, p.349, v.36; also, Bh.I, p.86.
2. Ibid, verse 37, ed.by Kielhorn. Text as follows:
   Soṁ(Khoṁ)māṇa-saṁtati-viyoga-vilakṣa-lakṣmīṁ[ṇe] t-ā(tha)-
   dṛṣṭa-virahāṁ Guhil-ānvayasya rājanvatīṁ-akarot-
   Kumārasiṁhas-tato ripu-ga[tā]m-apahṛtya bhūyaḥ.

   Translation "Afterwards, winning (again) fortune who was embarrassed by her separation from the lineage of Ṣoṁmāṇa (Khommāṇa) (and) who clearly was pinning for the Guhila family, Kumārasiṁha made the earth possessed of a good king having taken it away again from the possession of the enemy (Ibid, p.354)

(continued on the next page)

Unfortunately the present epigraph does not mention the name of the enemy. But this is revealed in the Kumbhalgarh inscription of Rāṇā Kumbha, dated A.D.1460 (V.S. 1517), where Kumārasiṁha is stated to have ousted prince Kītū, his enemy, who had seized his kingdom. In course of this war Kumārasiṁha acquired Āghāṭapura, after pleasing the Gurjara monarch, and made himself the master of that country Ojha has identified this Kītū of the Kumbhalgarh inscription

---

(continued from the back page) But scholars are not unanimous with regard to the reading and interpretation of the present verse. Professor Peterson's reading is lakṣmīṁ-senām-adṛṣṭa-virahāṁ... and according to him Kumārasiṁha must have led his army himself in the battlefield instead of his generals, who had previously been entrusted with leading the forces in battle, during the time of the other descendants of Khommāṇa(Bh.I, pp.86 and 92-93, fn.1). Ojha has followed the interpretation of Professor Kielhorn, but his reading is slightly different(HR, vol.1, p.451, fn.1). The photograph of the present inscription is very clear(see Bh.I, p.84, pl.36, line 28 last) and though the letter sa is distinct, we cannot read senāma as Peterson thinks or menāma as Ojha suggests. The intended reading may be sināma, but this has no meaning. However Professor Kielhorn's as wel as Ojha's interpretations are very similar and coherent and suit the intention of this verse.(see NPN(NS),vol.1,pt.1,p. 25, fn.14).

1.EI, vol.24, p.325, vs.150-51.

with the Cāhamāna Kīrtipāla, who was the founder of the Jāvālipura or Jalor branch of the Cāhamānas and the youngest son of Ālhaṇa of Naḍḍūla. According to him Kīrtipāla was known as Kītū in Rajasthan, as is evident from the chronicles of Naiṇsī and others[1]. The conjecture of Ojha finds support from other evidence. It is clear from the Nadol plates of Kīrtipāla, dated A.D.1160-61 (V.S.1218)[2], and the Jalor inscription of his son Samarasiṁha, dated A.D.1182-83 (V.S. 1239)[3], that Kīrtipāla ruled at least between A.D.1160 and 1182 and obviously was a contemporary of Sāmantasiṁha (A.D. 1167-79).

The territory occupied by Kīrtipāla was not far from the border of the Guhila principality and it is quite reasonable to think that Kīrtipāla, a man of high ambition, invaded the Guhila territory during the reign of Sāmantasiṁha and ousted him from Mewar. Having been defeated by Kīrtipāla, Sāmantasiṁha was forced to quit Mewar and ultimately he took refuge in the old state of Dungarpur, as i evident from his Solaj stone inscription, dated A.D.1179 (V.S.1236). This inscription was found in a temple of Boreśvara Mahādeva near the village of Solaj, apparently in

---

1.HR, vol.1, p.452.
2.EI, vol.9, p.68 ff; see also, IA, 1911, p.146 ff.
3.EI, vol.11, pp.53-54.

the Dungarpur state[1]. Before Sāmantasiṁha Dungarpur was not known as a Guhila territory and thus the above mentioned conjecture again finds full support. Dr. G.C.Raychaudhuri on the basis of the expression svarājya-grāhiṇāṁ, referred to in the Kumbhalgarh inscription[2], thinks that the attack on the Guhila territory by Kīrtipāla and his subsequent repulse occured during the reign of Kumārasiṁha rather than that of Sāmantasiṁha[3]. He does not give any further evidence in support of his hypothesis and in our opinion the above mentioned evidence can easily refute the view of Dr. Raychaudhuri.

In the chronicle of Naiṇsī Samarasiṁha is said to have willingly abdicated the throne of Chitor in favour of his younger brother, who pleased Samarasiṁha by his devoted service; the latter is then said to have founded a new kingdom at Vāgaḍa. Ojha and other scholars think that Naiṇsī confused the names of Sāmantasiṁha and Samarasiṁha, and that actually Sāmantasiṁha was the real founder of the Vāgaḍa branch of the Guhilas[4].

---

1. ARRMA, 1914-15, p.3, No.7.
2. EI, vol.24, p.325, v.150.
3. HM, pp.50-51.
4. HR, vol.1, pp.453-54; also, HD, p.39; Khyata, tr.,p.78,and fn.1. Naiṇsī has recorded the name of Samarasī (Samarasiṁha) instead of Sāmantasiṁha as the founder of the Vāgaḍa line. According to Ojha the Dungarpur chronicle

(continued on the next page)

It is evident from the inscriptions and copper plate of Sīhaḍadeva and his successors, who were the descendants of Sāmantasiṁha, that Vāgaḍa and the neighbouring areas includin Vaṭapadraka (identified with Baroda) were under their control[1]. Thus Naiṇsī either confused the names of Sāmantasiṁha and Samarasiṁha or he is wrong in his statement that Samarasiṁha, instead of Sāmantasiṁha, went to Baroda and founded his new kingdom.

There are controversies with regard to the founder of the Guhila line of Dungarpur. The Rājapraśasti-mahākāvya, incised on 25 big slabes of stone, was composed in A.D.1676 (V.S.1732). The composer of this work credits Māhapa, the elder son of Karṇa and the grandson of Rāval Samarasiṁha, with being the first king of Dungarpur[2] Muhaṇot Naiṇsī, who served the Rathor prince Jaswant Singh (A.D.1638-78), was a contemporary of the composer of this mahākāvya, but surprisingly he gives a somewhat variant story about the founder of the Dungarpur state, as we have seen above.

(continued from the back page) is correct in stating the name Samatasī as the founder (HR, vol.1, p.454, fn.2). But in translation Dugaḍa has written the name Samara instead of Samata (p.78).

1. HD, p.36, fn.5 and p.37, fn.2.
2. EI, vol.29, Append., p.15, canto ~~xx~~ III, vs.28-30; also, Bh.I, p.151.

Kavirāja Śyāmal Das in his bardic history gives another story and states that Māhapa, the elder grandson of Ratnasiṁha, who was defeated by 'Alā-ud-Dīn, went to Dungarpur and after defeating a Bhīl chief by the help of his younger brother Rāhapa, the Rāṇā of Chitor, acquired the kingdom of Dungarpur[1]. In the Rājapraśasti-mahākāvya Māhapa appears as the grandson of Samarasiṁha, whereas according to Kavirāja he was the great-grandson of Samarasiṁha. Tod has also expressed the same view that Māhapa, the grandson of Samarasiṁha, was the founder of the Dungarpur state[2]. K. D. Erskine in his Dungarpur Gazetteer has given two stories relevant to this problem. He also thinks that , Māhapa, the elder son of Karṇasiṁha, was the real founder of the Dungarpur kingdom[3]. All these writers with certain variations repeat the same story and accept the tradition that Māhapa was the founder of the Dungarpur state. But we have no strong evidence of earlier times to show that he was the actual founder. No inscriptions bearing his name have so far been discovered. We cannot rely on an epigraphi record which is as late as A.D.1676. The above mentioned

---

1. Vīravinoda, vol.1, pp.273 and 288, as cited in HD, p.27.
2. AR, vol.1, p.303 ff; see also, HD, p.28.
3. DG, pp.131-32; see also, HD, pp.29-30.

scholars unanimously agree that the state of Dungarpur had been founded by the Guhilas after the reign of Samarasiṁha (A.D.1273-1301). But Ojha's conjecture that Sāmantasiṁha was the actual founder of the Dungarpur state is more reasonable and reliable[1].

This view is also supported by the epigraphic evidence. Two inscriptions of Sīhaḍadeva, the successor of Sāmantasiṁha, dated A.D.1221 and 1234 (V.S.1277 and 1291), have been found in the Dungarpur area[2]. There are other inscriptions of the successors of Sāmantasiṁha found in different parts of Dungarpur, and from these it is quite evident that Sāmantasiṁha as well as his successors undoubtedly ruled over the Vāgaḍa (Dungarpur) territory[3]. Thu the founder of the Vāgaḍa line was Sāmantasiṁha and not Samarasiṁha or his other successors. Naiṇsī does not record the name of the brother of Samarasī (if identified with Sāmantasiṁha), but the Kumbhalgarh inscription distinctly refers to Kumārasiṁha as the brother of Sāmantasiṁha[4]. Hence Naiṇsī's information with regard to his first statement that Samarasī (Sāmantasiṁha) retired from Mewar is correct, although he is wrong in stating that Samarasīṁ (Sāmantasiṁha)

1.HD, p.31 ff; see also, HR, vol.1, p.456 and fns.
2.HD, p.35 ff; see also, NPN(NS), vol.1, pp.30-31, fn.30.
3.HR, vol.1, p.456 and fns.; HD, p.36.
4.EI, vol.24, p.325, v.150.

willingly abdicated the throne in favour of his younger brother. The actual fact is revealed by the epigraphic records that he was forced by the Cāhamāna Kīrtipāla to retire from Mewar.

We have some evidence to show that the war between Kīrtipāla and Sāmantasiṁha was inevitable. We have seen above that Sāmantasiṁha wounded the Caulukya king Ajayapāla[1] and thus made him his great enemy. He must also have aroused hostility within his own domain when he seized all the property of his chiefs and feudatories[2]. Hence Sāmantasiṁha was disliked at home as well as abroad. The Caulukya prince must have been waiting for a favourable opportunity, which came after the civil disorder caused by Sāmantasiṁha. Kīrtipāla, whose relations with his elder brother Kelhaṇa were not very cordial[3], was also trying to establish a new kingdom, and instability and civil disorder in the neighbouring Guhila territory during the reign of Sāmantasiṁha must have encouraged him to cross swords with Sāmantasiṁha. It is evident from the Nāḍlāi inscription, dated A.D.1171 (V.S.1228)[4], and other records[5] that Kelhaṇa,

---

1. See above, p.239 ff.
2. IA, vol.16, p.349, v.36; also, Bh.I, p.86.
3. ECD, p.142.
4. EI, vol.11, pp.47-48.
5. ECD, p.137.

the elder brother of Kīrtipāla, was a feudatory of the Caulukya monarch Kumārapāla and it would not be unreasonable to suggest that he continued to owe allegiance to Ajayapāla, the successor of Kumārapāla. It seems most probable that the Caulukya prince Ajayapāla helped his feudatory's brother Kīrtipāla to punish his enemy Sāmantasiṁha, who had once wounded him on the battlefield. Whether Kīrtipāla after defeating Sāmantasiṁha held sway over Guhila territory on behalf of the Caulukya prince or whether he ruled it independently till he was ousted by Kumārasiṁha, cannot be said with certainty. Professor H.C. Ray is inclined to think that he occupied the Guhila territory on behalf of the Caulukya prince[1].

The Kumbhalgarh inscription distinctly tells us that Kumārasiṁha ousted Kītū from his kingdom and made Āghāṭapura his own after pleasing the Gurjara king[2]. Thus the intention of the author of the present epigraph is to show that Kītū or Kīrtipāla held sway over the Guhila principality on his own behalf and not on behalf of

---

1. DHNI, vol.2, p.1183.
2. EI, vol.24, p.325, vs.149-151. Text as follows:
   Sāmantasiṁha-nāmā bhūpatir-bhūtale jātaḥ.
   Bhrātā Kumārasiṁha-bhūt-svarājya-grāhiṇāṁ paraṁ,
   deśān-niṣkāsayāmāsa Kītū-saṁjnaṁ-nṛpaṁ-tu yaḥ.
   Svīkṛtam-Āghāṭa-puraṁ Gurjara-nṛpatiṁ prasādya,

Ajayapāla, as Professor Ray conjectures. The words deśān-niṣkāsayāmāsa Kītū and svīkṛtam-Āghāṭa-puraṁ Gurjara-nṛpatiṁ prasādya are here remarkable. Deśān-niṣkāsayāmāsa apparently implies that force was used by Kumārasiṁha. If Kītū had been occupying the territory on behalf of the Caulukya king, a mere order of that monarch would have been sufficient for him to quit the Guhila territory. But the case was not so simple. Kumārasiṁha tried his best to minimise the wrath of the Caulukya king, who probably became satisfied after punishing and expelling Sāmantasiṁha from his paternal kingdom, and helped him in regaining Āghāṭapura, his ancestral territory. Dr. D.Sharma tentatively thinks that the growing power of the Cāhamāna Kīrtipāla, who began to raise his head before the Caulukya king, led him to help the Guhila prince Kumārasiṁha in reinstalling him on the throne of Āghāṭapura[1]. Whatever may have been the fact, it is certain that Kumārasiṁha recovered his lost ancestral principality by the favour of the Caulukya king.

Coming to the actual date of all these events, it is evident from the Solaj stone inscription of Sāmantasiṁha, dated A.D.1179 (V.S.1236)[2], that he was ousted from his ancestral territory some time before that year, as

---

1.ECD, p.144.
2.ARRMA, 1914-15, p.3, No.7; see also, HR, vol.1, p.449.

the present inscription was found in the old state of Dungarpur. But the exact date of his defeat is not known. On the basis of the Arthuna inscription of the Paramāra prince Cāmuṇḍarāja, dated A.D.1080 (V.S.1136)[1], Ojha first maintaine that Ucchapanaka (the same as Chapan), where the Jagat inscription of Sāmantasiṁha, dated A.D.1171-72 (V.S.1228), has been found, was a part of Vāgaḍa (Dungarpur) and thus Sāmantasiṁha was ousted from Mewar even before A.D.1171-72[2]. Dr. L.D.Barnett, the editor of the Arthuna inscription, could not identify the name Tatth-otthapanake and he is doubtful about this word, as in the translation he simply mentions "local bazar" with note of interrogation[3]. Ojha identifies this place with the Chapan district of Mewar[4]. But elsewhere Ojha states that Sāmantasiṁha invaded the Caulukya kingdom during the reign of Ajayapāla some time about A.D.1174 (V.S.1231)[5] and he was ousted from Mewar by Kītū some time between A.D.1174 and 1179 (V.S.1230 and 1236)[6]. Thus he himself gives contradictory statements.

1.EI, vol.14, p.295 ff; see also, DHNI, vol.2, p.920.
2.NPP(NS), vol.1, pt.1, pp.28-29.
3.EI, vol.14, p.309, v.73.
4.NPP(NS), vol.1, pt.1, pp.28-29.
5.HR, vol.1, pp.449-50.
6.Ibid, p.452 and fn.6.

The most important question before us is to decide whether during the time of Sāmantasiṁha and his successors Jagat or Chapan district of Mewar was under the Mewar kingdom or under Vāgaḍa (Dungarpur). The grant of the Guhila Amṛtapāla, dated A.D.1185 (V.S.1242), distinctly mentions that Chapan district was under Vāgaḍa or Vaṭapadraka[1]. An inscription of the reign of Sīhaḍadeva, the successor of Sāmantasiṁha of the Vāgaḍa line, dated A.D.1221 (V.S.1277), has been found at the village of Jagat[2]. The inscription is engraved on a pillar of the same temple of Aṁbādevī, where the second inscription of Sāmantasiṁha, dated A.D.1171-72 (V.S.1228),is incised. Two other inscriptions of the reign of Vijayasiṁhadeva (Jayasiṁha), the son and successor of Sīhaḍadeva, dated A.D.1250 and 1251 (V.S.1306 and 1308), have also been discovered in the Chapan district; one of these is also engraved on a pillar in the temple of Aṁbādevī at the village of Jagat[3]. Thus it is evident from the above mentioned records that the Chapan district was under the control of the Guhilas at least from A.D.1171-72, the date o

---

1. HD, p.50, fn.1.
2. Ibid, p.55, fn.3.
3. Ibid, p.36, fns.3 and 4; see also ARRMA, 1914-15, No.10. It is wrong to say that Jayatasīha of this epigraph is Jaitrasiṁha of Mewar. Actually this Jayatasīha was the father of Sīhaḍadeva (HD, p.54).

Sāmantasiṁha's second inscription. We have not a single piece of evidence to show that Vāgaḍa branch of the Guhilas ever ruled in Mewar or any part of it. Hence the territory of Chapan district, where the inscriptions of Sīhaḍadeva and his successors have been found, was evidently within Vāgaḍa, ruled by Sāmantasiṁha and his successors of the new line[1].

This fact accords with the view of Ojha that Ucchapanaka (Chapan) of the Arthuna inscription was within the Vāgaḍa territory even during the reign of the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa in A.D.1080 (V.S.1136). Thus on these grounds it may be said that Sāmantasiṁha was ousted from Mewar even before A.D.1171-72. But this view would totally refute our theory[2], which in our opinion is more accurate and coherent, that all these events took place during the reign of the Caulukya Ajayapāla, who ruled for only three years, from A.D.1173 to 1176 (V.S.1229-1232)[3]. Thus in our opinion there remains only one possibility, that Sāmantasiṁha may have invaded the small Chapan district of Vāgaḍa, which was situated just near the border of Mewar, and annexed it in his ancestral kingdom some time before A.D.1171-72 (V.S.1228) during the reign of the weak Paramāra chiefs of Banswara[4]

---

1. HD, p.57.
2. See above, p.239 ff.
3. DHNI, vol.2, p.1000 ff.
4. Ibid, p.924.

(Vāgaḍa). When Kītū invaded his Mewar territory, finding no way out, he left Mewar and took refuge in the small Chapan district, which became a part of his new kingdom and remained under the control of his successors of Vāgaḍa. Hence in the present state of our knowledge, we can simply say that Sāmantasiṁha founded a new kingdom some time after A.D.1171-72 and before 1179, most probably during the reign of the Caulukya Ajayapāla (A.D.1173-76).

As for the identity of the Caulukya monarch who favoured Kumārasiṁha in regaining the throne of Āghāṭapura, Professor H.C.Ray tentatively thinks that he was either Ajayapāla or one of his two successors, Mūlarāja II (A.D.1176-78) and Bhīmadeva II (A.D.1178-1241)[1]. Kīrtipāla died some time before A.D.1182, as is evident from the Jalor inscription of his son Samarasiṁha[2], who was ruling in that year. It is also obvious from the Āta temple inscription of Mathanasiṁha, the immediate successor of Kumārasiṁha, that Mathanasiṁha was ruling at Nāgadraha (Nāgda) in A.D.1182 (V.S.1239)[3]. Thus Kumārasiṁha apparently died before this date and he must have expelled Kīrtipāla some time before A.D. 1182. Hence the three immediate successors of the great

---

1. DHNI, vol.2, p.1184.
2. EI, vol.11, pp.53-54.
3. ARRMA, 1927-28, p.3, No.4; see also, RB, vol.7, pt.4, p. 47 ff and IHQ, vol.36, pt.1, p.75 ff.

Caulukya monarch Kumārapāla (c.A.D.1144-73) may be regarded as the contemporaries of the Guhila Kumārasiṁha, though we do not have the actual date of his accession on the throne. We have no definite name of the Gurjara king who helped Kumarasiṁha, but Ajayapāla may not have favoured the Guhila prince, because it seems unlikely that he would so soon have forgotten the wound which was inflicted on his person by the elder brother of Kumārasiṁha. Most probably Kumārasiṁha regained his power during the reign of either Mūlarāja II or Bhīmadeva II, who were very young at the time, The Muslim invasion during their reigns[1] may have forced them to maintain good relations with their internal rivals, and they would have preferred to make friends with the Guhila princes, and thus Kumarasiṁha succeeded in regaining his power after paying his respects to one of them. Dr. G.C. Raychaudhuri does not put forward a single piece of evidence in support of his identification of the Gurjara king who helped Kumarasiṁha with the Caulukya Bhīma II[2]. In the present state of our knowledge we cannot maintain this definitely. Most scholars, including Ojha[3], Professor Ray[4]

---

1. DHNI, vol. 2, pp. 1004 and 1016 ff.
2. HM, p. 51.
3. HD, p. 47, fn. 2.
4. DHNI, vol. 2, p. 1184.

and following them Dr. Raychaudhuri[1], are of the opinion that Kumārasiṁha accepted the overlordship of the Caulukya king. The expression Gurjara-nṛpatiṁ prasādya of the Kumbhalgarh inscription[2] does not definitely mean that he acknowledged the supremacy of the Gurjara prince. These words may well imply only that Kumārasiṁha opened nigotiations with the Gurjara prince and got his support in occupying his ancestral territory. If he had been definitely subordinate to the Caulukyas one might expect a more definite recognition of the fact.

A.K.Vyas, while editing the first and third slabs of the Kumbhalgarh inscription, has laid unnecessary stress on the word nṛpatve of verse 151 of the same epigraph[3]. Thus according to him Kumārasiṁha occupied two principalities. The first was that vacated by Kīrtipāla and the next was gained by occupying Āghāṭapura, the old seat of power of the Guhilas. In this connection Vyas emphatically states that the Guhilas lost this ancient city sometime during the reign of Śaktikumāra, apparently in the second half of the tenth century A.D., when the Paramāra prince Vākpatirāja Muñja attacked and destroyed Āghāṭapura,

---

1.HM, p.48.
2.EI, vol.24, p.325, v.151.
3.Ibid, p.312.

as is evident from the Bijapur inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhavala and his son Bālaprasāda, dated A.D.997 (V.S.1053)[1]. Thereafter, as Vyas thinks, this important city did not again form part of the Guhila territory until the time of Kumārapāla, who occupied it after gaining favour of the Caulukya ruler. But in our opinion Vyas is obviously wrong. We have seen[2] that Āghāṭapura was still under the control of Ambāprasāda, the son and successor of Śaktikumāra, as is evident from the findspot of his fragmentary inscription[3]. The Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya also distinctly calls him the lord of Āghāṭapura[4]. The fact that the Guhilas held sway over this city even before Kumārasiṁha can also be proved beyond all doubt on the basis of the same Kumbhalgarh inscription, where Vairisiṁha, the son and successor of Haṁsapāla, is said to have constructed a rampart around Āghāṭa-pattana (Āghāṭapura)[5]. This could hardly have happened if the city was not under the control of Vairisiṁha. Thus the interpretation of Vyas is improbable.

According to Ojha the trouble which overpowered Sāmantasiṁha and forced him to quit Mewar did

---

1. EI, vol.10, p.20, v.10.
2. See above, p.197 .
3. HR, vol.1, p.438, fn.1.
4. PV, cant.V, v.59.
5. EI, vol.24, p.325, v.145.

not end there, but followed him up to Vāgaḍa, where he had established a new kingdom[1]. A grant of the Guhila prince Amṛtapāla, dated A.D.1185 (V.S.1242), has been discovered at the village of Vīrapura (Gatoḍa) near the famous lake Jayasamudra of Udaipur[2]. The purpose of this grant was to record the donation of land in the village of Gatauḍa in the Ṣat-paṁcāśamaṁḍala (Chapan district). The donor of this grant was the Guhila Mahārājādhirāja Amṛtapāladeva, the son of Mahārājādhirāja Vijayapāla. The present epigraph distinctly records that Amṛtapāladeva and his father Vijayapāla were the rulers of Vaṭapadraka-maṁḍala (Baroda) of Vāgaḍa and Chapan district, where inscriptions of Sāmantasiṁha and his successors have been found. This grant also apparently states that Amṛtapāla was a feudatory of the Caulukya Bhīma II, the lord of Aṇahilapāṭaka. But no exact relation can be determined between Sāmantasiṁha and these two princes on the basis of this grant, nor do we have any other sources which may throw some light on this problem. Even in the chronicle of Dungarpur the names of Vijayapāla and Amṛtapāla have not been recorded[3]. Inscriptions, as well as this chronicle, if read together,

---

1. HD, p.49.
2. Ibid, p.50, fn.1.
3. Ibid, p.54, fn.1.

refer to the names of Jayatasiṁha, Sīhaḍadeva, Vijayasiṁha, Devapāladeva and others as the respective successors of Sāmantasiṁha[1]. On these bases Ojha is inclined to suggest that Vijayapāla and Amṛtapāla of the above mentioned grant were in some way related to Sāmantasiṁha, but they were obviously not the descendants of Sāmantasiṁha, and the Caulukya Bhīma II, sometime between A.D.1179 and 1185, expelled Sāmantasiṁha from Vāgaḍa and gave it to Vijayapāla or his son Amṛtapāla[2]. The Diwra image inscription, dated A.D.1196 (V.S.1253)[3], distinctly indicates that during that time Vāgaḍa was under the control of Bhīma II. This gives some strength to the conjecture of Ojha. But it is very difficult to maintain that Vijayapāla and Amṛtapāla were not the descendants of Sāmantasiṁha. Ojha is perhaps unwilling to accept that Sāmantasiṁha and his successors of Vāgaḍa were the feudatories of the Caulukya monarch, and hence excludes these two Guhila princes from the genealogical list of the Vāgaḍa line. His conjecture is mainly based on the bardic tales and the chronicle of the late seventeenth century, where these two names find no mention.

---

1. HD, p.35.
2. Ibid, p.54, fn.1 and p.51.
3. Ibid, p.51 and fn.1; ARRMA, 1914-15, p.2.

Kavirāja Śyāmal Das[1] and K.D.Erskine[2], relying on the bardic tales, have recorded five more names of the rulers of Vāgaḍa before Sāmantasiṁha. Ojha himself accepts that these five names are mere fancies, a creation of the bard's mind, and have no historical reality[3]. Thus it is most reasonable to suggest that if the bards can include some fictitious names in their genealogical list, they can also exclude names from those lists, and it seems quite probable that they overlooked the names of Vijayapāla and his son Amṛtapāla, who were actually the descendants of Sāmantasiṁha. It is impossible from the inscriptions to determine the relationship between Sāmantasiṁha and these two princes, and the same is true as regards the Guhila Jayatasiṁha and his son Sīhaḍadeva, the successors of Sāmantasiṁha. But Ojha here firmly accepts that Jayatasiṁha and Sīhaḍadeva were the immediate descendants of Sāmantasiṁha[4], only on the basis of the bardic tales, which he himself admits are unreliable unless confirmed by other evidence. Hence Ojha fails to convince and his hypothesis cannot be accepted.

We can put forward other arguments to refute the conjecture of Ojha. We have seen above that the

---

1. Vīravinoda, vol.2, p.1005, as cited by Ojha.
2. DG, table, 21; see also, HR, vol.1, p.456 and fn.
3. HR, vol.1, p.457 fn.
4. HD, p.54.

last known inscription of Sāmantasiṁha is dated A.D.1179 (V.S.1236). No inscriptions or other records of the reign of Jayatasiṁha have been so far discovered. Two inscriptions of Sīhaḍadeva, dated A.D.1221 and 1234 (V.S. 1277 and 1291), have been discovered. The first epigraph refers to him as Maḥārāvala[1] whereas the last one calls him Mahārājādhirāja[2]. Vijayasiṁhadeva, the son and successor of Sīhaḍadeva, was ruling in A.D.1250 (V.S.1306), as is evident from his first inscription of the same date[3]. Thus it is quite reasonable to suggest that Sīhaḍadeva ruled between A.D.1221 and 1250 (V.S.1277 and 1306) apparently about 29 years. The period of Jayatasiṁha, the father of Sīhaḍadeva, obviously falls between A.D.1179 and 1221, the dates of Sāmantasiṁha's last known inscription and Sīhaḍadeva's first known record, and apparently covers 41 years, which is chronologically very unusual, even if we consider the intervening period of Vijayapāla and Amṛtapāla (A.D.1185). Surprisingly, Ojha tentatively thinks that Jayatasiṁha was the son of Sāmantasiṁha[4]. But in our opinion this is not possible. Kumārasiṁha of the Mewar

---

1.HD, p.55, fn.3.
2.Ibid, p.56, fn.1.
3.Ibid, p.36, fn.3.
4.Ibid, p.54.

line was the younger brother of Sāmantasiṁha[1]. Padmasiṁha, the third ruler from Kumārasiṁha, was ruling in A.D.1194 (V.S.1251), as is evident from his Kadmāl copper plate[2]. Thus how could Jayatasiṁha, if he were a son of Sāmantasiṁha, have ruled some time before A.D.1221, the first known date of his son Sīhaḍadeva, when Padmasiṁha, the third from Kumārasiṁha, the younger brother of Sāmantasiṁha of the Mewar line was ruling in A.D.1194. This chronological difficulty certainly refutes the view of Ojha.

Considering all these points it seems quite probable that the Guhilas Vijayapāla and Amṛtapāla were the direct descendants of Sāmantasiṁha and Vijayapāla or his son Amṛtapāla must have accepted the overlordship of the Caulukya Bhīma II some time after A.D.1179, the last known date of Sāmantasiṁha and before A.D.1185, the first known date of Amṛtapāla. The long period of 41 years between the reign of Sāmantasiṁha and Sīhaḍadeva can thus be divided between the three immediate successors of Sāmantasiṁha, i.e. Vijayapāla, Amṛtapāla and Jayatasiṁha, and this will also suit the chronology of these princes.

Recently Mr. J.Sundaram has expressed his doubts about the dynasty of Vijayapāla and Amṛtapāla and

---

1.EI, vol.24, p.325, v.150.
2.RB, vol.7, pt.4, p.48 and fn.5; see also, IHQ, vol.36, p.75 ff.

has tried to connect them with another unknown dynasty. He states that the question of the dynasty of Vijayapāla and Amṛtapāla is very complicated and cannot be solved without other discoveries[1]. But in our opinion Mr. Sundaram's view is itself complicated, and is based on very weak grounds. There is no doubt at all that these two princes were of the Guhila dynasty. We see no reason to disbelieve the statement of the copper plate grant issued by Amṛtapāladeva which distinctly states that Vijayapāla and his son Amṛtapāla belonged to the dynasty of Guhiladatta[2]. Thus Mr. Sundaram's view is against the epigraphic evidence.

We can gather from the more exalted title Mahārājādhirāja of Sīhaḍadeva, in comparison to his former title Mahārāvala, that he may have thrown off the yoke of Bhīma II some time before A.D.1234 (V.S.1291). This can also be proved by the fact that during this period Bhīma II became so weak that he was even unable to control his rising officials[3].

On the basis of the Pṛthvīrāja-rāso[4], the Rajaprasasti-mahākāvya[5], inscribed on 25 big

---

1. IHQ, vol.35, pp.9-11.
2. HD, p.50, fn.1.
3. DHNI, vol.2, p.1028.
4. JASB, vol.55, pt.1, p.16; for text see, Cant.XXI, and XXIV.
5. EI, vol.29, Append., p.15, cant.III, vs.24-25.

slabs of stone, and other late records, Tod has recorded that Pṛthā, the sister of the Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja, was married to Samarasiṁha, and that Samarasiṁha died in A.D. 1192 (V.S.1249), while he was fighting beside Pṛthvīrāja in a battle against Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ghūrī[1]. It is evident that Pṛthvīrāja III died in A.D.1192-93, more than 100 years before the last known date of Samarasiṁha. Hence it is impossible that Pṛthā, a sister of Pṛvīrāja III should have been married to Samarasiṁha. Ojha points out that the names of Samarasiṁha and Sāmantasiṁha (in the local chronicle they are known as Samarasī and Samatasī) are similar and suggests that, if there is any truth in this statement, Pṛthā may have been a sister of Pṛthvīrāja II and not of Pṛthvīrāja III and she may have been married to Sāmantasiṁha instead of Samarasiṁha[2]. However there is no positive evidence in support of Ojha's view.

1.AR, vol.1, p.300 ff.
2.HR, vol.1, pp.457-58 and p.483, fn.1.

CHAPTER VI

THE GUHILAS AT THEIR ZENITH AND THE BEGINNING OF DECLINE.

KUMARASIṂHA

The Abu[1] and the Rāṇapura[2] inscriptions fail to mention the relationship between Sāmantasiṁha and Kumārasiṁha. But the Kumbhalgarh inscription of Rāṇā Kumbha, dated A.D. 1460 (V.S. 1517)[3], distinctly states that Kumārasiṁha was the brother of Sāmantasiṁha. We have seen in connection with Sāmantasiṁha that Kumārasiṁha succeeded in ousting his enemy Kīrtipāla and became the lord of Āghāṭapura after pleasing the Gurjara or Caulukya king, who may have been either Mūlarāja II or Bhīma II. Thus during this time the Guhilas of Mewar divided into two branches. The successors of Sāmantasiṁha ruled the Vāgaḍa (Dungarpur) territory and the successors of Kumārasiṁha became the rulers of Mewar. Kumārasiṁha died sometime before A.D. 1182 (V.S. 1239), as it is evident from the Āta temple inscription of the same date that Mahaṇasiṁha (Mathanasiṁha), the successor of Kumārasiṁha was then ruling.[4]

---

1. Bh.I, p.86,v.37; also IA, vol.16, p.349.
2. Bh.I, p.114.
3. EI, vol.24, p.325,v.150.
4. ARRMA, 1927-28, p.3, No.4; also RB, vol.7, pt.4, pp.47-48; also IHQ, vol.36, p.75 ff.

MATHANASIṀHA

Kumārasiṁha was succeeded by Mathanasiṁha, as is evident from the Abu[1], Rāṇapura[2], and the Kumbhalgarh[3] inscriptions, dated A.D. 1285,1440 and 1460 (V.S. 1342,1496 and1517) respectively. Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar maintains that Mahaṇa-siṁha (Mathanasiṁha) was the son of Kumārasiṁha and gives the reference to the Kumbhalgarh inscription[4]. Ojha also establishes the same relationship between these two princes, but he does not state the basis of his conjecture[5]. But it is impossible to determine any relation between these two princes on the basis of the available epigraphs. R.C. Agra-wala is also wrong to say that according to the Abu and Kumbhalgarh inscriptions Mathanasiṁha was the son of Kumāra-siṁha[6]. It seems that he has not consulted these inscrip-tions and relied on the statement of Ojha. The text of the Kumbhalgarh inscription conveys that kumārasiṁho-bhūt..... nṛpatve labdhe tadanu Śrī-Mahaṇasiṁho bhūt. The word tadanu simply means "after that" or "afterwards"[7] and obviously does not specify any relationship between Kumarasiṁha and Mathanasiṁha.

---

1. Bh.I, p.86; also IA, vol. 16, p.349.
2. Bh.I, p.114.
3. EI, vol.24, p.325, v.151.
4. Ibid, vol. 23,Appendix,p.388,fn.7 and p.389, No.37.
5. HR, vol. I,p.458.
6. RB, vol.7, pt.4, p47 ff; also IHQ, vol. 36, p. 75 ff.
7. Apte's Student's San.Eng. Dict, 1959,p. 228.

Two inscriptions of the reign of Mathanasiṁha have been discovered. Thus Professor H.C. Ray[1] and Ojha[2] are wrong to say that no inscriptions of the reign of Mathanasiṁha have been found. Ojha himself first noticed the first inscription of Mathanasiṁha[3]. This is the Āta temple inscription, dated A.D. 1182 (V.S. 1239), which informs us that Mahārājādhirāja Mahaṇasiṁha was ruling at Nāgadraha at that time. The purpose of this epigraph was to record the donation of 190 drammas to the temple of Śiva by one Deddaka.[4] The next short inscription of Mathanasiṁha has been recently discovered by Mr. R.C. Agrawala who found it in the Pañcāyatana temple at the village of Isavāla, about 13 miles far from Udaipur. This inscription is dated A.D. 1185(V.S.1242) in the reign of Mahaṇasiṁha[5]. Nothing of political importance can be gathered from these two inscriptions. The Chirava inscription of Samarasiṁha, dated A.D. 1273(V.S.1330), records that Uddharaṇa, who belonged to Tāṁṭaraḍa family, was appointed Talārakṣa of the city of Nāgadraha by Mathanasiṁha.[6] The need to record the post of Talārakṣa in

1. DHNI, vol.2, p. 1184.
2. HD, p.37.
3. ARRMA, 1927-28, p.3, No.4.
4. Ibid; see also RB, vol.7, pt.4, p.47 ff; IHQ,vol.36,p.75ff
5. RB, vol.7,pt.4,pp.47-48; also IHQ, vol. 36, p. 75 ff.
6. EI, vol.22,p.285 ff;also VOJ, vol.21,p.156, vs. 9-10.

the inscription signifies that it was regarded as very important and only distinguished persons were appointed to it. The Talārakṣa was perhaps the chief officer in charge of the defence and safety of the city[1]. The first and foremost qualification for this post is indicated in verse 10, which praises the Talārakṣa for his duṣṭa-śiṣṭa-śikṣaṇa-rakṣaṇa-dakṣatva.

