THE RAJPUTS

I THE ORIGIN

The bardic tales of Rājasthān, belonging to the mediaeval period, contain a stereotyped list of thirty-six Rājput clans. It includes such well-known names as the Huns and the Parihārs (Pratihāras) whose history has been narrated above. The existence of a few other clans of this list, including some of the most famous such as the Chāhmaññas, Guhilas and Tomaras, can also be traced during the period dealt with in this volume. Although none of these is called a Rājput, and even the use of this term as a generic tribal or clan name is unknown before the end of the tenth century A.D., it has been customary to describe them as Rājputs from the very beginning. Some writers even go so far as to regard all the ruling families of North India after Harsha-vardhana as Rājputs. It is, therefore, necessary to discuss briefly the origin of the Rājputs before dealing with the history of the three clans mentioned above.

Some scholars are inclined to think that the origin of the Rājputs is essentially connected with that of the Gurjaras. Their views may be summed up as follows:

There are occasional references to the ‘Gurjaras’ in the records of the early period which enable us to trace their existence as from the latter part of the sixth century A.D.\(^1\) According to Cunningham,\(^2\) they were the descendants of the Kushans or Gushans. A. M. T. Jackson\(^3\) propounds another theory about their origin. He points out that a tribe known as the Khazars (also as Chozars, Khozars, Ghusars, etc.) lived in South Armenia and Media in the fourth century A.D. The Arab writers believed that the Khazars were Georgians. A Georgian tradition relates that the Georgian king Vakhtang (A.D. 469-500) led an army to India. About this time the White Huns also invaded India. It seems that the Khazars along with the Huns poured

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\(^1\) The earliest known epigraphic record to mention the name Gurjara is the Kaiρa plate of Dadda II, dated A.D. 629 (IB, XIII, p. 82). The earliest known literary source to refer to the Gurjaras is Bana’s Harsha-charita, which mentions that Prabhakara-vardhana (c. A.D. 580-605) defeated the Gurjaras.

\(^2\) ASR, II, p. 72.

\(^3\) BC, IX, p. 469; D. R. Bhandarkar, ‘Gujaras’, JIBRAS, XXI; p. 416.
into India and settled there in the early years of the sixth century A.D. These Khazars were known to the Indians as Gürjāras.

Tabari states that the Sassanian king Naushirwan (A.D. 537-79) of Persia proceeded to Balkh and conquered the countries of Tukhārāstan and Gūrjāstān. Gūrjāstān was ‘apparently in the neighbourhood of the White Hun capital Badēghiz, which is described as bounded on the north by Mērv, on the east by Gōr, on the south by Ghazni, on the west by Herāt’. Ibn Khurābdā (A.D. 912) mentions Gordjāstān after Badēghiz. Thornton ‘has a Gujaristān and a Gujar-i-Khashi on the road to Seistan’. Kalhana refers to the Gūrjāra king Alakhāna, ruling in the Panjāb (ninth century A.D.). Some parts of Rajasthan were known as Gūrjaratā or Gūrjāra in the ninth century. Modern Gūjārat was known as Gūrjāra after the tenth century. All these may be regarded as the different landmarks of the migration of the Gūrjāras from Afghanistan to western India.

The Rajore stone inscription (A.D. 959) states that Mathanadeva, a feudatory of Vijayapāla, belonged to the Gūrjāra-Prathihāra family. This means that the Prathihāras were a branch of the Gūrjāra tribe. Modern Gūjārat came to be so called after the establishment of the Chaulukya sovereignty there. So the Chaulukyas were racially connected with the Gūrjāra tribe. According to bardic tales the Prathihāras, Chalukyas, the Paramāras and the Chāhamānas formed the Agnikula (fire-clans). Hence all the members of the Agnikula were offshoots of the Gūrjāra stock. By following the same line of argument the remaining thirty-two branches of the Rājput clans may also be taken as members of the Gūrjarat tribe whose foreign origin has already been noticed.

Such is the view of the origin of the Rājputs that now finds favour with a large number of scholars. But the evidence hitherto available in support of it cannot be regarded as conclusive. It is not, for example, definitely known that the Gūrjāras were identical with the Khazars. The earliest trace of the Gūrjāras is found in Rajasthan in the sixth or the early years of the seventh century A.D. It is not unlikely that some Gūjāra people from Rajasthan migrated northward, established settlements in the Panjāb and Afghanistan, and called them after the name of their original home, just as some people of Kālīṅga, Kāmboja etc. called their settlements in the Malay peninsula.

4 See above p. 238. The Gūrjāras are referred to in the Aihole ins., EI, VI, pp. 1 ff. and the Harsha-charita. The Maṇimēkalat, a poem composed in the Tamil country, states that the Gūrjāras built a temple at Puhār on the Kaṅāri (JDL, X, p. 3). It is generally agreed that the poem was composed before the sixth century A.D. But V. A. Smith, on the assumption that the Gūrjāras came to India in the early part of the sixth century A.D., puts a late date for the work.
after the names of their mother countries. Even if it is assumed that the Gurjaras were identical with the Khazars, there is no evidence to connect them with the Rājputs. Of the four branches of the Agnikula, as related by the bards of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Paramāras alone claimed fire origin. The records of the other three branches narrate quite different stories about the birth of the respective founders of their families. As a matter of fact no ethnic connection between these four branches has yet been definitely established. It may be regarded as almost certain that the Paramāras and the Chaulukyas were distinct from the Gurjaras. For, Harichandra, Guhila, and Vāsudeva, who were respectively the founders of the Pratihāra, Guhila, and the Chāhamāna dynasties, were Brāhmaṇas by caste, and flourished about A.D. 550. If they were Gurjaras, their fathers or grandfathers are to be associated with those members of the tribe who first settled in India. It is inexplicable how these people, who were accustomed to speak a different tongue and to different modes of life could pass as Brāhmaṇas almost immediately after their settlement in this country. Harichandra was even well-versed in śāstras. Both literary and epigraphic sources indicate that during this period it was not possible for anybody who was not a son of a Brāhmaṇa through a Brāhmaṇa wife to claim the rank of a Brāhmaṇa, Harichandra’s sons through his Kshatriya wife were degraded to the position of the Kshatriyas (above, p. 238). This should be taken into account before accepting the current view on the origin of the Rājputs.

The expression Gurjara, mentioned in the records of the pre-Muslim period, does not anywhere definitely signify a tribe. But there is ample evidence to prove that it was the name of a country. Such expressions of Vēŋgi-Chālukya (Chālukyas of Vēṅgi), Kalinga-Gaṅga (Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga) etc. are occasionally found in the records of the early period. So the expression Gurjara-Pratihārā-ānvaṇa may very reasonably be taken to mean the Pratihāra dynasty of the Gurjara country, the object being to distinguish the Pratihāra dynasty to which Mathanadeva belonged from that of the Kānyakubja-Pratihāra dynasty of which his overlord Vijayapāla was a member.

5 Author’s History of the Paramāra Dynasty, p. 1.
6 DHNI, II, p. 1053; EI, XVIII, p. 97; ibid., II, p. 125.
7 Author’s Eastern Chālukyas, pp. 1 ff; History of the Paramāra Dynasty, pp. 1 ff.
The Paramāras and the Chauhāns claim that they defeated the Gurjaras. If they themselves were members of this tribe they would not have put forward this claim. (This is hardly convincing—Ed.)
8 Above, pp. 238 and see below sectt. ii, iii.
9 But cf. above, p. 237.
10 EI, VI, pp. 224, 276 n.
The epigraphic records and the accounts of the Arab geographers occasionally refer to the Gurjaras, king of Gurjara (Gurjareśvara) etc. It has been assumed by some scholars that these expressions refer to the Pratihāras of Mālava and Kanauj, because they belong to the Gurjara tribe. But a close scrutiny of all these sources leads to a different conclusion.

The Sravaṇa Belgola epigraph\(^\text{11}\) states that the Gaṅga Satyavākya-Koṅguṇiśvarman became known as 'the king of the Gurjaras' by conquering the northern region for Krishna III. Nobody thinks that the Gaṅgas had any racial connection with the Gurjaras.\(^\text{12}\)

The Arab writers\(^\text{13}\) Sulaimān, Abū Zaid, Ibn Khurdadba, Al Balādhurī, Al Maśʿūdī, and Al Idrīsī mention 'Jurz' or 'Juzr'. Two of them, viz., Sulaimān and Al Maśʿūdī, visited India. Sulaimān and Abū Zaid report that Jurz is a State. Al Balādhurī makes it clear that Jurz is the name of a country. So the expression, referred to by other Arab writers, should be taken to convey the identical meaning. Some time the Pratihāras were called the 'lords of Gurjara' simply because the Gurjara country was within their kingdom. Thus it is not easy to endorse the view that the Rājputs were members of the Gurjara tribe.\(^\text{13a}\)

The early history of some Rājput clans, except that of the Pratihāras which has been related above in Ch. XXII, may now be briefly narrated.

II. THE CHĀHAMĀNAS

The bards of the fourteenth century relate that the Chauhāns belonged to the Agnikula. But, as already mentioned, the inscriptions and the literary works referring to the Chāhamānas (Chauhāns) are all silent about it. The Prithvirājavijaya and the Hammīra-Mahā-kāvya\(^\text{14}\) state that the eponymous hero Chāhamāna was born from the Śurya-Maṇḍala. There were several branches of the Chāhamāna dynasty, viz., Chāhamānas of Sakambhari, of Lāṭa, of Dhaivalapuri, of

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\(^{11}\) Ibid., V, p. 176, lines 8-8.

\(^{12}\) Cf (1) Author's 'Origin of the Pratihar Dynasty', IHQ, X, p. 337.

(2) 'Pratiharas and the Gurjaras', JBORS, XXIV, p. 221.

(3) 'Gurjaras in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Inscriptions', PIHC, III, p. 513.

\(^{13}\) Author's (1) 'History of the Gurjara country', IHQ, X, p. 621.

\(^{13a}\) The author makes a fair summary of the different views on the subject. A similar view is also expressed by K. M. Munshi in his book, Glory That was Gurjara Desh Part I. No definite conclusion is possible on this question (Editor).

Partābgarh, of Rānthambhor, of Nāḍḍula, of Jāvālipura, and of Satvapura. The main branch ruled in Sākambhari, and the others, ruling in different places, were collateral. The Lāta branch of the Chāhamānas is only known from a single plate which gives the following genealogy of this feudatory Chāhamāna family.15

Maheśvaradāma
| Bhīmadāma
Bhartrivaḍḍha I
| Haradāma
| Dhrūbhaṭa
| Bhartrivaḍḍha II.

Bhartrivaḍḍha II issued the Hansot plate from Bhrigukachchha in A.D. 756. His overlord was Nāgāvaloka, who is generally identified with the Pratihāra Nāgābhaṭa I of Mālava. The inscription records that Bhartrivaḍḍha II granted a village in the Akruresvara-vishaya (mod. Ankleśvara tāluk). As Javabhaṭa IV ruled Broach at least up to A.D. 736, it does not seem likely that all the five predecessors of Bhartrivaḍḍha II ruled in Broach.

The Prithvīraja-vijaya and other literary works mention Vāsudeva as the first king of the Sākambhari line. The Prabhāndhakoṣa, a work of the fourteenth century, fixes V.S. 608 (A.D. 551) as the date of the accession of Vāsudeva. The Prithvīraja-vijaya mentions Sāmanta as born in the lineage of Vāsudeva; and as Vigrahārāja II, the twelfth king from Sāmanta, was ruling in A.D. 973, Sāmanta may be placed in the middle of the seventh century A.D. The Bijolia inscription, dated A.D. 1169, states that Sāmanta was born in the Vatsa-gotra at Ahichchhatrapura. Some identify Ahichchhatrapura with the city of this name, which is now represented by Rāmnagar, in the Bareilly district U.P., and suggest that the Uttar Pradesh (United Provinces) was the early home of the Chāhamānas. But an inscription from Rajasthan

17 DHNI, II, p. 1137.
18 JASB, LV. Pt I, p. 40. It does not mention the name of Vāsudēva and draws the genealogy from Sāmanta.
19 JRAS. 1913, p. 264, n. 1.
relates that Ahichchhatrapura was the capital of Jāṅguladesa (Jāṅgala-deśa) and the Pārthaparākrama\textsuperscript{20} also states that Prithvirāja III, a remote descendant of Sāmanta, was the king of Jāṅgala. G.H. Ojha identifies this country with Bikanir and northern Mārwār. In view of the fact that the Chāhamānas were in possession of Sambhar long before Sāmanta’s reign, Ahichchhatrapura, which was the capital of Jāṅgala-deśa\textsuperscript{21} mentioned in the Bijolia inscription, should be identified with it.

Sāmantarāja was followed in succession by Purnatalla, Jayarāja and Vigraharāja I. Vigraharāja I, who ruled in the middle of the eighth century A.D., had two sons Chandrarāja and Gopendrarāja. Both these princes ruled in succession in the second half of the eighth century, after the death of their father. The next ruler of Sākambhari was Durlabhharāja, son of Chandrarāja. Durlabhharāja, who flourished in the latter part of the eighth century, was apparently a feudatory of the Pratihāra Vatsarāja, whose kingdom extended from Avanti to Dīdwana in the Jodhpur region. Durlabhharāja is said to have defeated the king of Gaṇḍa and to have taken his bath in the Gaṅgāsāgara.\textsuperscript{22} His onerlord Vatsarāja is also known to have won a victory over the king of Gaṇḍa. As Durlabhharāja had not sufficient resources to lead independently an army against such a distant country as Bengal, it is very likely that he went there in the company of his overlord. The Gaṇḍa king, who suffered a defeat at the hands of Durlabhharāja, was in all probability Dharmapāla. The Prithvirāja-viṣaya mentions the name of Durlabhharāja’s son and successor as Govindarāja. The Bijolia Rock inscription, on the other hand, states that Durlabha was succeeded by Guvāka. Govindarāja and Guvāka are evidently one and the same prince. He is said to have attained pre-eminence in the court of Nāgāvaloka, the foremost of kings, i.e., the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II.\textsuperscript{23} This implies that the Chāhamānas under Govindarāja continued to owe allegiance to the Pratihāras. The Prabhāndhakaśa, a work of the fourteenth century A.D., states that the Chāhamāna Govindarāja repulsed an attack of the Sultan Vega Varisa. About this time Bashār, son of Dāūd, was the governor of Sindh under the Caliph Mams (A.D. 813-33), and Vega Varisa may be taken as identical with him. The Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II, the overlord of Govindarāja, is known to have defeated the Turushkas, i.e., the Arabs of Sindh. The Khum-

\textsuperscript{20} GOS, nos. 4, 3. For other references to Jāṅgala, cf., Vienna Oriental Journal; XXI, p. 142; Bh. List. nos. 781, 1522.

\textsuperscript{21} Nāgarī Prachārini-Patrīkā, Vol. II, pt. III. Some hold that Jāṅgala may be identified with Paṇchāla. JASB, 1922, p. 287.

\textsuperscript{22} Prithvirāja-viṣaya, Sarga; V, v. 20.

\textsuperscript{23} El, II, pp. 116 ff.
māna Rāṇa, a work of late date, relates that the Guhila Khommāṇa, along with other kings, repulsed an attack of the Arabs under 'Mahmud Khorasan Pat'. Tod remarks that Mahmud is an error for Mamun, who is identical with the Caliph Al-Mamun. It may be presumed that while Nāgabhaṭa II was fighting with the Arabs of Sindh, he was assisted by his two feudatories, the Chāhamāna Govindarāja I and the Guhila Khommāṇa. Govindarāja was succeeded by his son Chandrarāja II who seems to have assumed another name, Saśinripa. Chandrarāja II had a son named Guvāka II and daughter Kalāvati. After the death of his father, Guvāka II ascended the throne and gave his sister in marriage to a king of Kānyakubjā who may be identified with the Pratihāra Bhoja I. He seems to have suffered a defeat at the hands of the Kalachuri Kokkala I of Dāhala, who claims to have won a victory over the king of Sākambharī. He was succeeded by his son Chandanarāja, who may be taken to have flourished in the latter part of the ninth century A.D. Chandanarāja killed in battle a chief of the Tomara dynasty named Rudrena. His queen Rudrāṇi, also known as Ātmāprabhā, installed one thousand lingas on the banks of Pushkara. He was succeeded by his son Vākpatirāja I, who may be taken to have flourished in the first quarter of the tenth century. Vākpati seems to have assumed another name Vindhyanṛpati (?). About this time the Pratihāras under their king Mahipāla I were passing through a period of stress and strain in consequence of the invasion of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III (above, p. 641). This offered an opportunity to the feudatories of the Pratihāras to bid for independent political status. It is stated that Vākpati put to flight an officer (tantrapāla), who was coming towards the Ananta country to deliver a message of his overlord. The suzerain lord of Vākpati may be identified with the Pratihāra Mahipāla I, and Ananta (Anantagōchara) is perhaps the other name of the kingdom of Sākambharī, where the Chāhamānas ruled. Though the details of the incident are not available, it may be regarded as almost certain that the relation between the Chāhamānas and their overlords the Pratihāras was anything but friendly.

Vākpati had three sons Siṁharāja, Vatsarāja, and Lakshmana. Siṁharāja succeeded to the throne of his father, and Lakshmana founded a new kingdom at Naḍḍula in Godwar. Siṁharāja defeated a leader named Salavana, who belonged to the Tomara family, and

24 Author's 'A Forgotten Moslem Invasion', IIIQ, XIV, pp. 813 ff.
25 EI, XXVI, p. 91.
26 IA, XIX, p. 78.
27 EI, II, p. 121.
28 Ibid., pp. 116 ff.
put to flight and captured the host of feudatories who had assembled under his banner. The captured princes were thrown into prison, but were subsequently released by his overlord, who came in person to effect it. 29 This overlord, who was a universal sovereign of the 'family of Raghu', was evidently a successor of the Pratihāra Mahendrapāla II (A.D. 946). The fact that this overlord had to go in person to the capital of his feudatory to liberate his imprisoned vassals indicates that he had lost much of his control over the Chāhamānas. This assumption gains further corroboration from the fact that Simharāja is described in the Harsha Stone inscription of his successor as Mahārājādhirāja, a title used by independent chiefs. 30

Simharāja granted some villages to the temple of Harshanātha on the top of the hill named Harṣa, close to the modern village of Harshanātha, in the Shikawati province of the old Jaipur State. The construction of the temple was completed by a Saiva teacher named Allata in A.D. 956. 31 Simharāja, had four sons—Vigrahārāja II, Durlabhārāja II, Chandharāja, and Govindarāja. Vigrahārāja II succeeded to the throne of his father some time after A.D. 956. During the reign of this king the Chāhamānas extended their military power to a considerable extent. Vigrahārāja II thought himself sufficiently strong to launch an aggressive campaign against the Chaulukyas of Gujarat, which was then ruled by Mularāja I, the founder of the Chaulukya dynasty. Mūlarāja fled to the fort of Kanthakot in Cutch, leaving his kingdom at the mercy of the invader. Vigrahārāja overran Gujarat and reached the Narmadā. He built at Bhrigukachchha on the Nar- madā the temple of the goddess Āśāpurī. Subsequently Vigrahārāja concluded a treaty with Mūlarāja, restored his kingdom, and withdrew from Gujarat. 32 He also granted some villages for the maintenance of the temple of Harshanātha. During this period Pushkaratirtha, Paṭṭabhaddaka-vishaya, Sarāhkoṭṭa-vishaya, Jayapura-vishaya, Darbhakaksha-vishaya and Khattakūpa-vishaya were included in the kingdom of Sākambhari. 33 Vigrahārāja II is known to have been ruling in A.D. 973. Some time after this date he was succeeded by his younger brother Durlabhārāja. In the closing years of Vigrahārāja II's reign the kingdom of the Chāhamānas of Sākambhari extended at least as far as Sikar on the north, the town of Jaipur on the east, and Pushkar near Ajmer on the south.

29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid.
It has been noticed above (p. 694) that Lakshmana, son of Vâkpatirâja I of Sâkambhari, founded a kingdom at Nadulâ or Nadol, in the Desuri district, Godwar division of the old Jodhpur State. He had two sons Sobhita and Vigrahapâla. Sobhita, who succeeded his father on the throne, is said to have won a victory over the lord of Himâdrîbhava, i.e., Mt. Abu in the old Sirohi State. Sobhita's son and successor Baliraja repulsed an attack of the Paramâra Muñja who invaded Nadol after his conquest of Mewar.

A branch of the Châhâmâna family ruled at Dhalvalapuri, modern Dholpur, in Rajasthan, in the ninth century, apparently as a feudalory of the Pratihâras of Kanauj. Its relation with the Châhâmânas of Sâkambhari cannot be determined. We know only three chief of the family, viz., Isuka, his son Mahisharâma, and the latter's son Chandamahâsenâ. Chandamahâsenâ received homage from some Mlechchha chiefs, settled on the bank of the Charmanvati (Chambal). These Mlechchha chiefs cannot be identified, but were most probably Muslims. Chandamahâsenâ built a temple of Chandasvâmin at Dhalvalapuri, in A.D. 842.

Another branch of the Châhâmâna family is known to have ruled in the old Partâbgarh State of Rajasthan, in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. as vassals of the Pratihâras. Its relation with other branches of the Châhâmâna family is not known. The early members of the family are described as a source of great pleasure to the king Bhojadeva, i.e., the Pratihâra Bhoja, son of Râmabhadra. This probably implies that they helped Bhoja in his endeavour to recover the prosperity of the Pratihâras. In the family of these princes was born Govindarâja, who was succeeded by his son Durlabhâra. Durlabhâra's son and successor was Mahásâmanta Indrarâja, who was a vassal of the Pratihâra Mahendrapâla II. Indrarâja built a temple of the Sun-God Indráditya at the village of Ghonâtarshikâ, in the western pathaka of Dašapura (Mandasor). The village is identified with Ghotarsi, 7 miles east of Partabgarh. Nothing is known of this family after Indráditya.

III. GUHILAS OF MEWAR

Bardic tales and inscriptions connect the Guhilas with both the Solar and Lunar dynasties. The early members of this family are

34 Ibid., IX, p. 75.
35 Ibid.
36 ZDMG, XL, p. 38.
37 EI. XIV, p. 160.
38 Prâkrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kâthiâwâr, p. 141, l. 27-36.
said to have been Brāhmaṇas. The story runs that when Śilāditya, the last king of the Valabhi dynasty, met with a disastrous end in A.D. 524, his queen took shelter in a cave (guhā) and gave birth to a son, who was named Guhila (cave-born). As soon as he attained the age of discretion the Bhils of Idar appointed him as their king. Guhila, after whom the dynasty is named, was succeeded by a number of kings in Idar. The eighth king, Nāgāditya, was overthrown by the Bhils. Nāgāditya’s young son Bappa was reared up by a Brahmin family in the hilly tract called Nāgīndra. Bappa, as he grew up in age, became the disciple of Harita, a devotee of Ekalinga. After the death of the Saiva teacher, Bappa accepted service under his uncle, the Mori prince of Chitor. He made a mark by repulsing an attack of the barbarians from Garji and seized the throne of Chitor.

The Ekaliṅga-māhātmya, composed during the reign of the Rāṇā Kumbha (A.D. 1431-61), fixes V. S. 810 (A.D. 753) as the close of Bappa’s reign. So, according to the above account Guhila or Guhadatta, the founder of the family, must have ruled in Idar about the middle of the sixth century A.D. But the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhi, of which Śilāditya was a member, ruled in Gujarat up to the middle of the eighth century. So the bardic story narrating the early history of the Guhilas cannot be accepted in all its details, and should be treated with great caution. There is, however, evidence to prove that at least a part of Mewar, if not the whole of it, was in the possession of Guhila in the middle of the seventh century.