The Ata temple inscription as well as the Chirava inscription make it clear that Mathanasiṁha was ruling at Nāgadraha instead of Aghāṭapura. Though Nāgadraha was the ancient capital of the Guhilas, Aghāṭapur became more popular and probably became the capital of the later Guhilas, at least from the time of Śaktikumāra, as is evident from his Atpur inscription dated A.D. 977 (V.S. 1034)[2]. The Kumbhalgarh inscription, dated A.D. 1460 (V.S. 1517), also admits this fact[3]. The same inscription further states that Kumārasiṁha became the ruler of Aghāṭapura after pleasing the Gurjara king[4].

The causes of transfer of the seat of power can easily be gathered from the Ahaḍa grant of the Caulukya Bhīmadeva II, dated A.D. 1206 (V.S. 1263). This grant records that

1. HR, vol.I, p.459 and fn.1.
2. IA, vol. 39, p.191.
3. EI, vol.24, p.325, v.145.
4. Ibid, vs. 150-51.
5. HD, p.48 and fn.2; see also PT, AIOC (7th) Baroda, 1933, p. 646 ff, line 44; ARRMA, 1930-31, pp.3-4, No.7.

Ahaḍa (Aghāṭapura) and its maṇḍala (district) Medapāta (Mewar) were under the control of Bhīmadeva II[1]. This shows that Bhīma II either expelled the Guhilas from Aghāṭapura and they took refuge in Nāgadraha, which was not too far from Aghāṭapura, or the Guhilas accepted the overlordship of Bhīma II or his immediate predecessor some time before the date of this grant. The statement of the Kumbhalgarh inscription that Kumārasiṁha made Aghāṭapura his own after pleasing the Gurjara king, may also be taken to support the view that they accepted the sovereignty of the Caulukyas. But, as we have seen[2], this conclusion is by no means certain. It seems most probable that the Guhilas changed their seat of power from Aghāṭapura to Nāgadraha during the attack of Kīrtipāla and they remained there even after reconquering Aghāṭapura from Kītū. The reign of Mathanasiṁha ended some time before A.D. 1194 (V.S. 1251), the first known date of his successor Padmasiṁha[3].

A copper-plated silver coin has been discovered bearing the legend Śrī Ma which, according to Mr. Samar, is the abbreviation of Mathanasiṁha[4]. The bust of the king is completely debased and even

---

1. HD, p.48 and fn.2; see also PT.AIOC (7th), Baroda, 1933, p.646 ff, line 11; ARRMA, 1930-31, pp. 3-4, no.7.
2. See above, p.256 ff.
3. RB, vol.7, pt.4, pp.47-48; also IHQ, vol.36, p.75 ff.
4. JNSI, vol.20, pt.1, p.34 & Pl. III, fig.12; see our pl. II fig. 12.

~~and even~~ the letter Śrī is not clear on the photograph of the coin. We may tentatively admit that the present coin was issued by the Guhila Mathanasiṁha on the basis of the script. But Mr. Samar's conjecture that he flourished in the beginning of the thirteenth century is wrong.

PADMASIṀHA

Padmasiṁha ascended the throne after the death of Mathanasimha. D.R. Bhandarkar is evidently wrong to say that the Kumbhalgarh inscription of Rāṇā Kumbha, dated A.D. 1460 (V.S. 1517)[a], refers to Padmasiṁha as the son of Mahaṇasiṁha(Mathanasiṁha)[1]. Ojha also establishes the same relationship between these two princes[2]. But the Chirava[3] as well as the Abu[4] and the Rāṇapura[5] inscriptions dated A.D. 1273, 1285, and 1440 (V.S. 1330,1342 and 1496) respectively, do not specify any relation between these two princes. The Kumbhalgarh inscription certainly states that Padmasiṁha was the brother of Mahaṇasiṁha (Mathanasiṁha)[6]. Though Ojha does not refer to the basis of his conjecture, he is here evidently wrong.

---

1. EI, vol. 23, Appendix, p.388,fn.7 and p.389, No.38.
2. HR, vol.1, p.459.
3. EI,vol. 22,p.285 ff; also VOJ, vol. 21, p.142 ff.
4. Bh.I, p.86; also IA, vol. 16, p.345 ff.
5. Bh.I, p.114.
6. EI, vol. 24, p.325,v.152.

The Chirava inscription informs us that Yogarāja, the elder son of Uddharaṇa, was appointed Talāra of Nāgahrada - pura by the prince Padmasiṁha[1]. Uddharaṇa was the Talārakṣa of the same city during the time of Mathanasiṁha. This shows that some high posts during this period were hereditary in the Guhila kingdom as in other kingdoms of the times, and the elder son was supposed to carry on the work of his father.

The actual date of Padmasiṁha's reign is not known to us. But that he was ruling in A.D. 1194 (V.S. 1251) is evident from a copper plate discovered at the village of Kadmāl[2]. We may tentatively suggest that he ruled between A.D. 1194 and 1213 (V.S. 1251 and 1270), as V.S. 1270 is the first known date of his son and successor Jaitrasiṁha.

---

1. EI, vol. 22, p.289, vs.11-12; also VOJ, vol.21, p.156.
2. RB, vol. 7, pt.4, pp.47-48; also IHQ, vol. 36, p. 75 ff.

JAITRASIṂHA

According to the Chirava inscription dated A.D. 1273 (V.S. 1330), Padmasiṁha was succeeded by his son Jaitrasiṁha.[1] This fact is also supported by the Kumbhalgarh inscription of Rāṇā Kumbha, dated A.D. 1460 (V.S. 1517)[2]. The Abu[3] and the Rāṇapura[4] inscriptions fail to determine any relation between these two princes. We have a number of epigraphic as well as literary records which throw some light on the date ~~of~~ and reign of Jaitrasiṁha, who is also known as Jayatasiṁha, Jayaṁtasiṁha, Jayasiṁha, Jitasiṁha, Jayatala and Jesala[5].

1. The Eklińgaji stone inscription : The first known inscription of Jaitrasimha, dated A.D. 1213 (V.S. 1270), is engraved on a slab of stone in the temple of Ekaliṅgaji in Mewar. The inscription simply records the name of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Jaitrasiṁhadeva, who was ruling in A.D. 1213, (V.S. 1270)[6].

2. The Nandesama stone inscription : This inscription was discovered at the village of Nandesama in the old Udaipur

---

1. EI, vol. 22,p.289, v.5; also VOJ, vol.21, p.155.
2. Ibid, vol.24, p.325, v.154.
3. Bh.I, p.86; also IA, vol.16, p.345 ff.
4. Bh.I, p.114.
5. HR, vol.1, p.460; also DHNI, vol.2, p.1185, fn.6
6. Bh.I, p.93, fn; also BPSS, p.47,fn; HR,vol.1,p.470,fn.2.

state. It is incised on a pillar in the damaged temple of Sūrya (the sun) and is dated A.D. 1222 (V.S. 1279). It records that Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Jayatasiṁha was ruling at Nāgadraha in the above/mentioned date and Duṅgarasiṁha was in charge of the secretariat (Śrīkaraṇa)[1].

3. MS. of the Daśavaikālika-pākṣika-sūtra-oghaniryukti-sūtra: This was written by the Jaina scholar Hemacandra in A.D.1227 (V.S. 1284) at Aghāṭa-durga. It records that during that time samasta-rājāvalī-samalaṁkṛta-mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Jaitrasiṁhadeva was ruling at Aghāṭa-durga and his Mahāmātya Jagatsiṁha was holding samasta-mudrā-vyāpārān (the administration of all the seals)[2].

4. MS. of the Pākṣika-vṛitti : The present MS. is also preserved in the same Śāntinātha temple at Khaṁbhāta(Gujarat) as No. 3. It was written (i.e., copied) by Ṭhakkura Vayajala at Aghāṭa in the reign of Mahārājādhirāja-bhagavannārāyaṇa-dakṣiṇa-uttarādhiśa-māna-mardana-Śrī-Jayatasiṁhadeva in the year A.D. 1252 (V.S. 1309). During that time Jayasiṁha, the dependant of Jayatasimha, was also ruling and

1. ARRMA, 1924-25, p.2; also HR, vol.1,p.470, fn.3.
2. Peterson's third report in search of Sanskrit Mss(1884-86) App. p.52; also JPPS, vol.1, ed.by Jinavijaya Muni, p.116, No. 142; HR, vol. 1, p. 471, fn. 1.

and Mahaṁ (mahattara, Mahattama or Mehtā) ~~or~~ Talhaṇa was carrying on the administration of the seal[1].

Professor H.C. Ray is wrong to say that the Pākṣika-vṛtii was written by Ṭhakkura Jayatala, though it may be a printing mistake[2]. Dr. G.C. Raychaudhuri, depending on the text of the Śrī-Praśasti-saṁgraha of A.M. Sāhā, prefers to read M...Jayasiṁhadeva-tatpaṭṭa-vibhūṣaṇa-rājā-Śrī-Tejasiṁha-vijaya-rājye instead of Peterson's and Ojha's reading as M. ..... Jayatasiṁha-tatpaṭṭa-vibhūṣaṇa-rājāśrite-Jayasiṁha-vijaya-rājye[3]. Thus he assigns this work as well as the date to the reign of Tejasiṁha, the successor of Jaitrasiṁha.But he does not state the basis of his preference for the reading or the interpretation of the Śrī-Praśasti-saṁgraha.

The reading of Peterson and Ojha is repeated in the Jaina Pustaka Praśasti Saṁgraha, edited by Jinavijaya Muni.[4] The editor of this work has used the colophon of the original manuscript, deposited in the Śāntinātha temple at Khaṁbhāta (Gujarat). The reading and the interpretation of the Jaina scholar agree with ~~the list of~~ those of Peterson and Ojha and we have thus no good reason to disbelieve them. Hence Dr. Raychaudhuri's hypothesis cannot be accepted without any stronger evidence. R.C. Agrawala, however, has recently

1. Peterson's third report in search of Sansk.MSS,App.p.130; also HR, vol.1, p.471, fn.2.
2. DHNI,vol.2,p.1186,No.5. 3. HM, p.53, fn.1.
4. Vol. 1, p.125, No.206.

expressed agreement with Dr. Raychaudhuri's view. According to him it seems inappropriate for the writer of this manuscript to record the name of Jayasiṁha as a feudatory of Jaitrasiṁha. He further states that if Jaitrasiṁha is here referred to as Jayatasiṁha, Tejasiṁha can also be mentioned as Tejayasiṁha, who is rightly referred to as tatpaṭṭa-vibhūṣaṇa because no one but the successor of Jaitrasiṁha can be referred to with such formula.[1] So far as the necessity to record the name of Jayasiṁha is concerned, it is very difficult to say anything definitely on the basis of this short manuscript. But it is extremely unlikely that the same author, who introduces Jayatasiṁha (Jaitrasiṁha) in the form of mahārājādhirāja-bhagavānnārāyaṇa-dakṣiṇa-uttarādhiśa-māna mardana, should introduce his son, who, according to Mr. Agrawala, was ruling during that time, simply as rājā-Śrī-Tejayasiṁha. A further argument against the conjecture of Mr. Agrawala is that if the writer of this manuscript had intended to record rājā-Śrī-Tejayasiṁha, he would have written the word śrī correctly instead of as śri. The word śrī comes repeatedly in this short manuscript always in correct form. Hence it is most unlikely that the writer should once wrongly have written this word as śri. As stated above, Jinavijaya Muni has himself consulted the original manuscript and edited it

1. IHQ, vol.37, No.1, p.52; also Maru-Bhāratī, Oct.1963, p.1 ff. I am highly indebted to Mr.Agrawala who kindly sent the reprints of his articles including the one under consideration.

in the correct form. Thus the interpretation of Mr. Agrawala also cannot be accepted and this manuscript should be regarded as a work written in the reign of Jaitrasiṁha and not in the reign of his son Tejasiṁha.

Professor H.C. Ray attributes the Jharole stone inscription, dated A.D. 1251 (V.S. 1308)[1], to the reign of Jaitrasiṁha[2]. This epigraph is incised on a lintel of the temple of Vijayanātha at Jharole and records the illustrious reign of Mahārājakula (Mahārāval) Śrī-Jayasiṁhadeva, who was ruling at Vāgaḍa. According to Professor Ray the name of this temple is Vayajanātha, the same as Vaidyanātha(Śiva) But actually the name of this temple is Vijayanātha[3].

Ojha, after attributing this inscription to the reign of Vijayasiṁhadeva , the son of Guhila Sīhaḍadeva of the Vāgaḍa line, states that the letter vi of Vijayasiṁha may have been omitted and hence it became Jayasiṁha. In his s support he further states that these two names are synonyms and the name of the temple, Vijayanātha, also supports his conjecture[4]. We have seen while dealing with Sāmantasiṁha that the epigraphic as well as the literary records apparently

---

1. ARRMA, 1924-25, p.2, No.3.
2. DHNI, vol.2, p.1186, No.4.
3. HD, p. 36, fn. 4, and p. 56, fn. 3.
4. Ibid.

confirm that Sāmantasiṁha and his successors were ruling over Vāgaḍa. No inscriptions of the Guhila rulers of Mewar after Sāmantasiṁha have so far been discovered in the territory of Vāgaḍa. We do not have any other evidence to conclude that the Guhilas of Mewar ever held sway over the territory of Vāgaḍa, except the late Kumbhalgarh inscription, dated A.D. 1460 (V.S. 1517), which distinctly states that Jaitrasiṁha also ruled over Vāgaḍa including other territories[1]. At the same time this record also calls Jaitrasiṁha Rāula (Rāvala) Śrī-Jayasiṁha[2], the name inscribed in the Jharole inscription. But the Kumbhalgarh inscription, owing to its lateness, looses its weight with regard to this particular statement when we examine it in the light of other earlier records.

A stone inscription of the Guhila Vijayasimha of the Vāgaḍa line, the son of Sīhaḍadeva and the remote successor of Sāmantasiṁha, has been discovered at the village of Jagat in the Chapan district of Mewar. Chapan during that period was within the territory of Vāgaḍa, as we have seen while dealing with Sāmantasiṁha. The inscription is dated A.D. 1250 (V.S. 1306)[3]. The Jharole inscription which is under

---

1. EI, vol. 24, p.325, v.155.
2. Ibid, v.154.
3. HD, p. 36, fn.3 and pp. 56-57.

review was also discovered in the same Chapan district of Mewar where the first inscription of Vijayasiṁha was found. The difference between the dates of these two inscriptions is less than two years. Thus their dates as well as their findspots obviously show that they were issued during the reign of the Guhila Vijayasiṁha of the Vāgaḍa line. If we accept the view of Professor Ray , it would lead us to admit that Jaitrasiṁha was ruling at Vāgaḍa at least in A.D. 1251, as is supported by the Kumbhalgarh inscription. But this is not convincing. It seems unlikely that Jaitrasiṁha should have invaded the Vāgaḍa territory, which was under the control of his brothers of the elder branch, and should have ruled there. Vāgaḍa was under the control of the Guhilas of Vāgaḍa even after the reign of Jaitrasiṁha, as is evident from a number of inscriptions[1]. Professor Ray himself thinks that Vāgaḍa was ever afterwards under the control of the descendants of Sāmantasiṁha[2]. Thus on the basis of these facts it is wrong to attribute the Jharole inscription to the reign of Jaitrasiṁha, and the Kumbhalgarh inscription is also not correct in stating that Jaitrasiṁha ruled over Vāgaḍa country.

---

1. HD, p. 36, fn. 3 and 5, and p.37, fn. 1, 2, and 3.
2. DHNI, vol. 2, p. 1206.

The inscriptions and other records of the time of Jaitrasiṁha gives us dates ranging from A.D. 1213 to 1253 (V.S. 1270 to 1309). The first known date of his son and successor Tejasiṁha is A.D. 1260 (V.S. 1317), as is evident from a manuscript of the Śrāvaka-pratikramaṇa-sūtracūrṇi, written in the same year, "while Tejasimha was ruling at Aghaṭa-durga"[1]. Hence we may suggest that Jaitrasimha's rule ended some time before A.D. 1260. Surprisingly Professor D.R. Bhandarkar has noticed a Chitorgarh inscription, dated A.D. 1265 (V.S. 1322), in the reign of Jaitrasiṁha, who is stated to be the brother of Padmasiṁha[2], but in his list he does not refer to this inscription[3]. The authencity of this inscription can be tested on the basis of the Guḍelā tank inscription[4], dated A.D. 1260 (V.S. 1317), and the Ghaghsa stone inscription[5], dated 1265 (V.S. 1322), both of the reign of Tejasiṁha. It is obvious from these two inscriptions that Tejasiṁha was ruling in A.D. 1260 and 1265. The Ghaghsa stone inscription distinctly specifies that Jaitrasiṁha was the son of Padmasiṁha. Thus the two epigraphs of the same date give variant statements. But, as we have seen, the truth can be well gathered from the Chirava and the Kumbhalgarh inscriptions, dated A.D. 1273 and 1460, where

---

1. JPPS, vol.1, ed.by Jinavijaya Muni, p.126, No.219; also Peterson's fifth report, p.23; HR, vol.1,p.473,fn. 4.
2. PRASI, WC, 1905-06, p. 61, No. 2222.

(footnotes continued on next page)

Jaitrasiṁha is stated to be the son of Padmasiṁha. It seems impossible that all these epigraphs could be wrong in comparison to the Chitorgarh inscription. Hence the Guḍelā tank inscription and the colophon of the manuscript of the Śrāvaka-pratikramaṇa-sūtra-cūrṇi, both dated A.D. 1260 (V.S. 1317) to the reign of Tejasiṁha, the son of Jaitrasiṁha, are ~~are~~ perfectly right and there should be no doubt that Tejasiṁha was ruling in that year. The Chitorgarh inscription noticed by Professor Bhandarkar is wrong both in its date and in its statement, and seems to be spurious record. It is also possible that the date read by Bhandarkar was not correct and later on he himself, recognizing his mistake, failed to mention this inscription in his list.

The rule of Jaitrasiṁha caused great panic in the neighbouring kingdoms. His martial qualities as well as his policy of expansion led him to cross swords with the owners of the territories lying in the vicinity of his kingdom. A number of inscriptions and other records praise Jaitrasiṁha for his success in war. The Ghaghsa inscription of his son

---

(contiued from the previous page)

3. EI, vol. 20, App. p.81.
4. IHQ, vol. 37, No. 1, p. 48 ff.
5. ARRMA, 1926-27, p. 3, No. 6.

Tejasiṁha, dated A.D. 1265 (V.S. 1322), after praising Jaitrasiṁha informs us that his honour and pride could not be humbled by the monarchs of Mālava, Gurjara, Śākambharī and the Turuṣkas[1]. Similar praise of Jaitrasiṁha is also contained in the Chirava inscription of his grandson, dated A.D. 1273 (V.S. 1330), where the lord of Mālava, Gurjara, Mārava, Jaṅgala, and the Mlecchas are stated to have failed to humble his pride[2]. These verses convey the same information and it is noteworthy that verse 5 of both these inscriptions is alsmost the same though verse 6 is slightly different. These verses were composed by one person named Ratnaprabha Sūri, and this may lead us to think that these are mere conventional praises. But the fact that Jaitrasiṁha waged war with other powers is evident from other sources. The Abu inscription of Samarasiṁha, dated A.D. 1285 (V.S.1342) informs us that Naḍūla was completely devastated by Jaitrasiṁha and he proved himself an Agastya to the army of Turuṣka and shed the blood of the Sindhuka army[3]. That Jaitrasiṁha was much engaged in war can also be gathered from the Hammīra-mada-mardana of the Jaina Jayasiṁha Sūri, a work of the first half of the thirteenth century. This drama states

---

1. ARRMA, 1926-27, p. 3, No.6, vs. 5-6; also HR, vol. 1, p. 460, fn. 1; IA, vol. 57, p.31 ff.
2. EI, vol. 22, p. 289, v.6; also VOJ, vol.21, pp.155-56: Na Mālavīyena na Gaurjareṇa, na Māraveśena na Jāṁgalena, Mlecchādhināthena kadāpi māno mlāniṁ na ninye vanipasya yasya. (contd. on next page)

that during the time of Jayatala (Jaitrasiṁha), the ruler of Medapāta, the Mlecchas invaded and devastated the country of Mewar[1]. Thus, as we shall also see later, the information supplied by the Ghaghsa, Chirava and other epigraphic records seems probably true.

WAR WITH THE RULER OF GUJARAT : After the death of the Caulukya monarch Kumārapāla, the rulers of Gujarat slowly but gradually became weaker and weaker, and their sun, which was once at its zenith, now started to set in the west. Thus it was quite natural for their ambitious neighbours to vie with one another in throwing off the yoke of the Caulukya kings, and expanding ~~it~~ at their expense.

It is evident from the Āhaḍa grant of the Caulukya ~~Bh~~ Bhīmadeva II that Medapāṭa including Āhāḍa, the ancestral principality of the Guhilas, was under the control of Bhīma II at least in A.D. 1207 (V.S. 1263)[2]. But during his old age even his own ministers and high officials ignored his overlordship and became independent rulers[3]. Thus the intrigues which were rapidly working within the palace and

---

(continued from the previous page)

3. Bh.I, p.86, v.42; also IA, vol. 16, p. 349 ff.

---

1. GOS, No. X, p. 27.
2. PT of the 7th AIOC, Baroda, 1933, pp.643-48;also HD, p.48 fn.2
3. DHNI, vol. 2, p. 1027 ff.

chancellery of Bhīma II, paved the way for other ambitious princes, who wanted to get free from the Caulukya clutches. Jaitrasiṁha probably recognized the opportunity and profitted from it by strengthening his realm without respect for the declining Caulukya power. He was a very strong monarch and other powers of his time were desired to be allied with him, as is evident from the Hammīra-mada-mardana of Jayasimha Sūri. The third act of this drama states that Jayatala (Jaitrasiṁha), the lord of Medapāṭa(Mewar), refused to join hands with Vīradhavala, the Dholka chief and the minister of Bhīma II, when the latter requested him for help against the army of the Mlecchas[1]. This shows that Jaitrasiṁha was in such a powerful position that he was able to refuse the request of the Caulukya prince. Jaitrasiṁha in the same act is apparently called the lord of Medapāṭa-pṛthvī-lalāṭa - maṇḍalaṁ[2]. Hence it is quite reasonable to think that he overthrew the authority of the Caulukya monarch over Medapāṭa sometime before A.D. 1229 (V.S. 1286), the last possible date of the writing of this drama[3].

We may put this period back to A.D. 1219 (V.S. 1276),

---

1. GOS, No.X, p. 27.
2. Ibid.
3. D.C. Ganguly (HPD,p.215) shows that the drama was written between Saṁvat 1276 and 1278 (A.D. 1219-21)

the date of the beginning of the Vastupāla ministry[1]. Thus it can be gathered from this part of the drama that the enmity between the Caulukya prince and Jaitrasiṁha was inevitable and that it lasted even after the death of Bhīma II. The Chirava and other records are, therefore, quite correct in stating that the pride of Jaitrasiṁha could not be humbled by the ruler of Gurjara (Gūjarāt). That the enmity between these two powers continued even after the death of Bhīma II also can be proved on the basis of the same Chirava inscription. Verse 19 of this inscription states that Bālāka, the son of Mahendra and the grandson of Yogarāja, who was appointed Talārakṣa of Nāgadrahapura by the prince Padmasiṁha, was killed fighting in front of Jaitrasiṁha, while Koṭṭahaka was being taken in a battle fought with Rāṇaka (Rāṇā) Tribhuvana[2]. Geiger, the first editor of this record, has identified Rāṇaka Tribhuvana with the Caulukya prince Tribhuvanapāla[3]. Ojha is also of the same opinion[4], and this view finds general acceptance. Bhīma II was succeeded by Tribhuvanapāla. The Kadi grant of Tribhuvanapāla, dated A.D. 1242 (V.S. 1299),

---

1. GOS, No. X, ~~p.27~~ introd. p.v.
2. EI, vol.22, p.289,v.19; also VOJ, vol.21,p.157, v.19
3. VOJ, vol.21, p.151, fn.3; see also DHNI, vol.2,p.1187,fn.4.
4. HR, vol.1, p.461.

informs us that he was ruling at Aṇahilapāṭaka in the same year.[1] Tribhuvanapāla had a very short reign, which probably ended some time before A.D. 1243 (V.S. 1300), as it is evident from the Therāvalī of Merutuṅga[2] that Vīsaladeva became king in that year. Hence Jaitrasiṁha was apparently a contemporary of Tribhuvanapāla and this identification may be regarded as true. The place Koṭṭahaka or Koṭṭadaka, where the battle was fought, has been identified by Geiger with Kotah, apparently in the old Kotah state of Rajasthan[3]. But Ojha has preferred to identify it with Kotaḍa (Koṭrā) in Mewar[4]. R.R. Halder, while re-editing the Chirava inscription, accepted the identification of Ojha[5]. The sounds of Koṭṭadaka and Koṭaḍa have greater similarity and thus the identification of Ojha seems more probably correct. The words Koṭṭadaka-grahaṇe of the Chirava inscription[6] suggest that the place was then under the control of the Caulukyas. The word grahaṇe obviously implies that Jaitrasiṁha, who freed Mewar, his ancestral territory, from the yoke of the

took or acquired it from Tribhuvanapāla. It seems most probable that Jaitrasiṁha,

---

1. IA, vol. 6, pp.208-10.
2. JBBRAS, vol. 9, p 155ff; see also DHNI, vol. 2, p. 1035.
3. VOJ, vol.21, p. 151, fn. 2; also DHNI, vol.2, p.1187,fn.5.
4. HR, vol.1, p.461.
5. EI, vol. 22, p. 288.
6. Ibid, v. 19.

Caulukyas even before A.D. 1229 (the date of the composition of the Hammīra-mada-mardana, where he is stated to be lord of Mewar[1]), had not conquered this part of Mewar at the time, and therefore he invaded this territory and acquired it. Thus Ojha's identification of Koṭṭadaka with Kotaḍa in Mewar again finds its full support. There can be no doubt that Bālāka, who was killed in the battle, was a contemporary of Jaitrasiṁha. Verse 22 of the Chirava inscription also states that Jaitrasiṁha appointed Kṣema, the fourth son of Yogarāja, as the Talārakṣa of Citrakūṭa (Chitor). Thus Chitor, which was under the control of the Caulukyas at least from the time of Kumārapāla, became a part of the Guhila kingdom during the reign of Jaitrasiṁha. This ~~also~~ suggests that Jaitrasiṁha also achieved great success in the war with the Caulukyas and brought the whole of Mewar under his sway.

WAR WITH THE RULER OF MĀLAVA : We have seen above that some epigraphs also record that the lord of Mālava could not humble the pride of Jaitrasiṁha. The name of the ruler of Mālava who came to blows with Jaitrasiṁha is not stated in the epigraphs. But verses 27-28 of the Chirava inscription[2] give

---

1. GOS, No. X, p.27; see also ~~ante~~ above, p.284
2. EI, vol.22, p.290; also VOJ, vol. 21, pp.158-59.

a clue to this problem. It is stated there that Madana, the brother of Ratna and the son of Kṣema, who was the Talārakṣa of Citrakūṭa appointed by Jaitrasiṁha, showed great valour while he was fighting in the cause of Jesala to punish Paṁcalaguḍika Jaitramalla in the battlefield of Utthūṇaka.

According to Ojha, Jesala of this epigraph is the famous Jaitrasiṁha and Jaitramalla can be identified with Jaitugi-deva, the Paramāra ruler of Mālava, who was also known as Jayasiṁha II. Ojha adds that the word Paṁcalaguḍika ('having five staffs) before the name of Jaitramalla is perhaps one of his titles and the name Utthūṇaka, where the battle was fought, is no other than the present village of Arthuna in the old Banswara State[1]. But the conjecture of Ojha that the word Paṁcalaguḍika is a title of Jaitramalla[2] is not convincing, because the word does not convey any appropriate meaning. Most subsequent writers have supported Ojha's identification[3]. But Dr. G.C. Raychaudhuri has objected to it.[4] According to him the name Jaitrasiṁha repeatedly finds mention in the Chirava inscription and the epigraph

---

1. HR, vol. 1, pp. 462-63.
2. Ibid, vol. 1, p.462, fn. 2.
3. IA, vol. 57, p. 31 ff; DHNI, vol. 2, p. 1188; The Struggle for the Empire, Bh.v.Bh., p.90.
4. HM, pp.54-56.

knows him only by that name. Thus it is unconvincing to suggest that this record once also calls him Jesala. He prefers to identify Jesala with the Guhila Jayasiṁha of Vāgaḍa, who was ruling there in A.D. 1251 (V.S. 1308), as is evident from his inscription of the same date.[4] He further states that this Jayasiṁha was a grandson of Jaitrasiṁha. To support his conjecture Dr. Raychaudhuri has confused the the rulers of the Vāgaḍa and Mewar branches. Thus according to him Jayatasiṁha, Sīhaḍadeva, and Jayasiṁha (Vijayasiṁha) of the Jagat inscription[2], dated A.D. 1250 (V.S. 1306), are the Guhilas of the Mewar branch, and Jayatasiṁha is none other than Jaitrasiṁha of Mewar. He goes on to say that the founder of the line of Guhila princes ruling until recently over Dungarpur and Baswara was Sīhaḍadeva and not Sāmantasiṁha[3]. But he does not give any sound evidence in support of his hypothesis, which is against all the epigraphic and literary evidence as well as the bardic records.[4]

---

1. Bhandarkar's List, EI, vol. 20, App. p. 77, No. 546.
2. HD, p.36
3. HM, pp. 54-58.
4. See ~~ante~~ above, p.246 ff.

Dr. Raychaudhuri's arguments are mainly based on the Kumbhalgarh inscription, dated A.D. 1460 (V.S. 1517), where Jaitrasiṁha is stated to have also ruled over Vāgaḍa [1]. But no other records of the time of Jaitrasiṁha and his successor Tejasiṁha and others even slightly hint at this, though, as we have seen, they speak of Jaitrasiṁha as being possessed of martial qualities and the victor in battles fought between him and his neighbouring rulers and the Muslims. Thus it is most unreasonable to rely solely on the Kumbhalgarh inscription, which is more than 200 years later. It also seems quite unconvincing that Jaitrasiṁha should have attacked the territory of Vāgaḍa, which was under the control of his brothers or the elder branch, and annexed it to his own kingdom. Jayatasiṁha, Sīhaḍadeva and Jayasiṁha(Vijayasiṁha) of the Jagat inscription, dated A.D. 1250 (V.S. 1306), are clearly Guhilas of the Vāgaḍa branch and the successors of Sāmantasiṁha. Dr. Raychaudhuri, in order to support his hypothesis, has been compelled to upset a theory which was well established by Ojha and others and about which there has hitherto been no dispute at all [2]. Moreover, it is not surprising if Jaitrasiṁha is once called Jesala in the Chirava inscription, because his name is variously known as Jayatasiṁha, Jayasiṁha

---

1. EI, vol. 24, p. 325, v.155.
2. HD, p. 35 ff.

Jayaṁtasiṁha, Jitasiṁha and Jayatala[1]. Moreover, the inscription is in verse, and the colloquial form of the kings name may well have been inserted to suit the exigencies of the metre.

Dr. Raychaudhuri, against all other scholars, identifies Jaitramalla of the Chirava inscription with the Cāhamāna Jaitrasiṁha of Ranthambhor and suggests that he may have attacked the territory of Vāgaḍa[2]. He mentions no authority on which his conjecture is based. It seems that his identification is mainly based on the similarity of names and the fact that the chronology of the two lines makes such an identification possible. But similarity of names and chronological consistency are not sufficient to refute a theory well established by stronger evidence. We may add a quite reasonable point in support of Ojha and others with regard to the identification of Jaitramalla with the Paramāra Jaitugideva. It is noteworthy that Devapāla, the father of Jaitugideva, bore the title of Sāhasamalla[3]. Malla, the last part of both the names of Sāhasamalla and Jaitramalla is a common suffix, and it suggests that Jaitugideva may have been

---

1. HR, vol.1,p.460; also DHNI, vol.2, p.1185, fn. 6.
2. HM, p. 54.
3. HPD, p. 209; cited in the Jina-yajña-kalpa or Pratiṣṭha-sāroddhāra of Aśādhara.

also called Jaitramalla together with his other title Bālanārāyaṇa . Hence Dr. Raychaudhuri's identifications, which are not based on any solid evidence, cannot satisfy the reader.

The question may arise about the causes of this war between the ruler of Mālava and Jaitrasiṁha. The battlefield Utthuṇaka (Arthuna) was evidently under the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa[1], who were the feudatories of the Paramāras of Mālava[2]. Most of the territory of Vāgaḍa, and of other principalities which were originally under the control of the Paramāras, slowly but gradually became a part of the Guhila territory during the time of Sāmantasiṁha of Vāgaḍa and his successors. It is needless to say that the Guhilas of Vāgaḍa and Mewar were closely related. Probably this war started between the Guhilas of Vāgaḍa and the Paramāras of Mālava and Jaitrasiṁha sent his troops under the commandership of Madana to help his brothers. This success of Madana in the war and his martial qualities impressed Samarasiṁha and he appointed Madana as the Talārakṣa of Citrakūṭa-durga[3] after the death of his father Kṣema. Thus the Chirava inscription most probably refers to this war, where it states that the ruler of Mālava could not humble the pride of Jaitrasiṁha.

---

1. HD, p. 25 and 57.
2. DHNI, vol. 2, p.920 ff; also HR, vol. 1, p. 462 ff.
3. EI, vol. 22, p. 290, v.30; also VOJ, vol. 21, p.159.

WAR WITH THE CAHAMANAS OF NADOL : The statement recorded in the Chirava inscription that the pride of Jaitrasiṁha could not be humbled even by the ruler of Mārava (Marwar)[1] finds full support in other records. The Abu inscription of Samarasiṁha, dated A.D. 1285 (V.S. 1342)[2], records that Naḍūla (Nadol) was completely devastated by the arms of Jaitrasimha. There is no doubt that Nadol was a part of Marwar even during that time. Hence it is quite reasonable to think that a war was fought between Jaitrasiṁha and the ruler of Nadol. Scholars are not unanimous with regard to the identification of the ruler. Professor D.R. Bhanadarkar taking two points of this verse - Naḍūla-mūlaṁkakha(ṣa)-bāhu-lakṣmīs-Turuṣka-sainy-ārṇṇava-kuṁbhayoniḥ - together, states that Jaitrasiṁha completely destroyed Nadol, which was under Quṭb-ud-Dīn, and thus defeated the Turuṣka army[3]. Professor H.C. Ray is also of the same opinion[4]. But Ojha[5] as well as R.R. Halder[6] have objected to this conjecture. According to Ojha the ruler of Nadol, Jalor and other parts of Marwar was

---

1. EI, vol.22,p.289, v.6; also VOJ, vol.21, pp.155-56
2. Bh.I, p.86,v42; also IA, vol. 16, p. 349, v. 42.
3. EI, vol. 11, p. 73, and fn. 6.
4. DHNI, vol. 2, p. 1188.
5. HR, vol. 1, pp. 461-62.
6. IA, vol. 57, p. 33.

the Jāvālipura (Jalor) Cāhamāna Udayasiṁha, the grandson of Kīrtipāla, who once invaded the Guhila territory during the reign of Sāmantasiṁha, and Jaitrasiṁha, probably intending to take revenge for this, invaded the Marwar territory during the reign of Udayasiṁha and destroyed Nadol[1]. The conjecture of Ojha is mainly based on the Sundha hill inscription of the Cāhamāna Cācigadeva, dated A.D. 1262 (V.S. 1319). The present inscription distinctly states that Nadol, Jalor and other parts of ~~Mewar~~ Marwar were under the sway of Udayasiṁha (A.D. 1206-57)[2], who was a contemporary of Jaitrasiṁha. Now we have to examine the different views of all these scolars. It is evident from the Tārīkh-i-Firishta[3] and the Tāj-ul-Ma'āsir[4] that Nadol and surrounding region were captured by the Muslims in A.D. 1197. But the Sundha hill inscription states that it was under Udayasiṁha. This fact can also be gathered from the Guhila records. The Ghaghsa inscription of Tejasiṁha dated A.D. 1265 (V.S. 1322)[5], informs us that the lord of Śākambharī could not humble the pride of Jaitrasiṁha. This same fact is apparently stated in the Chirava[6] as well as the

---

1. HR, vol. 1, pp. 461-62.
2. EI, vol. 9, p. 78, v. 43.
3. Briggs, vol. 1, p. 196.
4. Elliot, vol. 2, pp. 229-30.
5. HR, vol. 1, p. 460, fn. 1.
6. EI, vol.22, p.289, v.6; also VOJ, vol.21,pp.155-56, v.6.