The Atpur inscription of the king Saktikumāra of this dynasty, dated A.D. 977, states that his ancestor Guhadatta came from Anandapur, modern Vadnagar, in Gujarat. So the bardic tale mentioning Gujarat as the early home of the Guhila also seems to be true. The same record supplies us for the first time a regular genealogy of the family which runs thus:

1. Guhadatta or Guhila
2. Bhoja
3. Mahīndra (I)
4. Nāga or Nāgāditya

41 Idar may be identified with the ‘state’ of this name to the east of Vadnagar, Gujarat.
42 Nāgīndra, same as Nāgadraha, or Nāghahrada, is identified with Nāgdā, Udaipur.
43 VV, 19-20.
44 EI, IV, p. 29; XX, p. 97.
45 Tod’s Annals, I, p. 706; IA, XXXIX, p. 191.
46 Bhandarkar’s List No. 85. DHNI, II, p. 1206.
5. Śila or Śilāditya (A.D. 646)
6. Aparājīta (A.D. 661)
7. Mahīndra (II)
8. Kālabhoja
9. Khommāna I
10. Mattaṭa

eetc.

The inscription does not mention the name of Bappa. Many inscriptions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries place Bappa before Guhila. But this seems to be erroneous in view of the fact that a stone inscription, dated A.D. 971, of the reign of Naravāhana, mentions Bappaka (Bappa) as a ‘moon amongst the princes of the Guhila family’ and as the ruler of Nāgahrada (Nāgadrāha). This implies that Bappa ruled after Guhila. Almost all the scholars agree that Bappa is to be identified with one of the early kings of Mewar line. The Kumbhalgarh inscription of the Rāṇā Kuṃbha, dated A.D. 1460, places Bappa between Nāga and Aparājīta. This has led some to suggest that Bappa was the title of Śilāditya. In support of this it may be said that Śilāditya is the earliest known king of the family to rule in Mewar. But D. R. Bhandarkar thinks that the report of the Ekaliṅga-māhātmya that Bappa closed his reign in A.D. 753 should be accepted as authentic. In view of the fact that Aparājīta was ruling in A.D. 661, Khommāna I is to be placed in the middle of the eighth century, and accordingly Bhandarkar regards Bappa as the title of Khommāna I. But G. H. Ojha argues that as, according to both Rājapraśasti-mahākāvya and Khyāta of Nainsi, Bappa was the title of Khommāna’s father, he (Bappa) should be identified with Kālabhoja. We learn from the Dhool inscription (A.D. 726) and the Kaṅaswa inscription (A.D. 738) that a king named Dhavalappa of the Maurya dynasty was ruling the old Kotah State in the second quarter of the eighth century. It is known from the Nausari plate of Pulakeśin, dated A.D. 739, that the Arabs destroyed the Maurya kingdom. It has accordingly been suggested that Kālabhoja Bappa repulsed an attack of the Arabs against the Ekaliṅgaji’s temple, and after the departure of the invaders, usurped the throne of Chitor.

47 Bhandarkar’s List, Nos. 610, 784.
48 JBBrAS, XXII, p. 166.
49 PRASI, I, WC, 1905-06, p. 61, no. 2214.
50 JASB, 1909, pp. 189-90.
51 History of Rājputāna, I, p. 409.
52 The date of this inscription will be discussed later.
53 IA, XIX, p. 57.
54 Vienna Oriental Congress, Aryan Section, p. 290.
which might have been under the supremacy of the Mauryas. In later times this invasion of the Arabs was recorded as an invasion of the barbarians from Gajni. But it must be admitted that there is no evidence to prove that the Guhilas were in possession of Chitor even in the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. When the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III (A.D. 794-814) invaded Chitor, it was under the supremacy of the Gurjaras.

Ojha suggests that the Guhilas ruled from Nāgadraha from the time of Guhila. He rejects the traditional story that Guhila first established himself at Idar.

Nothing particular is known about the first four kings, Guhila, Bhoja, Mahīndra I, and Nāga, from any authentic record. A stone inscription, dated A.D. 646, of the reign of the fifth king Śilāditya has been found in the village of Samoli in the Bhumat district. Ojha reports that there is a copper coin, bearing the legend Śila, in the possession of a person in Udaipur. Śilāditya was succeeded by Aparaṭi. A stone inscription, dated A.D. 661, of the reign of this king has been found near the temple of Kuṇḍesvara at Nāgādā, in the vicinity of Udaipur. It appears from this inscription that the king (rūjā) Aparaṭi's commander of the army was the Maḥārāja Varahasimha. Aparaṭi was followed in succession by Mahīndra II and Kālabhoja. If the suggestion that Kālabhoja had the title Bappa has got any substance, Mahīndra is to be identified with Nāgāditya of the bardic tale, who was overthrown by the Bhils. The Chitor stone inscription, dated A.D. 1274, states that Bappa became the king of Medapāṭa and its city Nāgahrada through the favour of the sage Hariṭarāsi. The Abu inscription of Samarasimha, dated V. S. 1342, states that Kālabhoja defeated the Karnaṭas and the Chodas. A gold coin has the legend Śṛi-Voppa with a liṅga and a bull on the obverse, and the figure of a cow suckling its calf on the reverse. Ojha ascribes this coin to Bappa. The next king Khommaṇa I, who flouri-
ed in the third quarter of the eighth century A.D., was followed on the throne by Mattaṭa, Bhartṛiḥaṭa I, Siṁha, and Khommaṇa II in succession. As noted above (pp. 624, 694) Khommaṇa II probably fought a battle with the Muslims under the leadership of the Pratihāra Nāga-ṃṛgaṇa II. Khommaṇa II was followed on the throne by Māhāyaka and Khommaṇa III in succession. Khommaṇa III was succeeded by his son Bhartṛipaṭṭa or Bhartṛiḥaṭa II. A stone inscription of his reign, dated A.D. 943, has been discovered at Ādhāra, ancien Āghāṭa, a few miles north of Udaipur. From this time Āghāṭa served as the capital of this branch of the Guhilas. It is known from the Partabgarh inscription that the Mahārājādhirāja Bhartṛipaṭṭa II granted a village to the temple of Indrādityadeva at Ghoṇtāvarshi, in A.D. 942. Ghoṇtāvarshi is the modern village of Ghotarsi, 7 miles east of Partabgarh. Bhartṛipaṭṭa’s kingdom thus extended at least from Āhār to the neighbourhood of Ghotarsi. Bhartṛipaṭṭa II seems to have been more powerful than his predecessors, and was succeeded by his son Allaṭa. A stone inscription in the Saraneshvara temple at Āhāra, of the reign of Allaṭa, records that the construction of temple was begun in A.D. 951 and completed in 953. A fragmentary inscription in a temple at Āhār states that Allaṭa killed his enemy Devapāla in a battle. Devapāla may be taken as identical with the Pratihāra Devapāla, who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 948. It has already been noticed that in the middle of the tenth century the Pratihāra empire was on its decline. This encouraged the Chandellas, the Chāhamānas, and the Guhilas to bid for independent political power, and Devapāla might have lost his life in his attempt to bring the Guhilas under control. During this period Āghāṭa, the capital of the Guhilas, became a great centre of trade, attracting merchants from Kāṃṭa, Lāṭa, Madhya-deśa, and Ṭakka. Allaṭa married a Hiṇa lady named Hariyadevi, who gave birth to Naravāhana. The Atpur inscription states that ‘her fame shone forth in the form of Harsha-pura’, which probably means that she beautified a city of this name. Mammaṭa was a councillor of Allaṭa, and Durlabharāja was the king’s ‘Minister for peace and war’. Allaṭa was succeeded by Naravāhana who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 971, the date of the

64 IHQ, XIV, pp. 813 ff.
65 Bhandarkar’s, Lāṭ, no. 60.
66 EI. XIV, p. 177.
67 IA. LVIII, p. 162.
69 IA. LVIII, p. 162.
70 Ibid., XXXIX, p. 186.
Ekaliṅga stone inscription of his reign, which was discovered in the temple of Nātha, 14 miles north of Udaipur. Naravāhana married a Chāhamāna lady named Jejaya. His son and successor was Sālivāhana, who was followed by his son Saktikumāra. Three stone inscriptions of Saktikumāra’s reign have been discovered at Ahār, one of which is dated A.D. 977. About this time the Paramāra Munija overran Medapāta, and plundered Āghāta. The Guhila king, who may be identified with Saktikumāra, saved his life by taking refuge with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhavala of Hastikunḍi. The occupation of Medāpāta by the Paramāras was not, however, of long duration.

IV. GUHILAS OF CHATSU

A branch of the Guhila dynasty is known to have been ruling in the old Jaipur State of Rajasthan, which formed part of the ancient Gurjaratrā or the Gurjara country, from the middle of the seventh century A.D. down to the middle of the tenth century. There are reasons to believe that the expression of Gurjara, mentioned in the records of this period, sometimes refers to these Guhilas. The history of this Guhila dynasty is mainly derived from an inscription found engraved on the wall of a ruined temple near the great tank at the town of Chatsu, 26 miles south of the city of Jaipur. A suggestion has been advanced that Chatsu was the capital of the kings of this family, but D. R. Bhandarkar thinks that their capital was Dhavagartā, modern Dhoḍ, in Jahāzpūr district, Mewar. One may, however, be inclined to locate it at Hindaun, in the Jairnpur area, which was the ancient capital of Gurjara. It may be inferred from the epigraphic and the numismatic evidence that the kingdom of this branch of the Guhilas extended from the Jahāzpūr district, Mewar, to Agra, in the Uttar Pradesh. Altogether twelve kings of this dynasty are known. As the fifth king Dhanika was ruling in A.D. 684 and the ninth king Harsha was a contemporary of the Pratihāra Bhoja (A.D. 836-92), Bhartrīpiṭṭha, the earliest known king of the dynasty, may be taken to have flourished in the beginning of the seventh century A.D. or somewhat earlier.

71 JBBRAS, XXII, p. 160.
72 IA XXXIX, p. 186; C. Bendall, Journey in Nepal and Northern India, p. 82; PRASI, WC, 1906, p. 62; Ojha, History of Rāiputānā, II, pp. 434, 437.
73 IIHQ, X, p. 813.
74 EI, XII, p. 10.
75 DHNI, II, p. 1197.
76 JBOQS, XXIV, p. 221.
77 ASR, IV, p. 95.
The Chatsu inscription relates that Bhartripaṭṭa was born in the family of Guhila, and was a Brahma-Kshatriya, but Saṅkaragaṇa, the eighth king of the dynasty, is called a dviṣa, which is applicable to Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya or Vaiśya, though preferably to the Brāhmaṇas. Bhartripaṭṭa's great-grandson was the King Guhila I. More than two thousand silver coins bearing the legend Śrī-Guhila have been unearthed in Agra. H. C. Ray assigns these coins to Guhila II, the tenth king of this line, but may be attributed to Guhila I. Guhila's son was Dhanika, one of whose known dates is A.D. 684. A stone inscription found in Dhoḍ, the date of which has been doubtfully read as (G. E.) 407 (A.D. 726), mentions Dhanika and his overlord Mahārāja Dhavalappa. Dhavalappa has been identified with the Maurya Dhaval of the Kaṇaswa inscription (above, p. 698) and Dhanika with the son of Guhila I. If we accept these suggestions it will follow that these Guhilas acknowledged the suzerainty of the Maurvas of Kotah for some time. Dhanika was succeeded by his son Āuka, who flourished in the middle of the eighth century A.D. Al Balādhuri relates that Junaid conquered Al-Bailman and Jurz (Gurjara). The Nausari plates of Pulakesin (p. 698), dated A.D. 738, state that the Arabs destroyed the Maurya and Gurjara kings. It seems that the Maurya Dhvala and his feudatory Dhanika or Āuka suffered defeat in their hands. Āuka was succeeded by his son Krishnarāja. It was probably in the second half of the eighth century A.D. that the Pratiḥāras succeeded in asserting their supremacy over this branch of the Guhilas, for the kingdom of the Pratiḥāra Vatsaraṇa, as noted above, extended from Avanti to the Jodhpur State. Krishnarāja's son and successor, Saṅkaragaṇa, probably flourished in the first quarter of the ninth century A.D., and was a contemporary of Vatsaraṇa's successor Nāgabhaṭa II. The Chatsu inscription of the Guhilas reports that Saṅkaragaṇa conquered the empire of the Gauḍa king and presented it to his master. It has been noticed above (n. 623) that Nāgabhaṭa II with the help of his feudatories wrested the kingdom of Kanauj from the Pāla king Dharmapāla of Bengal and the latter's protégé Chakrāyudha, the ruler of Kanauj. Saṅkaragaṇa seems to have rendered military service to his Pratiḥāra overlord on this occasion. Saṅkaragaṇa was succeeded by his son Harsharāja, who was a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa II's grandson Bhoja. Harsha is stated to have conquered all the kings of the Udichya country and presented to