Abu[1] inscriptions of Samarasiṁha, adted A.D. 1273 and 1285, but in different form. The Chirava inscription states that the lord of Mārava (Marwar) and Jāṅgala (Bikaner region) could not humble the pride of Jaitrasiṁha. The clue is given in the Abu inscription, which says that Jaitrasiṁha completely destroyed Naḍūla. Thus all these different names probably refer to the same place, Nadol; and Śākambharīśvara of the Ghaghsa inscription and Māraveśa of the Chirava inscription apparently refer to the ruler of that country, who was no other than the king of the Cāhamānas, whose rulers were generally called Śākambharīśvara, since Śākambharī was the original seat of their power[2]. But Professor Ray is inclined to think that here Śākambharīśvara means the Muslims, who before the accession of Jaitrasiṁha ousted the Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja III (1179-92) and his brother Harirāja(A.D. 1194) from those principalities, which were originally owned by them.[3] R.R. Halder also holds the same view and states that the mention of Jaitrasimha's fight with the ruler of Jāṅgala refers to the attack of Ulugh Khān (Ghiyās - ud-Dīn Balban) on Chitor.[4] However we have no other evidence to show that at this period epigraphic and other records in Sanskrit ever

---

1. HR, vol. 1, p.460, fn. 1.
2. DHNI, vol. 2, pp. 1187-88.
3. IA, vol. 57, p. 33.

1. BK.I, P.86, V.42; also IA, Vol.16, P.349, V.42

called the Muslims by names such as Śākambharīśvara which elsewhere are alsways applied to Hindu rulers. Hence we believe that all the Guhila epigraphs intended to say that a war was fought with Cāhamānas and not with the Muslims, as ~~no~~ other scholars suggest. Dr. D. Sharma is also of the opinion that these verses convey that the clash took place between Jaitrasiṁha and the Cāhamāna Udayasiṁha[1]. According to him during ~~th~~ time Nadol was under the control of Udayasiṁha, having been reconquered from the Muslims, probably during the weak rule of Aram Shāh[2]. It must surely have been the intention of the composers of these epigraphs that Śākambharīśvara or Māraveśa should refer to the Cāhamāna ruler. If the rulers of Śākambharī or Nadol had been Muslims, the poets would not have repeated the words Mlecchādhināth, Turuṣka or Siṁdhuka separately. Hence in ~~our~~ opinion Ojha, Dr. Sharma and others are quite right with regard to the interpretation of these verses.

With regard to the causes of this war it seems most probable, as Ojha suggests, that Jaitrasiṁha invaded and destroyed Nadol only to ~~avenge~~ revenge the defeat of Sāmantasiṁha who was ousted from Mewar by Kīrtipāla, the grandfather of

---

1. ECD, p. 153.
2. Ibid, p. 148.

Udayasiṁha, though simply his policy of expansion may have been the main cause. According to Dr. Sharma the war did not prove altogether successful for Jaitrasiṁha, because most of the Guhila inscriptions simply state that the pride of Jaitrasiṁha could not be humbled by the rulers of Śākambharī etc., and they do not state that Udayasiṁha was defeated by Jaitrasiṁha. In this connection Dr. Sharma puts forward the Kareḍā(Karaheṭaka)or Kareda) inscription of the Cāhamāna Cācigadeva, dated A.D. 1269 (V.S. 1326) and states that, as Kareḍāwas in Mewar, Cācigadeva must have ruled over a part of that region. This shows that the battle was won by Udayasimha.[1]

But the view of Dr. Sharma does not seem to be strong and can easily be refuted. The Abu inscription of Samara - siṁha, dated A.D. 1285 (V.S. 1342), explicitly states that Jaitrasiṁha completely eradicated Naḍūla[2]. There can be no clearer evidence than this that Jaitrasiṁha defeated Udaya-siṁha, then the ruler of Nadol, if we rely on this record. So far as the next conjecture of Dr. Sharma is concerned, it is wrong to say that Kareda was a part of Mewar even during the reign of the Guhilas. The epigraph was found by Professor D.R. Bhandarkar at Sevāḍi, apparently in the Jodhpur region. According to Professor Bhandarkar it was originally lying at

---

1; ECD, p. 153.
2. IA, vol. 16, p.349, v.42; also BH.I, p.86.
3. EI, vol. 11, pp. 76-97.

Karedā in Mewar[1]. We may tentatively admit the view of Ojha that Udayasiṁha, being defeated by Jaitrasiṁha, gave in marriage his granddaughter Rūpādevī to Tejasiṁha, the son of Jaitrasiṁha and succeeded in pacifying the wrath of the Guhila prince.[2] That Rupadevi was a wife of Tejasimha is evident from the Burtra inscription, dated A.D. 1284 (V.S. 1340)[3], though Professor H.C. Ray does not find any reason to suggest that this marriage was solemnised in the reign of Jaitrasiṁha.[4] However we may gather from this matrimonial alliance that the Guhilas were regarded as most powerful and Jaitrasimha must have left a very strong impression on the minds of the Cāhamānas, who were forced to make friends with the Guhilas by giving one of their daughters to a Guhila prince. It is a well-known fact that in matrimonial alliances daughters were generally given by the inferior to the superior and thus the marriage suggests that the ~~Cahaman~~ Cāhamānas accepted the superiority of Jaitrasiṁha.

WAR WITH THE SINDHUKA ARMY : Verse 43 of the Abu inscription of Samarasiṁha, dated A.D. 1285 (V.S. 1342)[5], refers to a

---

1. EI, vol. 11, pp. 76-77.
2. HR, vol. 1, p. 462.
3. EI, vol. 4, pp. 312-14.
4. DHNI, vol. 2, p. 1192.
5. IA, vol. 16, pp. 349-50; also Bh.I, p. 86.

war fought between Jaitrasimha and the army of Sindhuka, but it is very difficult to say definitely whether this conflict actually took place or the reference is merely formal panegyric. According to R.R. Halder[1], Ojha[2] and Professor Ray[3] Sindhuka here means the province of Sindh and most probably Jaitrasimha came into conflict with its army. Dr. G.C. Raychaudhuri thinks that Sindhuka ~~may~~ here may refer to an individual rather than a region, though he is unable to identify this person[4]. Dr. Raychaudhuri has probably derived this view from the conjecture of Professor Bhandarkar who, ~~who~~ opposing Professor Kielhon, identified one Sindhurāja of the Sundha hill inscription with the Lāta Cāhamāna Sindhurāja[5]. Professor Kielhorn took this word to refer to the king of Sindhu instead of an individual[6]. The name Sindhurāja was taken by a number of princes in ancient India but we have never heard of a prince named Sindhuka. Hence the view of Dr. Raychaudhuri is improbable and Sindhuka in our opinion is here intended for the province of Sindh.

A Muslim historian has recorded a march of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Mang-barnī- Khwārizmī, the ruler of Khwārizm towards Sindh.

---

1. IA, vol. 57, p. 32.
2. HR, vol. 1, p. 468 ff.
3. DHNI, vol. 2, pp. 1188-89.
4. HM, p. 55.
5. EI, vol. 11, pp. 75-76.
6. Ibid, vol. 9, p. 73.

This prince was defeated by Chinghiz Khān, went towards Sindh and defeated the ruler of Deval. He then sent an army under the commandership of Khās Khān towards Nahrwāla (Anahilavāḍa) in A.D. 1223 (A.H. 620). This army returned after collecting much booty[1]. According to Ojha[2] and Halder[3] Jaitrasimha may have faced this army in Mewar which is on the route between Gujarat and Sindh. Though the Guhila territory was not directly on this route, we may tentatively accept this conjecture, if the information supplied by the Abu inscription is correct.

WAR WITH THE MLECCHAS : Epigraphic as well as literary records throw a flood of light on the clash between Jaitrasiṁha and the Muslim rulers. As well as other epigraphic records, as we have seen above, verse 16 of the Chirava inscription refers to a conflict between the Guhila prince and the Muhammadans. It states that Pamarāja, the son of Yogarāja, while fighting with the army of Suratrāṇa (the Sultan) was killed in the battle of Bhūtālā, when Nāgadraha was destroyed.[4] Bhūtālā is about 12 miles from from Nāgada and hence we have evidence that the Muslim army actually reached the city of Nāgada and destroyed it. The name of the Guhila prince, who faced the army of Suratrāṇa, is not recorded in this epigraph. But it can be no ther than our

---

1. Briggs's Firshta, vol. 4, p. 415 ff; Duff's Chronology, p. 180.

(footnotes continued on the next page

Jaitrasiṁha, who must have been a contemporary of Pamarāja, who lost his life in the battle field, because Pamarāja's father Yogarāja was a contemporary of Padmasiṁha, the father of Jaitrasiṁha . The fact that Jaitrasimha crossed swords with the Muslim army is also supported by the Hammīra- mada-mardana written by the Jaina scholar Jayasiṁha Sūri[1], during the time of Jaitrasiṁha. This drama, written in praise of the Dholka chief Vīradhavala and his ministers Vastupāla and Tejapāla, gives the description of the attack of the Muhammadans on the Guhila territory. We are informed that the Muslim army devastated and burnt the country of Medapāṭa. Jayatala (Jaitrasiṁha), the lord of Medapāṭa could not save his country. The Mleccha army even butchered the children. The people of the country became so frightened that they preferred to throw themselves into wells or fire instead of giving themselves into the hands of the Muslims. At last a spy of Vastupāla in the guise of a Muslim came to the rescue of the people. He shouted on the battlefield that Vīradha-vala was coming. Hearing this the Muslim army fled away in fear. When the Rajputs enquired about Vīradhavala, the spy

---

contd. from the previous page:

2. HR, vol. 1, p.469. 3. IA, vol. 57, p. 32.
4. EI, vol. 22, p. 289; also VOJ, vol. 21, p. 157.

---

1. GOS, No. X, p. 27.

declared himself and told them that he was on the way. This gave them great strength and they pursued the fleeing army[1]. A critical examination of the drama shows that the talented dramatist has tried to paint a very colourful and ~~and~~ exaggerated picture of the personality and the fame of the Dholka chief. That he is very prejudiced is obvious from his incoherent description of the fame of Vīradhavala as a warrior. The credit is given to Vīradhavala and his ministers in compelling the Muslim army to retreat to their principalities and the character of Jaitrasiṁha is painted in dark colours. He is represented as a very weak ruler, who could not save his country and the people from the Muslims. There may be two main reasons in painting such a black picture of Jaitrasiṁha. The first is that Jayasiṁha Sūri was a staunch Jaina and the heroes of his drama were also great supporters of this religion, donated much wealth to the construction of temples etc., and fulfilled the requests of the writer[2]. The next cause may well be gathered from the drama itself, where Jaitrasiṁha is said to have refused to join the confederacy of Vīradhavala, formed to

---

2. Second Report in search of Sansk. MSS by S.R. Bhandarkar, 1907, pp. 15-16; see also HR, vol. 1, p. 466.

2.
1. Act III, p. 27 ff; see also HR, vol. 1, p.465.

face the Muslim army[1]. Thus it was quite natural for this Jaina dramatist to praise Vīradhavala and his ministers and at the same time to disparage Jaitrasiṁha. However Jayasiṁha Sūri could not hide the actual result of this invasion, which was won by Jaitrasiṁha even after the destruction of his capital(Nāgada), as it is evident that the Muslim army was forced to retreat at last. Thus the Hammīra-mada-mardana testifies to the statements recorded in the Ghaghsa, Chirava and the Abu inscriptions that the pride of Jaitrasimha could not be humbled by the Mleccha or the Turuṣka rulers.

We have not a single source which may reveal the name of the Muslim invader. Even the Muslim historians have failed to give his name, nor do they notice any attack on Mewar during the reign of Jaitrasiṁha. The Hammīra-mada-mardana once records that the Mleccha-cakravartin who invaded Mewar was Mīlacchīkāra[2]. But no Muslim rulers of this name have ever ruled in India. Ojha following S.R. Bhandarkar[3] states that the word Mīlacchīkāra is probably a Sanskritization of Amīr-shikār, a title which was conferred on Iltutmish (A.D. 1210-36) by his master Quṭb-ud-Dīn, and it was he who invaded Mewar some time between A.D. 1222 and 1229.

---

1. HMM, p.27; GOS, No. X.
2. HMM, p. 25 ff.
3. Second Report in search of Sansk. MSS, 1904-06, pp. 22-23.

Ojha further states that the Muslim historians have recorded the Rajasthan invasion of Iltutmish, but they kept complete silence about his fight with Jaitrasiṁha. In the opinion of Ojha, their silence is a conclusive proof that the Muslims were defeated in this war[1]. Most scholars have accepted the identification of Ojha, but according to Dr. Barnett it is very imprpobable[2]. The Tabaqāt-i- Nāṣirī records that Iltutmish was first offered the post of Sar-i-Jān-dār(chief of the guards) by Quṭb-ud-Dīn. But being increasingly pleased by the service of his slave Iltutmish, the Sultan conferred on him the post of Amīr-ī-shikār (chief huntsman). After that he was again promoted to the rank of Amīr of Gwalior and at last he was offered the fief of the territory of Badāun, which during that period was regarded as the highest fief in the Delhi kingdom[3]. Thus Amīr-ī-shikār was not a title but a post, and many such posts were given to Iltutmish, amongst which the post of Amīr-ī-shikār was a very inferior one. Thus we see no reason to accept the conjecture of Ojha that Amīr-ī-shikār was a title of Iltutmish. Even if we accept the view of Ojha, it would be very difficult to explain why the dramatist of the Hammīra-mada-mardana should

---

1. HR, vol. 1, pp. 467-68.
2. DHNI, vol. 2, p. 1021, fn. 8.
3, Trans. by Raverty, vol. 1, p. 603 ff. and p. 604, fn. 9.

have referred to him by this title, when there were many higher posts or titles conferred on him by Quṭb-ud-Dīn. So far as the phonetics of Mīlacchīkāra and Amīr-i-shikār are concerned, these two words have not very much in common. In our opinion the word Mlecchа in some Prakrit form is closer to Mīlacchīkāra than the word Amīr-i-shikār.

However, let us first decide the probable date of the war between Jaitrasiṁha and the Muslim ruler. This can be easily gathered from the date and events recorded in the Hammīra-mada-mardana. It is evident from this work that Vastupāla and Tejapāla were acting as the ministers of Vīradhavala. The Girnar stone inscription distinctly informs us that these two brothers were appointed ministers of Vīradhavala in A.D. 1219 (V.S. 1276)[1]. The drama was written in A.D. 1229 (V.S. 1286)[2]. Hence it is obvious that the Muslim attack took place sometime after 1219, and the date of the appointment of the two ministers and before 1229, the date of the manuscript of the drama. The contemporary Sultan of Delhi between these two dates was undoubtedly Iltutumish, who ruled from A.D. 1210 to 1236[3]. The Muslim historians have recorded a number of expeditions launched by Iltutmish against

---

1. ARBP, pp.283-86; ASWI, vol.2,pp.170-73;DHNI,vol.2, p.1030
2. GOS, No. X, introduction; see also HR,vol.1,p.467, fn. 2.
3. Duff's Chronology, pp. 311-12.

Rajasthan. His first expedition during the period under review was carried out in A.D. 1226 (A.H. 623) and directed against Ranthambhor.[1] In A.D. 1227 (A.H. 624) he invaded Mandor[2]. His last expedition to Rajasthana within the specified period seems to have been launched in A.D. 1228 (A.H.625) when Siwalik, Ajmer, Lawa and Sambhar were conquered and assigned to Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Aī-yitim[3]. These expeditions range from A.D. 1226 to 1228 and suggest that during this period Iltutmish may also have invaded the Guhila territory which was not very far from the territories mentioned in the Muslim accounts. This period of attack is supported by the date of Nandesama stone inscription, dated A.D. 1222 (V.S. 1278), when Jayatasiṁha (Jaitrasiṁha) is stated to have been ruling at Nāgadraha. It suggests that Nāgadraha was not devastated by the Muslims at least upto this time. Thus the view that Jaitrasimha faced the army of Iltutmish finds general acceptance.

Firishta records another attack on the Guhila territory by the Sultan Nāṣir-ud-Dīn. He states that in A.D. 1248-49 (A.H. 646) Nāṣir-ud-Dīn summoned his brother Jālāl-ud-Dīn from Kanauj. But Jālāl-ud-Dīn, knowing that his life would be in danger if he obeyed the order of the Sultan, fled and took

---

1. TN, tr. by Raverty, vol. 1, p.611; Elliot,vol.2, p.324.
2. TN, tr, Raverty, vol. 1, p. 611.
3. Ibid, p. 728.

refuge in the hills of Chitor with all his adherents. The king out of anger followed him but could not succeed in capturing him. After eight months the Sultan returned to Delhi acknowledging that it was not possible to arrest his rebel brother[1]. But the Muslim historian has not disclosed the name of the ruler of Chitor, who was apparently Jaitrasiṁha, nor does he mention any clash between these two powers. It seems quite improbable that Jaitrasiṁha would have allowed the Sultan to enter his territory, and a fight must have taken place between them. Acknowledging the strength of Jaitrasiṁha, the Sultan was forced to retreat to his capital without punishing the rebel, who was probably given shelter by this Guhila prince in accordance of the custom of his clan. It was quite natural for the Muslim historian not to record the defeat of the Sultan explicitly.

According to Tod Shams-ud-Dīn attacked Chitor some time after A.D. 1201 (V.S. 1257) during the reign of Rāhapa, who according to him was the grandson of Samarasiṁha, and the Sultan was defeated by the Guhila prince in a battle fought at Nagor[2]. But it is evident that Rāhapa never ruled at

---

1. Briggs, vol. 1, p. 238.
2. AR, vol. 1, p. 305.

Chitor, nor was Nagor or Nagaur ever a part of the Guhila territory. Even the date and the chronology given by Tod are wrong. Hence Ojha suggests that this is nothing but a corrupt record of the battle between Jaitrasimha and Iltutmish at Nāgadraha as recorded in the Chirava inscription[1]. Nāgadraha was destroyed in this Muslim raid, and in the opinion of Ojha Chitor now became the capital of the Guhilas in place of Nāgadraha and Aghāṭapura[2]. The view of Ojha may be accepted because in the later period the city of Chitor acquired greater importance and the name of Aghāṭapura or Nāgadraha seldom appears as that of an important Guhila city.

B. Sastri, while editing the Pāṭanārāyaṇa stone inscription, tentatively suggested that Jaitrakarṇa, who is stated to have been defeated by the Paramāra Pratāpasiṁha, a remote descendant of Dhārāvarṣa, can be identified with the Guhila Jaitrasiṁha. In this connection the epigraph states that Candrāvatī, which had fallen into hands of Jaitrakarṇa, was regained by Pratāpasiṁha[3]. But it is very difficult to accept the identification of Sastri. The present inscription evidently shows that Pratāpasiṁha was ruling in A.D. 1287 (V.S. 1344) at least 35 years after the last known date of

---

1. HR, vol. 1, p. 468.
2. Ibid, p. 470.
3. IA, 1916, p. 77; see also DHNI, vol. 2, p. 919.

Jaitrasiṁha. The other records of the Paramāras show that Jaitrasiṁha was a contemporary of Somasiṁha, the grandfather of Pratāpasiṁha[1]. Thus it is very improbable that Pratāpasiṁha and Jaitrasiṁha were contemporaries. At the same time we have no positive evidence to say that Jaitrasiṁha or his ancestors ever ruled at Candrāvatī, which was regained by Pratāpasiṁha after defeating Jaitrakarṇa. Finally we may add that it could not have been an easy task for the Paramāra Pratāpasiṁha, a small and insignificant prince, to defeat Jaitrasiṁha, who proved his valour and defeated many rulers including the Sultan of Delhi. Thus the identification of Sastri is definitely wrong.

A Muslim incursion into the territory of Chitor during the reign of Nāsir-ud-Dīn (A.D. 1246-66) has also been ~~refo~~ referred to by a Muslim historian. It is stated there that Ulugh Khān in A.D. 1253 invaded the principality of Ranthambhor, Bhundī and Chitrūr(Chitor) and Nāhardeva of Ranthambhor was defeated[2]. We have no other reference to this attack. However if the Muhammadan writer is correct, Jaitrasiṁha again may have successfully faced it.

---

1. DHNI, vol. 2, p. 918.
2. TN, Raverty, vol. 2, p. 838.

The reign of Jaitrasiṁha is marked with greatness. We have seen that he fought many battles and succeeded reamrkably in all of them. He expanded the Guhila territory and it is only from his time that we have positive epigraphic evidence that the famous citadel of Chitor was included in the Guhila principality [1]. He was a great politician and seems to have been able to feel the pulse of the time. He fully used the opportunities which appeared before him after the fall of the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī and the Paramāras of Mālava. The Caulukyas of Aṇahilapāṭaka became weak and intrigues within and outside their palace forced them to surrender to circumstances. They were unable to keep control over their territories and after the death of Bhīma II their power became completely insignificant and the throne was usurped. The circumstances paved the way for the rise of the Guhilas to power and Jaitrasiṁha handled the situation very wisely and achieved great success. He became so powerful that neighbouring rulers were desirous to become allied with him. But he was in a position to take no notice of them because, as far as we can gather from our sources, he had a firm faith in his own strength and he relied on his own arms. This was why he proudly rejected the proposal of a strong prince to join hands in facing the Muslim invader[2]. Apparently he faced the Muslim

1. EI, vol. 22, p.290, v.22; also VOJ, vol.21,p.158, v.22.
2. HMM, p. 27.

army alone and the Muslims were forced to show their backs in the battlefield. Jaitrasiṁha was one of the most powerful rulers of the Guhila dynasty. His titles of samasta-rājāvalī-samalaṁkṛta-mahārājādhirāja and mahārājādhirāja - bhagavānnārāyaṇa-dakṣiṇa-uttarādhīśa-māna-mardana show that he fully enjoyed the sovereignty over a considerable area acquired by himself, including his ancestral principality. The Kumbhalgarh inscription[1] informs us that he ruled over four territorial divisions, Citrakūṭa, Aghāṭa, Medapāṭa and Vāgaḍa . We have already suggested that Jaitrasimha did not rule over Vāgaḍa. Citrakūṭa and Aghāṭa were nothing but a part of Medapāṭa. It seems that the composer of this inscription, being very desirous to praise Jaitrasiṁha as a ruler of a vast principality, chose the number four, which was regarded very highly in ancient India, and to make his statement coherent, divided Mewar into divisions, of which he could make only three. Probably Nāgadraha, being the capital of the Guhila territory[2], could not be counted as the fourth division, and so the composer lastly added Vāgaḍa, which was under the independent control of his brother, though no doubt the [illegible] influence of so strong a king as Jaitrasiṁha was much felt there.

---

1. EI, vol. 24, p.325, vs. 154-55.
2. Ibid, v. 155.

The inscriptions dealing with the reign of Jaitrasiṁha also throw some light on the administration of the state and give the names of the high officials, who were the backbone of the machinery of the government. In A.D. 1222(V.S. 1279) Dungarasiṁha was the in charge of the Śrī-karaṇa (secretariat)[1]. In A.D. 1227 (V.S. 1284), the Mahāmātya Jagatsiṁha appointed by Jaitrasiṁha was carrying on samasta-mudrā-vyāpārān (the business of all the seals)[2]. Jaitrasimha also appointed Kṣema as the Talārakṣa of Citrakūṭa[3].

TEJASIṀHA

Jaitrasimha was succeeded by his son[4] Tejasiṁha. The Rāṇapura inscription of Rāṇā Kumbha, dated A.D. 1440 (V.S. 1496), knows this prince by the name of Tejasvīsiṁha[5], whereas the Chirava[6], Abu[7] Kumbhalgarh[8] and other records[9] refer to him as Tejasiṁha. We have a number of epigraphic and literary records, which throw a considerable light on the dates and reign of this prince.

---

1. HR, vol. 1, p. 470, fn. 3.
2. Peterson's third Report, Append, p.52; HR, vol.1,p.471,n.1
3. EI, vol.22, p.290,v.22; VOJ, vol.21, p. 158, v.22.
4. EI, vol.22, p. 289, v.7; VOJ, vol. 21, p. 156, v. 7.
5. Bh.I, p. 114.
6. EI, vol. 22, p. 285 ff; VOJ, vol. 21, p. 155 ff.
7. Bh.I, p. 86; IA, vol. 16, p.345 ff.
8. EI, vol. 24, p. 325 ff.
9. DHNI, vol. 2, p. 1190 ff.

1. The Guḍelā tank stone inscription : This has been recently discovered by Mr. R.C. Agrawala in a temple on the bank of the Guḍelā tank, situated about 22 miles from Udaipur city. The epigraph is dated A.D. 1261 (V.S. 1317, fifth day of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa) and records the donation of some barley from the crops of specified villages situated near this temple of Tripuruṣadeva (Hari, Hara and Pitāmaha). Lines 1 to 3 of this record inform us that during this period samasta-rājāvalī-samalaṁkṛta-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Tejasiṁha was victoriously ruling at Medapāṭa and his chief minister (mahāmātya) Mahattara Prasenadhara was carrying on the business of administration.[1] Thus the Guḍelā tank inscription pushes the date of Tejasiṁha at least about 7 months back from the earlier known dates.[2]

2. The manuscript of the Śrāvaka-pratikramaṇa-sūtra-cūrṇī : The copying of this manuscript was completed in A.D. 1261 (19th day of the bright half of Māgha in V.S. 1317) at Aghāṭa by Kamalacandra the disciple of Rāmacandra. It records that during that period Mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-Umāpati-varalabdha-parauḍha-pratāpa-samalaṁkṛta- Śrī- Tejasiṁhadeva was victoriously ruling at

---

1. IHQ, vol. 37, No. 1, p. 48 ff.
2. The discovery of the Kadmāl plate, dated A.D. 1259 (V.S. 1316), in the reign of Tejasiṁha is said to be a spurious record (vide IHQ, vol. 37, No. 1, p. 50; Śodhapatrikā, vol. 3, p. 53.

Aghāṭa-durga and his Mahāmātya (chief minister) Samudvara (Samuddhara) was carrying the business of the seal(mudarā-vyāpārān-paripanthayati)[1].

3. The Ghaghsa stone inscription : The epigraph, discovered at the village of Ghaghsa near Chitor, is dated c. A.D. 1265 (V.S. 1322) and records the construction of a well by the Mahājana Ratna, who belonged to the family of Ḍiṇḍu. Verses 3 to 4 praise Padmasiṁha and verses 5 and 6 proclaim the acts of valour performed by Jaitrasiṁha. The praise of Tejasiṁha, who was ruling during that time, finishes in verse 8. The epigraph also records the name of Ratnaprabha Sūri of the ~~of the~~ Chaitragaccha, the composer of this record.[2]

4. The Chitor stone inscription : This is the latest known inscription of Tejasiṁha, discovered near Chitor. The slab of the stone on which the inscription is incised is fixed on an arch of a bridge on the river Gambhiri. The epigraph records the victorious reign of Bhagavānnārāyaṇa-Mahārājā-Śrī-Tejasiṁha who was ruling over Chitor in c. A.D. 1267 (V.S. 1324), the date of the present record[3].

---

1. Peterson's fifth Report, p. 23; JPPS, ed. by Jinavijaya, vol. 1, p.126, No. 219; HR, vol. 1, p. 473, fn. 4.
2. ARRMA, 1926-27, p. 3, No. 6; also HR, vol. 1, p. 474.
3. JASB, vol. 55, pt.1, pp.46-47; HR, vol. 1, p. 474.

These records show that Tejasiṁha ruled at least from A.D. 1261 to 1267 (V.S. 1317-1324). The first known date of his son Samarasiṁha is A.D. 1273 (V.S. 1330). Thus Tejasiṁha ceased to reign in or some time before that year.

The Kadi grant of the Vāghela Vīsaladeva dated A.D.1261 (V.S. 1317), refers to Vīsaladeva as Medapāṭakadeśa-kaluṣa-rājya-vallī-kaṁdocchedana[1]. This evidently shows that relations between him and the Guhilas were not cordial and a war must have taken place between these two rulers. According to Bühler this Caulukya king may have defeated Tejasiṁha, the Guhila prince of Mewar[2]. Professor H.C. Ray has accepted the view of Bühler[3]. On the basis of contemporaneousness of these two princes Ojha has also expressed the same view[4]. He suggests that the war, which, according to the Chirava inscription[5], was fought at the foot of the fortress of Chitor, seems to have taken place between these two princes. But in our opinion it is very difficult to identify definitely the Guhila prince, who crossed swords with the Caulukya ruler. It can be well gathered from the date of the Kadi grant that, if it actually occured, this conflict must have taken place

---

1. IA, vol. 6, p. 210 ff.
2. Ibid, p.191
3. DHNI, vol.2, pp.1037 and 1192.
4. HR, vol. 1, pp. 472-73.
5. EI, vol. 22, p. 290; also VOJ, vol. 21, p. 158, v. 26.

before A.D. 1261 (V.S. 1317)[1]. It is evident from the testimony of Merutuṅga in the Therāvalī[2] and the date of the Ahmedabad pillar inscription (V.S. 1308=A.D. 1251) of Vīsaladeva[3] that Jaitrasimha was also a contemporary of Vīsaladeva. We have no epigraphic or other records, which may throw some light on the exact dates of the accession of Tejasiṁha or the termination of the reign of his father Jaitrasiṁha. Thus the history of the Guhilas after A.D.1253 (V.S. 1309), the date of the manuscript of the Pākṣika-vṛtti the last known record of the reign of Jaitrasiṁha, and before A.D. 1260-61 (V.S. 1317), the first known date of Tejasiṁha, is completely dark. However, we have to decide at present about the identity of the Guhila prince on the basis of the available records. The date of the recently discovered Guḍelā tank inscription, which is the first known record of of the reign of Tejasiṁha, is V.S. 1317, Sunday the 5th day of the dark half of the month of Śrāvaṇa[4]. We are inclined to accept this date as near the beginning of his reign. The date of the Kadi grant, which reveals the conflict between these two princes, is V.S. 1317, the 4th day of the dark half of Jyeṣṭha[5]. The difference between these two dates is

---

1. For the date in Christian era see DHNI, vol.2,p.1034,fn. 5.
2. JBBRAS, vol. 9, p. 155; also DHNI, vol. 2, p. 1035.
3. EI, vol. 5, p.102 ff; also DHNI, vol. 2, p.1033, No. 1.
4. IHQ, vol. 37, No. 1, p. 49, line 1.
5. IA, vol. 6, p. 210; see also DHNI, vol.2, p. 1034, fn. 5.

apparently of two months, and the Kadi grant is obviously older than the Guḍelā tank inscription. Hence it is quite reasonable to suggest that the Guhila prince who came into conflict with the Caulukya Vīsaladeva was not Tejasiṁha but his father Jaitrasiṁha.

Ratnaprabha, the composer of the Chirava inscription, calims to have been honoured by Tejasimha as well as by Vīsaladeva[1]. It seems very improbable that two persons, who are said to be enemies, could honour a particular individual. This also suggests that the enmity between Vīsaladevea and the Guhilas was pacified and that Tejasiṁha did not have bad relations with Vīsaladeva, and thus the statement of the Kadi grant must be related to the reign of Jaitrasiṁha instead of Tejasiṁha.

Tejasiṁha had at least two queens. One of them was Jayatalladevī. She was the mother of Samarasiṁha, the son and successor of Tejasiṁha. This fact is supported by an inscription, wherein Samarasiṁha is stated to have made a grant for the bebefit of his mother Jayatalladevī[2]. The Burtra (Jodhpur) inscription, dated A.D. 1284 (V.S. 1340), informs us that Rūpādevī, the daughter of the Cāhamāna Cācigadeva, was a wife of Tejasiṁha, who has been identified

---

1. EI, vol. 22, p. 291, v. 48; also VOJ, vol. 21, p. 162.
2. JASB, vol. 55, pt. 1, pp. 18 and 47; HR, vol. 1, p. 473, fn. 1.

as the Guhila prince and her son was prince Kṣetrasiṁha[1]. It seems that Samarasiṁha was the elder son, and therefore he succeeded his father instead of Kṣetrasiṁha, whose name does not find mention in any of the genealogical lists of the ruling Guhila princes.

Tejasiṁha issued several coins. A copper coin bearing the legend Tejasiṁha has been discovered by Mr. C.R.Singhal in the collection of Seth Shankaralal Roop Narayan of Jaipur. The legend Tejasiṁha on the obverse of the coin is very distinct. Among the Guhila coins the devices of this one are exceptional. The obverse of the coin bears a head of an elephant with uplifted trunk. On the reverse is a standing boar, perhaps beneath a tree. Mr. Singhal has attributed this coin to the Guhila prince Tejasiṁha, the son of Jaitrasiṁha. The palaeography of the coin also supports this view.[2] Mr. Samar has also published four coins, which according to him were issued by Tejasiṁha[3]. The first of copper, is completely worn out, but Mr. Samar can read the legend as Te, though the letters are blurred. The legend and

---

1. EI, vol. 4, pp. 312-14.
2. JNSI, vol. 20, pt.1, p. 48, pl. VIII, fig. 1, see our pl. IV fig. 1
3. JNSI, vol. 20, pt. 1, p. 35, and plate, III, figs. 13-16; for figs. see our plate III figs. 13-16.

the bust of the king on the second copper coin are distinct. The legend can be easily read as Śrī Te, which according to Mr. Samar is an abbreviation of Śrī Tejasiṁha. The third ~~copper~~ silver-plated ~~silver~~ copper coin bears the legend Te before the bust of the king. The last silver-plated copper coin also bears part of the inscription Te. The palaeography of the legends inscribed on these coins is undoubtedly of the thirteenth century and we may accept the suggestion that these were issued by Tejasiṁha.

Tejasimha was a worthy son of a worthy father. The territory acquired by Jaitrasiṁha was well preserved by Tejasiṁha and he perhaps gained more prestige and power than his father. The imperial epithets of Mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-Umāpati-vara-labdha-paraudha-pratāpa-samalaṁkṛta, which are generally found attached with the names of the Caulukya monarchs, have also been clearly acquired by Tejasiṁha. This suggests that Tejasimha became very powerful and the superiority of the Caulukyas bent down before this prince. He acieved further success and completed the task, which was started by his father to consolidate the Guhila power in Mewar.

SAMARASIṂHA

Samarasiṁha succeeded his father Tejasiṁha. The relati relation of father and son is distinctly mentioned in the Chirava[1], Abu[2], and the Kumbhalgarh [3] inscriptions, dated A.D. 1273, 1285 and 1460 (V.S. 1330, 1342 and 1517), respectively. The reign of Samarasiṁha is very rich in epigraphic and to some extent in literary records, which throw considerable light especially on his own period.

1. Chirava stone inscription: This was found in a temple of Viṣṇu at the village of Chirava, situated near Udaipur and ~~and~~ Nagda. It is dated A.D. 1273 (V.S. 1330) and traces the genealogy of Samarasiṁha from Padmasiṁha. The purpose of the inscription was to record the grant of some land made by Madana and his mother in favour of the temples erected by the ancestors of Madana, who was appointed the Talārakṣa of Chitor by Samarasiṁha. Ratnaprabha Sūri composed this epigraph.[4]

2. Chitor stone inscription (i) : This epigraph was ~~was~~ discovered near the Kīrtistambha of Maharāṇā Kuṁbha. The inscription is valuable for its genealogical information

---

1. EI, vol.22, p.289, vs.7-8; also VOJ, vol.21, p. 156.
2. BhAI, p.86, vs.46-47; also IA, vol. 16, p. 347.
3. EI, vol.24, p.326, v.160
4. EI, vol.22, p.285; also VOJ, vol. 21, p. 155 ff.

about the Guhilas from Bappa to Naravarman. The next portion of the inscription, recording the names of the other ruling Guhila princes, has been lost, as is evident from the inscription itself. The composer Vedaśarman states that further genealogical information can be known from the second part of this record[1]. The blank place, where this slab of stone containing the next part of this inscription was fixed, is still visible[2]. It is dated A.D. 1274 (V.S. 1331) and suggests that it must have been issued in the reign of Samarasiṁha. It is impossible to discover the purpose of this incomplete inscription.[3]

3. Chitor stone inscription (ii) : The present damaged epigraph is engraved on a stone from some other monument, now built into the 9th arch of the bridge on the river Gambhiri, just near the fortress of Chitor. The purpose of this inscription was to record a grant of land issued by Samarasiṁha for the benefit of his mother Jayatalladevī. The date of this record is not clear. Only three numerals are visible and these are 13-2. Śyāmal Das has suggested the numeral filling the gap as 3, which may be accepted, though it may be also 4 or 5.[4]

---

1. Bh.I, p. 77.
2. HR, vol. 1, p. 479, fn. 3.
3. Bh.I, p. 74 ff; also IA, vol. 22, p. 80 ff.
4. JASB, vol. 55, pt. 1, pp. 18 and 47, No. 4. Ojha records

(continued on the next page

4. Chitor stone inscription (iii) : The inscription was perhaps originally engraved on a lintel of a Jaina temple. It was discovered in the old palace of Chitor. It is dated A.D. 1278 (V.S. 1335) and it records the reign of Samarasiṁha. The purpose of this inscription was to record the erection of a temple of Śyāma-Pārśvanātha by Jayatalladevī, the queen of Tejasiṁha, and a donation of some land in favour of the Jaina Ācārya Pradyumna Sūri for the maintenance of the temple. This grant of land was made by Mahārājakula Samarasiṁha. The inscription also records various provisions for the maintenance of the temple[1].

5. Abu stone inscription : This is engraved on a slab of stone attached to a monastery just near the temple of Acaleśvara on Mount Abu. The epigraph is dated A.D. 1285 (V.S. 1342) and records the repair of a maṭha on Mount Abu by Samarasiṁha, who was requested by the ascetic Bhāvaśaṅkara to do so. The present record is very important for the reconstruction of Guhila history, as it gives the complete genealogical list of the Guhila princes from Bappa to

---

(continued from the previous page)
that it is engraved on the 10th arch of the bridge (HR, vol.1, p. 482, No. 8,; see also DHNI, vol. 2, p. 1194, No. 8.

---

1. JASB, vol. 55, pt. 1, pp.18 and 48, No. 5; HR, vol.1,p. ~~175~~ 480.

Samarasiṁha, with a few exceptions[1].

6. Chitor stone inscription (iv) : This inscription is incised on a pillar near Chitor and is dated A.D. 1287 (V.S. 1344). It records a donation to a temple of Vaidyanātha, situated near the bank of Citrāṅga tank of Citrakūṭa. The epigraph also records the reign of Mahārājakula Samarasiṁha[2].

7. Dariba stone inscription : This is incised on a pillar in the temple of Mātājī at Dariba, which is ten miles from Sunwar station. The epigraph is dated A.D. 1286 (V.S.1356) in the reign of Mahārājakula Samarasiṁhadeva. The purpose of this inscription was to record a gift of 16 drammas in favour of a temple. The donors were Karanā and Sohadā. It also records that Nimbā was the chief minister of Samarasiṁha[3].

8. Chitor stone inscription (v) : This is engraved on a ple piece of stone lying loose on a platform built around a tree just near the Rampol gate at Chitor. The purpose of this epigraph was to record the construction of a praśasti-pattikā for Bhojasvāmī jagati (terrace) by one Rāja (Rajaputra) Dhārasimha, the son of Rājā Pātā of the Pratihāra family. It

---

1. Bh.I, p.84 ff; IA, vol.16,p.345 ff;JASB,vol.55,pt. 1, pp. 18 and 48, No. 6.
2. JASB, vol. 55, pt.1, pp.18-19, No. 7; also HR, vol. 1, p. 481, No. 5.
3. ARRMA, 1926-27, p.3, No.7;also HR,vol.1, p.481, No. 6.

is dated A.D. 1301-02 (V.S. 1358) and records the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Samarasiṁhadeva[1].

All these inscriptions show that the reign of Samarasiṁha continued at least from A.D. 1273 to 1301-02 (V.S. 1330-1358). It is evident from the Dariba temple inscription that Ratnasiṁha, the son of Samarasiṁha was ruling over Mewar in A.D. 1302 (V.S. 1359)[2]. Hence the reign of Samarasiṁha must have ended between A.D. 1301 and 1302.

Unfortunately, none of these inscriptions conveys any valuable information about Samarasiṁha except his ruling period. The Abu inscription dated A.D. 1285 (V.S. 1342) however, gives some vague information concerning his conflict with the Turuṣkas. Verse 46 of this record states that the land of the Gurjaras was lifted up by the sword of Samarasiṁha when it was deeply sunk in the Turuṣka sea, just as the primeval boar did (to save the Earth goddess) with his tusk[3]. As the date of this inscription is A.D. 1285, the events, if truly recorded, must have happened before this date. Samarasiṁha's contemporary rulers, who ruled the Gurjara land before this date, were Arjunadeva (A.D. 1264-74) and Sāraṅgadeva (A.D. 1274-96), the successors of Vīsaladeva.

---

1. ARRMA, 1920-21, p.4, No.8; HR, vol. 1, p 482, No. 7.
2. ARRMA, 1926-27, p.3, No.8; HR, vol. 1, p.495, fn. 3.
3. Bh.I, p. 86; IA, vol. 16, p. 350.

Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Balban (A.D.1266-87), the Muslim Sultan of Delhi, was apparently a contemporary of Samarasiṁha before the date of his Abu inscription. But no Muslim incursions in the territory of Gujarat have been so far reported during the period under review. Even the Muslim sources have failed to supply any information. Hence it is impossible to identify the Turuṣka army, which went on an expedition to the Gurjara land and was forced to retreat when Samarasiṁha came to the rescue. Nevertheless, the statement does not seem to be a mere praśasti because it was composed by Vedaśarman, who was a contemporary of Samarasiṁha, and we may believe at least that he repulsed a raid which, perhaps because it was unsuccessful, was not recorded by Muslim historians.

The Jaina author Jinaprabha, the writer of the Tīrtha-kalpa, a monumental work of A.D.1332 (V.S.1389), records an expedition of Ulugh Khān to Gujarat. He informs us that in the course of that compaign in A.D.1299 (V.S.1356) Samarasiṁha, the lord of Citrakūḍa(Citrakūṭa or Chitor) saved the country of Mewar from destruction after paying homage or tribute to Ulugh Khān, the younger brother of the Sultan 'Alā-ud-Dīn[1]. This expedition of the Muslim army is certainly different from the campaign of an unidentified Muslim army against Gujarat referred to in the Abu inscription, becaused the first was launched before A.D.1285.

1.Ed.by D.R.Bhandarkar & C., ASB, p.95; Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa (Satyapura-tīrtha-kalpa), ed.by Jinavijaya,SJG, p.30.

the date of the Abu inscription, and the next under consideration was apparently in 1299. Thus these two Muslim reaids to Gujarat should not be confused, though the second may heve been a repercussion of the first. The Muslim sources have again failed to record this particular event of the reign of Samarasimha. As Jinaprabha was a contemporary of Samarasimha, Ojha suggests that the statement of this author is very reliable[1]. It is unlikely that a writer would make such a statement about a royal patron unless it were true and this encourages us to believe the Jaina author, who has recorded such a humiliating act of Samarasimha. It is evident from another Jaina work that Samarasimha had considerable respect for Jainism and restricted the slaughter of the animals in his kingdom after being advised to do so by a Jaina monk[2]. This seems to indicate that Jinaprabha had good relations with Samarasimha, yet he recorded such a humiliating act of this prince. It may prove that Jinaprabha was not biased and he boldly preferred to record the truth.

Dr. G.C. Raychaudhuri has interpreted this record in another way. According to him Samarasimha saved his country

---

1. HR, vol. 1, p. 477.
2. Peterson's fifth Report, p. 2; also his third Report, p.1, see also HR, vol. 1, p.477 and fn. 4.

by punishing Ulugh Khān and this resulted in the sack of Chitor by 'Aḷā-ud-Dīn during the reign of Ratnasiṁha.[1] This passage of the Tīrtha-kalpa is as follows: Cittakūḍāhivaī-Samarasīheṇaṁ daṁḍaṁ dāuṁ Mevāḍa-deso tayā rakkhio. Here the words daṁḍaṁ dāuṁ can well be interpreted in both ways, namely "after paying tribute or tax " or"after punishing him". But the context of the record does not leave any doubt that the word daṁḍa here can only mean "tribute". As the object of the verb da it is most unusual that daṁḍa should mean "punishment". During this campaign Ulugh Khān is also said to have devastated the country of Vāgaḍa and the city of Moḍāsā and reached Āsāvallī (near Ahmedabad) . Prince Karṇadeva, the ruler of Gujarat, fled. Hence the superiority of Ulugh Khān is indicated everywhere and it seems improbable that Jinaprabha would have intended to lower the prestige of this Muslim general. The country of Vāgaḍa was devastated because of the fact that the ruler of that principality did not pay any tribute or homage to this Muslim prince. But Samarasiṁha wisely recognized the needs of the times and paid tribute to Ulugh Khān and thus saved his country from destruction. If we take the word daṁḍa to mean here "punishment", the word rakkhio would be superfluous and improper. If Samarasiṁha had in fact punished Ulugh Khān,

---

1. HM, p. 60.

it would have been unnecessary to record that he saved the country of Mewar because the reference to punishment itself implies that the Muslim army was defeated. Hence Dr. Raychaudhuri's interpretation does not suit the context of the record. The view of Dr. Raychaudhuri can be finally refuted on the basis of the Kānhaḍade-prabandha of Padmanābha, a work of A.D. 1455 (V.S.1512), where Samarasiṁha is clearly stated to have given passage to Ulugh Khān in his expedition against Gujarat, when it was refused by the Cāhamāna Kanhaḍadeva of Jalor[1]. Though written more than a century and a half after the event, Padmanābha apparently confirms the statement of the Jaina Jinaprabha.

The failure of the Muslim historians to record this incident is the only reason that raises some doubt about the genuineness of the statements of Jinaprabha and Padmanābha. At the same time a further question may be asked : if Samarasiṁha paid tribute to 'Alāuud-Dīn why was his territory invaded and Chitor sacked during the reign of his son Ratnasiṁha? In our opinion there remains only one probability, that Ratnasiṁha either stopped the usual payment or he did not obey the command of the Muslim ruler and thus invited the Muslim prince to sack Chitor. As will be shown later, the policy of expansion was also a most important cause of this Muslim invasion of Chitor.

---

1. Canto 1, v. 50, p. 10, ed. by K.B. Vyas.

CHAPTER VII

THE FALL OF THE GUHILAS

RATNASIṀHA AND THE PADMINĪ EPISODE

Samarasiṁha was succeeded by his son Ratnasiṁha[1]. Unfortunately his name does not find mention in most of the bardic tales and other late records. Ojha is wrong to say that the Rājaprašasti-mahākāvya does not mention the name of Ratnasiṁha[2]. The recent publication of this work, which is inscribed on 25 big slabs of stone, certainly records his name, though he is referred to as the younger brother of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha[3]. Even Tod has not included the name of Ratnasiṁha in his list of the ruling Guhila princes. He records that Karaṇasiṁha ascended the throne after Samarasiṁha[4]. But it is evident from the Dariba temple inscription that in A.D.1302 (V.S.1359) Samasta-rājā-vali-samalaṁkṛta-Mahārājakula-Śrī-Ratanasiṁha (Ratnasiṁha) was victoriously ruling over Mewar and Mahaṇasīha was carrying on the business of the seal[5]. Ratnasiṁha also issued some

---

1. EI, vol.24, p.328, v.176.
2. HR, vol.1, p.483.
3. EI, vol.29, Appendix, p.16, canto 4, v.4.
4. AR, vol.1, p.303 ff.
5. ARRMA, 1926-27, p.3, No.8; also HR, vol.1, p.495, fn.3.

coins. A crudely executed copper-plated silver coin has been discovered bearing the legend Śrī Ra in Nāgari script. According to Mr. Samar the legend is the abbreviation of Ratnasiṁha and thus the coin was issued by the Guhila Ratnasiṁha[1]. A further coin of copper has also been attributed to Ratnasiṁha. Though the legend is not very clear on the photograph, Mr. Samar is inclined to assign it to Ratnasiṁha[2]. The palaeography of the legends on both coins supports this view.

THE ACCOUNT OF TOD: The most important event of Ratnasiṁha's reign was the attack of 'Alā-ud-Dīn on Chitor. But Tod, relying on the local annals, has differently recorded this event. According to him in A.D.1275 (V.S.1331) Lakhamsi (Lakṣmaṇasiṁha) succeeded his father. As he was very young at the time of his accession, his uncle Bhīmasiṁha was put in charge of the administration as well as being made his protector. Bhīmasiṁha had a beautiful wife named Padminī, who was the daughter of the Cāhamāna Hamīr Sank, the ruler of Ceylon. The fame of the peerless beauty of Padminī spread so widely that 'Alā-ud-Dīn led an expedition to Chitor only to gain this famous princess; after a useless

---

1. JNSI, vol.20, pt.1, p.35, pl.III, fig.17; see our pl.III f.17
2. Ibid, pl.III, fig.18; see our pl.III fig.18

and long siege he declared that he would be satisfied to have a mere glimpse of Padminī and if he were not permitted to see her directly, he would do so with the help of a mirror. This request was granted and 'Alā-ud-Dīn, relying on the good faith of the Rajputs, went into the fortress with a few guards, fulfilled his desire through the medium of mirrors, and returned to his camp. Out of courtesy Bhīmasiṁha and the other Rajputs accompanied 'Alā-ud-Dīn upto the foot of the fortress. But plans of intrigues and treachery were working in the Sultan's mind and at last Bhīmasiṁha was arrested and confined to prison. 'Alā-ud-Dīn declared that the liberty of Bhīmasiṁha would be granted only on the surrender of his wife Padminī. This insulting proposal was not acceptable. However, the Rajputs along with Gora, the uncle of Padminī, and Badal, his nephew, assembled together and planned to free their prince without bringing any dishonour on Padminī. 'Alā-ud-Dīn was informed that Padminī with all her maids, female companions and followers would be sent to him on the day of his departure to Delhi, but it was requested that her honour and customs should be fully maintained and she should be allowed to move in strict

privacy with all her companions. On the day fixed about 700 covered litters started towards the royal camp. Each of them contained seven of the bravest Rajput soldiers, six in the guise of the litter porters and one as a maid or a companion of Padminī. On request half an hour was given to Padminī for her last meeting with her husband, though actually she was not there. As planned, Bhīmasiṁha was kept in the litter and the porters carried him out of the Muslim camp, and after some time Bhīmasiṁha hurried back to his fortress riding a horse, which had been previously placed in readiness. At last 'Alā-ud-Dīn came to know about the conspiracy but in vain, as the prisoner was out of reach. The remaining soldiers who were in the guise of litter porters faced the army of 'Alā-ud-Dīn to defend their prince, headed by Gora and Badal. With a few exceptions all those brave Rajputs sacrificed their lives in the cause of the safety of Bhīmasiṁha and his wife. 'Alā-ud-Dīn, acknowledging it very difficult to capture the fortress at the moment, retreat and after some time again made a vigorous attack with a large and fresh army. The Rajputs, acknowledging the strength of the Muslim army, instructed their wives and other female relatives to perform

jauhar, and they attacked the Muslim army, after opening the main gate of the fortress. They fought bravely, but at last the fortress fell into the hands of the Muslims. However, 'Alā-ud-Dīn could not get the handsome Padminī, who with all her attendants performed the sacrifice of jauhar[1].

THE ACCOUNT OF JĀYASĪ : With certain variations the account of Tod is mainly based on the Padmāvat of Jāyasī, a work of A.D.1540 (V.S.1597). In the Padmāvat the name of the father of Padmāvatī or Padminī is given as Gandhravasen(Gandharvasen), the king of Simhaladvīpa. Ratnasen (Ratnasimha), the ruler of Chitor, was the son of Citrasen. With these the following differences may also be noted in the account of Jāyasī. Even after eight years of siege 'Alā-ud-Dīn could not conquer the fortress of Chitor. During this time the Sultan was informed that another enemy had invaded his territories from the west and a serious situation arose at Delhi. Thus the Sultan was compelled to retire and he treacherously informed the prince that without demanding Padminī he wanted to make a treaty with him, only getting five gems, which Ratnasen had received from the king of Ceylon as part of the dowry of Padminī. Hearing this the prince of Chitor called on him

---

1. AR, vol.1, p.307 ff.

and paid much respect to 'Alā-ud-Dīn in his palace. By chance 'Alā-ud-Dīn, while he was playing chess with Ratnasen, saw the peerless beauty of Padminī in a mirror. Then much the same story is repeated about the arrest of Ratnasen. Ratnasen was carried to Delhi and he was told that his release was possible only on the surrender of Padminī. Again the same story of release is repeated with certain variations. Ratnasen safely reached Chitor and after some time, died leaving the safety of Chitor in the hands of Bādal. Padminī and Nāgmatī, both the wives of Ratnasen, became satī with him. After this event 'Alā-ud-Dīn again invaded Chitor and conquered it[1].

Thus Tod's account contains a few variations, which seem to have been based on the tales of bards. But his statements that Lakṣmaṇasiṁha, a very young prince, was a ruler of Chitor and Padminī was the wife of Bhīmasiṁha as well as that Chitor was first invaded by 'Alā-ud-Dīn in A.D. 1275, are unhistorical. No inscriptions or other reliable records say that Lakṣmaṇasiṁha was a ruling prince of Mewar. It is evident from the Kumbhalgarh inscription[2] as well as the Ekaliṅga-māhātmya[3] of the reign of Kumbha, that during

---

1. Ed.by R.Shukla, sec.ed, p.16 ff;see also ed.by V.S.Agrawala
2. EI, vol.24, p.328, v.176 etc.
3. Rājavarṇana, vs.69 and 77-80, as cited in HR, vol.1, p. 485, fn.

the reign of Ratnasiṁha, Lakṣmaṇasiṁha died with his seven sons in the defence of Chitor, when 'Alā-ud-Dīn attacked it. It is also evident that he was quite old, as he had so many sons. Bhīmasiṁha was the grandfather and not the uncle of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha as is apparent from the Ekaliṅga-māhātmya[1]. Actually Lakṣmaṇasiṁha was a vassal of Sesoda and was only distantly related to Ratnasiṁha. He was a remote successor of Rāhapa, the founder of the Sesoda dynasty[2]. Hence the statement of Tod is far from the historical truth.

As far as the statement of Jāyasī is concerned we can simply say that he has painted the whole story as a very colourful picture, and naturally so, as he was writing an epic and not a historical record or a source book. A critical examination of his work will be made while dealing with the episode of Padminī.

THE ACCOUNT OF AMĪR KHUSRAU : Contemporary as well as later Muslim historians have thrown a considerable light on the sack of Chitor by 'Alā-ud-Dīn. The most important of them was Amīr Khusrau, the poet-laureate of the Sultan. Khusrau was an eye-witness of the siege of Chitor and he has recorded this event in his famous work the Khazā'īn-ul-

---

1. Rājavarṇana, vs.75-76, as cited in HR, vol.1, p.495,fn.2.
2. HR, vol.1, p.522, genealogical table.

-Futūh or the Tārīkh-i-'Alāī. He states that on Monday 28 January, A.D.1303 (8 Jamādī-us-Sānī, A.H.702), 'Alā-ud-Dīn started from Delhi for the conquest of Chitor. After reaching the vicinity of Chitor the Emperor ordered his pavilion to be pitched on the land between two rivers, which have been identified with the Gambhēri and the Berach[1]. The army of the Sultan attacked the fortress from two sides. This attack continued for two months but to no avail. The fortress was very strong. Khusrau himself states: "Wonderful was the fort, which even hailstones were unable to strike. For if the flood itself rushes from the summit it will take a full day to reach the foot of the hill". However, after a great fight the fortress was conquered and 'Alā-ud-Dīn entered the citadel "to which birds were unable to fly", on Monday 26 August, 1303 (11 Muharram, A.H.703). Amīr Khusrau was with the Sultan during his entrance. He further records that the Rāi, out of the fear of the Sultan's army, ran and took refuge in the Sultan's pavilion and thus protected himself. The Sultan out of pity showed his mercy and thus no harm was done to the person of the Rāi. The Sultan ordered a general massacre and in one day thirty thousand Hindus were slain. Chitor was

---

1. JIH, vol.8, p.369, fn.1.

renamed Khiẓrābād after his son's name, Khiẓr Khān[1].

Khusrau in his 'Āshiqa or Diwal-rānī wa Khiẓr Khān again gives a very short description of the fall of Chitor. He distinctly states that the Sultan reduced the fort of Chitor in a single expedition. The Rāi, who was very powerful and "the most exalted of all Hindu rulers", faced the Sultan with a large army. However, the fortress was sacked after two months and was renamed Khiẓrābād. The government of Chitor was handed over to Khiẓr Khān. While dealing with the importance of this citadel, Khusrau remarks that "Chitor, the paradise of the Hindus, is a wonderful fort and has springs and meadows on every side"[2].

The account of Khusrau, though full of exaggeration, is important because of his contemporaneity with the events. However, he has not recorded those events which were discreditable to 'Alā-ud-Dīn. These omissions have to some extent been made up by Baranī, who also testifies to the attack of Chitor, which 'Alā-ud-Dīn is said to have conquered in a short time, after the loss of many troops[3]. Professor Habib's identification of the two rivers referred to by Khusrau is very probable. No rivers are known to have

---

1. Kh.F, tr.by Habib in JIH, vol.8, p.369 ff; also Elliot, vol. 3, p.76 ff.
2. JIH, vol.8, p.372, fn.; see also Elliot, vol.3, p.76 ff.
3. Ibid, p.372, fn.2; also Elliot, vol.3, p.189.

flowed so near to the fortress of Chitor except the Gambheri and the Berach, nor do we have any other combination of two rivers the land between, which, according to Khusrau, was the camping ground of 'Alā-ud-Dīn's army. Even from the strategic point of view, the identification of Professor Habib is very consistent. Though Khusrau as well as other Muslim historians have failed to record a full description of the fighting, the position of these two rivers would give some clue if we critically examine it.

The Gambheri river is only about 3/4 mile west from the fortress of Chitor[1] and the distance of the Berach from the same fortress is about 7 miles[2]. Hence the camp of the Sultan's army was very near to the citadel. Khusrau does not record any clash between the armies outside the fortress. But to us it seems impossible that the Rajputs of Chitor would have allowed the Muslim forces to come so near without any opposition. The strategic policy, which must have been adopted by the Rajputs, indicates that the Muslim intruders at first faced the army of their opponents, if not before crossing the river Berach, at least on its bank. But the large Muslim army would have pushed back the

---

1. HR, vol.1, pp.349-50.

2. Ibid, p.358.

defenders of Chitor and easily crossed the Berach, which was fordable, as can be gathered from the statement of Khusrau[1].

THE ACCOUNT OF FIRISHTA: The next Muslim historian who recorded the sack of Chitor by 'Alā-ud-Dīn was Muḥammad Qāsim Firishta. He wrote his work about 72 years after Jāyasī's Padmāvat. At one place he simply says that in A.D. 1303 (A.H.703) 'Alā-ud-Dīn himself marched to Chitor, which had never been sacked by any Muslim army. The siege lasted for six months and in the same year the citadel was overpowered. The government of Chitor was entrusted to Khiẓr Khān, the elder son of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, and the place was named Khiẓrābād, after the name of Khiẓr Khān[2]. While dealing with the escape of Ratnasiṁha, Firishta again narrates the Padminī episode. According to him in the year A.D.1304 (A.H.704) Ratnasen, the king of Chitor, secured his escape from the captivity of 'Alā-ud-Dīn by a wonderful device. During the confinement of this prince, 'Alā-ud-Dīn somehow or other came to know that one of Ratnasen's women(zanān)[3]

---

1. JIH, vol.8, p.370.
2. Briggs, vol.1, pp.353-54.
3. Briggs has translated this word as 'daughter'(vol.1, p. 362). But it is apparently wrong. The word zan cannot mean'daughter'. Professor Habib is quite right in translating it as 'woman'(JIH, vol.8, p.372, fn.). Hence Ojha(HR, vol.1, pp.492-93), R.R.Halder(IA, vol.59, p.236) and others, who have accepted the translation of Briggs, are wrong.

called Padminī was very beautiful and of fine stature, with moon-like face and beautiful black eyes. She was possessed of all the qualities of a handsom lady. 'Alā-ud-Dīn, therefore, taking advantage of the captivity of Ratnasen, placed a proposal before him that he could buy his freedom by surrendering his beautiful Padminī. The Rājā, who was severly treated in imprisonment, gave his consent and informed his family accordingly. This news was very shocking and humiliating to both his family members and the other Rajputs, who were habituated to sacrifice their lives to save their family prestige and honour. The agreement of the Rājā to surrender Padminī to the Sultan aroused antagonism against the Rājā, and the Rajputs conspired to send him some food mixed with poison so that he might die and thus his shamful proposal to dishonour the prestige of the Rajput race might be thwarted[1]. But a daughter of the Rājā, who was very clever and intelligent, objected to this proposal and placed a plan before them showing how the family honour as

---

1. Briggs's translation is here wrong when he points out that it was decided to poison the princess, whose surrender was demanded by 'Alā-ud-Dīn and not to Ratnasen(vol.1, p.362). Hence Ojha(HR, vol.1, p.492) and all other subsequent scholars, who accepted the translation of Briggs, have been mistaken. Professor Habib's translation is correct (JIH, vol.8, p.372, fn.).

well as the life of her father could be saved. The plan was no other than that of the story of the litters full of brave warriors[1] which in various forms occurs widely in the legends of India and elsewhere. Then Firishta repeats the same story of the Padmāvat of Jāyasī with certain variations. At last Firishta says that after being released from the confinement of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, the Rājā started plundering the territory lying in the vicinity of the fortress of Chitor and thereby created great panic and disturbed the mind of the Sultan. 'Alā-ud-Dīn, after realizing the importance of this critical situation and acknowledging the demand of the politics of the day, recalled his son Khiẓr Khān from Chitor and handed over the fortress to Khariz Rāi, the Rājā's sister's son, who had showed full loyalty to the Emperor in course of his service. This arrangment had a tremendous effect and all the Rajputs were satisfied. Khariz Rāi remained loyal till the death of the Sultan and always helped with his army and wealth[2].

The first statement of Firishta is mainly a reproduction of Khusrau's Tārīkh-i-'Alāī or the Khazā'in-ul-Futūḥ. As far as his second statement about the escape of Ratnasiṁha is concerned, we have no reason to disagree with

---

1. See ~~ante~~ above, p. 331 ff.

2. JIH, vol.8, pp.372-73, fn.

Ojha, who states that Firishta has taken this story from the Padmāvat of Jāyasī and has given it shape as a historical document after making certain additions and alterations[1]. However,Ojha is wrong to say that Firishta records that Padminī also went to Delhi in the course of the plan to release Ratnasiṁha[2]. Actually his conjecture is based on the wrong translation of Briggs. But Professor Habib gives a correct translation of the relevant parts of the statement of Firishta and this translation has been found correct by other scholars[3]. According to Professor Habib's interpretation Padminī was not accompanied by the army of the Rajputs, who went to Delhi to rescue Ratnasiṁha from the confinement of 'Alā-ud-Dīn[4]. In Ojha's opinion it was impossible for Ratnasiṁha to escape from the clutches of so powerful a ruler as 'Alā-ud-Dīn, who could not have tolerated the revenge taken on his territory by Ratnasiṁha. He further states that Firishta's account is again unconvincing in saying that in A.D.1304 (A.H.704) the Sultan, annoyed by the continuous raids of Ratnasiṁha, ordered his son Khiẓr Khān to evacuate Chitor and hand it over to the Rājā's sister's son[5]. Actually

---

1.HR, vol.1, p.493.
2.Ibid.
3.DHNI, vol.2, p.1196, fn.2.
4.JIH, vol.8, pp.372-73, fn.
5.HR, vol.1, p.493.

Firishta's account is very late and mainly based on the local annals and the Padmāvat. Hence we see no reason to disagrre with Ojha, though Dr. Qanungo goes agains him[1]. The escape of Ratnasiṁha from the captivity of 'Alā-ud-Dīn is a question of great importance and we will discuss it in separate paragraph. As we shall see later, Firishta's statement that Khiẓr Khān handed over the charge of the government of Chitor to Khariz Rāi in A.D.1304, is completely wrong.

THE ACCOUNT OF ABUL FAẒL : Abul Faẓl also gives a short description of the fight of the Rajputs with the army of 'Alā-ud-Dīn. He states that, according to the ancient chroniclers, 'Alā-ud-Dīn attacked Chitor simply to possess the beautiful Padminī, the wife of Ratnasiṁha. He then repeats much the same story of the arrest of Ratnasiṁha and his release as recorded in the Padmāvat. According to him 'Alā-ud-Dīn attacked twice but could not take the fortress. At last the continuous attack on Chitor led the prince of Chitor to think that an interview with the Sultan might lessen his wrath, and thus an alliance might be made, which would result in peace in his kingdom. He met the Sultan at

---

1. SRH, p.9.

a place about 14 miles (7 kos) from the fortress. But he was treacherously slain there. After his death Arsi, who was raised to the throne, was also killed in battle and all the women performed the act of jauhar and thus Chitor was finally captured by 'Alā-ud-Dīn[1].

Abul Faẓl has mainly repeated the account of the siege of Chitor recorded by Jāyasī and others, but there is a remarkable difference in his last statement where it is said that Ratnasiṁha willingly met the Sultan and was slain at a distance of 14 miles outside the fortress. This statement is noteworthy, as none of the historians either contemporary or later has recorded such a fatal incident. It is needless to discuss the historicity of this unique account, which is unconvincing and suggests something far from the historical truth. The lateness of his work finally discredits the statement of Abul Faẓl.

THE ACCOUNT OF NAIṆSĪ : Muhaṇot Naiṇsī in his chronicle gives a short account of the fight of 'Alā-ud-Dīn with the Rajputs of Chitor. After giving a wrong relationship between Ratnasiṁha and Ajayasiṁha, he states that Ratnasiṁha died after fighting with 'Alā-ud-Dīn over the affair of Padminī.

---

1. Ā'īn-i-Akbarī, tr.by Jarrett, vol.2, pp.269-70.

Once the Sultan had left Chitor, He was called on to fight by Ratnasiṁha and Lakṣmaṇasiṁha from outside the city[1]. Twelve sons of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha, in turn died fighting with the Sultan after coming down from the citadel. On the thirteenth day the jauhar was performed. Rāṇā Lakṣmaṇasiṁha, Ratnasiṁha and Karṇasiṁha died fighting with the enemy after coming down from the fortress, and attained heaven[2].

Naiṇsī records a new episode, that 'Alā-ud-Dīn was challenged by Ratnasiṁha and others to face the army of the Rajputs after he had left the fortress. This evidently hints at a second attack on Chitor. Thus Naiṇsī supports the view of Jāyasī[3], Tod[4] and others. He records

---

1. R.K.Asopa, the editor of this Khyāta, says that according to Naiṇsī 'Alā-ud-Dīn was called on to fight from the village Pacevara in Jaipur (p.26, fn.2). But R.N.Dugaḍa does not translate so (p.21). According to Dugaḍa's interpretation 'Alā-ud-Dīn was called on from the abode of Pur, a place in Mewar. But the text pachaira rai ḍerā sūṁ cannot be translated thus. The word pachaira cannot be taken as equivalent to 'Pur' even on phonetic grounds, though it may mean 'behind' or 'later on'. We may tentatively suggest that Naiṇsī simply wants to convey that 'Alā-ud-Dīn was later on called back from his camping ground to do battle.
2. Text, vol.1, pp.25-26; transl., vol.1, p.21.
3. Padmāvat, ed.by R.Shukla, sec.ed., pp.16-28.
4. AR, vol.1, p.309.

that twelve sons of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha died fighting with the Sultan[1]. But this is definitely wrong, because the earlier records like the Kumbhalgarh inscription[2] as well as the Ekaliṅga-māhātmya[3] of the time of Kumbha distinctly say that Lakṣmaṇasiṁha died with his seven sons.

DURATION OF THE SIEGE : 'Isāmī, like Baranī, was also a near contemporary of Khusrau and 'Alā-ud-Dīn. In his Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn a work in verse, he also refers to the conquest of 'Alā-ud-Dīn. According to him the siege lasted for eight months[4]. Here we have a clear statement about the length of the siege, whereas Khusrau as well as Baranī fail to give its exact duration. Khusrau at one place says that the siege lasted only for two months[5] but elsewhere he does not give the actual duration[6]. Surprisingly Dr. Qanungo states that according to Khusrau the siege lasted for six months[7]. But this is evidently wrong as none of Amīr Khusrau's works gives

---

1. Text, vol.1, p.26; also tr., p.21. Ojha is wrong to say that according to Naiṇsī eleven sons of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha died in the battle(HR, vol.1, p.484, fn.2).
2. EI, vol.24, p.328, vs.177-79.
3. Rājavarṇana, vs.69 and 77-80, as cited in HR, vol.1, p.495, fn.
4. Kh.B, p.201.
5. Diwal-rānī, JIH, vol.8, p.372, fn.
6. Khazā'īn-ul-Futūḥ, JIH, vol.8, p.369 ff.
7. SRH, p.6.

such information, and Dr. Qanungo even fails to give the reference. Baranī simply mentions that 'Alā-ud-Dīn reduced the fort within a short time[1]. But Firishta distinctly records that the siege lasted only for six months[2]. The Kumbhalgarh inscription dated A.D.1460 (V.S.1517) goes further and states that the battle lasted for one full year[3]. A critical examination would certainly show that the siege lasted actually for five to six months.

Amīr Khusrau's statement that the fortress was reduced in two months cannot be regarded as true on the following grounds. Khusrau was the poet-laureate of 'Alā-ud-Dīn and thus it is quite reasonable to think that he may have reduced this period for the sake of the prestige and honour of his master. Secondly, while dealing with this raid of Chitor in his famous work the Khazā'īn-ul-Futūḥ, which is a record of 'Alā-ud-Dīn's invasions of the various parts of India, he does not give the actual duration of the siege. He himself states that "for two months the flood of the swords went up to the waist of the hill but could not rise any higher. Wonderful was the fort, which even hailstones were unable to strike. For if the flood itself rushes from

---

1. JIH, vol.8, p.372, fn; see also Elliot, vol.3, p.189.
2. Briggs, vol.1, p.353.
3. EI, vol.24, p.328, v.178; see also p.314.

the summit, it will take a full day to reach the foot of the hill[1]. Khusrau was well acquainted with the hardship involved in overpowering the fortress. Thus how could it have been possible to reduce it in two months, when he himself states that "for two months the flood of the swords went up to the waist of the hill but could not rise any higher"? This implies that there were two months of hard fighting, but before and after this the siege might have continued for an indefinite period. Hence he gives here two contradictory statements and this is sufficient to shake our belief in him. Last but not least, it can be proved by his own statement that it took more than two months to reduce the fortress. In the beginning of his account of the siege of Chitor he states that on Monday 28 January, 1303 (8 Jamādī-us-Sānī, A.H.702) the Sultan started from Delhi to conquer Chitor and later he says that the Sultan entered the fortress on Monday 26 August, A.D.1303 (11 Muḥarram, A.H.703). Hence it took seven months according to the western calender to reduce the fortress, including the time which was taken in reaching Chitor from Delhi.

If we accept the statement of Khusrau as meaning that it took only two months to reduce the fortress

---

1. JIH, vol.8, p.370.

it would appear that the army took five months to reach Chitor from Delhi. It seems implausable that so long a time was necessary to move an efficient army from Delhi to Chitor, even in days when there was no modern transport. Khusrau is here obviously wrong even though he was travelling with the army and the Sultan. 'Isāmī seems to have counted the duration of the siege from the month when the Muslim army started from Delhi and thus came to the conclusion that it took eight months, which agrees with Amīr Khusrau, since it covers the period from 8 Jamādī-us-Sānī, A.H.702 to 11 Muḥarram, A.H.703 if we count all the months in which the action took place. In this respect Firishta's statement that the siege lasted for six months is very probable, because one month is quite reasonable time for reaching Chitor, which is about 300 miles[1] from Delhi.

THE FATE OF RATNASIṂHA : The fate of Ratnasiṁha, after the attack of 'Alā-ud-Dīn on Chitor, is still shrouded in mystery. Different views on this problem have been expressed by contemporary, later and modern scholars. Amīr Khusrau, the eye-witness of all these events, does not give a clear account of the fate of Ratnasiṁha. In poetical language he

---

1. D.R.Bhandarkar Volume, ed.by B.C.Law, p.85.

states that "on Monday 26th August, 1303, (11, Muharram, A.H. 703) the Solomon of the age, seated on his aerial throne, went into the fort, to which birds were unable to fly....The Rāi, struck with the lightning of the Emperor's wrath and burnt from hand to foot, sprang out of the stone gate as fire springs out of stone; he threw himself into the water and flew towards the Imperial pavilion, thus protecting himself from the lightning of the sword. Wherever there is a brazen vessel, the Hindūs say, there lightning falls; and the Rāi's face had turned as yellow as brass through fear. Surely he would not have been safe from the lightning of the arrow and the sword, if he had not come to the door of the royal pavilion. On the day the yellow faced Rāi sought refuge in the red canopy from fear of the green swords, the great Emperor was still crimson with rage. But when he saw the vegetarian Rāi trembling with fear, like the trampled and withered grass under the Imperial tent, though the Rāi was a rebel, yet the breeze of royal mercy did not allow any hot wind to blow upon him. All the storm of the Emperor's wrath vented itself against the other rebels"[1].