78 Ibid.
79 Nagar (or Agra) ins., Bhārata-Kaumudi, pt. 1, p. 267.
80 Bhanderkar reads the date with doubt as G. E. 407, see EI, XII. p. 12, n. 1; Ojha reads the date as (H. E.) 207 (HR, II. p. 421) cf. also EI, XX, p. 122.
81 HIED, I. p. 126.
Bhoja horses, which were born of the Śrī family, and which were expert in traversing the Indus. Udichya is identical with Uttarāpatha, which extended from Pehowa in the Karnal district, Haryana, to at least Jalālābād in Afghanistan. Bhoja seems to have conquered the Ṭakka country or the Panjab with the help of Harsha. The Benares copper-plate of the Kalachuri Karna states that the Kalachuri Kokkalla I subdued Harsha, Chitrakūṭa-bhūpāla (king) and others. This Harsha was most probably the Guhila king of this name. If Kielhorn is correct in suggesting that Harsha and the Chitrakūṭa-bhūpāla of the Benares plate are identical, Chitrakūṭa or Chitor, in Mewar, will have to be taken as the capital of this king. It may be inferred from the Nilgund inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas that in the early years of the ninth century the Gurjaras dwelt in the hill fort of Chitrakūṭa. It has been suggested that the Gurjaras were none other than Guhilas of the Chatsu branch, who were in occupation of at least a part of Gurjaratrā or the Gurjara country. This is not, however, definite, and it may be assumed that Harsha conquered Chitrakūṭa after defeating the Gurjaras.82

Harsha was succeeded by his son Guhila II, who seems to have been a vassal of Bhoja’s son and successor Mahendrapāla I. Guhila II is reported to have conquered Gauḍa and levied tribute from the princes of the east, which evidently means that he helped Mahendrapāla in conquering the Gauḍa country (above, p. 637). Guhila’s queen Rajhā was the daughter of Vallabharāja, who was a member of an otherwise unknown branch of the Paramāra family. As noted above, some coins bearing the legend Śrī-Guhila have been assigned to Guhila II. Guhila II was succeeded by his son Bhāṭṭa, who may be taken to have been a contemporary of Mahendrapāla’s sons Bhoja II and Mahipāla I. The Chatsu inscription states that ‘the southern sea presented gems to Bhāṭṭa seeing that the latter at the bidding of his master defeated the king of the Deccan’, Bhāṭṭa probably helped Mahipāla in driving out the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III, the king of the Deccan. Bhāṭṭa was succeeded by his son Bālāditya, also known as Bālārka and Bālabhānu. Bālāditya’s queen was Raṭṭava, the daughter of king Sivarāja of the Chāhamāna family. She gave birth to three sons Vallabharāja, Vīgraharāja, and Devarāja. Bālāditya erected a temple of Viṣṇu.83 Nothing further is known of this family.

V. THE TOMARAS

The Tomaras, who have occasionally been referred to above, are

82 IIQ, XIII, pp. 482 ff.
83 Ibid., X, pp. 615 ff.
described by the bards of the late period as one of the thirty-six Rājput clans. An inscription\(^{84}\) of the thirteenth century relates that the land of Harivāna was first ruled by the Tomaras, then by the Chauhāns, and then by the Sakas (Muslims). Another inscription,\(^{85}\) which belongs to the early part of the fourteenth century, states that the Tomaras built the city of Dhillikā (Delhi) situated in the country of Harīyāna, and that after the Tomaras ruled the Chāhämānas and the Mlechchha Sahāvādina (Shihab-ud-Dīn Muhammad Ghori). It is known from other sources that the Delhi region was under the sway of Chāhämānas of Ajmer from whom it was wrested by Muhammad Ghori. So the report of the above two inscriptions that the Tomaras built Dhillikā and ruled the Hariyāna country may be accepted as authentic, though there is no contemporary evidence to connect them with that historic city. The tradition relating that Delhi was founded by the Tuārs (Tomaras) in V. S. 792 (A.D. 736) seems to have little historical value.

The history of the Tomaras of Delhi cannot be reconstructed in the absence of reliable evidence. The bards relate that Anaṅgapāla, the last Tomara king of Delhi, abdicated his throne in favour of his daughter's son Prithvīrāja (A.D. 1179-92) of the Chauhan dynasty of Ajmer. This statement cannot be accepted in view of the fact that Prithvīrāja inherited Delhi from his father Someśvara.

There are some stray references proving that the Tomaras were a ruling dynasty during this period. The earliest mention of the Tomaras is found in the Pehowa inscription\(^{86}\) of the reign of the Pratihāra Mahendrapāla I (A.D. 892-909). It states that the 'king (rājā) Jaula of the Tomara race obtained prosperity looking after the affairs of a king'. In his family was born Vajrāta. The period of Jaula's reign cannot be ascertained. He and his immediate successors seem to have occupied the position of subordinate chiefs. Vajrāta was succeeded by his son Jajuka, who had three sons Gogga, Pūrnarāja and Devarāja. Gogga, who succeeded his father, is referred to as a bhūnātha (lord of the earth). He and his two brothers Pūrnarāja and Devarāja built at Prithūdaka (Pehowa, in the Karnal district, Haryana) on the bank of the Sarasvati, three temples of Viṣṇu during the reign of the Pratihāra Mahendrapāla I. Gogga was apparently a feudatory of Mahendrapāla, and the country round Pehowa was in all probability within his kingdom. Kielhorn thinks that these Tomara princes were connected with Delhi. They might not have had any control over Pehowa, a famous place of pilgrimage, where many people from differ-

\(^{84}\) JASB, XLIII, pp. 104 ff.
\(^{85}\) EI, I, pp. 98 ff.
\(^{86}\) Ibid., pp. 242 ff.
ent parts of India founded religious establishments. As Gogga, a contemporary of Mahendrapāla I, must have been ruling in the closing years of the ninth century, his grandfather Vajraṭa may be assumed to have flourished in the middle of that century. Nothing is known of the princes who succeeded Gogga. In the tenth century the Tomaras came into conflict with the Chāhamānas of Sākambhari. A Tomara chief named Rudreṇa lost his life in a battle with the Chāhamāna Chandanarāja II, son of Guvāka II of Sākambhari. A Tomara leader (nāyaka) named Salavanā (? ) suffered a defeat at the hands of Chandanarāja II’s grandson Simharāja, who flourished in the third quarter of the tenth century. A large number of Salavanā’s army fell captive in the hands of the victor. The Tomara dynasty of Delhi was overthrown by the Chāhamānas under Vigrāharāja Visāladeva in the middle of the twelfth century A.D.

87 EI, II, p. 121.
88 Ibid., p. 116; some are inclined to interpret Salavanā as ‘together’. 
CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

THE FOUR MAJOR DYNASTIES

I. THE KALACHURIS

1. The Kalachuris of Dāhala

The Dāhala country, also known as Chedi, was situated to the east of Mālava. Its capital was Tripūrī, modern village of Tewar, 6 miles from Jabalpur, in the Madhya Pradesh. In the early years of the ninth century A.D. Dāhala was conquered by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III, who handed it over to one of his servants for administration. In A.D. 841-42 it was ruled by one Lakṣmanarāja, whose relation with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, or with the Kalachuri Kokalla I who followed him, is not known. Kokalla I is said to have been a member of the Sahāsrārjuna family. Some are inclined to place his reign in the early years of the tenth century A.D., on the assumption that Harsha, mentioned as an adversary of Kokalla I, was the Chandella king of this name, who ruled from c. A.D. 900 to 925. But the error of this view is proved by the Cambay plate of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda IV which gives the following genealogy of Kokalla I and his descendants:

- Kokalla I
- Arjuna
- Ammana
- Vijāmbā—married to Indra III
  - (A.D. 915)
  - Amoghavarsha II
  - Govinda IV
    - (A.D. 918)

1 EI, XVIII, Sañjan Plate.
2 EI, XXIII, p. 255.
2a The name is also spelt as Kokkala and Kokalla.
As Govinda IV dethroned his elder brother Amoghavarsha II in A.D. 918, he was certainly mature in age at that time. He may, therefore, be tentatively taken to have been at least 25 years old, and his elder brother, not less than 27. This places the date of Amoghavarsha II’s birth approximately in or before A.D. 891. As his mother Vijāmbā must have been at least 14 years old at this time, she was born before A.D. 877. Even if each of Kokalla I, Arjuna, and Ammana is assumed to have had his first child when he was at least 20 years old, Kokalla I must have been born in or before A.D. 817. This is the latest possible date of Kokalla’s birth, though he was in all likelihood born much earlier. The poet Rājaśekhara, who flourished in the early part of the tenth century A.D., was a contemporary of Yuvarāja I, the grandson of Kokalla I, and the fourth ruler of the dynasty. This also shows that Kokalla I flourished long before the beginning of the tenth century A.D. This conclusion is further confirmed by the Maliyapûndi grant of the Eastern Chālukya Amma II (A.D. 945-70), which states that the Chālukya Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III (A.D. 848-92) defeated Saṅkila (Saṅkaragana), the king of Dāhala. This proves that Saṅkaragana, the son of Kokalla I, succeeded to the throne of his father some time before A.D. 892. Kokalla I may therefore be taken to have flourished in the middle of the ninth century A.D., and the date of his accession may be fixed approximately at A.D. 845.3

Kokalla I was a military leader of a high order. The Bilhari inscription4 states that ‘having conquered the whole earth, he (Kokalla I) set up two unprecedented columns of his fame,—in the quarter of the pitch-borne (Agastya) (i.e., in the south) that well-known Krishnarāja, and in the quarter of Kuvera (north), Bhujadeva, a store of fortune’. The Benares copper-plate5 states that the hand of Kokalla I ‘granted freedom from fear to Bhoja, Vallabharāja, Harsha, king of Chitrakūṭa, and Saṅkaragaṇa.’ Krishṇa of the Bilhari inscription is identical with Vallabha of the Benares plate. Kielhorn rightly identifies Bhoja with the Pratihāra Bhoja I of Kanauj, and Krishṇa with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Krishṇa II of the Deccan. R. D. Banerji’s suggestion that Bhoja, referred to above, is the Pratihāra Bhoja II, is not tenable in view of the fact that Kokalla I closed his reign long before the accession of Bhoja II. The statements of the Bilhari and Benares inscriptions have been interpreted to mean that Kokalla I was an ally of Bhoja, Krishṇa II, Harsha and Saṅkaragaṇa, the reference being

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3 For detailed discussion cf. IHQ, XIII, pp. 482 ff; also HCIP, IV, p. 87.
4 EI, I, p. 264.
5 Ibid., II, p. 306.
to Kokalla I’s assistance to Bhoja against the Pālas of Bengal, and to Krishṇa II against the Eastern Chālukya Gunaga-Vijayāditya III. Harsha of the Benares plate is taken to have been the king of Chitrakūṭa and is identified with the Chandella Harsha of Bundelkhand. Saṅkaragana is assumed to have been identical with the king of this name, who belonged to the Gorakhpur branch of the Kalachuri dynasty.