Khusrau stops here and makes no reference to the name of the Rāi, who could not have been other than

---

1. JIH, vol.8, pp.370-71.

Ratnasiṁha. Even in the 'Āshiqa or Diwal-rānī he simply says that "there was also a Rāi with a large army, who, to speak the truth, was the most exalted of all Hindu rulers. But the Emperor did not waste much time; the fort was reduced in two months"[1]. In short, Khusrau wants to say that the Rāi in fear came out of the gate and surrendered to the Sultan, who, showing his mercy, saved him.

The most important question before us is to decide the truthfulness of Khusrau's account about the submission of Ratnasiṁha, who is simply referred to as the Rāi by Khusrau. The chief obstacle to our reliance on the statement of this Muslim writer is the post of poet-laureate which he held in the court of 'Alā-ud-Dīn; otherwise we might place greater confidence in his statements. However, it is certain from his account that Ratnasiṁha was alive even after the fall of Chitor. If Khusrau dared to record the brutal and inhuman order of 'Alā-ud-Dīn for a general massacre of the Hindūs, which resulted into the death of thirty thousand of them in one day[2], he would have been bold enough to record the death or execution of Ratnasiṁha or the Rāi if this had happened. Hence we have no strong reason to

---

1. JIH, vol.8, p.372, fn.2.
2. Ibid, p.371.

disbelieve Khusrau in this respect, for his statement neither enhances nor diminishes the honour of his lord, though he may be wrong in recording the voluntary submission of the Rāi to 'Alā-ud-Dīn. This is not corroborated by any contemporary or later historian. It seems unconvincing that Ratnasiṁha, in whose veins the Kṣatriya blood was running and who is referred to by Amīr Khusrau as a heroic warrior, should have surrendered before the Muslim invader, whose cruelty and inhuman activities were well known to all. Hence Khusrau's statement, without any other support, cannot be accepted as true. Later writers as well as the Rajput annals say that 'Alā-ud-Dīn treacherously captured Ratnasiṁha while the former was returning from the fortress after meeting with the latter. But this too is not convincing, because it seems impossible that 'Alā-ud-Dīn should have captured Ratnasiṁha just near the gate of the fortress which must have been strongly guarded by the Rajput army. These stories seem to have been spread by the bards and later on accepted by Muslim and other historians. Jāyasī's Padmāvat also played a very important part in disseminating a legend of this type, which was necessary in constructing the plot of the Padminī episode.

Dr. M.L.Mathur finds some hints in Khusrau's

account that 'Alā-ud-Dīn went into the fortress not as a conqueror but as a friend, to negotiate the settlement of the dispute, and thus he committed an act of treachery against Ratnasiṁha in capturing him. According to Mathur the clue lies in two sentences of Khusrau: "The Solomon of the age ('Alā-ud-Dīn) seated on his aerial throne went into the fort to which birds were unable to fly. The servent (Amīr Khusrau) who is the bird of this Solomon, was also with him" and the next "It was the rainy season when the white cloud of the ruler of land and sea appeared on the summit of this high hill". Dr. Mathur says that firstly, these lines occure in Amīr Khusrau's narrative before the record of the struggle of the Rāi with 'Alā-ud-Dīn and his subsequent defeat and surrender, and secondly, that Khusrau's failure to record the details of the Rāi's arrest and defeat suggests that the Sultan, accompanied by Khusrau, went into the fortress of Chitor and on returning he treacherously arrested the prince. The main cause of Khusrau's silence, according to Dr. Mathur, was fear of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, who certainly would not have liked to be called treacherous. Nevertheless Khusrau was not free from fear, because he had written the above mentioned sentences; hence he knowingly wrote the exact date of the

conquest of Chitor (11 Muḥarram, A.H.703) so that the Emperor might not get the slightest hint of the intention of the writer. He gives the example of the Hammīra-mahākāvya, where 'Alā-ud-Dīn is said to have conquered Ranthambhor after bribing some officials of Hammīra. Thus Dr. Mathur takes it as a historical fact that the Rajputs allowed 'Alā-ud-Dīn to visit the fortress for friendly negotiations[1].

A critical examination of these views shows that they form a mere house of cards. No prudent reader will find the slightest hint of the entrance of 'Alā-ud-Dīn into the fortress for the purpose of friendly negotiations in the two sentences of Khusrau quoted above. It is evident from the record that 'Alā-ud-Dīn entered the fortress as a conqueror and not as a friend. It is surprising that Dr. Mathur should derive any hint to the contrary from these sentences. All doubts can easily be removed by the next statement of Khusrau himself, when he says that "the Rāi (was) struck with the lightning of the Emperor's wrath and burnt from hand to foot"[2]. These lines are mentioned just after the second sentence, "It was the rainy season..." quoted by Dr. Mathur. An unfriendly critic

---

1. IHQ, vol.27, pp.59-61.

2. JIH, vol.8, p.371.

might suggest that he deliberately fails to quote these lines because they would tend to disprove his weak conjecture. If 'Alā-ud-Dīn entered the fortress for friendly negotiations, there was no reason for the Rāi to fear his wrath. But Khusrau distinctly records that the Rāi became frightened and ran towards the Imperial pavilion. If Khusrau had the slightest intention of recording 'Alā-ud-Dīn's peaceful entrance into the fortress, he would not have made such a contradictory statement.

Dr. Mathur is also unconvincing when he finds a reference in the lines of Khusrau, "It was the rainy season when the white cloud of the ruler of land and sea appeared on the summit of this high hill", evidence that 'Alā-ud-Dīn entered the fortress even before its conquest. We do not find any inconsistency between Khusrau's date 11 Muḥarram, A.H.703 as that of 'Alā-ud-Dīn's conquest of Chitor and his entrance into the fortress and his statement that "It was the rainy season". The date recorded by Khusrau falls on 26 August, 1303[1]. In India the month of August falls in the rainy season and thus Khusrau is here perfectly right. Hence this conjecture does not stand. Dr.

1.Hodivala's Studies in Indo-Muslim History, vol.1, p.250.

Mathur's next conjecture that Khusrau's reference to the entrance of 'Alā-ud-Dīn before recording his fight with Ratnasiṁha is a conclusive proof that 'Alā-ud-Dīn entered into the fortress for friendly negotiations, is also baseless and illogical. It is most unreasonable to expect a rigid chronological sequence in the sentences of an author writing in a flowery highly sophisticated literary style a text intended rather for aesthetic pleasure than for conveying historical information. In general, however, Amīr Khusrau records events in chronological succession and he treats of important events in considerable detail. If he records the entry of 'Alā-ud-Dīn first and the surrender of Ratnasiṁha afterwards, there is no inconsistency at all. It is quite natural that 'Alā-ud-Dīn first defeated the Rajputs who were defending the fortress and, after finding a way to enter it, he proceeded to the citadel and then captured Ratnasiṁha, who fled to the Imperial pavilion and then surrendered as Khusrau states. In this connection also Dr. Mathur gives wrong information. He says that Khusrau gives the above mentioned sentences first and then records the fight with the Rāi and his subsequent defeat and surrender.

But actually the case is not so.

Khusrau at first records the fight of the Muslim army with the Rajputs and says that "For two months the flood of the swords went up to the waist of the hill but could not rise any higher". Only after briefly dealing with the fighting Khusrau records the entrance of 'Alā-ud-Dīn in the fortress with the sentence mentioned[1]. Even if Dr.Mathur implies only that Khusrau has recorded the above quoted sentences before mentioning the direct fight of 'Alā-ud-Dīn with the Rāi and his subsequent defeat and surrender, in that case also he is obviously wrong. Khusrau gives no record of either 'Alā-ud-Dīn or the Rāi actually taking part in the fighting, or of the defeat of the latter in battle. No fighting of any description is recorded by Khusrau after the entry of 'Alā-ud-Dīn into the fortress, except for the statement that after the conquest 'Alā-ud-Dīn ordered a general massacre and ultimately 30,000 Hindus were slain in one day. But this general massacre cannot be taken as a general fight with the Rajputs. 'Alā-ud-Dīn must have entered the fortress after winning a great victory, for it would not have been possible for him to do so when the

---

1. JIH, vol.8, p.369 ff; see also Elliot, vol.3, p.76 ff.

struggle was in progress.

Dr. Mathur further thinks that Khusrau's failure to record the other details of the defeat and arrest of the Rāi suggests that the Sultan's success was due to treachery. But it is evident from the Khazā'in-ul-Futūḥ that Khusrau clearly implies the military defeat of the Rāi when he records his fear and ultimate submission. The Rāi's taking refuge in the Imperial pavilion and then 'Alā-ud-Dīn's showing mercy on him can only be taken to mean that the Rāi was defeated. There could be no clearer indications than this that 'Alā-ud-Dīn gained the victory. Thus Dr. Mathur's statement that he does not find any details of the Rāi's defeat and arrest in Khusrau's work is misleading. If by his "other details" he means to convey the idea that Khusrau has not written a voluminous work on the conquest of Chitor by 'Alā-ud-Dīn, this would be certainly a baseless criticism. Though it is true that Khusrau intentionally ignored the brutal assasination of the Sultan Jalāl-ud-Dīn and other important events, which were discreditable to 'Alā-ud-Dīn, it is wrong to infer, without any stronger support, that Khusrau invariably did this. It seems over sophisticated to

suggest that Khusrau intentionally recorded the exact date of the conquest of Chitor so that 'Alā-ud-Dīn should not get any hint of the real intention of Khusrau in writing the crucial lines quoted by Dr. Mathur. It is evident that 'Alā-ud-Dīn was not a fool, but a very clever statesman and master of all the arts of polity, including treachery. If Dr. Mathur detects hints of treachery in the work of Khusrau there is every reason to believe that 'Alā-ud-Dīn would also have detected them. On the whole it seems that Dr. Mathur is simply trying to prove the story of the later Rajput bards, who were just as partial to Ratnasiṁha as Amīr Khusrau was to 'Alā-ud-Dīn, and whose statements in so many cases have been conclusively disproved.

It seems most unconvincing that 'Alā-ud-Dīn, who was very clever and alert in his administration and politics, should have entered the fortress for friendly negotiations, especially on an occasion when there was tention between him and the Rajputs. We do not believe that he would have dared to jeopardize his life, even though the Rajputs were supposed to be most generous and trustworthy towards their friends and guests. We find

no reason to believe that 'Alā-ud-Dīn needed to play an act of treachery on Ratnasiṁha. It is needless to say that 'Alā-ud-Dīn was far more powerful and skilled in war and politics than was Ratnasiṁha. Hence he was in a position to defeat the ruler of Chitor in direct battle rather than to take recourse to treachery.

Dr. Mathur claims in his support that treacherous tactics was a common practice adopted by 'Alā-ud-Dīn in conquering territories, and gives the example of the Hammīra-mahākāvya, where 'Alā-ud-Dīn is said to have adopted the same policy to sack the fortress of Ranthambhor, though this late work cannot be decisively regarded as a record of wholly true historical facts. Dr. Mathur himself accepts that the mirror episode is unhistorical and is a creation of Jāyasī. Hence there remains no probability at all of the entrance of 'Alā-ud-Dīn in the fortress for friendly negotiations, and Dr. Mathur's conjecture does not stand when we critically examine it. Thus the only probability in our opinion is that Ratnasiṁha somehow or other was captured while fighting with the Muslim army.

We have seen that Khusrau has simply recorded the arrest of Ratnasiṁha, but not his death. The

death or slaying of this Guhila prince is also ignored by Baranī and 'Isāmī, who were the nearest contemporaries of 'Alā-ud-Dīn. Though Jāyasī[1], Abul Faẓl[2] and Firishta[3] record the two expeditions of 'Alā-ud-Dīn against Chitor, they distinctly state that Ratnasiṁha was captured alive in the first expedition and was confined in jail. Hence most sources, contemporary as well as late, agree that Ratnasiṁha survived and was made captive by 'Alā-ud-Dīn and we have no positive evidence to contradict this view.

Since the discovery of the Kumbhalgarh inscription of Rānā Kumbha, dated A.D.1460 (V.S.1517)[4], scholars are not unanimous with respect to the last phase of Ratnasiṁha's life. The importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it is the earliest Hindu record to throw some light on the sack of Chitor by 'Alā-ud-Dīn and its subsequent result. This epigraph states that Samarasiṁha went to heaven after appointing his son Ratnasiṁha as the protector of the fort of Chitor. After him Lakṣmaṇasiṁha bravely defended the fortress at the time of the Muslim attack and died with his seven sons[5]. Verse 177 of this

---

1.Padmāvat, ed.by V.S.Agrawala, pp.624-32, Nos.574-580.
2.Ā'īn-i-Akbarī, tr.by Jarrett, vol.2, p.269.
3.Briggs, vol.1, pp.362-63.
4.EI, vol.24, p.304 ff.
5.Ibid, p.328, vs.176-79.

inscription has aroused controversy and leads scholars to interpret it in various ways. This verse runs as follows:

Ṣuṁ(Khuṁ)māṇa-vaṁśa-khalu-Lakṣmasiṁhas-tasmin-[Ratnasiṁha gate-durga-varaṁ-rarakṣa.

Kulasthi(tim)-kāpurūṣair-vimuktāṁ-na-jātu-dhīrāḥ (puruṣās-tyajaṁti).

Translation : "After his(Ratnasiṁha) departure or death, the great fort was protected by Lakṣmaṇasiṁha of the Khummāṇa dyansty. By cowards the prestige of a family is given up, but brave men do not abandon it".

The most notable difference of opinion lies in the interpretation of the words tasmin-gate. S.C.Dutta[1] takes it literally as "after he had gone", and not "after he had died". According to him this epigraph uses the clause "departed for heaven" to indicate the death of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha, hence the composer of this inscription would have used the same clause if he had intended to express the death of Ratnasiṁha. Thus he has tried to prove that the words under review must be taken to mean "after he had gone", though he himself accepts that in inscriptions, the verb gam used in the sense of "die" is not uncommon. Holding this opinion

---

1. IHQ, vol.7, p.293.

he has finally rejected the views of Ojha[1], Halder[2] and Qanungo[3], who admit the words to mean "after his death". A.K.Vyas, following S.C.Dutta, has also tried to refute the view of Ojha on the same ground. He, while editing this inscription, has expressed the view that Ojha is completely wrong in saying that Ratnasiṁha died while fighting bravely in the battlefield. Taking into account the words tasmin-gate and kāpurūṣair-vimuktāṁ of the above verse, he maintains that Ratnasiṁha fled from the battlefield in a cowardly manner[4]. But the general editor of Epigraphia Indica has rightly rejected the view of Vyas. He says that this interpretation is far-fetched, because gate may mean "having died"[5]. Actually gata has both meanings. It can be used to mean "gone" or"gone away", as well as "departed from the world" or"deceased"[6]. A close study of the present verse shows that it is impossible to adopt here any certain meaning of the word gate. It can well mean here either "gone away" or "departed from the world". Hence to adopt a definite view on the basis of this single verse is wrong. Amīr

---

1.HR, vol.1, p.484.
2.IA, vol.59, p.236.
3.SRH, p.2.
4.EI, vol.24, pp.313-14.
5.Ibid, p.314, fn.1.
6.Monier Williams's Dictionary, 1899, pt.1, p.347.

Khusrau's statement may contain a suggestion of the flight of the Rāi or Ratnasiṁha, but we cannot reconcile his statement with this inscription, as the wording of the relevant part of the latter is very vague. As far as the interpretation of the words kāpurūṣair-vimuktāṁ referred to by Vyas is concerned, it is unjustifiable to connect tasmin-gate with kāpurūṣair-vimuktāṁ. Kāpurūṣair-vimuktāṁ-na-jātu-dhīrāḥ-purūṣās-tyajaṁti occurs as a general maxim and may be applied to Lakṣmaṇasiṁha, who bravely defended the fortress and lost his life with his seven sons. Thus it is wrong to take these words as a conclusive proof that Ratnasiṁha fled in a cowardly manner from the battlefield. We have considerable doubt in taking the word gate as meaning "fled away", though it certainly may mean "gone away". the difference between these two meanings is obvious. But Vyas is inclined to take this word as meaning "fled away"[1] and in our opinion he is wrong.

According to Jāyasī Ratnasen, being released from the confinement of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, returned to Chitor. When he came to know that during his confinement Devapāl the king of Kumbhalner(Kumbhalgarh), who was an

---

1.EI, vol.24, p.313.

enemy of Ratnasen, had tried to humiliate the honour and chastity of Padminī, he attacked Kumbhalner. Devapāl was slain on the battlefield, but Ratnasen received a fatal wound in his navel[1]. But this story of Jāyasī is undoubtedly a creation of the imagination, far from the historical truth, because during that time Kumbhalgarh was not even inhabited[2]. Thus the question of the identification of Devapāl is immaterial. Abul Faẓl records that Ratnasiṁha, distressed by the continuous attacks of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, went to see him at a distance of 14 miles from the fortress, thinking that his interview with the Sultan might result in an alliance, and thus peace might be established. But he was treacherously slain there[3]. This statement of Abul Faẓl does not satisfy us, because it seems unconvincing that Ratnasiṁha should have thus gone to meet 'Alā-ud-Dīn, who had been very fierce and ruthless in his attack on him.

It seems that Abul Faẓl has intentionally added a further story to make his statement more interesting. Firishta keeps silence about the last phase of Ratnasiṁha's career. Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, the author of the Chitāi-carita, wrote this work in A.D.1526 (V.S.1583), even 15 years before

---

1. Padmāvat, ed.by V.S.Agrawala, pp.707-708, Nos.646-647.
2. HR, vol.1, p.491 and 341.
3. Ā'īn-i-Akbarī, tr.by Jarrett, vol.2, p.270.

the Padmāvat of Jāyasī. He too records that Ratnasen was captured by 'Alā-ud-Dīn, but was afterwards rescued by Bādal[1]. But he also fails to record the death of Ratnasiṁha. Hence it seems impossible definitely to trace the fate of Ratnasiṁha. The earlier writers, as we have seen, do not give any clear information. Later writers mostly say that he was rescued and met his death at Chitor. Thus the answer to our query lies in whether Ratnasiṁha was actually rescued from the captivity of 'Alā-ud-Dīn or not.

WAS RATNASIṀHA ACTUALLY RESCUED? : We have seen in the preceding pages that Ratnasiṁha was actually captured by 'Alā-ud-Dīn, and in this respect we accept Khusrau. But his silence on the question of the death of Ratnasiṁha creates much controversy and scholars have expressed various views. Dr. M.L.Mathur, solely relying on the local annals and later works, states that Ratnasiṁha was actually rescued from confinement[2]. He finds an indirect reference to the rescue of Ratnasiṁha in the account of Khusrau. In his first argument he states, laying much stress on the silence of Khusrau, that Khusrau very wisely hints at the rescue of the Rāi, which can be well detected from the mere silence of the

---

1.JOIB, vol.12, No.2, p.182.

2.IHQ, vol.27, p.61 ff.

author. Khusrau knowingly omitted to record these events, which were enough to blacken the fair name of his lord. It is very surprising to Dr. Mathur that Khusrau has recorded the arrest and submission of the Rāi but kept complete silence on his death or liberation. Hence the local annals and the later writers are correct in stating the fact that Ratnasiṁha was liberated by Gorā, Bādal and other brave Rajputs, and this romantic story of the escape of Ratnasiṁha has some historical value. But it is very unreasonable to agree with Dr. Mathur, who fails to give stronger arguments or a single piece of reliable evidence in support of his conjecture.

It is true that in the works of Khusrau we should not expect the record of an uncreditable event which goes against the fair name of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, but at the same time it is most unreasonable to derive any definite conclusion from the mere silence of this famous author without any stronger support. Though it is not correct to say that Baranī, 'Isāmī and the other near-contemporary historians have filled all the gaps which were knowingly left blank by Khusrau, it is evident that important events

have also been recorded by these contemporary historians. The romantic rescue of Ratnasiṁha from the mighty yoke of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, the most powerful monarch of the time, would not have been looked on as an unimportant or negligible event, which could have escaped the pen of near-contemporary historians like Baranī and 'Isāmī. These writers were completely free to record anything, whether creditable or discreditable to 'Alā-ud-Dīn, and they would have probably recorded this thrilling event if they had heard of it. But for the first time we clearly hear of the romantic rescue of Ratnasiṁha in the Padmāvat of Jāyasī, a work of A.D.1540, though a short reference can also be had from the Chitāi-carita of Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, a work of A.D.1526, at least fourteen years before that of Jāyasī[1]. Hence it is most unreasonable to rely on a work which records an event 237 years old, when earlier sources are quite silent about it.

Against this criticism Dr. Mathur has recourse to say that Jāyasī got this story from traditions, which had existed from time immemorial and Firishta, who also recorded this event, got his information from other traditions, independently of Jāyasī. These arguments are

---

1. JOIB, vol.12, No.2, p.182.

merely for argument's sake. Firishta wrote his work apparently about 72 years after the Padmāvat of Jāyasī. Before Firishta, Ḥusain Ghaznavī wrote the Qiṣṣā-i-Padmāvat , a poem in Persian[1]. Thus the story of the Padmāvat was already famous before Firishta and it is most reasonable to suggest that Firishta borrowed his information from Jāyasī and others and retold the story of the rescue of Ratnasiṁha with certain variations. Hence Dr. Mathur's conjecture is unconvincing. In short he believes in the saying that where so much has been said, something must be true, though history does not recognize this as a principle of criticism. It is not surprising that Khusrau has not recorded the death of Ratnasiṁha or his last whereabouts. It can be well gathered from the lines of Khusrau that the Rāi was made prisoner, and a prisoner's life is not veiled. The main purpose of Khusrau was to record the conquest of Chitor, and he did this very poetically. Hence it is wrong to conclude anything from the mere silemce of Khusrau, without any other reliable corroboration.

Dr. Mathur finds a further proof of Ratnasiṁha's liberation in the lines of Khusrau : "On the

---

1. SRH, p.8, fn.

day the yellow faced Rāi sought refuge in the red canopy from fear of the green swords, the great Emperor was still crimson with rage. But when he saw the vegetarian Rāi trembling with fear, like the trampled and withered grass under the Imperial tent, though the Rāi was a rebel, yet the breeze of royal mercy did not allow any hot wind to blow upon him. All the storm of the Emperor's wrath vented itself against the other rebels. He ordered that wherever a green Hindū was found, he was to be cut down like dry grass. Owing to this stern order, thirty thousand Hindūs were slain in one day"[1]. According to Dr. Mathur these lines indicate that even after the surrender of Ratnasiṁha the struggle did not end, and 'Alā-ud-Dīn was forced to renew his fight against the Rajputs, who conspired to liberate the Rāi and treacherously rescued him. This treachery against the Sultan enraged him so much that he ordered a general massacre of the Hindus. In short Dr. Mathur believes that the liberation of Ratnasiṁha was the main cause of the stern order for the general massacre. But we do not find any such hint in these lines. It should be strictly noted that 'Alā-ud-Dīn ordered this massacre, if the account is true, after conquering or

---

1. JIH, vol.8, p.371.

entering the fortress, as is clear from the statement of Khusrau. Hence the question does not arise of 'Alā-ud-Dīn's ordering a fresh attack only after being enraged by the escape of Ratnasiṁha. Though Khusrau's statement is probably not free from exaggeration, it is not surprising that a brutal Muslim invader like 'Alā-ud-Dīn should order a general massacre of the Hindus who boldly resisted his attack. One can well gather from the statement of Abul Faẓl in his Akbarnāmā that he doubted the account of Khusrau in respect of the number of 30,000 Hindus, who are said to have been slain in the sack of Chitor by 'Alā-ud-Dīn[1].

Moreover the words of Khusrau that "the great Emperor was still crimson with rage" do not imply that it was because of the escape of Ratnasiṁha and it is most unreasonable to base any theory on such vague terms. Common sense does not allow us to accept that Ratnasiṁha could easily have escaped from the mighty clutches of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, who was well versed in administration and war. It is impossible to accept the fantastic story that Ratnasiṁha was rescued by the help of litters, and there is no excuse for a modern historian to insist that such a romantic story is

---

1.Tr.by Beveridge, Bib.Ind, vol.2, p.475.

historically accurate. In our opinion these fictions are nothing but the creation of later bards, who fabricated such stories to show the outstanding features of the Rajputs, especially of Gorā, Bādal and others, who no doubt would have sacrificed their lives in the cause of the defence of Chitor. The use of litters in military strategy is also said to have been adopted by Sher Shāh, who took Rohtas thus in A.D.1538[1]. This may have given a new idea to Jāyasī, who fabricated the story of Ratnasiṁha's rescue accordingly. Thus out of the traditions surrounding the sack of Chitor by 'Alā-ud-Dīn, the only fact that we can accept is that Ratnasiṁha, while he was fighting with his army, somehow or other was overpowered by 'Alā-ud-Dīn and died in the confinement of the Muslim ruler. We are not in a position to accept the stories of the later writers such as Jāyasī, Abul Faẓl, Firishta and others, who recorded the escape of Ratnasiṁha in such a romantic manner that in itself it seems to be unhistorical and unconvincing. In the absence of any knowledge of actual history, bards and others created such fictions, which were later on accepted as historical truth.

We also find the name of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha always connected with the story of the sack of Chitor. Tod

---

1. Qanungo's Sher Shah, 1921, p.147 ff.

has recorded a story about the death of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha and his eleven sons, who all perished in the fight with 'Alā-ud-Dīn. Only one remained as the last representative of his family[1]. But in the same story quoted by Dr. Mathur[2], only seven sons of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha are said to have died in this battle. Dr. Mathur has here again failed to give any reference to the work from which he obtained this fiction. It appears that he amends the bardic story in the light of the Kumbhalgarh inscription dated A.D.1460 (V.S.1517)[3], which states that Lakṣmaṇasiṁha died with his seven sons while defending the fortress of Chitor from the Muslim invasion. Naiṇsī also records the name of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha and his twelve sons as the defenders of Chitor[4]. All these statements suggest that Lakṣmaṇasiṁha, a feudatory of Sesoda and remotely related to Ratnasiṁha, died fighting with his sons in defending Chitor.

DOES KHUSRAU CONVEY VEILED INFORMATION ABOUT PADMINĪ ?

The historicity of Padminī and her actual connection with the prevalent legends have remained a bone of contention amongst scholars. The contemporary and the

---

1. AR, vol.1, p.309 ff.
2. IHQ, vol.27, p.66 ff.
3. EI, vol.24, p.328, vs.177-79.
4. Khyata, text pp.25-26; see also tr., p.21.

near-contemporary Muslim historians have failed to throw any light which may help us to determine the historicity of Padminī. Amīr Khusrau, the poet-laureate of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, might have been expected to give a description of Padminī, but he fails to do so. The same is the case with Baranī and 'Isāmī. But scholars such as Professor Habib[1] and following him S.C.Dutta[2], Dr.A.L.Srivastava[3] and Dr. M.L.Mathur[4], find a clear allusion to the account of Padminī in the work of Amīr Khusrau, and according to them the later writers, who recorded the traditions and legends prevalent during their times, are correct at least in respect of 'Alā-ud-Dīn's demand for the surrender of Padminī. Khusrau in his Khazā'īn-ul-Futūḥ gives the following analogical allusions, which are the actual bone of contention: "Every warrior, as he raised the stone with his strength, made his hand a pillar for the hill that had no pillars. The army of Solomon dealt strokes, like those of David, on the fort that reminded them of Seba. On Monday, 11 Muharram, A.H.703 (26 August, A.D.1303) the Solomon of the age ('Alā-ud-Dīn), seated on his aerial throne, went into the fort, to which birds were unable to fly. The servant (Amīr Khusrau), who is the bird of this

---

1.JIH, vol.8, p.371, fn.1.
2.IHQ, vol.7, pp.297-98.
3.The Sultanate of Delhi, Third ed., 1959, pp.168-69.
4.IHQ, vol.27, p.58 ff.

Solomon, was also with him. They cried, 'Hudhud! Hudhud!' repeatedly. But I would not return; for I feared Sultan's wrath in case he enquired, 'How is it I see not Hudhud, or is he one of the absentees ?', And what would be my excuse for my absence if he asked, Bring to me a clear plea ?' If the Emperor says in his anger, 'I will chastise him, how can the poor bird have strength enough to bear it ?"[1],

The bird Hudhud (hoopoe) has been taken by Professor Habib as the mythical bird Hudhud of the king Solomon, who is said to have led an expedition with a vast following including soldiers, animals and birds. The Qur'ān[2] informs us that while Solomon encamped near a desert, he found that the Hudhud was missing. In great anger he announced that he would punish that bird severly unless the Hudhud could give a satisfactory explanation of the cause of his absence. The bird immediately appeared before Solomon and told him that he had been at Seba, where he saw its queen named Bilqīs, who, with her subjects, was a worshiper of the sun. Hearing this, Solomon immediately sent the bird to Seba, giving him a letter for the queen, demanding her personal submission. In the Khazā'īn-ul-Futūḥ, as cited above, Khusrau

---

1. JIH, vol.8, pp.370-71.
2. Qur'ān, chapter 22, sec.2; see tr.by R.Bell, 1939, vol.2, p.365 ff, Nos.20-45.

presents himself as the bird Hudhud and 'Alā-ud-Dīn as Solomon and quotes the similar statements of Solomon as referred to in the Qur'ān. Professor Habib is inclined to think that these allusions in Khusrau's work are apparently an indication of the traditional story that 'Alā-ud-Dīn demanded the personal submission of the beautiful Padminī[1].

On the style and descriptive methods of Khusrau, Elliot has rightly remarked that all his descriptions are "series of fanciful analogies" and sometimes it is really very difficult to get solid information from his allusions, which are found in large numbers[2]. However, in the present context, it is true that Amīr Khusrau, the most important authority on the history of 'Alā-ud-Dīn's various conquests, apparently wants to convey some historical information by the simile of Solomon's conquest of Seba, but not in the sense that the supporters of the Padminī legend suggest. Even from the context it is clear that Khusrau never intended to convey any idea of the Padminī legend. Scholars have failed to observe one very important line of the Khazā'īn-ul-Futūḥ, where Khusrau asks:"what would be my excuse for my absence if he ('Alā-ud-Dīn) asked, 'Bring to me a clear plea'?" This

---

1. JIH, vol.8, p.371, fn.1.
2. Elliot, vol.3, p.67 ff.

obviously shows that Khusrau had nothing to convey to 'Alā-ud-Dīn, unlike the bird Hudhud, which brought news of the submission of Bilqīs to Solomon. Amīr Khusrau's intentions in these phrases are far from clear. It would seem that in some way he offended his master 'Alā-ud-Dīn. But it is completely wrong to say that in this text Khusrau has conveyed veiled information about Padminī. We wholly agree with Professor Wahid Mirza, who also finds no veiled hint of the Padminī legend in the Khazā'īn-ul-Futūḥ or other works of Khusrau[1]. In the present state of our knowledge we are inclined to think that the Padminī legend was not in existence during the time of Khusrau. Had it been in existence, Khusrau would have surely incorporated it in his history, as he did in the case of the story of Deval Rānī, the daughter of the Bāghelā prince Karṇa. The argument that Khusrau should not be expected to record the unsuccessful attempt of 'Alā-ud-Dīn to obtain Padminī, can also be easily be refuted on the grounds that if such a romantic and thrilling event had occured, Baranī and 'Isāmī, the nearest contemporaries, would certainly have recorded it in their works. If the legend was true, what

---

1. SRH, p.6, fn.1. Dr. R.Islam of the Department of History, SOAS, is also of the same opinion. He suggests that it is impossible to get any veiled information of the Padminī legend from this work of Khusrau.

would have been a more interesting and sensational topic for Baranī and 'Isāmī to record, who had neither anything to fear from 'Alā-ud-Dīn nor any other reason to hide the story? Thus it is most reasonable to conclude that the Padminī legend was not known at least upto the end of the fifteenth century.

WAS PADMINĪ A WOMAN OF FLESH AND BLOOD ?

Scholars such as Dr.K.R.Qanungo[1] and Dr.K.S. Lal[2] after examining various sources on the Padminī episode have come to the conclusion that the Padminī legend was a concoction of Jāyasī, though Dr. Lal in his concluding paragraph tentatively suggests that Padminī was a wife of Ratnasiṁha, Dr. Qanungo totally rejects even the existence of Padminī. It is true that after the Padmāvat of Jāyasī the Padminī legend spread so widely that a number of independent works on the subject were devoted to it by various writers[3]. But the view of Dr. Qanungo and Dr. Lal that the Padminī

---

1. SRH, p.1 ff; see also Pravāsī, Phalgun, B.S.1337 (A.D.1930) vol.30, pt.2, p.653 ff.
2. ABNUHS, No.1, Oct,1946, p.64 ff.
3. Among unpublished versions of the legend is one MS. written in Deccani verse in Persian script. This MS. is probably a work of the first half of the seventeenth century and is preserved in the British Museum,No.Add. 16880.

legend is a mere creation of Jāyasī and before Jāyasī's Padmāvat no works in any language were written on it cannot now stand. That the legend was well known even before Jāyasī's Padmāvat can be proved on the authority of Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, who wrote the Chitāī-carita in A.D.1526 (V.S.1583) apparently 14 years before Jāyasī. The following couplets of the Chitāī-carita make it clear that he knew a story telling how 'Alā-ud-Dīn was very desirous to get hold of Padminī:

Dhasī saumrasī desāntari gayo| ati dhokhau mere jiya bhayo||
Ranthambhor Deval lagi gayo| mero kāj na ekau bhayo||
ium bolai Dhīlī kau dhanī | mai Chitaur suni Padminī||
bāndhyau Ratansen maim jāi| laigau Bādil tāim chuḍāi||

Translation: "Saumrasī has got out and gone to some other part of the country. This has greatly upset me. I went to Ranthambhor for the sake of Dewal. But I had no success. Speaking like this the wealthy man (lord) of Delhi ('Alā-ud-Dīn) said, "I heard of Padminī at Chitor. I went and captured Ratnasen, but he was rescued by Bādal" '[1].

The above couplets distinctly show that Jāyasī was not the creator of the Padminī legend, but that it was prevalent even before him and he borrowed it from

---

1. JOIB, vol.12, No.2, p.182. Italics are mine.

traditions of his time. But even the Chitāī-carita is more then two hundred years late and cannot be regarded as a source book of historical facts. Dr. D.Sharma, basing his conjecture solely on this work as well as other traditions, concludes that Padminī was a historical figure and the legends that she was coveted by 'Alā-ud-Dīn and that her husband Ratnasiṁha was rescued by Gora and Bādal are correct[1]. We may agree with Dr. Sharma's first statement that Padminī was a historical figure, since it is hardly likely that her very name would be the invention of the bards. But Dr. Sharma's second statement is very doubtful indeed, as we have seen above. It is true that Padminī is known from the literature of the sixteenth century or from the later traditions, but it is remarkable that a palace as well as a tank, which are still in existence, are called in Rajasthan the palace and tank of Padminī[2]. The architecture and condition of this palace confirm that it must have been built during the thirteenth century, otherwise we have no contemporary evidence to prove her historicity.

A question may arise why this legend got such widespread popularity during the later period if it had

---

1.JOIB, vol.12, No.2, p.182.