The assumption that Kokalla I acted as an ally of Bhoja, Krishṇa II, Harsha and Saṅkaragana appears to be erroneous. As pointed out above, Vijayāditya III came into conflict with Krishṇa II during the reign of Kokalla I’s son Saṅkaragana. The Amod plate6 of the Kalachuri Prithvīdeva, dated A.D. 1079, states that ‘Kokalla raided treasuries of the Karnāṭa, Vaṅga, Gurjara, Koṅkaṇa, and Sākambhari kings, and also of those born of the Turushka and Raghu families’. The Karnāṭa king, referred to above, must be identified with the Rāshtrakūṭa Krishṇa II. The Raghu family7 can confidently be taken as identical with the Pratihāra dynasty of which Bhoja of the Bilhari and Benares inscriptions was a member.

The Nilgund inscription states that the Rāshtrakūṭa Govinda III defeated the Gurjaras, who dwelt in the hill fort of Chitrakūṭa, Chitrakūṭa, which is identified with Chitor, in Mewar, was not under the sway of the Guhilas of Nāgahrada during that period. The king of the Gurjaras, referred to in the Amod plate, may very reasonably be taken to have been connected with Chitrakūṭa, and in that case Chitor was included within Kokalla’s kingdom. Harsha and the Chitrakūṭa-bhūpāla, mentioned in the Benares plate, need not necessarily be identical, and the latter might have been a different king whose name has not been mentioned. Even if Harsha be assumed to have been the ruler of Chitrakūṭa, his identity with the Chandella Harsha cannot be established for Chitrakūṭa in Bundelkhand was outside the kingdom of the Chandellas, at least up to A.D. 954. It has already been noticed that there is chronological difficulty in accepting Kokalla I as a contemporary of the Chandella Harsha. There was a chief named Harsha, who belonged to the Chatsu branch of the Guhila dynasty, and who was a feudatory of the Pratihāra Bhoja I. It was perhaps this Guhila Harsha who shared with Bhoja a defeat at the hands of Kokalla I.

An attempt may be made to identify the other chiefs referred to in the Amod plate, who fell victims to Kokalla’s attack. The king of

6 Ibid., XIX, p. 78.
7 The Pratihāra king Mahipāla I is described as belonging to the Raghu family (above p. 640).
Koṅkaṇa seems to have been the Silāhāra Kapardin II, and the king of Vaṅga was probably Trailokyachandra or his son Srīchandra of the Chandra dynasty of Vikramapura (Bengal). The Turkushkas were most probably the Arabs of Sindh. All these conquests made by Kokalla I raised the Kalachuris to the rank of the Imperial dynasties of this age.  

Kokalla I married Naṭṭādevī of the Chandella family, probably the daughter of king Jayaśakti, and had eighteen sons and one daughter, who was given in marriage to the Rāṣṭrakūta Krīṣṇa II. Saṅkaragaṇa, the eldest son, succeeded him on the throne, and the other princes were made rulers of provinces (māṇḍalas) Kokalla I ruled at least up to A.D. 878 the date of the accession of Krīṣṇa II, and closed his reign before A.D. 888 when, as noted above, Saṅkaragaṇa was on the throne.

Saṅkaragaṇa assumed the titles Raṇavigraha, Mugdhauṇiga, and Prasiddhahdabhavala. He invaded the kingdom of the ruler of Kosala, who seem to have been a Somavaiṣā king, and wrested from him Pāli, 12 miles north-east of Ratanpur, in the Bilaspur district, Madhya Pradesh. He was in friendly relation with his brother-in-law, the Rāṣṭrakūta Krīṣṇa II. Some time before A.D. 888 when the Deccan was invaded by the Eastern Chalukya king Guṇaga-Vijayaḍitya III, Krīṣṇa II sought his military help. Saṅkaragaṇa with his forces joined the Rāṣṭrakūta army and encamped at Kirāṇapurā, identified with Kiranpur, a small town in the Balaghat district, to check the further progress of the Eastern Chalukyas. But the allied army was forced to retreat and Kiranapura was burnt by the victors. Saṅkaragaṇa is said to have reached the Malayā hill in the neighbourhood of the Kerala country or the Malabar coast with his army. He probably led this military campaign as an ally of the Rāṣṭrakūtas. The claim made in the Bilhari inscription that Saṅkaragaṇa 'conquered the lines of the country by the shore of the eastern sea' cannot be verified. Saṅkaragaṇa had two sons, Bālarsha and Yuvarāja I, and two daughters Lakshmīdevī and Govindāmbā. Both these princesses were married to the Rāṣṭrakūta Jagattuṇīga, son of Krīṣṇa II. Lakshmīdevī's son was the Rāṣṭrakūta emperor Indra III.

8 (For a different view of the conquests of Kokalla, cf. Ed.)
9 ‘EI, I, p. 32.
10 ‘IA, XII, pp. 250, 265.
11 ‘EI, I, pp. 256, 265. See above, Ch. XVII, section II 2, p. 490.
12 Author’s Eastern Chālukyas, cf. above, Ch. XVII, section IV 3, p. 512.
13 ‘EI, I, p. 265.
14 Ibid.
15 ‘IA, XII, pp. 265 ff.
Sanikaragana was succeeded by Balaharsha, and the latter by Yuvaraja I, who assumed the title Keyuravashva, and flourished in the second quarter of the tenth century A.D. He led a successful expedition against Gauḍa or North Bengal, which was at that time under the rule of the Pāla Rājyapala or his successor Gopāla II (p. 679). He next invaded Kalinga and won a victory over its ruler, who probably belonged to the Ganga dynasty. A Khajuraho inscription states that the Chandella Yasovarman (c. A.D. 925-50) defeated the Chedis. Yasovarman's adversary seems to have been Yuvaraja I. Yuvaraja gave his daughter Kundakadevi in marriage to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarsha III (c. A.D. 933-39). The issue of this marriage was Krishna III, who ascended the throne in A.D. 939. Notwithstanding this close relationship the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Kalachuris entered into a terrible conflict during this period. The Karhad inscription of Krishna III, dated A.D. 959, states that he conquered Sahasrārjuna, though he was an elderly relative of his mother and of his wife. The Jura stone inscription proves that Krishna III made himself master of all the countries, at least up to Maihar, in Baghelkhand. This shows that the Dāhala country also passed into his hand. Krishna III's adversary was in all probability Yuvaraja I, who, however, succeeded in reconquering Dāhala within a very short time. The Bilhari inscription mentions Yuvaraja's victory over the Karnatās, i.e., the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and Rājaśekhara probably refers to it when he states that 'Yuvaraja I won a victory over Vallabha, who formed a confederacy with other chiefs.' This was no doubt an outstanding achievement of Yuvaraja, to celebrate which Rājaśekhara staged a drama before the Kalachuri king.

Yuvaraja I is associated with the religious activities of the Saivas in Dāhala. A Saiva teacher Durvāsa founded a monastery there known as Golakimatha. A remote successor of Durvāsa in the position of the high priest of that monastery was Sadbhāvaśamhū, who received from Yuvaraja I as donation a large number of villages for its maintenance. The Chālukya Avanivarman, who lived in the city of Mattamayūra, was the father of Yuvaraja I's queen Nohalā. At the request of this Chālukya chief a Saiva teacher named Purandara

16 EI, I, pp. 265 ff.
17 Ibid., pp. 126-28.
18 IA, XII, p. 268.
19 EI, IV, p. 288. (But this interpretation is not accepted by all, cf. JOR, XVI, p. 155, Ed.).
20 MASI, no. 23, pp. 11, 117.
21 EI, II, p. 265.
22 Viddhasālaśānavijitā, IHQ, XVII, p. 118.
founded there a monastery. Prabhāvaśiva, a member of this monas-
tery, went to Dāhala at the invitation of Yuvarāja I, who made him
the chief of a monastery which he built in his own kingdom and to
which he granted lands for its maintenance. Some are inclined to
think that the ruins of a monastery at Chandrehi, 29 miles south of
Rewa, Baghelkhand, represent that ancient monastery. Yuvarāja I is
also known to have built a magnificent temple of Śiva at Gurgi, 12
miles east of the town of Rewa, the ruins of which can still be seen.
The queen Nohalā founded a temple at Bilhari, in the Jabalpur dis-
trict, and granted seven villages for its maintenance. 23

The great poet Rājaśekhara, who lived under the patronage of the
Pratihāra Mahendrapāla and Mahipāla of Kanauj, was also associ-
ated with the court of Tripuri during the reigns of Saṅkaragaṇa and
Yuvarāja I. He remarks that 'of rivers the Mekalasūṭa, of kings
Ranavigraha, and of poets Surānanda are the ornaments of the coun-
try of Chedi'. 24 He composed his drama Vidhāśālabhaṇḍikā to cel-
brate Yuvarāja I's victory over the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. 'The wonder-struck
poet Rājaśekhara', mentioned in the Bilhari inscription, 25 evidently
refers to him.

Yuvarāja was succeeded by his son Lakshmanarāja whose reign
may be placed in the third quarter of the tenth century A.D. He also
won laurels in a number of military campaigns against countries
both far and near. On the east he reached Vaṅgāla and defeated its
king, who was either Trailokya-chandra or his son Śrī-chandra of the
Chandra dynasty of Vikramapura. During that campaign Laksh-
maṇarāja seems to have come in contact with the king of Odra, who
handed over to him an effigy of the serpent Kāliya, wrought with
jewels and gold. Lakshmanarāja also won a victory over the king of
Kosala, who was apparently the Somavamśi king Mahābhava-gupta,
son of Śiva-gupta (above, p. 491). He also invaded the western re-
region and defeated the king of Lāṭa, who seems to have been a vassal
of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan. After achieving victory over the
Gurjara king, who appears to have been the Chaulukya Mūlarāja I,
he proceeded to Somanātha. He offered his prayer to the god with
golden lotuses, and presented to him the effigy of Kāliya, which he
had obtained from the king of Odra. The statement of the Goharwa
inscription of Karnā that Lakshmanarāja defeated the kings of
Pāṇḍya and Kāshmir seems to be a hyperbole. 26

23 MASI, no. 23.
24 El. IV, p. 260.
25 Ibid., I, p. 270.
Lakshmanaṛāja was also like his father sympathetic towards the Śaivas. He appointed the Śaiva teacher Hṛdayaśīva the chief of the monastery of the holy Vaidyanātha, near Bilhari. His minister Bhaṭṭa Someśvara Dikshita built a temple of Viṣṇu at Karitalai, in the Jabalpur district, and Lakshmanaṛāja, his queen and his son Śaṅkaragana made donations for its maintenance. Besides Śaṅkaragana, Lakshmanaṛāja had another son Yuvarāja II. He gave his daughter Bonthādevi in marriage to the Chālukya Vikramāditya IV, whose son Taila II is known to have served the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III as a feudatory in Tardavādi, in the Dharwar district, in A.D. 958. Lakshmanaṛāja was succeeded by his son Śaṅkaragana II, who was a devotee of Viṣṇu. Śaṅkaragana II ruled for a short period and was succeeded by Yuvarāja II.

Yuvarāja II ruled in the last quarter of the tenth century. The Bilhari inscription, which has been mentioned above, seems to have been issued during his reign. Yuvarāja is said to have purified Triparī, which looked like the city of Indra. He fought a severe battle with the Paramāra Muṇja of Mālava in defence of his realm, but having failed to resist the invader, fled away. Muṇja killed a number of Kalachuri generals and made a triumphant march to Tripuri. After the withdrawal of the Paramāras from Dāhala the ministers of the country placed Yuvarāja II’s son Kokalla II on the throne, some time before A.D. 998.

2. The Kalachuris of Sarayūpāra

A minor branch of the Kalachuri dynasty ruled in Sarayūpāra, i.e., the bank of the Sarayū river (the Gogra in U.P.) from the eighth century A.D. Rājaputra, the earliest known chief of this line is stated to have seized in battle the Turaga-pati Vāhali, snatched away the fame of Kiriṭin and other princes and defeated the lord of the kings of Prāchī (east). The identity of Vāhali and Kiriṭin cannot be established, but the lord of the kings of the east seems to have been Dharmapāla of Bengal with whom he probably fought as a vassal of a Pratihāra king. Rājaputra was succeeded by his son Sivarāja I, whose son and successor Śaṅkaragana appears to have suffered a defeat at the hands of the Kalachuri Kokalla I (above. pp 707-8). Śaṅkaragana’s son and successor Guṇāmbhodhīdeva, also known as Guṇāsāgara (I) is described as having fought successfully.

27 MASI, no. 23, p. 46.
29 Author’s History of the Paramāra Dynasty.
30 Kalha plates, EI, VII, p. 85.
with the king of Gauḍa. It seems that he joined the Pratihāra Bhoja in the latter's fight with the Pāla Devapāla. Bhoja granted him some territories, probably in recognition of this service. Guṇāṃbhodhīdeva had two sons: Ullabha and Bhāmānadeva, who ascended the throne one after the other after his death. Bhāmānadeva is credited with a victory over the king of Dharā, the capital of Mālava. He seems to have fought against the Paramāra Vairisūlha II on behalf of the Pratihāra Mahīpāla I, whose son Mahendrapāla II is known to have been in possession of Mālava. After Bhāmānadeva, the throne was successively occupied by Saṅkaragaṇa II, Mūgdhatunīga, Guṇāsāgara II, Sivarāja II, Bhāmāna, Saṅkaragaṇa III, and Bhīma, each of whom was the son of his predecessor. In the early part of the eleventh century a.d. Bhīma was deprived of his sovereignty by an unknown enemy, and in a.d. 1031 Vyāsa, son of Guṇāsāgara II, was placed on the throne. Vyāsa's son Māharājādhirāja Soḍhadeva, known to have been ruling in a.d. 1079, is the last known king of the dynasty, and his kingdom extended from the Gogra to the Gandak.

II. THE CHANDELLAS

The Chandellas, also known as the Chandrātreyas, claim their descent from the sage Chandrātreya, the son of the Moon, who was born of the eye of the sage Atri.\textsuperscript{31} The Mahobā-khanda of Chand Bardai\textsuperscript{32} relates that Chandravarmā was born of Chandramā, the Moon-god and the maid Hemavati, the daughter of the priest of the Gaharwar rājā of Benares. He was taken to Khajurāho, founded a dynasty at Mahoba in Sam 225, and also built the hill-fort of Kālaṇjara. Cunningham refers the date of the accession of Chandravarmā to the Harsha era, corresponding to a.d. 831. The traditional stories of the origin of the Chandellas do not seem to have any historical foundation. Smith's suggestion\textsuperscript{33} that the Chandellas were Hinduised Gonds also does not carry much weight.\textsuperscript{34} The bards mention the Chandellas as one of the thirty-six Rājput clans and they are of the same caste as the Chāhamānas.\textsuperscript{35}

Nannuka, who is described as born in the lineage of Chandrātreya in the Khajurāho inscription, was apparently the founder of the family.\textsuperscript{36} The epigraphic records connect the founder of the family

\textsuperscript{31} EI. I, p. 120.
\textsuperscript{32} Cunningham, ASR. II, p. 445.
\textsuperscript{33} IA, 1908, XXXVII, p. 114.
\textsuperscript{34} The names like Nannuka or Kokkalla may suggest non-Aryan origin, though this cannot be treated as a definite evidence (Editor).
\textsuperscript{35} EI, I, p. 182, v. 21.
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., p. 129.
with Khajurāho, ancient Kharjuravāhaka, in the old Chhatarpur State, Madhya Pradesh, and Nannuka may be assumed to have first settled there. As Dhaṅga, sixth in descent from Nannuka, ascended the throne in c. A.D. 950, Nannuka may have flourished in the first half of the ninth century. This supports Cunningham's suggestion that the traditional date (Saṅ 256) of the foundation of the Chandella kingdom is to be referred to the Harsha era. It is not-unlikely that Nannuka bore another name Chandravarmā.

As the kingdom of the Pratihāras extended, during this period, at least up to Deogarh in the Jhansi district and Kālaṇjara in the Banda district, U.P., nearly 40 miles north-east of Khajurāho, it is likely that the early Chandella rulers were feudatories of the imperial Pratihāras. Nannuka's son and successor, Vākpati, who probably flourished in the second quarter of the ninth century A.D., is said to have made the Vindhya region his pleasure ground.37 The Vindhya region was also raided by the Pāla Devapāla, the Pratihāra Bhoja, and the Kalachuri Kokalla I, all of whom were apparently contemporaries of Vākpati. The political relation of Vākpati with these rulers is difficult to determine. Vākpati had two sons, Jayaśakti (also known as Jejjaka and Jeja) and Vijayaśakti (also known as Vijjaka), both of whom may be assigned to the third quarter of the ninth century A.D. Jayaśakti, who succeeded his father, appears to have been a king of great renown, as the country round Khajurāho was known from this time as Jejakabhumti after him.38 About this time a Chandella princess named Naṭṭā was given in marriage to the Kalachuri Kokalla I.39 The princess may have been the daughter of Jayaśakti or his successor Vijayaśakti. The Khajurāho inscription relates that Vijayaśakti reached the southernmost point of India in course of conquest.40 As has been suggested above (p. 666) Vijayaśakti probably joined Devapāla of Bengal in his expedition against the Drāviḍa country.41 Vijayaśakti's son and successor is Rāhila. A village, 2 miles south-west of Mahoba, in the Hamirpur district, U.P., is called Rahilya, and a tank there is known as Rahilya-sāgara. Local tradition relates that the tank is named after Rāhilyavarman, who excavated it.42 It is not unlikely that Rāhilyavarman is identical with the King Rāhila,

37 Ibid.
38 Ibid., p. 221. But if, as Cunningham suggests (Ancient Geography of India, p. 481), Hiuen Tsang's Chih-Chi-To is equivalent to Jaiati, Jejabhuki or Jejakabhumti, the name must have been current before the time of Jayaśakti (Ed).
39 Ibid., II, p. 306.
40 Ibid., I, p. 138.
41 HBR, I, p. 119 n. 4.
42 Cunningham, ASR, II, p. 441.
referred to above. If the king Rāhila is really the founder of the tank it will prove that Mahoba was within the kingdom of the Chandellas during this period. Rāhila was succeeded by his son Harsha, who may be assumed to have flourished in the first quarter of the tenth century A.D. It appears from a fragmentary inscription found\(^{43}\) at Khajurāho that either Harsha or his son Yaśāvarman re-instated a king named Kshitipāladeva on the throne. Kielhorn is inclined to identify the Chandella king with Harsha and Kshitipāla with the Pratihāra king of this name, who was also known as Mahīpāla I. It has been suggested above (p. 642) that Harsha probably helped Mahīpāla I in regaining his throne of Kanauj when it was captured by the Rāśṭrakūṭa Indra III. Some are inclined to identify Harsha, who was granted freedom from fear by the Kalachuri Kokalla I, with the Chandella king of this name. But as suggested above, this Harsha, is probably the king of this name belonging to the Chatsu branch of the Guhila dynasty. The Chandella Harsha married a princess of the Chāhamāna dynasty named Kañchukā.\(^{44}\) She probably belonged to the feudatory Chāhamāna family, which was ruling in the Mālava region about this time. Harsha was succeeded by his son Yaśāvarman, who bore another name Lakshavarman.

The Chandellas acquired more political power during the reign of Yaśāvarman, who flourished in the second quarter of the tenth century and took full advantage of the decline of the Pratihāras. The Khajurāho inscription of Daṅga narrates\(^{45}\) vividly the extensive conquests made by Yaśāvarman though, of course, with a touch of poetic imagination. The most outstanding achievement of Yaśāvarman was his conquest and annexation of Kālañjara. The place was for some time under the occupation of the Pratihāras, who had to surrender it to the Rāśṭrakūṭa Krishna III. Yaśāvarman seems to have wrested it from that Rāśṭrakūṭa chief. Henceforward Kālañjara became the military headquarters of the Chandellas. Yaśāvarman gradually conquered all the territories up to the Yamunā without much difficulty. His army is said to have encamped on the banks of the Yamunā and Gāṅgā in the course of their march for conquest. The Khajurāho inscription further states that Yaśāvarman was, as it were, 'a scorching fire to the Gurjaras'. The Gurjaras are identified by some with the Pratihāras of Kanauj. But the same Khajurāho inscription refers to Vināyakapāla in such a way as to imply that the Chandellas still owed allegiance to that Pratihāra emperor. So the identification

\(^{43}\) EI, I, p. 122.
\(^{44}\) Ibid., p. 128.
\(^{45}\) Ibid.
of the Gurjaras mentioned in the Khajurāho inscription with the Pratihāras of Kanauj may not be regarded as conclusive.\textsuperscript{46}

From the banks of the Gāṅgā and the Yamunā, Yaśovarman led his army against Bengal and Bihar then ruled by the Pālas. It is stated that the king put the Gaṇḍas to sword and reduced the strength of the Mithilas (people of North Bihar). Yaśovarman is further described as having subdued the Khasas,\textsuperscript{47} the Kāśmīri warriors, and the Kurus; and also led his army to the Himalayas along the bank of the Gāṅgā. During this period the throne of Kāśmir was occupied by the kings Yaśaskara, Saṅgrāmadeva and Pravaragupta in succession, and the Khasas were in possession of Lohara, modern Lorin, in Kāśmir. Kuruksetra seems to have been under the sway of the Tomaras of Delhi. It may be reasonably doubted whether Yaśovarman really defeated these rulers and went as far as the Panjāb or the Himalayan region in the course of his conquest.

Adjoining to the kingdom of the Chandellas were Mālava, ruled at that time by the Paramāra Siyaka II as a vassal of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and the country of Chedi, also known as Dāhalā, which was then administered by the Kalachuri Yuvarāja I. Yaśovarman is said to have fought successfully with the ruler of both these countries. In course of his southern campaign Yaśovarman invaded the Kosala country, which was about this time under the sway of the Somavaiśisas, and plundered it. Yaśovarman was undoubtedly a king of great power though he acknowledged the nominal sway of the Pratihāras of Kanauj. His military exploits, however, could not secure for him any territory beyond the Yamunā on the north and the borders of the Mālava and the Chedi countries on the south.