2.HR, vol.1, p.353 and 486; see our pl. I, p. 434

no basic foundation ? We may suggest that it was due to a belief prevalent in the later period that 'Alā-ud-Dīn was a man of lustful desire and most of his conquests were followed by taking or demanding the surrender of Hindu princesses. The 'Āshiqa or Diwalrānī wa Khiẓr Khān of Amīr Khusrau created this belief. Here Ulugh Khān, the younger brother of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, is said to have captured Kamlādevī, the wife of prince Karṇa, during his expedition to Gujarat and 'Alā-ud-Dīn kept her in his harem. Later on Deval, who escaped in this conquest and who was the daughter of Karṇa and a mere child, was also captured and brought to Delhi, when her mother requested 'Alā-ud-Dīn to bring her. Deval was given in marriage to Khiẓr Khān, the son of 'Alā-ud-Dīn[1]. This general belief in the desire of the Sultan for Rajput princesses was again cemented by the Hammīra-mahākāvya of Nayacandra, a work of about the end of the fourteenth century, where 'Alā-ud-Dīn is said to have demanded the surrender of Deval, the daughter of the Cāhamāna Hammīra of Ranthambhor[2]. It seems most likely that these earlier works laid the foundation of the idea that the causes of 'Alā-ud-Dīn's conquests were mainly based on his lustful desire to obtain

---

1. The Life and Works of Amir Khusrau by M.W.Mirza, p.179 ff; also Hazrat Amir Khusrau of Delhi by M.Habib, p.53 ff.

2. Ed.by Kirtane, p.119, canto XIII, vs.106-109; see also Introduction, p.38 and 44 ff.

beautiful princesses and hence later writers fabricated the story of the Padminī legend accordingly.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF PADMINĪ TO RATNASIṂHA : This question was first raised by Tod, who wrongly stated that Padminī was a wife of Bhīmasiṁha of Sesoda[1]. Tod cannot be blamed here because there was great paucity of historical materials when he was writing his Annals. But there is no excuse for Dr.D.C. Ganguly who thinks that Padminī was a daughter of Ratnasiṁha and was given in marriage to Lakṣmaṇasiṁha of the Sesoda branch[2]. If Padminī was a daughter of Ratnasiṁha, her marriage with Lakṣmaṇasiṁha was impossible, because they descended from one common stock and, according to the rigid custom which was certainly prevalent at the time under review, this type of marriage was against the rule of the society. It seems that Dr. Ganguly has based his conjecture on the wrong report of G.H.Ojha, who states that in the Rājapraśasti-mahākāvya of Raṇachoḍa Bhaṭṭa Tailanga, Padminī is referred to as the wife of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha[3]. But the recent publication of the same work, which is inscribed on 25 big slabs of stone, reveals the truth. In this epigraph Padminī is referred to as the wife of Ratnasiṁha and the latter is said to be a

---

1.AR, vol.1, p.307 ff.
2.The Struggle for Empire, Bh.V.Bh, vol.5, p.91.
3.ARRMA, 1917-18, No.9, p.3.

younger brother of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha[1]. Moreover, Dr. Ganguly states that Lakṣmaṇasiṁha was quite old, as he had many sons (at least seven according to the Kumbhalgarh inscription). Then how could a young princess like Padminī be married to Lakṣmaṇasiṁha, who was only a feudatory chief owing allegiance to Ratnasiṁha, and why should 'Alā-ud-Dīn have demanded the surrender of Padminī by Ratnasiṁha, if Padminī was given in marriage to Lakṣmaṇasiṁha ? We have no positive evidence that Lakṣmaṇasiṁha had more than one wife and if we accept for the moment that Padminī was married to Lakṣmaṇasiṁha, it would thus suggest that all the seven sons, who died in the defence of Chitor, were born from Padminī. Then why should 'Alā-ud-Dīn have demanded an old woman like Padminī ? These difficulties are left undecided by Dr. Ganguly, who, with the support of Firishta, accepts all these legends as a historical fact, despite the silence of Amīr Khusrau[2].

In fact the problem of the relationship of Ratnasiṁha and Padminī arose because of a wrong translation of Firishta. John Briggs wrongly translated the relevant

---

1. EI, vol.29, Appendix, p.16, slab 5, canto IV, v.4.
2. The Struggle for Empire, Bh.V.Bh, vol.5, p.91. It is stated there that the Sesoda branch was founded by Rāhapa, who was the son of Ratnasiṁha alias Karṇa. This is apparently a printer's mistake.

passage to read that 'Alā-ud-Dīn demanded the surrender of the daughter of Ratnasiṁha, though the text edited by him does not say so[1]. At the same time Briggs does not refer to the name of Padminī, who is distinctly mentioned in the Persian text: darmiyān-i-zanān-i-Rājā-i-Chitor zan-e-ast Padmanī nām[2], 'Among the wives (zanān) of the Rājā of Chitor, there was a wife (zan) by the name of Padminī'. Zan, like the Sanskrit strī, can mean either 'wife' or 'woman'. In a sentence like this it must mean 'wife' in both cases. The text also says that the surrender of Padminī was demanded by 'Alā-ud-Dīn. But the plan to rescue Ratnasiṁha from the confinement of 'Alā-ud-Dīn was actually made by Ratnasiṁha's daughter, who according to Firishta was famous for her intelligence. This wrong translation of Briggs led various scholars including Ojha[3], R.R.Halder[4], Dr.D.C.Ganguly[5], Dr. Qanungo[6] and others to draw a wrong conclusion. Dr. Qanungo goes so far as to say that the name of Padminī, either as a wife or as a daughter, is never mentioned by Firishta[7], which shows that he has not consulted the Persian text. A

1.Translation, vol.1, p.362; text, vol.1, p.201,Bombay,1831.
2.Firishta, Nawal Kishor Press, Lucknow, 1864, vol.1, p.115; see also ed.by Briggs, vol.1, p.201.
3.HR, vol.1, p.492.
4.IA, vol.59, p.235.
5.The Struggle for Empire, Bh.V.Bh, vol.5, p.91.
6.SRH, p.8 ff.
7.Ibid, p.9.

correct translation of the relevant part of the statement of Firishta was made by Professor Habib, while translating the Khazā'īn-ul-Futūḥ of Amīr Khusrau[1]. Though Dr. Qanungo notices Professor Habib's translation[2], he fails to refer to it and relies on the translation of Briggs. In this connection a further piece of wrong information has been given by the scholars mentioned, as well as by Dr. K.S.Lal[3]. According to them Firishta records that Ratnasiṁha accepted the proposal of 'Alā-ud-Dīn that he should send Padminī to him and instructed his family that Padminī should be sent. The relatives of Ratnasiṁha were shocked at this news and thought of a plan to give poison to Padminī (believed by the scholars concerned to be Ratnasiṁha's daughter) so that the honour and prestige of the family might be saved. But in fact Firishta makes no statement about the poisoning of Padminī, and here again scholars have been misguided by the wrong translation of Briggs. The exact text of Firishta reads as follows:

> Ammā Rājpūtān-i Khwīsh-i Rājā azān paighām dilgīr gashta sar-zanish bisyār kardand wa khwāstand ki qadr-e zahr dar khurdanī karda nizd-i ū bi-farastand ki tanāwul kardah ba-'ālam-i nīstī kashad[4].

---

1. JIH, vol.8, p.372, fn.2.
2. SRH, p.5.
3. ABNUHS, No.1, Oct., 1946, p.67.
4. Firishta, Nawal Kishor Press, Lucknow, vol.1, p.115.

Translation: "But the Rājā's Rājput relatives were shocked at the message. They reproached him severely and wished to mix a little poison in some food and send it to him (the Rājā); he would take it and withdraw into the world of the dead"[1].

Thus it is obvious that according to Firishta the poisoning was proposed for the Rājā Ratnasiṁha and not for Padminī. Curiously enough, Dr. Lal has read the Persian text of the relevant part of Firishta, as it appears from his citation, but he still gives the wrong information. In this connection Dr. Lal's remark on Firishta's account is also noteworthy. He says that Firishta was himself not definite whether Padminī was a wife or a daughter of Ratnasiṁha, because in one place Firishta also writes that a daughter of the Rājā planned to rescue her father, though he does not refer to her name[2]. But we see no reason to believe that Firishta was confused. He distinctly says that there was a daughter of the Rājā and she was famous for her intelligence. Hence she thought of a plan to rescue her father. In Firishta's account two women apparently occur, Padminī, who was

---

1. JIH, vol.8, p.372, fn.

2. ABNUHS, No.1, 1946, p.69 and fn.13.

Ratnasiṁha's wife, and a daughter, whose name he does not mention. Thus there was no uncertainty at all in Firishta's mind and Dr. Lal is himself confused.

Other Muslim historians such as Abul Faẓl[1] and Hājī-ud-Dabīr[2] also say that 'Alā-ud-Dīn demanded the surrender of the wife of Ratnasiṁha. Jāyasī in his Padmāvat conveys the same information and says that Padminī was a wife of Ratnasiṁha. Thus there remains little doubt that Padminī was actually a wife of Ratnasiṁha though the legends surrounding her are unhistorical.

THE ANCESTRY OF PADMINĪ : We have seen above that the story of Padminī was not a creation of Jāyasī, but existed at least 14 years before he wrote Padmāvat, as is evident from the Chitāī-carita of Nārāyaṇa Dāsa. But there seems no doubt that the Padminī legend obtained its widespread popularity through Jāyasī's Padmāvat. Historically there are various discrepancies and inaccuracies in the account of Jāyasī, but some of them deserve our attention. The ancestry of Padminī is a question which should be decided first.

---

1. Ā'īn-i-Akbarī, tr.by Jarrett, vol.2, p.269.
2. Ẓafarul Wālih, Arabic text, ed. by Denison Ross, pp.786-88, as cited by Dr. Lal, ABNUHS, No.1, 1946, p.67 and fn.8.

According to Jāyasī Padminī was the daughter of Gandharvasen by his queen Campāvatī. Gandharvasen is represented as the king of Siṁhaladvīpa (Ceylon). But no kings of this name are known to have ruled in Ceylon, when Ratnasiṁha was ruling at Chitor. Actually Ratnasiṁha's contemporary rulers in Ceylon were either Parākramabāhu IV or Bhuvanekabāhu III[1]. The short reign of Ratnasiṁha renders it impossible that he should have gone to Ceylon to marry Padminī as Jāyasī says. Jāyasī is himself not clear about the location of Ceylon, as is evident from his statement that Siṁhala was east of Chitor[2]. All these facts show that Padminī cannot have been a princess of Ceylon. While editing the Padmāvat, R.Shukla has critically examined the historical aspects of the work and in this connection he has concluded that most probably Padminī was a princess of Rajputana or Gujarat[3]. According to G.H.Ojha Padminī was a daughter of the chief of Siṁgolī, which lies about forty miles east of Chitor. In his opinion Jāyasī may have confused the name of Siṁgolī with Siṁhala. In Tod's Annals Gorā and Bādal are said to have

---

1. Duff's Chronology, p.321.
2. Ed.by R.Shukla, KNPS, 1924, Introduction, p.214. Stories of a king of Northern India being married with a princess of Ceylon are to be found elsewhere, e.g., Kathāsaritsāgara, Book 8, chapt.120, trans.by C.H.Tawney, vol.2, p.568 ff.
3. Ibid, p.29.

been related to Padminī on her father's side[1]. Relying on this tradition, Ojha says that Gorā and Bādal were not two persons but one, and Gorā, which is a corruption of Gaura, was a dynastic name of Bādal. Hence Bādal was a Gaura Kṣatriya and in an inscription of the time of Rājamalla (Rāyamalla) dated A.D.1488 (V.S.1545)[2] Gaura Kṣatriyas are said to be brave warriors in the army of that king. Thus according to Ojha, Padminī might have been the daughter of a chief who was a Gaura Kṣatriya[3]. Ojha's conjecture is mainly based on the late tradition, as well as on the similar sounding names of Simhala and Simgoli, Gaura and Gorā. Jāyasī, who has immortalised Padminī, does not establish any relationship between her and the two warriors Gorā and Bādal. Firishta does not mention even their names[4]. Abul Faẓl[5], though he knows them by name as Cāhamāna chiefs, also fails to determine any relationship of Padminī with them. Naiṇsī also does not refer to them as the relatives of Padminī. Hence it is quite obvious that the tradition of blood relationship between Gorā, Bādal and Padminī is a very late concoction and cannot be regarded as a historical

---

1. AR, vol.1, p.307 ff.
2. Bh.I, p.121, vs.68-71.
3. HR, vol.2, Appendix, 2 & 3, pp.1441-88.
4. JIH, vol.8, p.372, fn.; see also Briggs, vol.1, pp.362-63.
5. Ā'īn-i-Akbarī, tr.by Jarrett, vol.2, pp.269-70.

fact. Hence we are not in a position to say anything definitely about the ancestry of Padminī, but it is almost certain that she was not a princess of Ceylon, though she may have been the daughter of a Rajput chief of Rajasthan.

CAUSES OF THE SACK OF CHITOR

RATNA, THE SON OF THE CĀHAMĀNA HAMMĪRA AND THE SACK OF CHITOR*

Dr.K.R.Qanungo's short work Studies in Rajput History consists of six lectures[1] on the history of Rajasthan. The first is entitled A Critical Analysis of the Padminī Legend. We disagree with Dr. Qanungo in many vital points, the most important of which is his hypothesis on the main cause of the sack of Chitor by 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khaljī. His error is linked up with his confusion about the various chiefs named Ratnasiṁha mentioned by different sources. According to Dr. Qanungo the following four Ratnasiṁhas are said to have bravely fought in defence of Mewar against the Muslim Sultan 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khaljī[2].

1. Ratnasiṁha, the son of Samarasiṁha of the Kumbhalgarh inscription[3].

---

* The substance of this section has been published as an article in JRAS, October, 1964.

(continued on the next page)

2.Ratansen (Ratnasen) of the Padmāvat of Jāyasī, represented as the son of Citrasen and the husband of Padminī[1].

3.Ratna, the son of Kṣema of the Dhundhar tribe. He was killed on the battlefield along with Bhīmasiṁha, while fighting at the foot of the fortress of Chitor[2].

4.Ratnasiṁha, the son of Hammīra, the Cāhamāna ruler of Ranthambhor. It is said that Bhaḍa Lakhamsi (Lakṣmaṇasiṁha) gave him (Ratnasiṁha) shelter at Chitor, and this was the actual cause that provoked 'Alā-ud-Dīn to attack on Chitor[3].

Ratnasiṁha, the son of Samarasiṁha of the Kumbhalgarh inscription, is no other than the Guhila ruler of Mewar of the same name, during whose reign the fortress of Chitor was sacked by 'Alā-ud-Dīn. The Dariba temple inscription of this prince dated A.D.1302 (V.S.1359)[4] as well as his coins[5] have been discovered, and there is no room to doubt this identification.

(continued from the back page), 1.R.P.Nopany Lecture Series, Calcutta University.

2.SRH, p.12 ff.

3.EI, vol.24, p.328, vs.176-77.

1.Ed.by V.S.Agrawala; also ed.by R.Shukla, KNPG, No.31,Sec.ed.

2.Chirava inscription, EI, vol.22, p.290, v.26.

3.Surajmal's Vaṁśabhaskara, II, 1686, as cited in SRH, p.13.

4.ARRMA, 1926-27, p.3, No.8.

5.JNSI, vol.20, pt.1, p.36 and pl.III , figs.17 and 18.

The next, Ratnasen, who is represented by Jāyasī as the son of Citrasen, cannot be other than the same Guhila ruler of Mewar, who was actually the son of Samarasiṁha. If Amīr Khusrau, the eye-witness of the siege of Chitor failed to mention even the name of Ratnasiṁha and if Baranī the next nearest contemporary historian repeated the same mistake, it is not surprising at all that Jāyasī, who wrote his work in A.D.1540, 237 years after the siege of Chitor[1], should give the wrong name of Ratnasiṁha's father. It would be over cautious to look on Jāyasī's Ratnasen as different from the Guhila Ratnasiṁha of Mewar. Even according to Jāyasī his Ratnasen was the king of Chitor. 'Alā-ud-Dīn invaded his territory and captured him. These two facts alone are enough to identify him with the Guhila Ratnasiṁha, the son of Samarasiṁha of Mewar because it is well known that the latter king suffered the same fate.

The third person named Ratna, referred to by Dr. Qanungo is the son of Kṣema of the Tāṁtaraḍa family. The Chirava inscription dated A.D.1273 (V.S.1330) of the time of Samarasiṁha informs us that Ratna, the son of Kṣema, who was appointed Talārakṣa of Citrakūṭa through the favour

---

1.But see SRH, p.11, where it is written 137 years. This is apparently a printer's mistake.

of Jaitrasiṁha, died fighting beside Bhīmasiṁha. This battle took place at the foot of the citadel of Chitor[1]. Surprisingly Dr. Qanungo has also counted this Ratna of the Chirava inscription as a valiant fighter of Mewar against 'Alā-ud-Dīn. No inscriptions, local annals, chronicles or other sources state that this Ratna also participated in the defence of Mewar when it was invaded by 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khaljī. Dr. Qanungo fails to give the basis of his conjecture and thereby misguides his reader. This Ratna died much before the accession of 'Alā-ud-Dīn (A.D.1296-1316), as is evident from the date (V.S.1330=A.D.1273) of the Chirava inscription. In this connection Dr. Qanungo cites a reference to the work of Ojha, but Ojha has clearly and correctly referred to the original source which tells of this Ratna[2]. The Chirava inscription, which gives the name of this Ratna, has been published twice[3], but Dr. Qanungo has not cared to consult it before writing his work.

He gives further wrong information in this connection when he states that Bhīmasiṁha, who died with Ratna, was a feudatory of Sesoda and the grandfather of

---

1. EI, vol.22, p.290, vs.22-26; also VOJ, vol.21, p.158.
2. HR, vol.1, pp.472-78.
3. First in the year 1907 in VOJ, vol.21, p.155 ff, and then in the year 1938 in EI, vol.22, p.285 ff.

Lakṣmaṇasiṁha[1], who died with his sons in the defence of Chitor. He identifies this Bhīmasiṁha of the Chirava inscription with Bhīmasiṁha of Sesoda, who in the bardic history is said to be the grandfather of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha[2]. But he again fails to give the basis of his conjecture, which goes against the epigraphic evidence. In the Chirava inscription Bhīmasiṁha is referred to as the father of Rājasiṁha[3]. But Bhīmasiṁha of Sesoda was apparently the father of Ajayasiṁha[4]. We have no evidence to prove that Bhīmasiṁha of the Chirava inscription had a second son named Ajayasiṁha, nor does any inscription or bardic record say that Rājasiṁha was also one of the sons of Bhīmasiṁha of Sesoda. Hence Dr. Qanungo's statement is misleading. This Bhīmasiṁha of the Chirava inscription may have been an officer under the Guhilas of Mewar, as his son Rājasiṁha actually held the post of Pradhāna[5].

Dr. Qanungo, basing his conjecture solely on the Vaṁśabhāskara of Surajmal (Suryamalla), states that 'Alā-ud-Dīn was enraged on hearing that Lakṣmaṇasiṁha had given shelter to the Cāhamāna Ratnasiṁha, the son of Hammīra

---

1. SRH, p.12, No.3.
2. HR, vol.1, p.522.
3. EI, vol.22, p.290, v.29.
4. Bh.I, p.114; see also HR, vol.1, p.522.
5. Verse 29 of the Chirava inscription; see also HR, vol.1, pp.472-73.

of Ranthambhor. This act, according to Dr. Qanungo, was the actual cause of the Muslim invasion of Chitor. This view is far-fetched, and the very basis of his conjecture is unreliable. It is evident that Surajmal wrote his Vaṁśabhāskara even after Tod's monumental work Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan and Surajmal's work is nothing but a mere collection of bardic tales, mostly unhistorical. Hence Ojha has rightly remarked that he was a poet and not a historian, and the events as well as the genealogical information referring to years before A.D.1527, which are recorded in this work, are mostly false and artificial, far from the historical truth[1]. Even an independent examination of the relevant information given by Surajmal shows that he is here completely wrong. He distinctly says that the Cāhamāna Ratnasiṁha was given shelter by Lakṣmaṇasiṁha, as Dr. Qanungo himself accepts[2].

Let us consider the probable date when this Ratnasiṁha would have been given shelter at Chitor. It is evident from the account of Amīr Khusrau that 'Alā-ud-Dīn invaded Ranthambhor and took it in July, A.D.1301 (3 Zil Qa'd, A.H.700)[3]. Hence if we accept Dr. Qanungo's view,

---

1. HR, vol.2, p.558, fn.2.
2. SRH, pp.13-15.
3. JIH, vol.8, p.363.

Ratnasiṁha must have taken refuge in Chitor some time before or a little after this date. During this period, no doubt, Samarasiṁha, the father of the Guhila Ratnasiṁha, was ruling at Chitor, as is evident from his Chitor inscription dated A.D.1301 (V.S.1358, Māgh Sudi 10)[1]. After Samarasiṁha, as we have seen, his son Ratnasiṁha ascended the throne and ruled upto A.D.1303 when the fortress of Chitor was invaded by 'Alā-ud-Dīn. Thus there remains no doubt that at the time of the fall of Ranthambhor Samarasiṁha was ruling over Mewar or Chitor and Lakṣmaṇasiṁha had no business to give shelter to a fugitive when he was not the master of Chitor. In what capacity Lakṣmaṇasiṁha might have given him shelter, is a question which should have been decided by Dr. Qanungo, before accepting the statement of Surajmal. But he completely fails to do so. It is obvious that 'Alā-ud-Dīn invaded Chitor during the reign of Ratnasiṁha. If it was not Samarasiṁha it must have been Ratnasiṁha as king of Chitor, who gave shelter to the Cāhamāna prince. It is almost impossible that Lakṣmaṇasiṁha would have accepted this fugitive because he had no power to do so. Hence the statement of Surajmal is almost certainly wrong. But Dr. Qanungo has accepted it

---

1. ARRMA, 1920-21, p.4, No.8.

without examining its truth. In his support Dr. Qanungo gives the statement of Jodhrāja's Hammīra-Rāso[1]. Dr. Qanungo says that, according to Jodhrāja, Hammīra sent his only surviving son Ratna to Chitor along with his most faithful commander Caturanga with five thousand soldiers, after his two other sons had already died in battle. This information is also wrong with respect to the relationship of Hammīra with these princes. Jodhrāja nowhere states that these princes were the sons of Hammīra. He simply calls them Kumāras or Rājakumāras[2], and at one place he distinctly mentions the two who died on the battlefield as the sons of Hammīra's younger brother[3]. The name of Ratna once more finds mention, but in this case no relationships are established by Jodhrāja[4]. Jodhrāja wrote this work in A.D.1828 (V.S.1885) and records an event of more than five centuries earlier. But according to Dr. Qanungo it was written within forty years of the sack of Ranthambhor[5], that is to say before A.D.1341. The Rāso itself gives the exact date of its composition as follows:

Caṁdra nāga vasu paṁca gini saṁvat madhava māsa.
Śukla sutratiyā jīva juta tādina graṁtha prakāsa[6]

---

1. SRH, p.15, fn.1.
2. HMR, ed.by Shyam Sundar Das, sec.ed, p.34.
3. Ibid, pp.24-25 and 107.
4. Ibid, p.104, No.517.
5. SRH, p.10.
6. HMR, p.188, No.968.

Caṁdra here represents the numeral 1, nāga 8, vasu 8, and paṁca is obviously 5. Thus the exact date of the composition was V.S.1885 (A.D.1828)[1], apparently 527 years after the death of the Cāhamāna Hammīra of Ranthambhor. The lateness of the source renders it very dubious where there is no complementary evidence, and thus we cannot agree with Dr. Qanungo.

In another late bardic tale the son of Hammīra of Ranthambhor is said to have taken shelter in Mewar when Ranthambhor was captured by 'Alā-ud-Dīn[2]. S.C.Dutta finds no reason to discredit these bardic tales and thinks that Hammīra's son actually took refuge in Chitor[3]. In his support Dutta gives the example of a fugitive named Mīr Muḥammad Shāh, a Mongol chief who is said to have taken shelter at Ranthambhor under the Cāhamāna Hammīra. Dutta's conjecture is here mainly based on Firishta's account, where the captured Mongol rebel, who was lying wounded, was asked by 'Alā-ud-Dīn what would be his behaviour towards him if he helped him to recover and spared him. The Mongol chief bravely replied that he would put 'Alā-ud-Dīn to death and raise Hammīra's son to the throne[4]. But the contemporary

---

1. For numerals see Bhāṣā Śabda Koṣa, by R.S.Shukla Rasal, 1937, pp.629, 988, 1567, 1044.
2. IHQ, vol.7, p.291, fn.2.
3. Ibid.
4. JIH, vol.8, p.365, fn.; for text see Nawal Kishor Press, vol. 1, p. 108.

historians as well as the earlier epigraphs do not give the slightest hint that Hammīra had actually a son who was given shelter in the fortress of Chitor. Dr. Qanungo refers to the story of the Mongol rebel's reply to 'Alā-ud-Dīn as recorded by Baranī, and thus he takes the flight of the Cāhamāna Ratnasiṁha as "an unassailable historical fact"[1]. But Baranī did not record this story at all and Dr. Qanungo is here obviously wrong. Actually, as we have seen, the story is recorded by Firishta as an event more than three hundred years old, and thus it cannot be regarded as "an unassailable historical fact" as Dr. Qanungo thinks.

Nayacandra Sūri's Hammīra-mahākāvya tells of the valorous activities of the Cāhamāna Hammīra. Though written about a century after the sack of Ranthambhor[2] by

---

1. SRH, p.15, fn.1.
2. According to Dr. Qanungo it was written within forty years of the sack of Ranthambhor(SRH, p.10). But he is here obviously wrong. We have no positive evidence to show that the Hammīra-mahākāvya was composed in A.D.1336. Surprisingly, Dr. Qanungo does not refer to the authority on which his wrong statement is based. The colophon of the Hammīra-mahākāvya states that the present copy was made by Nayahaṁsa, the disciple of Jayasiṁha Sūri, for the purpose of reading in A.D.1485 (V.S.1542) (HMK, p.136). No date of the original composition of the work is given in the colophon. According to Dr. D.Sharma the work was composed nearly one hundred years after the death of Hammīra(ECD, p.338). But no

(Continued on the next page

'Alā-ud-Dīn, it contains information more likely to be reliable than is that in the much later bardic poems. But in this work Nayacandra does not make a single reference to the son (or sons) of Hammīra and his flight to Chitor. At one place the Hammīra-mahākāvya informs us that Hammīra bestowed his whole kingdom upon the Cāhamāna Jājadeva, his favourite minister[1], and after appointing him his successor, marched to do battle with 'Alā-ud-Dīn. Jājadeva proved his loyalty towards his master and continued the resistance for two days after the death of Hammīra[2]. If Hammīra had had a son, Jājadeva would have never been appointed as a successor of Hammīra, who conferred on him his whole kingdom because Hammīra's own brother Vīrama refused to live in the fortress and preferred to die in the battlefield.

While dealing with the various warlike expeditions of Hammīra, Nayacandra also gives a short description of Hammīra's attack on Chitor, where he is said to have marched to Citrakūṭa (Chitor) and ravaged the country of Medapāṭa (Mewar)[3]. Though Nayacandra's statement

---

(continued from the back page).. scholar has ever determined the exact date of this work except Dr. Qanungo, who distinctly says that it was composed in A.D.1336 without mentioning his source.

1. HMK, cant.XIII, v.191, p.126.
2. Ibid, cant.XIV, v.16, p.131.
3. Ibid, cant.IX, vs.26-27, p.74.

is almost certainly an exaggeration, for it is not confirmed by any other source, we may gather from it that relations between the Guhilas of Mewar and Hammīra were not cordial and thus it seems unlikely that Hammīra should have sent his son to Chitor for protection, even if we accept the late tradition that he had a son named Ratnasiṁha. Dr. D.Sharma has rightly remarked that a comparison of the statement of Nayacandra with Muslim sources would certainly show that the poet consulted reliable historical records[1]. Hence it is quite reasonable to think that if Hammīra had a son and if he had been given shelter in Chitor, contemporary or later writers before Firishta would have surely given a reference to this event, which it would have been most important to record, as it would have given them a very significant motive for 'Alā-ud-Dīn's invasion on Chitor.

Though we should not expect a bard like Muhaṇot Naiṇsī to write sober history, his statement with regard to the relationship between Ratnasiṁha, Ajayasiṁha and Lakṣmaṇasiṁha has created much doubt and confusion among scholars. Dr. Qanungo finds some hints about the Cāhamāna Ratnasiṁha, the son of Hammīra of Ranthambhor,

---

1. ECD, p.338.

in the Khyāta of Naiṇsī, who wrote in the late seventeenth century. While dealing with the sack of Chitor, Naiṇsī states that Ratnasiṁha, the son of Ajayasiṁha and brother of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha, died along with Lakṣmaṇasiṁha in the affair of Padminī, while fighting with 'Alā-ud-Dīn[1]. But the relationship as given by Naiṇsī is not correct for it goes against the epigraphic evidence. Ratnasiṁha was not a son of Ajayasiṁha. Actually he was a son of Samarasiṁha. Again he was not a brother of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha. Lakṣmaṇasiṁha was a chief of Sesoda, though he may have been remotely related to Ratnasiṁha, because the remote ancestors of the Guhilas of Sesoda and the Guhilas of Mewar had descended from one common stock. Hence Naiṇsī is here obviously wrong in determining the relationship between these princes.

This false statement leads Dr. Qanungo to challange the view of R.N.Dugaḍa, who translated Naiṇsī into Hindi. According to Dugaḍa this Ratnasiṁha was not a son of

---

1.Ed.by R.K.Asopa, vol.1, pp.25-26. Naiṇsī here apparently implies that Ratnasiṁha was the son of Ajayasiṁha, though he does not clearly say so. But the words Ratansī Ajaisī ro whose literal meaning would be 'Ratansī of Ajaisī', can only mean here Ratansī son of Ajaisī. If Naiṇsī had any ~~oth~~ other intention, he would surely have clearly mentioned it, as he did in the case of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha, who is distinctly stated to be the brother of Ratnasiṁha.

Ajayasiṁha but of Samarasiṁha[1]. We do not find any reason to disagree with Dugaḍa. Dr. Qanungo does not give his reason for doubting this identification except that Naiṇsī says that Ratnasiṁha was a brother of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha. We have shown, however, that Naiṇsī is wrong. No other Ratnasiṁhas of the Guhila dynasty are known to have ruled over Chitor during the period under review or to have died fighting with 'Alā-ud-Dīn. This Ratnasiṁha cannot be other than the Guhila ruler of Chitor and the son of Samarasiṁha. In fact Naiṇsī himself elsewhere in his work defines the correct genealogical relationship between Samarasiṁha and Ratnasiṁha[2]. Hence Dr. Qanungo's disagreement with Dugaḍa is here baseless. In this respect Dr. Qanungo says "Ajaysi whom the annotator (Dugaḍa) identifies with Ajaysi, son of Lakhamsi might be a mistake for Ajaysi, who was on the authority of Ojha the father of Lakhamsi"[3]. But actually Ojha has never said that Ajayasiṁha (Ajaysi) was the father of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha(Lakhamsi)[4]. Ojha distinctly admits the statement of the Rāṇapura inscription of the time of Rāṇā Kumbha dated A.D.1440 (V.S.1496)[5], where Lakṣmaṇasiṁha is referred to as the successor of Jayasiṁha

---

1.Trans. p.21.
2.Text, vol.1, p.23, Nos.23-24.
3.SRH, p.14, fn.
4.HR, vol.1, Append.2, p.519;see also gen.table,p.522.
5.Bh.I, p.114.

and not Ajayasiṁha as Dr. Qanungo thinks. The present inscription obviously says that Ajayasiṁha was the son of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha and thus Dugaḍa is here quite correct[1]. Dr. Qanungo finds in Naiṇsī's bardic history the description of a Ratnasiṁha, who, according to Dr. Qanungo, is referred to as a son of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha[2]. But neither the text of the Khyāta of Naiṇsī nor its translation in Hindi gives any reference to a Ratnasiṁha as the son of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha. The text in Marwari reads:

Ratansī Ajaisī ro bhaḍa Lakhamsī ro bhāī Padmaṇī rai māṁmalai Lakhamsī nai Ratansī Alāvadī sūṁ laḍa kāma āyā. Ekabāra pātasāha caḍha khaḍiyā hutā su pachaira rai ḍerā sūṁ iṇāṁ pācho teḍāyo. Bārai 12 dina eka eka beto Lakhamsī ro gaḍha utara laḍiyo. Teramai dina juhara kara Rāṁṇoṁ Lakhamsī Ratansī kāṁma āyā. Bhaḍa Lakhamsī Ratansī Karana tīne bhāī gaḍha ro hai kāma āyā[3].

Dugaḍa's translation: 'Ratnasiṁha, of Ajayasiṁha, and the brother of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha died fighting with 'Alā-ud-Dīn in the affair of Padminī. Though, once the king had marched away from Chitor, Ratnasiṁha and Lakṣmaṇasiṁha called him back from the abode of Pur[4]. In turn twelve sons of

---

1.Trans.,vol.1, pp.21-22.
2.SRH, p.13 ff.
3.Text, vol.1, pp.25-26.
4. For Pur see ~~ante~~ above p.345fn.1.

Lakṣmaṇasiṁha fought with the Sultan after coming down from the fortress. On the thirteenth day after finishing the performance of jauhara, Rāṇā Lakṣmaṇasiṁha and Ratnasiṁha died. Lakṣmaṇasiṁha, Ratnasiṁha and Karṇa, these three brothers died after coming down from the fortress'.

In his translation also Dugaḍa[1] nowhere mentions Ratnasiṁha as the son of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha, though Dr. Qanungo gives a reference to that translation. The passage quoted above four times mentions Ratnasiṁha along with Lakṣmaṇasiṁha. In the first case Ratnasiṁha is distinctly said to be the brother of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha. In the second Naiṇsī does not specify any relationship between these two princes, but simply refers to them as Lakhamsī nai Ratansī. The word nai here cannot mean 'of', though it can mean 'and'. Thus Naiṇsī here simply wants to say that Lakṣmaṇasiṁha and Ratnasiṁha called him ('Alā-ud-Dīn) back again to fight. But Dr. Qanungo in his translation says that "Ratansī son of Lakhamsī, called him back from Pur".

Here he has wrongly determined the relationship of father and son between Lakṣmaṇasiṁha and Ratnasiṁha only to prove his weak conjecture that Naiṇsī has

---

1.Trans., p.21.

recorded two Ratnasiṁhas and one of them must have been the son of the Cāhamāna Hammīra of Ranthambhor, though Naiṇsī had not the slightest intention of saying so. If he had had intended to say that Ratnasiṁha was a son of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha he would have written Lakhamsī ro, as in the case of Ajayasiṁha and Ratnasiṁha. But here he simply writes Lakhamsī nai Ratansī. In the third citation Naiṇsī again does not specify any relationship, but in the last he clearly says that Lakṣmaṇasiṁha, Ratnasiṁha and Karṇa were brothers. In fact we have no positive evidence to prove the existence of the Cāhamāna Ratnasiṁha, nor can we say that he was the actual cause of the sack of Chitor.

THE ACTUAL CAUSE OF 'ALĀ-UD-DĪN'S INVASION OF CHITOR :

We have seen that the peerless beauty of Padminī was not at all responsible for the sack of Chitor and that the legends giving such fictions are unhistorical. Amīr Khusrau does not give a single reference to 'Alā-ud-Dīn's actual motive in attacking Chitor, but his nearest contemporary historian Baranī does record a clear motive. In

reply to 'Alā-ud-Dīn's question in the beginning of his reign :"what is the use of my wealth, and elephants and horses, if I remain content with Delhi, and undertake no new conquests ? and what will be said about my reign ?", 'Alā-ul-Mulk, the Kotwāl of Delhi, said that the first and foremost task, which deserved special attention, was "the conquest and subjugation of all Hindustān, of such places as Ranthambhor, Chitor, Chanderī, Mālwa, Dhar and Ujjain etc.... These places should all be reduced to such obedience that the name of rebel should never be heard"[1]. There could be no more clear and reliable evidence than this that the actual cause of the campaign against Chitor was ambition rather than romance. Baranī had access to knowledge of the inside history of important events and to the secret history of the court of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, because 'Ala-ul-Mulk, the Kotwāl of Delhi, was his uncle[2]. Hence Baranī gives a reliable indication that 'Alā-ud-Dīn was from the beginning of his reign inspired in his conquests chiefly by expansionist ambition.

It is evident from the above quoted lines that 'Alā-ud-Dīn desired the complete subjugation of all the cities of northern India. He did not believe in the theory

---

1. Tārīkh-i-Fīrozshāhī, Elliot, vol.3, p.171.
2. Ibid, p.169.

that after obtaining tribute from their rulers, they should be left to rule their territories, nor did he rely on the practice that conquered territories should be left to their owners, if they accepted his overlordship, because he had every reason to believe that by doing so he would have to face rebellion in later years from rulers who, as soon as they got the chance, would try to liberate themselves from his yoke. Guided by this policy, 'Alā-ud-Dīn generally annexed the conquered territories and brought them under his direct control. This policy of direct control and centralization was also a very important factor in his attack on Chitor, as can be gathered from the Satyapuratīrthakalpa of Jinaprabha Sūri. This text shows that Samarasiṁha, the father of Ratnasiṁha, saved his country of Mewar from devastation by paying tribute to Ulugh Khān, the younger brother of 'Alā-ud-Dīn in A.D.1299 (V.S.1356)[1]. The same fact finds its support in the Kānhaḍade Prabandha of Padmanābha[2], a work of A.D.1455 (V.S.1512) where Samarasiṁha is said to have given passage to Ulugh Khān for latter's expedition on Gujarat, when it was refused by Kānhaḍadeva,

---

1. Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa, ed.by Jinavijaya Muni, p.30; also Tīrtha-kalpa, ed.by D.R.Bhandarkar & Co., Bib.Ind, p.95.
2. Ed.by K.B.Vyas, p.10, cant.1, v.50.

the Cāhamāna ruler of Jālor. Though Samarasiṁha accepted the supremacy of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, as is evident from the above accounts, 'Alā-ud-Dīn invaded Chitor during the reign of Ratnasiṁha. This shows that 'Alā-ud-Dīn wanted to gain direct control over Chitor and Mewar.