Yaśovarman built a magnificent temple of Viṣṇu, which is identified with the Chaturbhuja temple of Khajurāho, where he installed an image of Vaikuṇṭha. The Khajurāho inscription states that the king of Bhoṭa obtained this image of Vaikuṇṭha from Kailāsa, and presented it to Sāhi, the king of Kīra, who in his turn, gave it to Herambapāla for a force of elephants and horses. Yaśovarman obtained it from the Hayapati Devapāla, son of Herambapāla.\textsuperscript{48} This Devapāla is identified with the Pratihāra king of this name, who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 948. Yaśovarman had two sons Dhaṅga who succeeded him on the throne, and Krishnapa.\textsuperscript{49}

The dates of Dhaṅga’s inscriptions range from A.D. 954 to 1002.\textsuperscript{50}

\textsuperscript{46} Author’s The Pratihāras and the Gurjaras, JBORS, XXIV.
\textsuperscript{47} IHQ, XXV, p. 213.
\textsuperscript{48} EI, I, p. 134.
\textsuperscript{49} IA, XVIII, p. 236.
\textsuperscript{50} EI, I, pp. 123-52; IA. XVI, p. 201.
As noted above, Dhaṅga probably acknowledged the supremacy of the Pratihāra Vināvakapāla at least up to A.D. 954, the date of the Khajurāho inscription. Dhaṅga and his successors took pride in describing themselves as lords of Kālaṇijara. At this time the Chandella kingdom extended 'as far as Bhāsvat (Bhilsa) situated on the bank of the river of Mālava; from here to the bank of the river Kālindī (Yamunā), and from here also to the frontiers of the Chedi country (Jhabhalpur region) and even as far as that mountain called Gopa (Gwalior)' 51 Thus in the early years of Dhaṅga's reign Gwalior, Yamunā, Kālaṇijara, and the northern border of the Jhabhalpur region were the extreme limits of the Chandella kingdom. The credit for this wide expansion of the Chandella kingdom does not entirely belong to Dhaṅga, for Yaśovarman was in possession of at least the major portion of it. Dhaṅga could not, however, retain his hold over Gwalior for a long time. The Kachchhapaghāta Vairādāman defeated him and his suzerain lord the Pratihāra king of Kanaūj, who was possibly Vijavapāla, and wrested Gwalior from him.52 It is stated that Vajradāman defeated the ruler of Gādhinagara (Kanaūj) and conquered Gopādri or Gwalior. As Dhaṅga is known to have been in possession of Gwalior about this time, it is obvious that he was forced to surrender the place to the invader, though he was reinforced by the army of his overlord. A stone inscription of the Mahārāja- dhārāja Vairādāman,53 dated A.D. 977, has been found at Gwalior. The defeat of the Pratihāras at the hands of the Kachchhapaghātas gave a death blow to their prestige as an imperial power in Northern India, and Dhaṅga was not slow to take advantage of this. He invaded the eastern part of the Pratihāra empire and wrested all the territories from Benares to Allahabad.54 The fact of his victory over the king of Kanaūj in the battle-field is recorded in a Chandella inscription.55 The Nanyur inscription56 of his reign was issued from Kāśikā, which is a synonym for Vārānasī. As Dhaṅga is said to have died at the confluence of the Gaṅga and the Yamunā, Allahabad was apparently within his kingdom. These territories were evidently acquired by Dhaṅga after A.D. 954, the date of the Khajurāho inscription, mentioned above. The extension of the Chandella kingdom up to Benares seems to have encouraged Dhaṅga to lead his army against

51 EI, I, p. 129.
52 IA, XV, p. 36.
53 JASB, XXXI, p. 303.
54 IA, XVI, p. 201, EI, I, p. 146; V, p. 55.
55 EI, I, p. 197.
56 IA, XVI, p. 201.
Bihar and Bengal, for he is said to have conquered Aṅga and Rādhā. Aṅga or Bhagalpur was under the sway of the Pāla king Vīrahrāpāla II or his son Mahīpāla I. Dandabhukti was ruled by the Kāṃbojas at this time. In the first quarter of the tenth century a king named Ranaśūra was on the throne of southern Rādha. Dhaṅga’s adversary in Rādha was either a chief of the Kāṃboja dynasty or a predecessor of Ranaśūra. The great political changes that took place in the Deccan after the fall of the Rāṣṭrakūtas tempted Dhaṅga to lead an expedition into that country. It is stated that he defeated the king of Kuntala, who is to be identified either with a successor of the Rāṣṭrakūta Krishna III or the Chālukya Taila II. It was probably on that occasion that Dhaṅga raided the countries of the Somavainis of Kosala and the Eastern Chālukvas of the Andhra country. The statement that Dhaṅga won victories over the kings of Kāṇīchī and Siṃhala seems to be a hyperbole.

Ferishta relates that when the Shāhi king Jaipāl sought the help of the chiefs of Northern India against the incursions of the Amir Sabuktigin, the king of Kālaṇijara was one of those who responded to this appeal. In the battle that took place near Lamghan the Indian chiefs suffered a heavy defeat. The battle took place about A.D. 989, when Dhaṅga was the king of Kālaṇijara. Doubts have been expressed as to the authenticity of the report supplied by Ferishta as it does not occur in the works of the early Muslim historians. But that Dhaṅga came in conflict with some Muslim invaders may be inferred from a Chandella inscription which records that Dhaṅga ‘by the strength of his arms equalled even the powerful Hamvīrā’. Hamvīrā is a corruption of the word Amir, a title borne by the chiefs of the Yamini dynasty of Ghazni. So it is not altogether unlikely that Dhaṅga sent an army to help Jaipāl against the Yamīnis.

Dhaṅga deserves great credit for raising his family to the rank of one of the most powerful ruling dynasties of Northern India. He was busy conducting military campaigns throughout his life and by the strength of his arms, he succeeded in pushing the northern boundary of the Chandella kingdom up to the bank of the Gāga. He is said to have been adept in the abstruse conduct of politics. He built a temple of Siva at Khajurāho, and during his reign Kokalla of

57 EJ. I, p. 145.
58 Ibid.
59 Ibid.
60 Ibid.
61 Briggs, I, p. 18.
62 EJ. I, pp. 218, 221.
63 Ibid., p. 189.
the Grahapati family erected the temple of Vaidyanātha also at Khajurāho. He lived for more than hundred years and he is said to have died by plunging himself in the holy water at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. His long reign covered the second half of the tenth century and a few years beyond it.

III. THE PARAMĀRAS

The kingdom of the Chandellas bordered upon that of the Paramāras of Mālava on the south-west. As regards the origin of the Paramāra family, both the epigraphic records and the literature of the period relate a legendary story. It is stated that the sage Vaśishṭha had a wish-granting cow (Kāmadhenu) which was stolen by his rival, the sage Viśvāmitra. Vaśishṭha needed the service of a general of power and strength who would be able to recover his cow. He dug a pit on Mt. Abu, kindled fire in it, and threw there an offering with some holy sayings for the fulfilment of his desire. A hero forthwith sprang out of the fire with bow, crown, and golden armour. He wrested the cow from Viśvāmitra and restored it to its original owner. In recognition of this service Vaśishṭha gave him the name Paramāra (Slaver of the enemy), and made him the ruler of the earth. In the family of this king was born Upendra, the earliest known king of the Paramāra dynasty. Though the story itself is a myth, it is assumed by some scholars that it suggests Mt. Abu as the original home of the dynasty.

The earliest known record to throw light on the history of the Paramāra dynasty is the Harsola grant, dated A.D. 948. It relates that Mahārājādhirāja Akālavarsa Prithvīvallabhā meditated upon the feet of Mahārājādhirāja Amoghavarshādeva. In the renowned family of that sovereign was born the (Paramāra) Vākpattirāja (Vākpattirāja I). Akālavarsa and Amoghavarsha are identified respectively with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Krishna III and Amoghavarsha III. The inscription therefore discloses that the Paramāras were a branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa origin of the Paramāras is further suggested by the fact that Vākpati II, the founder of the greatness of the Paramāra dynasty, assumed the Rāṣṭrakūṭa titles of Amoghavarsha, Śrivallabhā and Prithvīvallabhā. The original home of the Paramāras may thus be assumed to have been in the Deccan,

64 Ibid., pp. 137, 147.
65 Ibid., p. 148.
67 EI, XIX, p. 257.
68 IA, VI, p. 51; XIV, p. 160.
which was the home dominion of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The epigraphic records help us in tracing the circumstances that led to the establishment of the sovereignty of the Paramārhas in Mālava. Mālava was under the sway of the Prathivāras before the rise of the Paramārhas. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan were the hereditary enemies of the Prathivāras of Mālava. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III occupied the throne of the Deccan from A.D. 794 to 814. The Sañjana plate records that 'Govinda III... acquiring the Mālava country along with Kosala, Kaliṅga. Vaṅga (Verīgī ?) Dāhala, and Odṛaka, made his servants enjoy them.' It is evident from the above statement of the Sañjana plate that Govinda III drove out that Mālava king, who is probably to be identified with Nāgabhatā II. from his ancestral dominion, and entrusted one of his vassals with the charge of the administration of Mālava. That Mālava formed a part of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom about this time can also be gathered from the Baroda plate of Karkarāja, dated A.D. 812, which states that Govinda III took due precaution to protect the king of Mālava against the incursion of the Gūjaras. Nāgabhatā II made an attempt to recover Mālava, but succeeded in capturing only some outlying hill fortresses of the country. Upendra, as has already been noticed, is the earliest known king of the Paramāra dynasty. As Vāṅpati-Muṅja, seventh in descent from Upendra, is known to have ascended the throne in A.D. 971-72, the period of Upendra's rule is to be placed in the first quarter of the ninth century. This was the period when Govinda III conquered Mālava and appointed one of his servants to rule it as his vassal. This ruler of Mālava appointed by Govinda III may, therefore, very reasonably be taken as identical with the Paramāra Upendra, probably a member of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty of the Deccan.69

Upendra was also known as Krishnarāja. His successors are occasionally referred to as the lords of Mālava and kings of Avanti. Dhārā, modern Dhar, was the capital of the family. Upendra had two sons. Vairisīṁha and Dambarasīṁha. Vairisīṁha I, who succeeded to the throne of his father, appears to have made over the province of Vāgada, the old states of Banswara and Dungarpur State, to his younger brother to rule.70 Vairisīṁha is said to have erected pillars of victory in different parts of the earth, and some scholars

69 For detailed discussion cf. History of the Paramāra Dynasty, pp. 10 ff. The view of D. C. Ganguly, given above, has been challenged by P. Bhatia (The Paramāras, Delhi, 1970, pp. 18 ff.), but on very insufficient grounds. She dismisses the clear statement in the Harsola Grant as 'vague and stray reference' and attaches greater importance to the evidence of inscriptions and literary texts which speak of the Paramāras as born of the sacrificial fire (Editor).

70 El, XIV, p. 296.
give him the credit of erecting the Iron Pillar at Dhar. Vairisinīha I was succeeded by his son Siyaka I, whose son and successor was Vākpati I. Vākpati I is described as 'a sun for (those) water lilies, the eyes of the maidens of Avanti.' This only proves Vākpati I's supremacy over Mālava. Vākpati I was succeeded by his son Vairisinīha II, also known as Vajraṭa, who flourished in the second quarter of the tenth century A.D. Vairisinīha and his predecessors were vassals of the Rāshtrakūṭas of the Deccan. After the death of the Rāshtrakūṭa Indra III anarchy broke out in that kingdom. The Pratihāras of Kanauj, who were the hereditary enemies of the Rāshtrakūṭas, were not slow to take advantage of the situation. Their king Mahīpāla I launched an expedition against the Rāshtrakūṭas and won a victory. It was probably on that occasion that the Pratihāras inflicted a defeat on the Paramāra Vairisinīha II and succeeded in capturing Mālava, which had been in their possession more than a century before and was wrested from them by the Rāshtrakūṭas. The Pratihāras appointed a governor of their own to administer the newly acquired territory, and the sovereignty of the Paramāras there remained in abeyance at least up to A.D. 946. During this period the Paramāra Vairisinīha II seems to have lived in exile somewhere in the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom. But the disintegration of the Pratihāra empire began after the death of Mahīpāla I. Some time before A.D. 949, Vairisinīha II, taking advantage of the weakness of the Pratihāras, wrested Mālava from them, apparently with the help of the Rāshtrakūṭas, and re-established there the suzerainty of his family. The Udaipur Praśasti reports that after slaying his enemies Vairisinīha II proved that Dhārā belonged to him. Vairisinīha II was succeeded by his son Siyaka II some time before A.D. 949.