The strategic position of Mewar was also a most important factor which induced 'Alā-ud-Dīn to sack Chitor. The conquest of the southern parts of India had not hitherto been possible, because Mewar was in the way like a strong wall. The Guhilas were thus great obstacles to 'Alā-ud-Dīn and it was quite natural for him to wish to remove them for ever. From Baranī's reference to the conversation between 'Alā-ud-Dīn and 'Ala-ul-Mulk, it can be gathered that the idea of the conquest of Chitor was working in 'Alā-ud-Dīn's mind even five years before the invasion. There remains no doubt that the imperialistic ambition and the appetite for expansion were the actual causes that induced 'Alā-ud-Dīn to ravage the Guhila territories and it would be unjustifiable to rely on the later traditions that the extraordinary beauty of Padminī and 'Alā-ud-Dīn's lust for her were responsible for their devastation.

After capturing the fortress of Chitor, which was one of the strongest fortresses of India, 'Alā-ud-Dīn bestowed it on his son Khiẓr Khān, who carried on the administration of the conquered Guhila territories for some time. Amīr Khusrau in a very poetical language gives a short description of this bestowal and states that 'Alā-ud-Dīn afterwards set out for Delhi[1]. Here ends the fateful story of Ratnasiṁha's reign and with this also ended the main line of the Guhilas of Mewar. Ratnasiṁha was the last Guhila ruler of this line, which had governed Mewar or parts of it from the sixth century A.D. Though he tried his utmost to save his country and his family honour, he could not succeed against the mighty arms of 'Alā-ud-Dīn and ultimately he fell into the cruel hands of that Muslim ruler. With him also fell the famous fortress of Chitor, which was the seat of the Guhila power, though Lakṣmaṇasiṁha tried to defend it for some time after Ratnasiṁha's arrest by 'Alā-ud-Dīn.

---

1. JIH, vol.8, pp.371-72.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

In the preceding pages we have tried to give, in as much detail as possible, a survey of the history of the Guhilas of Mewar, from Guhila to Ratnasiṁha, who lost his kingdom in A.D.1303, after a vigorous fight with the Muslim Sultan 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khaljī. It should not be thought that after losing its kingdom this brave and strong Rajput clan gave up the idea of reconquering its ancestral territories. Though Ratnasiṁha's line became extinct after his death, another branch of the Guhilas, closely related to the main Guhila branch, came to the forefront. They were and still are called Sesodiyas after the name of their headquarters in a village called Sesoda. Lakṣmaṇasiṁha, who died with his seven sons in the defence of Chitor, was also a Sesodiya Guhila and Hammīra, who later reestablished the Guhila power over Mewar, was a grandson of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha.

We have seen that Khiẓr Khān was appointed the governor of the conquered Guhila territories and Chitor

remained his seat of power. But Dr. D.C.Ganguly is inclined to think that 'Alā-ud-Dīn conquered only the fortress of Chitor and not other parts of the Guhila territories like Nāgadraha and Āghāta, which remained the seat of power of the Guhila princes at least upto the time of Samarasiṁha[1]. Dr. Ganguly tries to draw a dividing line between Chitor and the rest of the Guhila territories. We have no positive evidence to say that, after being defeated by the Muslim Sultan, the Guhilas still held possession of other parts of Mewar. It is not convincing, moreover, to claim that 'Alā-ud-Dīn aimed only at occupying the fortress of Chitor, which resulted in the loss of his great army. What would be the use of that fortress if the rest of the Guhila territories were left unconquered? Hence the subjugation of the fortress of Chitor, which was certainly the capital of the Guhilas, could only mean the final defeat of the Guhilas. After this defeat the whole of Mewar must have come under the control of 'Alā-ud-Dīn including Āghāta and Nāgadraha, which were not out of his reach. In this connection attention may be drawn to a further error of Dr. Ganguly, who says that Nāgadraha and Āghāta remained capitals of the Guhilas at least upto

---

1.The Struggle for Empire, Bh.V.Bh, vol.5, p.91.

the time of Samarasiṁha. But it should be noted that Chitor became more prominent even during the time of Jaitrasiṁha, who appointed Kṣema to the post of Talārakṣa of Citrakūṭa (Chitor)[1]. During the reign of Tejasiṁha, Chitor certainly became the capital of the Guhila kingdom, as can be gathered from the Chitor inscription of Samarasiṁha dated A.D.1278 (V.S.1335)[2], where Tejasiṁha is referred to as Citrakūṭa-Medapāṭādhipatī. Only two inscriptions of the reign of Tejasiṁha have been discovered and both were found near Chitor[3]. This also suggests our view. There is no doubt at all that Chitor was the capital of Mewar during the reign of Samarasiṁha, as is evident from his eight surviving inscriptions, among which five were discovered from Chitor. Jinaprabha Sūri, in his Tīrthakalpa, suggests the same view when he refers to Samarasiṁha as the lord of Chitor[4]. Thus Dr. Ganguly's opinion is wrong.

In any case, it is certain that Khiẓr Khān governed the Guhila territory for some time. But the actual duration of his governorship over Chitor is still uncertain. In his account of the later history of Chitor

---

1.Chirava inscription, EI, vol.22, p.290, v.22.
2.JASB, vol.55, pt.1, p.48.
3.HR, vol.1, p.474.
4.Vividha Tīrthakalpa, ed.by Jinavijaya Muni, p.30; also ed.by Bhandarkar, Bib.Ind, ASB, p.95.

after the conquest of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Firishta states that during the year A.D.1304 (A.H.704), when Ratnasiṁha escaped from confinement in a most extraordinary way, he started plundering the territories lying in the vicinity of the fortress of Chitor. 'Alā-ud-Dīn, thinking the life of Khiẓr Khān in danger as well as answering the call of the diplomatic expediency, ordered Khiẓr Khān to evacuate the fortress of Chitor and hand it over to Kharīz Rāi, a sister's son of Ratnasiṁha. Kharīz Rāi showed much talent in handling the situation and always remained loyal to 'Alā-ud-Dīn[1].

A critical examination of the account given by Firishta would certainly show that he is wrong in the date of Khiẓr Khān's recall from Chitor as well as in the name of Kharīz Rāi. As will be shown, the charge of the fortress of Chitor was actually given to Māladeva, the Songirā Cāhamāna of Jalor. Firishta elsewhere himself contradicts his own statement that Khiẓr Khān was recalled in A.D.1304. While dealing with the events of A.D.1311 (A.H.711) in 'Alā-ud-Dīn's dominions, he says that Malik Kāfūr wanted the leave of 'Alā-ud-Dīn to lead another expedition to the Deccan for the subjugation of the kings of Deogarh

---

1. JIH, vol.8, pp.372-73, fn.; see also Briggs, vol.1, pp.362-63.

(Devagiri-Daultābād) and other southern territories and also for the collection of tribute from the king of Tilingana. The strategic position of the territory of Chitor and its government by Khiẓr Khān were factors most suitable for the proposed expedition, which Malik Kāfūr wanted to undertake only out of jealousy towards Khiẓr Khān, because he had every fear that the latter would be made its leader. Guided by this jealousy, Malik Kāfūr himself requested 'Alā-ud-Dīn for permission, before 'Alā-ud-Dīn could order to Khiẓr Khān to march to the Deccan, and in A.D.1312 (A.H.712) Malik Kāfūr led his expedition[1]. This statement of Firishta evidently conveys the idea that Chitor was still under the governorship of Khiẓr Khān at least in A.D.1312. Hence this statement of Firishta contradicts his earlier one that Khiẓr Khān was recalled from Chitor in A.D.1304. We have other strong evidence to prove that Khiẓr Khān held the Guhila territories even after A.D.1304 and constructed a massive bridge, which would have taken more than a year to complete on the river

---

1.Briggs, vol.1, pp.378-79.

Gambheri, just near the fortress of Chitor[1]. This fact finds support in the Citauḍa Gajala, a late work of the Jaina Yati poet Khetala of the Kharatara Gaccha, dated A.D.1691 (V.S. 1748), where it is said that 'Alā-ud-Dīn constructed a massive bridge on the river Gambheri at Chitor[2].

A Persian inscription dated A.D.1306 (A.H.705) has been discovered near Chitor and records the construction of a building by 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khaljī[3]. Another

---

1. Two views have been expressed with regard to the construction of this bridge. According to the Hindu tradition it was constructed by Arisiṁha, the son of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha, but this is wrong, because Arisiṁha never ruled Chitor. But in the Muslim tradition Khiẓr Khān is said to have constructed this bridge (J.P.Stratton, Chitor and the Mewar Family, pp.76-77). The architecture of the bridge is of Muslim design and suggests that it was built by Khiẓr Khān (JASB, vol.55, pt.1, p.17; HR, vol.1, p.496, fn.2).

2. A Report on the search for Hindi and Diṅgal MSS in Rajasthan, ed.by A.C.Nahta, vol.2, p.103. The text reads as follows:

   Gaḍha Citauḍa hai baṁkā ki, mānu samaṁda meṁ Laṁkā ki.

   Viḍai pūrata lahalavatī, arū Gaṁbhīra tīra rahati ki.

   Alā daiti Allāvadina, baṁdhī pula baḍī padavīna.

3. ARRMA, 1921-22, p.2, No.2.

inscription in Persian dated A.D.1310 (A.H.709) has been also discovered there. This is inscribed on a maqbarā near Chitor and records various praises of 'Alā-ud-Dīn[1]. These inscriptions suggest that Chitor was still under the governorship of Khiẓr Khān at least upto A.D.1310. According to Muhaṇot Naiṇsī Kamal-ud-Dīn, the famous general of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, defeated Kānhaḍadeva, the Songirā king of Jalor and captured the fortress of Jalor in A.D.1311 (V.S.1368). In this struggle Kānhaḍadeva and his son Vīramadeva both died fighting. But Māladeva, the younger brother of Kānhaḍadeva, somehow or other escaped and began plundering the Sultan's territories. Harassed by Māladeva, the Sultan pacified him by giving him the kingdom of Chitor and enlisted him as his feudatory[2]. It can be gathered from the account of Firishta that the fortress of Jalor was sacked in about A.D.1309 (A.H.709)[3]. Padmanābha in his Kānhaḍadeva-Prabandha, a work of A.D.1455 (V.S.1512), gives exactly the same date as that given by Naiṇsī as the year of Kānhaḍadeva's death[4]. But Dr. D.Sharma is inclined to accept the date of the fall of Jalor as A.D.1314 (V.S.1371)[5] on the

---

1.HR, vol.1, p.497, fn.1.
2.Khyata, tr.by Dugaḍa, vol.1, p.153; see also HR, vol.1, p.498.
3.Briggs, vol.1, pp.370-71.
4.Ed.by K.B.Vyas, vol.1, p.234; see also ~~ECD, p.170, fn.60~~ p.222, canto IV, vs.293-94.
5.IHQ, vol.26, p.229; also ECD, p.170, fn.60.

basis of the Kharataragaccha-paṭṭāvalī. The date of the fall of Jalor given by Naiṇsī and Padmanābha also finds support in the Tīrthakalpa of Jinaprabha Sūri. This Jaina author states that 'Alā-ud-Dīn destroyed the temple of Mahavīra at Satyapura(Sāṅchor) in A.D.1310 (V.S.1367)[1]. As Jalor and Sāṅchor were not very far from each other, 'Alā-ud-Dīn might have destroyed that temple during the course of the long siege of Jalor. The statement of Jinaprabha is more reliable than the Kharataragaccha-paṭṭāvalī, because the destruction of the temple of Sāṅchor occurred during the lifetime of this Jaina author. At the same time the Kharataragaccha-paṭṭāvalī neither gives a clear reference to the fall of Jalor nor does it mention the name of 'Alā-ud-Dīn or Kānhaḍadeva, the ruler of Jalor. In fact the text merely states that a Jaina religious festival at Jāvālipura was broken up by Mlecchas[2]. Thus it is most unreasonable to rely on the vague statement of the Kharataragaccha-paṭṭāvalī,

---

1. Ed.by Jinavijaya Muni, Vividha-Tīrthakalpa, p.30.
2. Kharataragaccha-bṛhad-gurvāvali, ed.by Jinavijaya Muni, p.64. Text:
   Śrī Jāvālipurīya... tatra-ca-Saṁvat 1371 Jyeṣṭha-vadi-daśamyāṁ-M.-Bhojarāja-Deva Siṁha-pramukha sakala śrī-Jāvālipurīya samudāya kāritaḥ.... dīkṣā-mālā roparaṇ-ādi nandi mahāmahotsavaḥ śrī pūjyaiḥ kṛtaḥ... tato Mleccha kṛto bhaṅgaḥ śrī Jāvālipure jātaḥ.

where this is not warranted by other evidence. It may be gathered from Dr. Sharma's own statement made elsewhere that the army of 'Alā-ud-Dīn broke up the religious festival organized by the Jaina Ācārya at Jāvālipura and did not destroy the town itself, though the date mentioned by him is A.D.1313 (V.S.1370)[1]. From the vague statement of this work, one may suggest that the religious festival of the Jainas took place after the fall of Jalor and it was this that is referred to in the above mentioned Jaina text. Professor D.R. Bhandarkar[2] and Dr. Ishwari Prasad[3] have also accepted the date given by Naiṇsī and we have no reason to discredit this evidence. At the same time it seems improbable that 'Alā-ud-Dīn or his generals would have led a new expedition to Jalor in A.D.1314 (V.S.1371) when 'Alā-ud-Dīn was seriously ill, as stated by Firishta[4]. However, if we accept the evidence of Naiṇsī and Padmanābha that Jalor was sacked in A.D.1311, it would be quite reasonable to think that Māladeva could not have taken charge of the administration of Chitor before that date.

Firishta records that 'Alā-ud-Dīn, who was seriously ill in the last year of his reign, hearing the news

---

1. IHQ, vol.11, p.781.
2. EI, vol.11, p.78 ff.
3. HQT, vol.1, p.26.
4. Briggs, vol.1, p.379 ff.

of revolts throughout his kingdom including the revolt at Chitor, where Muslim officers were thrown over the walls of the fortress, was deeply shocked and ultimately died in A.D. 1316 (A.H.716)[1]. During the illness of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Khiẓr Khān would have wished to live at Delhi because, being the immediate successor of his father, he would naturally have been more interested in Delhi politics than in Chitor's administration. These facts suggest that Khiẓr Khān was recalled from Chitor to Delhi some time after A.D.1312 and that 'Alā-ud-Dīn, acknowledging the demands of political expediency, handed over the charge of Chitor's government to Māladeva, enlisting him as his vassal. Thus 'Alā-ud-Dīn even in last stage of his career killed two birds with one stone. Māladeva, now in charge of Chitor, became pacified and stopped plundering the Sultan's territories, and the Rajputs in general, who were a source of trouble and disturbance in the captured Guhila territory, were also temporarily pacified.

1.Briggs, vol.1, pp.379-81.

CHITOR UNDER THE SONGIRĀ CĀHAMĀNAS

The contemporary Muslim historians have failed to throw any glimpse of light on the history of Mewar after its subjugation by 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khaljī. At the same time we have a great paucity of epigraphic and other evidence to help us to reconstruct the history of the period under review. Thus we are inclined to rely on the later sources, such as the works of Firishta, Naiṇsī and others, who, though late, throw considerable light on the history of our period. As we have seen above, Firishta records that the charge of the administration of Chitor was given to Kharīz Rāi, who was the son of Ratnasiṁha's sister. Ḥājjī-ud-Dabīr gives a different statement about the charge of the government of Chitor. According to him, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, after the conquest of Chitor, gave its governorship to a niece of the Rājā of Chitor, as she was married to the Sultan. But after some time she was treacherously murdered by her minister and the Rājā again established his rule[1]. This only shows how stories were fabricated about the siege of Chitor and its aftermath. Abul Faẓl, an elder contemporary of Firishta, says that the charge of Chitor was handed over to Māladeva[2]. Naiṇsī[3] and

---

1. HQT, p.25, fn.42.
2. Ā'īn-i-Akbarī, transl.by Jarrett, vol.2, p.270.
3. Khyata, tr.by Dūgaḍa, vol.1, p.153.

Tod[1] also agree that the charge of the administration of Chitor was given to Māladeva, the Songirā Cāhamāna of Jalor. As we shall see, the occupation of Chitor by the Songirā Cāhamānas is also proved by epigraphic evidence. Thus there is not the slightest possibility that Kharīz Rāi, whose identity is unknown, should have taken the charge of the administration of Chitor under the Suzerainty of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, as Firishta records.

According to Naiṇsī Māladeva successfully governed Chitor for seven years, i.e. until about A.D.1311+7 =1318 (V.S.1368+7=1375) and then died. He had three sons, Jeso, Kītapāla (Kīrtipāla), and Vaṇavīra[2]. Naiṇsī nowhere states that Māladeva ruled until A.D.1321, as Dr. Mathur says[3]. After the death of Māladeva Chitor would have automatically passed to his elder son Jeso, though we know nothing about him except his name. The death of 'Alā-ud-Dīn brought a sudden change in the politics of Delhi, and the rule of the Khaljīs ended some time after his death. Instability, conspiracy and revolution at the capital of the Khaljīs paved the way for Ghāzī Malik to acquire the throne of Delhi and he ascended the throne under the title of

---

1.AR, vol.1, p.312.
2.Text, vol.1, pp.252-53; tr., vol.1, p.153.
3.IHQ, vol.27, p.67.

Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh in A.D.1320. An undated fragmentary inscription in Persian has been discovered at Chitor and reads as follows:

..."Tughlaq Shāh, the lord of the country, throne, signet, and crown like Solomon; world illuminator like the sun, nay, the shadow of God, the greatest of all the foundations of justice has (~~have~~) become strong..... Asad-al Dīn Arslān.... died on the 3rd Jumada 1. May God accept this act of charity and may He reward him for his righteous motive a thousand times more"[1].

This paragraph praises the Sultan Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh and Asad-al Dīn Arslān, the Sultan's nephew, who, according to Baranī, was appointed Nāib Bārbak (Vazīr) by the Sultan immediately after his accession[2]. This inscription, which records the donation or construction of a building, most probably a mosque, by Asad-al Dīn at Chitor, clearly suggests that Chitor or Mewar was a part of the kingdom of Tughlaq Shāh, who ruled from A.D.1320 to 1325[3]. During the reign of Tughlaq Shāh and for some time during his immediate successor's reign, the Songirā Cāhamānas ruled over Chitor under the vassalage of the Delhi Sultan.

---

1. HQT, p.58, fn.8; see also HR, vol.1, p.501, and fn.2.
2. Elliot, vol.3, p.230.
3. Duff's Chronology, pp.215 and 217.

This is evident from the Kareda temple inscription of Vaṇavīra, the youngest son of Māladeva, dated A.D.1335 (V.S.1392), which records that a dome was erected by Mahamadadeva, Suhaḍasīṁha Caṁuḍarā, who were the silahadāras (probably military officers) of Mahārājādhirāja Pṛthvīcandra Śrī Māladeva's son Śrī Vaṇavīra, who was ruling at Citrakūṭa[1]. Another inscription of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Vaṇavīradeva has been discovered at Koṭ-Solaṁkiyā, about 15 miles north-east of Desūri, dated A.D.1338 (V.S.1394)[2]. Thus there remains no doubt that Vaṇavīra was ruling over Chitor, most probably under the Sultanate of Delhi. Of Jeso, the elder son of Māladeva, as we have said above, we know nothing. Māladeva's second son Kītapāla has been identified with the Cāhumāna Śrī Kītuka of the Rāṇapura inscription[3]. In this inscription Bhuvanasiṁha, a Guhila chief of Sesoda, is felicitated as a conqueror of the Cāhamāna Kītuka. But Dr. Bhandarkar's

---

1. Jaina Lekha Saṁgraha, pt.2, ed.by P.C.Nahar, p.242, No. 1955, text as follows:
   Saṁvat 1392 varṣe Pauṣa sudi 7 Ravau śrī Citrakūṭa asthāne Mahārājādhirāja Pṛthvīcandra Śrī Māladeva putra Śrī Vaṇavīra satkaṁ silahadāra Mahamadadeva Suhaḍasīṁha Caṁudarā satkaṁ putraḥ divaṁ gataṁ tasya satkaṁ gomaha kārāpitaṁ.
2. EI, vol.11, pp.62-63.
3. Bh.I, p.114.

identification[1] cannot be accepted, as it goes against the chronology. As we shall see, the Guhila Hammīra recovered Chitor from Vaṇavīra, the younger brother of Kītapāla. Thus there should be no doubt at all that Hammīra was a contemporary of the Cāhamāna Kītapāla. But Kītuka of the Rāṇapura inscription was evidently a contemporary of Bhuvanasiṁha, who was the fifth ancestor of Hammīra, as is shown below:[2]

Bhuvanasiṁha
|
Bhīmasiṁha
|
Jayasiṁha
|
Lakṣmaṇasiṁha

Arisiṁha — Ajayasiṁha
|
Hammīra

Hence Kītuka of the Rāṇapura inscription cannot be identified with Kītapāla, the second son of Māladeva, and Dr. Bhandarkar is here apparently wrong.

---

1. EI, vol.11, p.78.
2. HR, vol.1, p.522.

HAMMĪRA'S RECOVERY OF CHITOR

We have seen that Chitor was under the Songirā Cāhamāna Vaṇavīra at least upto A.D.1335. Hence the statements of Ojha[1] and H.C.Ray[2] that Hammīra recovered Chitor from Jeso, the elder son of Māladeva, some time about A.D.1326, are apparently wrong. Before giving a short account of Hammīra's recovery of Chitor, it is necessary to give a brief description of the ancestry of Hammīra. The following is the genealogical table of the Guhilas of Sesoda[3].

Raṇasiṁha alias Karṇasiṁha (the Guhila ruler of Mewar)

Rulers of Mewar

Kṣemasiṁha to Ratnasiṁha

Chiefs of Sesoda

Māhapa

Rāhapa
Narapati
Dinakarṇa
Jasakarṇa
Nāgapāla
Purṇapāla
Pṛthvīmalla
Bhuvanasiṁha
Bhīmasiṁha
Jayasiṁha
Lakṣmaṇasiṁha

Arisiṁha
Hammīra

Ajayasiṁha

(continued on next page..)

We have seen while dealing with Raṇasiṁha[1] that his son Rāhapa is said to have been the actual founder of the Sesoda branch of the Guhilas. His remote descendant Lakṣmaṇasiṁha died along with his seven sons in the defence of Chitor, when it was invaded by 'Alā-ud-Dīn[2]. According to the Kumbhalgarh inscription dated A.D.1460 (V.S.1517), Arisiṁha, the eldest son of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha, also died in the same cause[3]. This fact is also corroborated by the Ekaliṅga-māhātmya of the time of Rāṇā Kumbha[4]. Hammīra was the son of this Arisiṁha. After the death of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha and his sons Arisiṁha and others, Ajayasiṁha, the youngest son of Lakṣmaṇasiṁha, returned wounded from the battlefield and became the successor of his father. Various legends have been fabricated in the local traditions, recorded by Tod in his Annals, about Arisiṁha, Ajayasiṁha and Hammīra[5]. Hammīra was

---

(continued from back page)... 1.HR, vol.2, p.545 ff.
2.DHNI, vol.2, p.1205.
3.HR, vol.1, pp.507 and 522. This list, as given by Ojha, has been prepared mainly from the bardic chronicles as well as the late inscriptions of A.D.1651 and 1652(V.S.1708 & 1709).

1.See ~~ante~~ above, p.228 ff
2.See ~~ante~~ above, p.373 ff.
3.EI, vol.21, p.281, vs.182-84.
4.Rājavarṇana, v.83, as cited in HR, vol.1, pp.512-13,fn.3.
5.AR, vol.1, p.312 ff.

elected the heir apparent of his uncle Ajayasiṁha owing to his extraordinary career and chivalrous activities. That Hammīra should be the immediate successor of Ajayasiṁha was the last desire of his grandfather Lakṣmaṇasiṁha, who expressed this desire before Ajayasiṁha[1]. Thus Hammīra superseded his cousins and became the successor of the main line of Mewar Guhilas. On his accession he began to conquer his lost territories. Being a man of high ambition, the desire to obtain his ancestral lands, which with certain gaps had been continuously held under the Guhilas of Mewar, was lurking in his mind. The Khaljī Sultanate came to ruin immediately after the death of 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khaljī. The time was ripe for the Guhilas to throw off the Muslim yoke. But a chivalrous able man of high calibre was needed to avail himself of this opportunity. Fortunately for the Guhilas Hammīra, their most outstanding leader, came forward to cut the chains of slavery from his lost territories, which were crying for his help.

No inscriptions of Hammīra's reign have been so far discovered. Hence we have no definite evidence of the actual date of Hammīra's recovery of Chitor from the

---

1. AR, vol.1, p.312 ff.

Songirās. But it is certain, as we have seen, that Chitor was under the occupation of Vaṇavīra at least in A.D.1335 (V.S.1392). Another of his inscriptions discovered from Koṭ-Solaṅkiyā, dated A.D.1338 (V.S.1394)[1], just two years after his first inscription from Chitor, may suggest that Hammīra recovered Chitor from the Songirā Vaṇavīra after A.D. 1335. The Chitor Mahāvīra Svāmi temple inscription of the reign of Kumbha dated A.D.1438 (V.S.1495) states that Hammīra killed countless Muslims in the battlefield[2]. This may suggest that in the recovery of Chitor from the Songirā Cāhamāna, Hammīra faced the army of the Muslim Sultan of Delhi, who must have helped his vassal Vaṇavīra to defend Chitor. There is no statement to this effect in any Muslim chronicle, but as Vaṇavīra was tributary to Delhi it is likely that the Sultan gave him considerable help. That Hammīra recovered Chitor from Vaṇavīra is also confirmed by a chronicle named Udayapura-ri-Khyāta-nai-phutakara-bātāṁ in Marwari[3].

---

1. EI, vol.11, pp.62-63.
2. JBBRAS, vol.23, p.50, v.9.
3. IHQ, vol.27, pp.68-69, fn.27. The text reads as follows:
   Baṇavīra Songarā thī Rāṇo(Hammīra)gaḍha līdho. Judha jīto kṣetra Sojana. Dīlā ro pātasāha Songarā Baṇavīra rī madata āyo.
   Tr.'The Rāṇā (Hammīra) took the fortress(Chitor) from the Songarā Vaṇavīra and conquered the battle of Sojana. The King of Delhi came for the help of the Songarā Vaṇavīra'.

An inscription of Mahārāṇā Kṣetrasiṁha, the eldest son of Hammīra, dated A.D.1366 (V.S.1423), has been discovered[1] and this suggests that Hammīra's rule ended some time before this date. Various warlike expeditions of Hammīra have been recorded by Tod but we need not go into details. It is here enough to say that Hammīra freed his ancestral kingdom from the yoke of the Muslims, who for some time held sway over the Guhila territories. Hammīra reestablished the Guhila power in Mewar and laid the foundation of a strong and powerful government in the territories which had been under the sway of the earlier Guhilas of Mewar. He was one of the ablest Guhila kings, who laid the foundations of sovereignty so well that with certain gaps the Guhilas of Mewar continued to hold sway over the same land from that time to 1948. It is probably unique in the history of the world that a particular dynasty should rule over the same territories for about 1400 years. Though after the independence of India the Mahārāṇās of Mewar, who were the descendants of Hammīra, lost their sovereignty, and their territories became a part of the Indian Union, they still receive the same honour and prestige, and every particle of the earth of Mewar still speaks of the glory and valorous deeds of their ancestors, who never hesitated to wager their lives and comfort in the defence of their motherland.

---

1. HR, vol.2, p.571.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE GUHILA RULERS OF MEWAR

1.Guhila or Guhadatta (c. A.D.550)[1]

2.Bhoja

3.Mahendra I

4.Nāga

5.Śīlāditya or Śīla (c. A.D.646)

6.Aparājita (c. A.D.661)

7.Mahendra II

8.Kālabhoja or Bappa (Abdicated in c. A.D.753)

9.Khommāṇa or Khummāṇa I

10.Mattaṭa

11.Bhartṛpaṭṭa I

12.Siṁha

13.Khommāṇa or Khummāṇa II, son of 12

14.Mahāyaka, son of 13

15.Khommāṇa or Khummāṇa III, son of 14

16.Bhartṛpaṭṭa II (c. A.D.942-43), son of 15

17.Allaṭa (c. A.D.951-53), son of 16

18.Naravāhana (c. A.D.971), son of 17

1.The dates of the rulers given in brackets are only their inscriptional dates except the dates of Guhila and Bappa or Kālabhoja.

19. Śālivāhana, son of 18.

20. Śaktikumāra (c. A.D.977), son of 19.

21. Ambāprasāda, son of 20.

22. Śucivarman, son of 20 (identified with Anantavarman).

23. Naravarman or Nṛvarman.

24. Kīrtivarman or Yaśovarman.

25. Yogarāja.

26. Vairaṭa.

27. Haṁsapāla.

28. Vairisiṁha, son of 27.

29. Vijayasiṁha, son of 28.

30. Arisiṁha (c. A.D.1116), son of 29.

31. Coḍasiṁha, son of 30.

32. Vikramasiṁha or Vikramakesari, son of 31.

33. Raṇasiṁha (alias Karṇa ?), son of 32.

34. Kṣemasiṁha

35. Sāmantasiṁha and others, the rulers of Dungarpur.

36. Kumārasiṁha, brother of 35.

37. Mathanasiṁha (c. A.D.1182-1185)

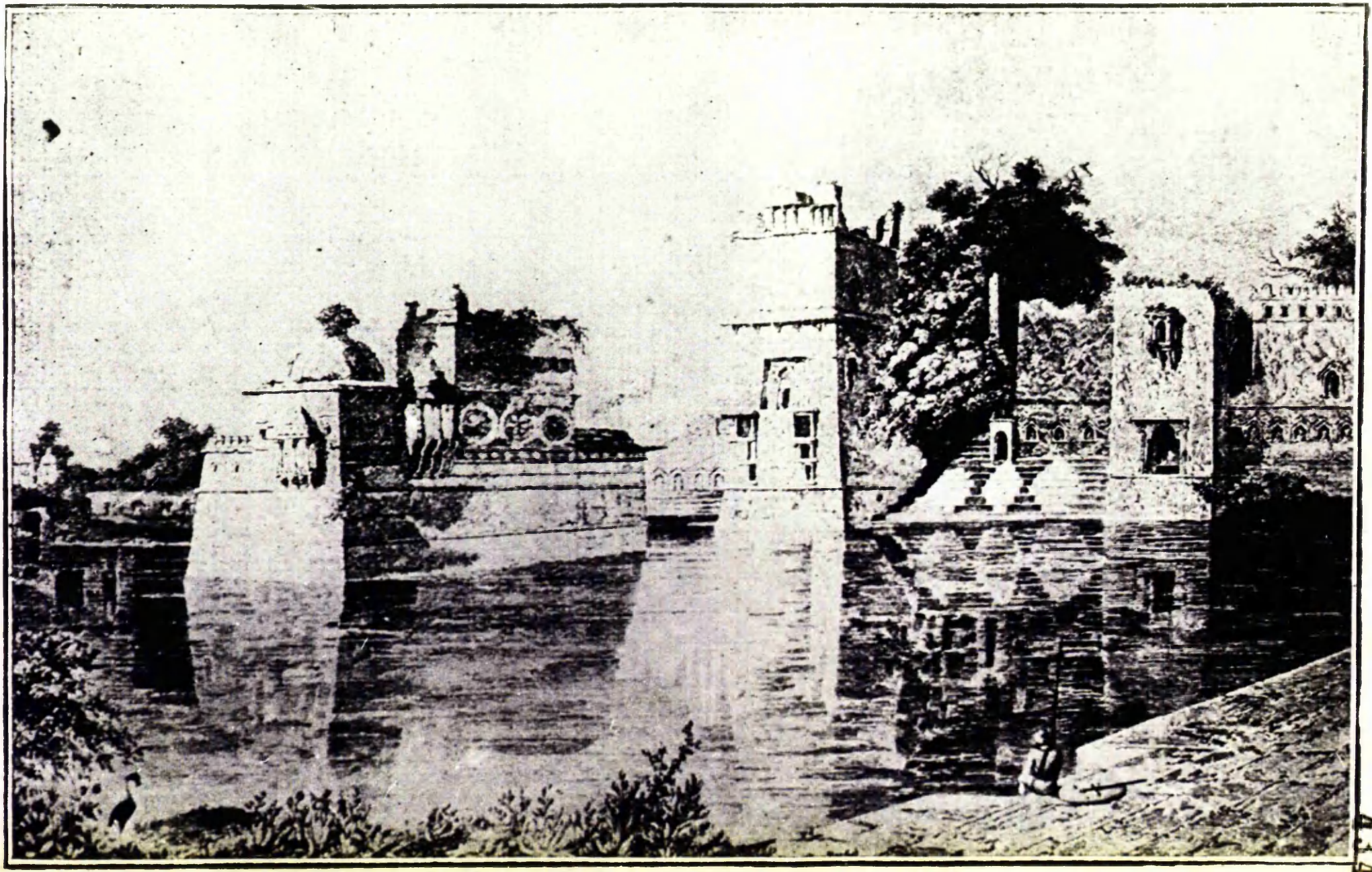
38. Padmasiṁha (c. A.D.1194), brother of 37.

39. Jaitrasiṁha (c. A.D.1213-1252), son of 38.

40.Tejasiṁha (c. A.D.1260-1267), son of 39.

41.Samarasiṁha (c. A.D.1273-1302), son of 40.

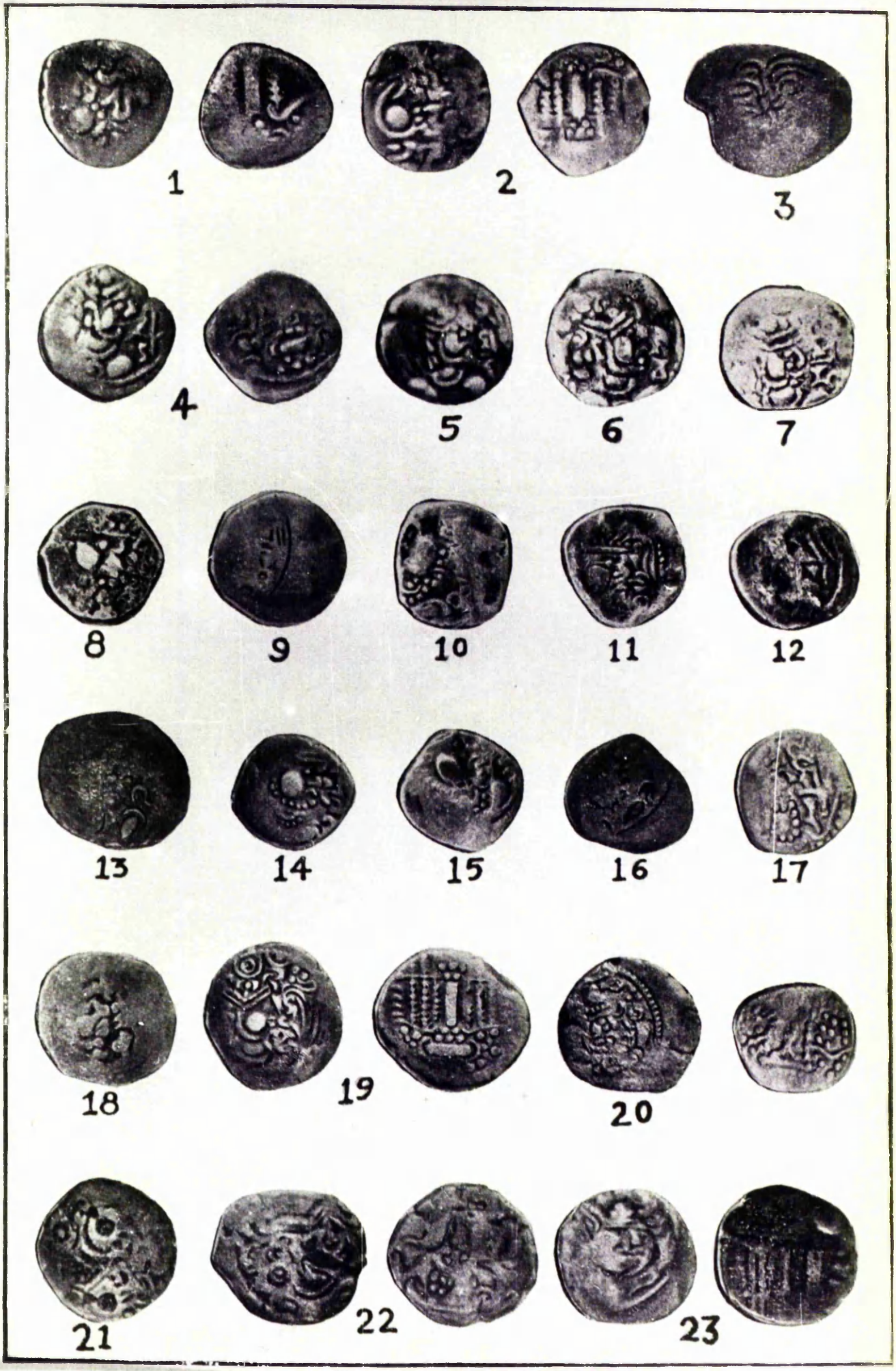
42.Ratnasiṁha (c. A.D.1302-1303), son of 41.



PALACE AND TANK OF PADMINĪ



ENLARGED GUHILA COINS



ENLARGED GUHILA COINS

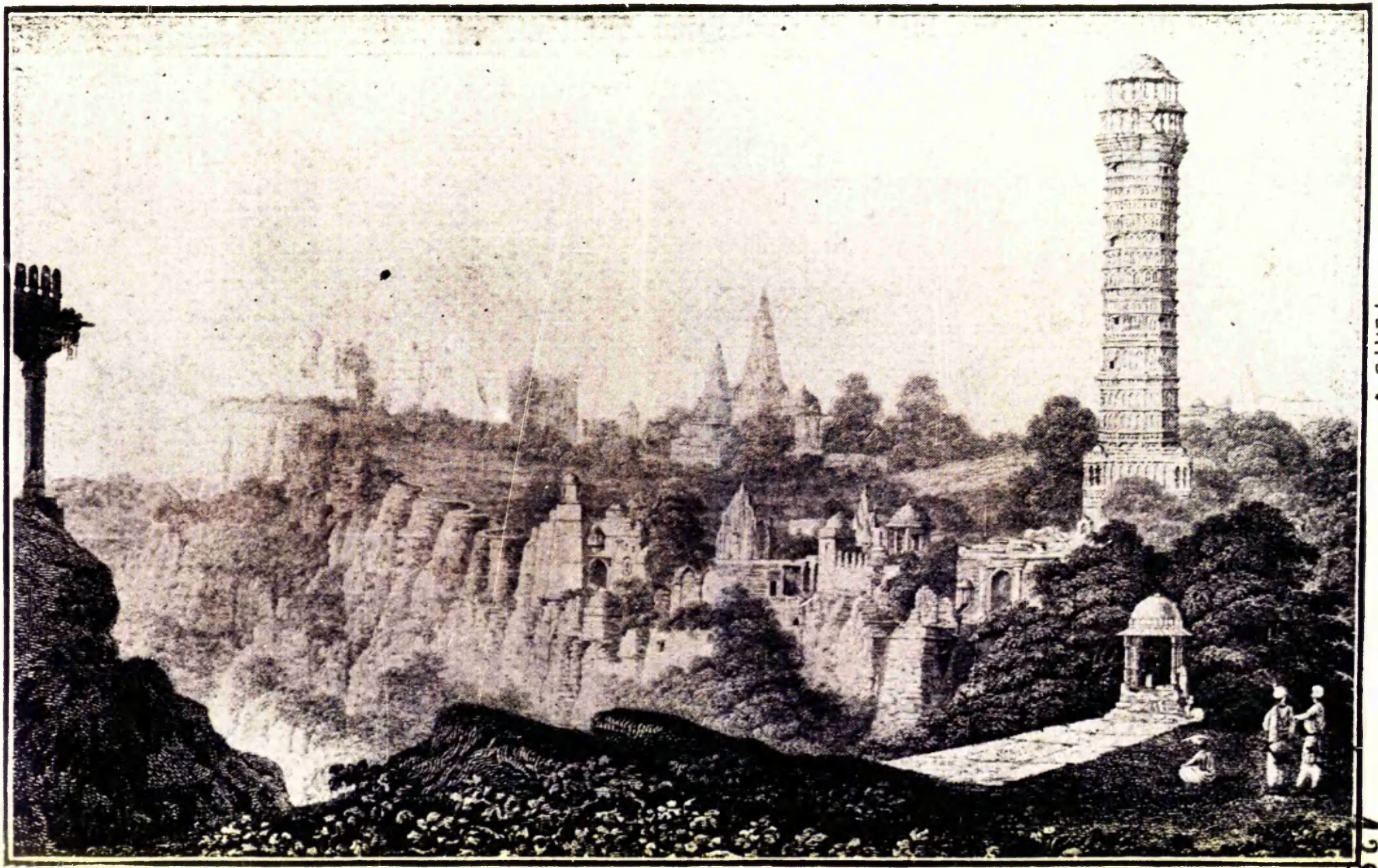


1



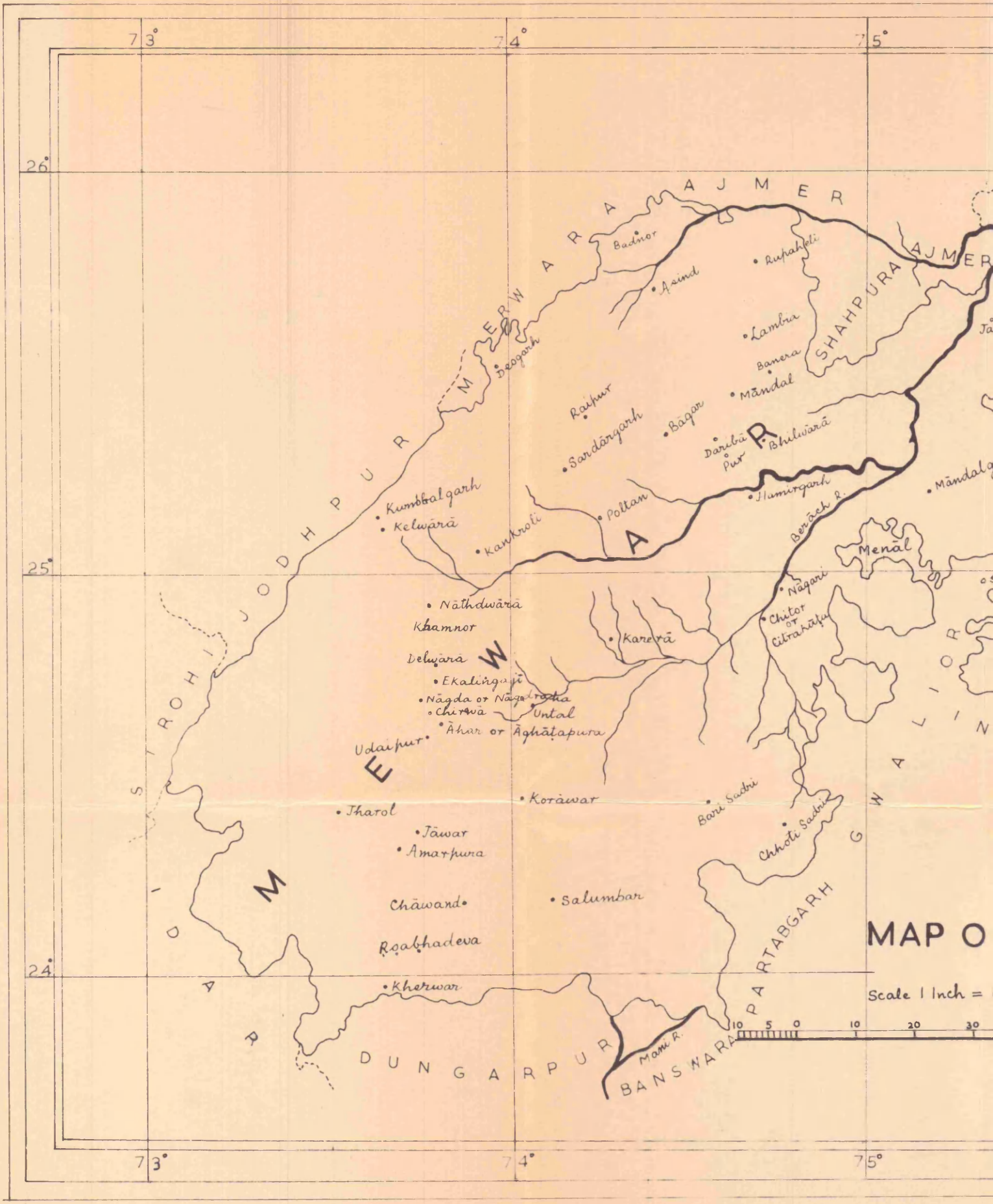
1

A/COIN OF TEJASIṂHA



THE OLD FORTRESS OF CHITOR

THE GUHILA DYNASTIES OF MEWA



BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Original Sources

(A) Inscriptions: The Guhila inscriptions have been mostly published in the following works and periodicals:

(i). Bhāvnagara Prācīna Śodha Saṁgraha, edited by V.G.Oza, Bhavnagar Archaeological Department, Bhavnagar, 1885.

(ii). Epigraphia Indica, Calcutta.

(iii). The Indian Antiquary, Bombay.

(iv). Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

(v). Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.

(vi). Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kattywar & C., edited by P.Peterson, Bhavnagar Archaeological Department, Bhavnagar, 1894. Also known as Bhavnagara Inscriptions.

(vii). Some Guhila inscriptions have been noticed or reported in the Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer; Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India; Progress Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle; Professor D.R.Bhandarkar's Inscriptions of Northern India, published in Epigraphia India, vols. 19-23, Appendix; Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy etc.

(B). Coins: Almost all Guhila coins of our period have been published By Mr. R.Samar in the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Banaras, vol.20, pt.1(1958).

(C). Literary Sources: Texts in Indian Languages and Translations:

1. Āśādhara, son of Sal-Lakṣaṇa------ Pratiṣṭhā-sāroddhāra or Jina-yajña-kalpa, edited by Manoharlal Shastri of Padham, Bombay, 1917.

2. Aśvaghoṣa---- Saundarananda, ed.by E.H.Johnston, Panjab University Oriental Publication, London,1928; translated by the same, London, 1932.

3. Bālacandra Sūri---- Vasantavilāsa-mahākavya, ed.by C.D. Dalal, GOS, No.VII, Baroda, 1917.

4. Bhavabhūti---- Uttara-Rāma-carita, with the commentary of Ghanaśyāma, ed.by P.V.Kane and translated by C.N.Joshi, Second Ed., Bombay, 1921.

5. Buddhaghosa---- Paramatthajotikā on Khuddakapātha, ed.by H.Smith, vol.1, London, 1916.

6. Canda Bardāyī-- Pṛthvīrāja-rāso, ed.by M.V.Pandia & C., Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Granthamālā Series, Nos. 4-22, Banaras, 1904-13.

7.Candraśekhara--- Surjana-carita, ed.by Dr.J.B.Chaudhuri, Prācyāvanī Mandira Sanskrit Text Series, No.7, Calcutta, 1951.

8.Candraśekhara--- Hammīra-haṭha, ed.by J.Ratnakar, NPG, No. 2, Second Ed., Banaras, 1928.

9.Dāmodara Paṇḍita-- Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa, ed.by Muni Jinavijaya, SJGS, No.39, Bombay, 1953.

10.Dalapata Vijaya*--- Khummāṇa-rāso (?), Unpublished, quoted by Ojha, Bhandarkar etc.

11.Ekaliṅga-māhātmya*-- Composed during the reign of Rāṇā Kumbhakarṇa (Kumbha) (?).Unpublished quoted by Ojha, Bhandarkar etc.

12.Ekaliṅga-māhātmya*-- Composed during the reign of Rāṇā Rāyamalla (?), Unpublished, quoted by Ojha, Bhandarkar etc.

13.Hemacandra--- Sthavirāvalī-carita or Pariśiṣṭaparvan, being an Appendix of the Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-puruṣa-carita, ed.by Hermann Jacobi, Second Ed., Calcutta, 1932.

14.Jayānaka--- Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya, with the commentary of Jonarāja, ed.by G.H.Ojha and C.Sharma Guleri, Vedic Yantrālaya, Ajmer, 1941.

---

* Mss. of these three works are not available in London.

15. Jāyasī, Malik Muhammad-- Padmāvat, ed.by V.S.Agrawala, Jhansi, 1955.

16. " " " " " " " -- Jāyasī Granthāvali, ed.by R. Shukla, NPG, No.31, Second Ed., Kashi (Banaras), 1935.

17. Jayasiṁha Sūri-- Hammīra-mada-mardana, ed.by C.D.Dalal, GOS, No.X, Baroda, 1920.

18. Jayasiṁha Sūri-- Kumārapāla-carita, ed.by Khantivijaya Gaṇi, Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay, 1926.

19. Jinaprabha Sūri-- Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa, ed.by Jinavijaya Muni, SJGS, No.10, Śāntiniketan (Bengal) 1934.

20. Jinasena II-- Harivaṁśa-Purāṇa, published by Māṇikachandra Digambara Jaina Granthamāla Series, Bombay, 1930.

21. Jodhrāja-- Hammīra-rāso, ed.by Shyamsundar Das, NPG, No. 11, Fourth Ed., Kashi (Banaras), 1949.

22. Kumbhakarṇa(Mahārāṇā of Mewar)-- Rasikapriya, a commentary on Jayadeva's Gītagovinda, ed.by M.R. Telang & C., Seventh Ed., Bombay, 1929.

23. Kalhaṇa-- Rājataraṅgiṇī (A chronicle of the kings of Kashmir), ed.by M.A.Stein, Bombay, 1892. Transl. by the same, Westminster (London), 1900.

24. Māna Kavi-- Rājavilāsa, ed.by Bhagwandin, NPGS, No.18, Banaras, 1912.

25. Merutuṅga Sūri-- Therāvalī, by Bhau Daji, JBBRAS, vol.9, p.147 ff.

26.Merutuṅga Sūri-- Prabandhacintāmaṇi, ed.by Jinavijaya Muni, SJGS, No.1, Śāntiniketan (Bengal), 1933.
Also ed.by Durgashankar Kevalram Shastri, Forbes Gujarāti Sabhā Series, No.14, New Ed., Bombay, 1932.
Translated in English by C.H.Tawney, ASB, Calcutta, 1901.
Translated in Hindi, by Hazari Prasad Dvivedi, SJGS, No.3, Calcutta, 1940.

27.Miśan, Surajmalla-- Vaṁśabhāskara (?). A late bardic work (Suryamalla Miśran) of nineteenth century, quoted by Ojha.

28.Muni, Jinavijaya(Editor)-- Kumārapāla-carita-saṁgraha, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1956.

29. " " " " -- Jaina Pustaka Praśasti Saṁgraha, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1943.

30. " " " " -- Kharatara-gaccha Bṛhad Gurvāvali, (A collection of works of Jinapāla and others), SJGS, No.42, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1956.

31. " " " " -- Purātana Prabandha Saṁgraha, SJGS, Calcutta, 1936.

32.Naiṇsī, Muhaṇot-- Muhaṇot Naiṇsī kī Khyāta, (A bardic history of Rajput clans), Marwari, ed.by R.K.Asopa, Jodhpur (n.d.)

33. " " " -- Translated into Hindi, by R.N.Dugaḍa, NPS, Banaras, 1926-35 (Saṁvat 1982-91).

34.Narapati, Nālha-- Bīsaladeva-rāso, ed.by Mataprasad Gupta and A.Nahta, Hindi Pariṣad Viśvavidyālaya Prayag, 1956.

35.Nayacandra Sūri-- Hammīra-mahākāvya, ed.by N.J.Kīrtane, Bombay, 1879.

36.Padmanābha-- Kānhaḍade-prabandha, ed.by K.B.Vyas, vol.1, Rājasthān Purātana Granthamāla, No.XI, Jaipur, 1953.

37.Padmagupta-- alias Parimala Navasāhasāṅka-carita, ed.by Pandit Vāmana Śāstrī Islāmpūrkar, BSS, No.53, Bombay,1895.

38.Piṅgala Ācārya-- Chandas-śāstra, with the commentary Mṛtasañjīvanī by Halāyudha Bhaṭṭa, ed.by Pandit Kedārnāth and Vāsudev Laxman Shāstri Paṇsīkar, Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Second Ed., Bombay, 1927.

39.Prabhācandra-- Prabhāvaka-carita, ed.by Jinavijaya Muni, SJG, Calcutta, 1940.

40.Prahlādanadeva-- (the Paramāra feudatory prince) Pārtha-parākrama-vyāyoga, ed.by C.D. Dalal, GOS, No.IV, Baroda, 1917.

41.Puruṣottama Paṇḍita-- Gotra-pravara-mañjari (The Early Brahmanical Syatem of Gotra and Pravara), translated by John Brough, Cambridge, 1953.

42.Rājaśekhara Sūri-- Prabandhakośa, ed.by Jinavijaya Muni, SJGS, No.6, Śāntiniketan (Bengal), 1935.

43.Rājaśekhara Sūri-- Pracaṇḍa-Pāṇḍava or Bāla-Bhārata, ed. by Carl Cappeller, Strassburg, 1885. Also ed.by Durgā Prasād and K.P. Parab, N.S.Press, Bombay, 1887.

44.Somadeva -- Kathā Sarit Sāgara, ed.by Durgā Prasād and K.P.Parab, Bombay, 1930.

45. " " "-- Kathā Sarit Sāgara or the Ocean of the Streams of Story, translated byC.H.Tawney, vol.2, Calcutta, 1884.

46.Someśvaradeva-- Kīrtikaumudī, ed.by Puṇyavijaya Sūri, SJGS, No.32, Bombay, 1961.

47.Someśvaradeva-- Surathotsava, ed.by Paṇḍit Śivadatta and K.P.Parab, Kāvyamālā, No.73, Bombay, 1902.

48.Udayaprabha Sūri-- Sukṛta-kīrti-kallolinī, ed.by C.D. Dalal, GOS, No.X, Appendix, III, p.69ff Baroda, 1920.

49.Yājñavalkya-- Yājñavalkya Smṛti, with the commentary Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara, ed.by Pandit Nārāyaṇa Śāstri & C., Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, No.322, Banaras, 1924.

50.Yāska-- Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta, ed.by Dr. Lakshman Sarup, Panjab University, Lahor, 1929.
Translated by the same, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, London etc.

51. " "--The Etymologies of Yāska, by Siddheshwar Varma, Visheshvaranand Indological Series, No.5, Hoshiarpur, 1953.

Vedas, Purāṇas and other Ancient Sources

1.Ṛigveda-saṁhitā-- ed.by S.D.Sātavelekar, Third Ed., Surat, 1957.

2.The Hymns of the Rigveda -- translated ~~by~~ in English verse by R.T.H.Griffith, Second Ed., Banaras, 1896-97.

3.Hindi Ṛigveda -- translated in Hindi by Ram Govinda Trivedi, Prayag, 1954.

4.Mahābhārata-- ed. by Vishnu S. Sukthankar & C. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1931-1963.

5. Mahābhārata-- ed.by P.P.S.Shastri, published by Ramaswamy Sastrulu & Sons, Madras, 1931-36.

6. Mahābhārata-- The Mahabharata of Krishna Dwaipayan Vyasa, translated into English prose by P.C.Roy, Calcutta, 1884-1894.

7. Śrīmad-Bhāgavatam-- translated by J.M.Sanyal, Second Ed., Dum Dum (Bengal), 1950.

8. Jātaka-- ed.by V.Fausboll, vols.1-6, London, 1877-96.

9. " "-- translated in English, The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births, under the editorship of E.B.Cowell, Cambridge University Press, 1895-1907.

10. " "-- translated into Hindi by B.A.Kausalyāyana, Hindi Sāhitya Sammelan, Prayag (Allahabad), 1942-58.

11. Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki-- ed.by SHivarāma Sharma Vāsiṣṭha, Chowkhambā Vidyā Bhawan Sanskrit Granthamālā, No.28, Banaras, 1957.

12. " " " " -- translated in English by H.P. Shastri, 3 vols, London, 1952-59.

13. Agni-purāṇa-- edited, translated and published by M.N. Dutta, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1903-4.

14. " " "-- edited under H.N.Apte, ASS, No.41, Poona, 1900.

15. Bhāgavata-purāṇa-- ed.by Vasudeva Sharma, Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay, 1905.

16. Brahma-purāṇa-- ASS, No.28, Poona, 1895.

17. Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa-- Shri Venkateshwar Press, Bombay, 1906.

18. Garuḍa-purāṇa-- Shri Venkaleshwar Press, bombay, 1907.

19. Karma-purāṇa-- Shri Venkateshwar Press, Bombay, 1906.

20. Liṅga-purāṇa-- Shri Venkateshwar Press, Bombay, 1907.

21. Matsya-purāṇa--ASS, No.54, Poona, 1907.

22. Padma-purāṇa-- Shri Venkateshwar Press, Bombay, 4 parts, 1895-96.

23. Śiva-purāṇa-- ed.by Pañchānana Tarkaratna(text in Bengali version), Calcutta, 1907.
24. Vāyu-purāṇa-- ASS, No.49, Poona, 1905.
25. Viṣṇu-purāṇa-- Shri Venkateshwar Press, Bombay, 1911.

Arabic, Persian and other Muslim Sources

1. Qur'ān-- translated by Richard Bell, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1939.
2. Amīr Khusrau-- Khazā'īn-ul-Futūḥ, ed.by Syed Moinul Haq, Aligarh, 1927.
3. " " "-- the same work also edited by Wahid Mirza, Bib.Ind, ASB, No.275, Calcutta, 1953.
4. " " "-- translated by M.Habib under the title The Campaigns of 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khaljī, Madras, 1931; also published in Journal of Indian History, vol.8.
5. " " "-- 'Āshiqa or Diwal-rānī wa Khiẓr Khān, ed.by Rashid Ahmad Ansari, Aligarh, 1917.
6. Abul Faẓl 'Allāmī-- Ā'īn-ī-Akbarī, translated by H. Blochmann and H.S.Jarrett, 3 vols., ASB, Calcutta, 1873-94.
7. " " " " -- Akbarnāmā, translated by H.Beveridge, Bib.Ind, ASB, Calcutta, 1907-12.
8. 'Abdu-l Qādir-ibn-i Mulūk Shāh--Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh, (known as Badāūnī or 'Al-Badāonī) vol.1, translated by George S.A.Ranking, Bib.Ind ASB, Calcutta, 1898.

9.'Isāmī-- Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn, ed.by A.Mahdi Husain, Agra, 1938.

10. " "-- The same work also edited by A.S.Usha, Madras Uneversity Islamic Society Series, No.9, Madras, 1945.

11.Maulānā Minhāj-ud-Dīn-- Tabqāt-i-Nāṣirī, translated by 'Abu-'Umar-i-Usmān Major H.G.Raverty, 2 vols., Bib. Ind., London, 1881.

12.Muḥammad Qāsim-ibn-Hindūshāh-- Tārīkh-i-Firishta, text, called Firishta Nawalkishor Press, Luchnow, 1864; also edited by John Briggs & C., vol.1, Bombay, 1831.

13.Tārīkh-i-Firishta-- translated by John Briggs under the title The History of the Mahomedan Power in India, till the Year A.D.1612, 4 vols., Calcutta, 1908.

14.Niẓām-ud-Dīn-- Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, translated by B.Dey, Bib. Ind, Calcutta, 1927.

15.MSS. -- Romance of Ratnasen, Rājā of Chitor and Padminī, Princess of Ceylon, Deccani verse (c.A.D.1620-30), British Museum MSS. under Indian MSS., No. Add. 16880.

16.Ẓiyā-ud-Dīn Baranī-- Tārīkh-ī-Fīroz Shāhī, ed.by Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Bib.Ind, ASB, Calcutta, 1862; translated by A.R.Fuller, JASB, (NS), vol.38 (1869).

17.Elliot, H.M. & Dowson-- The History of India as told by its Own Historians, 8 vols., London, 1867-77.

18.Rizvi, S.Athar Abbas-- Khaljī Kālīn Bhārat, (India in the Time of the Khaljīs), translated from the works of various Muslim historians into Hindi, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, 1955.

2. Secondary Sources

Modern Works

1.Altekar, A.S.-- The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times, Poona,1934.

2.Bandhu, H. -- The Origin of the Rajput Kshatriyas, Burdwan, 1927.

3.Banerjee, A.C.- Rajput Studies, Calcutta, 1944.

4. " " " -- Lectures on Rajput History, R.P.Nopany Lecture Series, Calcutta University, Calcutta, 1962.

5.Basham, A.L.-- The Average Length of the Generation and the Reign in Ancient India (Unpublished).

6.Bayley, Charles S.-- Chiefs and Leading Families in Rajputana, 6 parts, Third Ed., Calcutta, 1912.

7.Bayley, E.C.-- The Local Muhammadan Dynasties of Gujarat, London. 1886.

8.Bendall, C.-- A Journey Of Literary and Archaeological Research in Nepal and Northern India During the Winter, 1884-85, Cambridge, 1886.

9.Bhandarkar, D.R.-- Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population, published in Indian Antiquaru, vol.40.

10. " " " -- D.R.Bhandarkar Volume, ed.by B.C.Law, Calcutta, 1940.

11.Bhandarkar, S.R.-- Reports of a Second Tour in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts, made in Rajputana and Central India in 1904-5 and 1905-6, Bombay, 1907.

12.Bose, N.S.-- History of the Candellas of Jejakabhukti, Calcutta, 1956.

13.Brooks, J.C.- History of Mewar, Calcutta, 1859.

14.Cole, B.L.-- Census of India, 1931, vol.27 (Rajputana Agency and Ajmer-Merwara, 2 vols), Meerut, 1932.

15.Cunningham, Sir A.--The Ancient Geography of India, ed.by S.Majumdarsastri, Calcutta, 1924.

16. " " " -- Coins of Ancient India from the Earliest Times Down to the Seventh Century A.D., London, 1891.

17. " " " -- Coins of Mediaeval India from the Seventh Century Down to the Muhammadan Conquest, London, 1894.

18.Dey, N.L. -- The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, Second Ed., London, 1927.

19.D.La Touche, Tom-- Geology of Western Rajputana, published in the Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, vol.35, pt.1, p.41 ff.

20.Duff, C.M.-- The Chronology of India, Westminster, 1899.

21.Elphinstone, M.-- The History of India, 2 vols., London, 1841.

22.Erskine, K.D.-- Rajputana Gazetteers, vols.II.A and II.B, Ajmer, 1908.

23. " " "-- A Gazetteer of Dungarpur State, Ajmer,1908.

24. " " "-- A Gazetteer of Udaipur State, Ajmer, 1908.

25.Fleet, J.F.-- The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of Bombay Presidency, Bombay, 1895.

26. " " -- Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors (being vol.III of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum), Calcutta, 1888.

27.Forbes, A.K.-- Rās-Mālā or Hindu Annals of the Province of Goozerat in Western India, London, 1878; also ed,by Rawlinson, Oxford, 1924.

28.Gahlot, J.S.-- Rājputāne kā Itihās (History of Rajputana in Hindi), 2 vols, Hindi Sāhitya Mandira, Jodhpur, 1937.

29.Ganguly, D.C.- History of the Paramāra Dynasty, Dacca, 1933.

30.Grierson, G.A.-- The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan, ASB, Calcutta, 1889 (printed as a special number of the JASB, pt.1, for 1888.

31.Gupta, B.C.-- The Geology of central Mewar, published in the Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, vol.65, pt.2, pp.107-169, Calcutta, 1934.

32.Habib, M.-- Hazrat Amīr Khusrau of Delhi, Aligarh Muslim Uneversity Publication, Bombay, 1927.

33.Haig, Sir Wolseley -- (Editor) The Cambridge History of India, vol.3, Cambridge, 1928.

34.Hodivala, S.H.--- Studies in Indo-Muslim History, 2 vols., Bombay, 1939-57.

35.Hultzsch, E.-- Reports on ~~Search of the~~ Sanskrit MSS. in Southern India, 3 parts, Madras,1895-1905.

36.Karaka, Dosabhai Framji-- History of the Parsis, 2 vols, London, 1884.

37.Kavirāja, Śyāmal Das-- Vīravinoda (A bardic history of Rajputana, recently re-published in 5 vols.) (?). This work is not available in London at present, but is quoted by Ojha.

38.Kealy, E.H.-- Census of India, 1911, vol.22 (Rajputana and Ajmer-Merwara), pt.1, Ajmer, 1913.

39.Law, B.C.-- Kṣatriya Clans in Buddhist India, Calcutta, 1922.

40.Maheta, M.P.-- Mevāḍa-nā-Guhilo (The Guhilas of Mewar, Gujarati text, on the origin of the Guhilas) Bhavnagar, 1933.

41.Majumdar, A.K.-- The Chaulukyas of Gujarat, Bombay, 1956.

42.Majumdar, R.C.-- The Gurjara Pratihāras (Reprinted from the Journal of the Department of Letters, vol.X), Calcutta University Press, 1923.

43. " " (Editor)-The History and Culture of the Indian People, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Vol.I-- The Vedic Age, London, 1951.

44. " " " -- Vol.II- The Age of Imperial Unity, Bombay, 1951.

45. " " "-- Vol.III-The Classical Age, Bombay, 1954.

46. " " "-- Vol.IV- The Age of Imperial Kanauj, Bombay, 1955.

47. " " "-- Vol.V - The Struggle for Empire, Bombay, 1957.

48. " " "-- Vol.VI- The Delhi Sultanate, Bombay,1960.

49.Menariya, Pandit Motilal-- Rajasthan Meṅ Hindi ke Hastalikhit Granthoṅ ki Khoj, (A Report on the Search for Hindi and Diṅgal MSS. in Rajasthan, Hindi text), vol.1, Hindi Vidyāpītha, Udaipur, Delhi, 1942; Vol.II, by Agarachandra Nāhta, 1947.

50.Mirza, Mohammad Wahid-- The Life and Works of Amir Khusrau, Panjab University, (Lahore) Oriental Publication, Calcutta, 1935.

51.Nahar, P.C.& C.(Compiled)- Jaina-lekha-saṁgrah (Jaina Inscriptions, Hindi), Jaina Vividha Sāhitya Śāstramālā,No. 8, 2 vols, Calcutta, 1918-27.

52.Nahta, A. & C.-- Aitihāsik-Jaina-kāvya-saṁgrah (Hindi), Abhaya Jaina Granthamālā, No.8, Calcutta, 1938.

53.Nawab, H.M.Ishak Khan-- Prolegomena to an Edition of the Collected Works of Amir Khusrau, Delhi, 1917.

54.Niyogi, Roma-- The History of the Gāhaḍavāla Dynasty, Calcutta, 1959.

55.Ojha, G.H.-- Rājputāne kā Itihās (History of Rajputana, Hindi), vols.I and II, Vedic Yantrālaya, Ajmer, 1927-32.

56. " " "- Udaipur Rājya kā Itihās (History of Udaipur, Hindi, being a part of the History of Rajputana), 2 vols, Ajmer, 1928.

57. " " " -- Dungarpur Rājya kā Itihās (History of Dungarpur, Hindi), Ajmer, V.S.1992.

58. " " "-- Bhāratīya Prācīna Lipimālā (The Palaeography of India, Hindi), Second Ed., Ajmer, 1918.

59. " " "-- Madhya-kālīna Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti (Hindi), Allahabad, 1928.

60.Pargiter, F.E.-- The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of Kali Age, London. 1913.

61. " " " "-- Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, London, 1922.

62.Peterson, Peter- Reports of Operation in the Search of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Circle, (Extra number of the JBBRAS, Appendix), Bombay, 1883-96.

63.Prasad, Ishwari- A History of the Qaraunah Turks in India, vol.1, Allahabad, 1937.

64. " " " -- History of Medieval India, Allahabad, 1925.

65.Prinsep, James-- Essays on Indian Antiquities (Historic, Numismatic and Palaeographic), 2 vols, ed.by Edward Thomas, London, 1858.

66.Pillai, L.D.S.-- Indian Chronology, Madras, 1911.

67.Qanungo, K.R.-- Studies in Rajput History, R.P.Nopany Lecture Series, Calcutta University, S.Chand & Co., Delhi, 1960.

68. " " " -- Sher Shah , Calcutta, 1921.

69.Ray, H.C.-- The Dynastic History of Northern India (Early Mediaeval Period), 2 vols, Calcutta, 1931-36.

70.Raychaudhuri, G.C.- History of Mewar, Calcutta, n.d.

71.Raychaudhuri, H.C.- Political History of Ancient India, Third Ed., Calcutta, 1932.

72.Reu, V.N. -- Mārwār kā Itihās (History of Marwar, Hindi), vol.1, Jodhpur, 1938.

73.Sarda, H.B.- Maharana Kumbha, Ajmer, 1917.

74.Sharma, D.-- Early Chauhān Dynasties, Delhi, 1959.

75.Sharma, S.-- Maharana Pratap, D.A.V.College Historical Monograph, No.1, Lahore, 1938.

76.Sircar, D.C.- The Successors of the Sātavāhanas, Calcutta, 1939.

77.Smith, V.A.-- Akbar,the Great Mogul, Oxford, 1917.

78. " " " -- Oxford History of India, Second Ed.,Oxford, 1923.

79. " " "-- The Early History of India, from 600 B.C. to the Muhammadan Conquest including the Invasion of Alexander the Great, Third Ed., Oxford, 1914.

80.Srivastava, A.L.--The Sultanate of Delhi, Third Ed., Agra, 1959.

81.Stratton, J.P.-- Chitor and the Mewar Family, Allahabad, 1881.

82.Tessitori, L.P.-- A Discriptive Catalogue of ~~Kha~~ Bardic and Historical Manuscripts (Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputana), 3 parts, Bib.Ind, ASB, Calcutta, 1917-18.

83.Tod, Lieut.Col.James-- Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, (or the Central and Western States India), ed.by W.Crooke, 3 vols, London, 1920.

84. " " " " " -- Travels in Western India, London, 1839.

85.Tripathi, R.S.-- History of Kanauj to the Muslim Conquest, Banaras, 1937.

86.Vaidya, C.V.-- History of Mediaeval Hindu India, 3 vols, Poona 1921-26.

87.Watters, Thomas-- On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, (629-645 A.D.), edited after Watters death by T.W.Rhys Davids and S.W.Bushell, 2 vols, RAS, London, 1904-5.

88.Webb, A.W.T.-- These Ten Years (A Short Account of the Census of Rajputana), Bombay, 1941.

89.Webb, W.W.-- The Currencies of the Hindu States of Rajputana, Westminster, 1893.

Dictionaries, Compiled and Edited

1.Rasāl, R.Ŝ.Shukla-- Bhāṣā-śabda-koṣa (Hindi Dictionary), Allahabad, 1937.

2.Prasad, K. & C. -- Bṛhat-Hindī-kośa, (Hindi Dictionary), Banaras, 1936.

3.Williams, Monier-- A Sanskrit English Dictionary, Oxford, 1899.

4.Apte, V.S.-- The Student's Sanskrit English Dictionary, Delhi, 1959.

5.Sheth, Pandit H.Das Tikamchand-- Pāia-sadda-mahaṇṇavo (Prakrit Hindi Dictionary), Calcutta, 1928.

6.Maharaj Ratnachandraji-- An Illustrated Ardha-Magadhi Dictionary, 5 parts, Indore, 1923-38.

7.Turner, R.L.-- A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language, London, 1931.

8.Malalasekera, G.P.-- Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, 2 vols, London, 1937-38.

9.Lee, Sidney--- Dictionary of National Biography (Supplement, vol.2), London, 1901.

10. Platts, John T. -- Dictionary of Urdū, classical Hindī, and English, 5th impression, Oxford, 1930.

Journals, Periodicals and Reports

1.Annual Bulletin of the Nagpur University Historical Society, Nagpur.

2.Antiquarian Remains of the Bombay Presidency, Bombay.

3.Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, Calcutta.

4.Annual Report on the Working of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.

5.Archaeological Survey of India Reports, by Cunningham & C., Simla, Calcutta.

6.Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, Calcutta.

7.Archaeological Survey of Western India, Bombay.

8.Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Bombay.

9. Asiatic Researches, London, Calcutta.
10. Brahma Vidyā, the Adyar Library Bulletin, Adyar, Madras.
11. Census Report of India, Rajputana and Ajmer-Merwara.
12. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Calcutta.
13. Epigraphia Indica, Calcutta.
14. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Bombay.
15. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Oxford.
16. The Indian Antiquary, Bombay.
17. Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
18. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
19. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.
20. Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University.
21. Journal of Indian History, University of Kerala, Trivandrum
22. Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Banaras.
23. Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.
24. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.
25. Journal of the U.P. Historical Society, Lucknow.
26. Maru-bhāratī, Pilani.
27. Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, Calcutta.
28. Nāgarī-Pracāriṇī-Patrikā, Banaras.
29. Numismatic Chronicle, (Fifth Series), (JRNS), London.
30. Pravāsī (Bengali), Calcutta.
31. Proceedings and Transactions of the All India Oriental Conference. (India).
32. Rājasthān Bhāratī (Hindi), Bikaner.
33. Rajputana District Gazetteer, Ajmer.
34. Śodha-patrikā (Hindi), Udaipur.
35. Vienna Oriental Journal also known as Wiener Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vienna.