Siyaka II was also known as Harsha, while Merutunga calls him by the name Simhadantabhaṭa. Siyaka II's inscription, dated A.D. 948 gives him the titles Mahārajādhirāja and Mahāmandalikachudāmani and describes him as a vassal of the Rāshtrakūṭa Krishna III Akalavarsha. Siyaka II was a great warrior. Shortly before A.D. 949 he, with the assistance of the ruler of Khedaka-maṇḍala (Kaira in Gujarat), led an expedition against Yogarāja, whose kingdom lay to the west of the Mahi. This gives an idea of the extent of the Para-

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72 EI. I. p. 237.
73 History of the Paramāra Dynasty, pp. 31-36.
74 EI. I. p. 235.
75 Ibid., XIX, p. 242.
76 Ibid.
māra kingdom on the west at that time. Yogarāja is identified with
the Chāluṅka Avanivarman II, also known as Yoga, who ruled in
Kāthiawār during that period.77 Some time afterwards Siyaka II
invaded the country of the Hūnas to the north-west of Mālava, and
defeated their king.78 His adversary there seems to have been a
successor of the Hūna Jajjapa, who lost his life in a battle with the
Chāluṅkayas of Saurāṣṭra. Siyaka II fought successfully with the lord
of Raḍupaṭi,79 who cannot be identified, but he had to suffer a defeat
at the hands of the Chandella Yaśovarman.80 In the latter part of
his reign Siyaka threw off the yoke of subordination to the Rāṣṭra-
kūṭas and declared independence. At this time the Rāṣṭrakūṭa
Khoṭṭiga, brother and successor of Krishṇa III, was on the throne of
the Deccan. Khoṭṭiga marched with his army towards Mālava in
order to bring the rebel under his control. Siyaka II, along with
his kinsman Kaṅka of Vāgaḍa, opposed the Rāṣṭrakūta at a place
called Kalighatṭa on the Narmadā. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas retreated after
suffering a defeat, though Kaṅka lost his life in the battle.81 Siyaka
II pursued Khoṭṭiga up to Mānyakheṭa, the capital of the Rāṣṭrakū-
tas, and sacked the city. Dhanapāla’s Paṇḍyalakhaṭi82 states that in
Vikrama Samvat 1029 (A.D. 972) Mānyakheṭa was plundered in the
course of an invasion by the lord of Mālava. The king of Mālava,
referred to, was apparently Siyaka II, as his victory over Khoṭṭiga
has been mentioned in the Udaipur Praśasti.83 Siyaka II was event-
ually driven from Mānyakheṭa by the Rāṣṭrakūta, who received
substantial help on that occasion from the Gaṅga Mārasimha II. The
Sravana Belgola epigraph84 reports that Mārasimha II ‘by the strength
of his arms protected the encampment of the emperor when it was
located at the city of Mānyakheṭa.’ Mārasimha ruled from a.d. 963
to 972, and apparently defended the Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital when it was
invaded by Siyaka II. It was probably on that occasion that the
southern boundary of the Paramāra kingdom was pushed up to the
Tapti. Siyaka II deserves great credit for securing independent status
for his family. His kingdom extended on the north up to the border
of the old Jhalwar State, which was under the sway of the Mahā-

77 Cf. Ch. XXIV, § 2, p.
80 EI, I, p. 134.
82 Ed. Bühler, p. 6.
83 EI, I, p. 237.
84 Ibid., V, p. 179.
rajaḍhiraja Chāmuṇḍarāja in A.D. 971. The poet Padmagupta relates that Siyaka II 'clothed himself in the grass robe of a royal sage, and devoted himself to the practice of penance'. It may be assumed from it that the king abdicated his throne in the latter part of his life and took to asceticism. His queen was Vaḍaja and he had two sons, Muñja and Sindhuräja. He was succeeded by Muñja some time between A.D. 970 and 973.

Muñja was also known as Vākpati and Utpala. Merutuṅga relates a story regarding his birth and accession. It is stated that Siyaka II was without a child for many years. Once when he was on a tour in the countryside he suddenly came across a new-born child lying on the Muñja grass. He picked him up, gave him the name Muñja, reared him like his own son with great affection, and adopted him as his successor to the throne. Some time afterwards a son was born to the king, who gave him the name Sindhuräja. He, however, did not withdraw his affection from Muñja and adhered to his former decision regarding succession.

Muñja was one of the greatest generals of his age. Shortly after his accession he devoted his energy to the further expansion of his kingdom at the cost of his neighbours. He led an expedition against the Kalachuris of Dāhala, defeated their king Yuvarāja II, and captured Tripuri, the capital of the country. His supremacy over the Dāhala country was, however, short-lived. The Kalachuris rallied their forces, compelled Muñja to withdraw from their country, and placed Kokalla II, son of Yuvarāja II, on the throne of Tripuri. Muñja's military campaigns against his north-western neighbours were more fruitful. He invaded Medapāta (Mewar), defeated its king, who may be identified with the Guhila Saktikumāra (A.D. 977), and plundered Aghāta (modern Ahar, near Udaipur railway station, Rajasthan), the capital of the country. The Guhila king saved his life on that occasion by taking shelter under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dharvala of Hastikundī. Muñja next invaded the kingdom of the Chāhāmānas of Naḍḍula, and wrested from their king, Balirāja, Mt. Abu and the southern part of his dominion as far as Kiradu, which lies 16 miles north-west of Balmer, in the former Jodhpur State. The Kauñṭhā grant89 of the Chālukya Vikramāditya V states that at the ap-

85 Navasāhasūrika-charita, Sarga XI, V. 88.
87 EI, I, p. 235; IA, XVI, p. 23; EI, II, p. 5.
88 EI, X, p. 20.
89 IA, XVI, p. 23.
proach of Utpala the people of Marwar trembled. Padmagupta relates that Muñja’s servants got a strong footing in Marwar. Muñja’s attempt to conquer Naḍḍula was frustrated by Balirāja, who claims to have dispersed the army of the Mālava king. Muñja divided the newly conquered territories between the princes of his family. He posted his son Aranyarāja at Mt. Abu, and appointed his son Chandana to rule Jaloṛ. His nephew Dusala was established in the kingdom of Bhīmall, which extended up to Balmer on the west. The Hūnas of Hūna-mandala, to the north-west of Mālava, had to suffer defeat at the hands of this king. Muñja invaded Gujarat which was then ruled by Mūlarāja I, the founder of the Chaulukya dynasty there. Being unable to resist the invader, he fled to the desert of Marwar, and took shelter under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhamala of Hastikundī. Warlike activities of Muñja in Gujarat brought him on the border of Lāṭa, which was at that time ruled by Bārappa, a member of a collateral branch of the Chaulukyas. Muñja easily won a victory over Bārappa, but his conquests of Gujarat and Lāṭa did not lead to any acquisition of territories.

While Muñja led aggressive campaigns in the south, the Chālukya Taila II who wrested the throne of the Deccan from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, cherished a desire to make himself master of the empire which once belonged to them. He began successive campaigns against Mālava, which not long before formed a part of the empire of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Merutūṇa relates that Taila II invaded Mālava no less than six times, and on all these occasions he was repulsed by Muñja. Ultimately Muñja intended to get rid of this menace by launching an aggressive campaign to crush the military power of Taila II. His able and astute minister Rudrāditya opposed this project, which in his opinion would inevitably bring disaster on his master. But when he found Muñja determined to lead his army into the kingdom of the Chālukvas he entreated him not to cross the Godāvarī in his advance. But Muñja had such overweening confidence in his military power that he ignored the advice of his minister and pitched his camp on the right bank of the Godāvarī. As soon as this news reached Rudrāditya he committed suicide to avoid the shock of seeing his master in the grip of a terrible calamity, which in his opinion was sure to befall him. His forebodings proved correct. In

90 JBRAS, XVI, p. 173.
91 EI, IX, p. 75.
92 History of the Paramāra Dynasty, pp. 20 ff.
93 EI, IX, p. 75.
94 Ibid., X, p. 20.
95 Ibid., I, p. 235.
the battle that ensued Muñja fell a captive into the hands of his adversary. Merutuṅga, while describing the fateful end of the king, relates a pathetic story, which seems to be mixed up with a touch of romance. He states that Taila threw Muñja into the prison of his capital and asked his own sister Mṛipālavatī to attend on the prisoner. Muñja’s ministers, who came to the Chālukya capital in disguise for the rescue of their master, dug a secret tunnel into the prison and made all necessary arrangements for his escape. Muñja, who fell in love with Mṛipālavatī, disclosed to her the arrangement made for his escape, and requested her to accompany him to his country. But she betrayed the trust reposed in her and reported the matter to her brother. Taila II forthwith took due measures to stop Muñja’s escape and subjected him to severe indignities. Every day Muñja was put in a cage and was dragged from door to door to beg his alms. Subsequently Taila II ordered his execution, and his severed body was hung at the gate of the royal palace.96

This story of Muñja’s imprisonment and execution is supported in outline by the epigraphic records of the Chālukyas.97 Though Muñja spent the major part of his life in warfare, he was not indifferent to peaceful pursuits. He was himself a great poet, and he extended his bountiful patronage to those who devoted their lives to the service of the Goddess of learning. Padmāgupta Parimala was his chief court-poet. Other eminent poets who lived under his patronage were Dhanamījaya, Bhāṭṭa-Ilāyudha, Dhanika, Dhanapala, Sobhana and Amitagati.98 The king also excavated a number of beautiful tanks. One of them, situated at Dhārā, is still called after his name Muñja Sāgara. He is said to have built temples at Ujjain, Mahēśvara, Onkār Mādhātā and Dharampurī. Thus as a soldier, as a litterateur, as a patron of poets and as a builder Muñja occupies a very high position among the rulers of medieval India. His death was deeply felt by his subjects whose lamentations seem to have found expression through the poems of Padmāgupta.99

It is known from Amitagati’s Subhāśitaratnasainḍoḥa that Muñja was on his throne in A.D. 993.99a The king died some time between A.D. 995, his last known date,100 is A.D. 998, the date of the close of the reign of his adversary Taila II. He was succeeded by his younger brother Sindhurāja.

96 Prabandhachintamani, Eng. trans., Tawney, pp. 33-35.
97 IA; XVI, p. 23; EI, XV, p. 350.
98 History of the Paramāra Dynasty, pp. 275, 285-90.
99 JBBRAS, XVI, p. 174.
99a ZDMG, LIX, LXI.
100 The last known date of Muñja is 995 A.D. See EI, XXXIII, p. 132 (Editor).
At the time when Muñja and his predecessors had been administering Mālava, a collateral branch of the Paramāra family is found to have been ruling in Vāgāda, the country round Arthuna, 28 miles west of Banswara. The earliest known chief of the family is Dhanika, who was born in the lineage of Đambarasūna, son of Upendra, the founder of the Paramāra dynasty. He flourished in the middle of the tenth century. He built a temple of Dhaneśvara near Mahākāla in Ujjain. He was succeeded by Chachchha, also known as Kakka or Kaṅka. Chachchha fought on the side of Siyaka II of Mālava against the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Khoṭṭiga at Kalighattta on the Narmadā, and gave up his life bravely in the battle. He was succeeded by Chanḍapa, who ascended the throne in the closing years of the tenth century.101

IV. THE SHĀHIS

In the second half of the ninth century a Hindu Shāhi dynasty was ruling over the Kabul Valley. As regards the origin of this family Alberuni states that a Brahmin named Kallār was the Wazīr of Lagaṭūrman, the last of the Turki Shāhi princes of Kābul (descended from Kanishka). Lagaṭūrman antagonised the people by his misdeeds. Taking advantage of his unpopularity Kallār imprisoned his master and established himself on the throne of Kābul.102 He is the founder of a line of kings known as Hindu Shāhis. He could not, however, keep his control over Kābul for a long time, and had to withdraw towards the east before A.D. 870.

The Rājatarāṅgini103 mentions the name of a chief Lalliya Shāhi, whose kingdom lay between those of the Darads and the Turushkas. The Darads occupied the Kishan-Gaṅga Valley in Kashmir, and the Turushkas were the Mūsulms who occupied Kābul. It is generally assumed that Lalliya Shāhi is identical with Kallār, referred to by Alberuni. His capital was Udabhāṇḍa, modern village of Und on the right bank of the Indus, 15 miles above Attock in the Rawalpindi district, Panjab. Kalhana describes him as the most powerful among the kings in the north. Lalliya Shāhi’s protégé in the south was Alakhaṇa, the king of Gurjara who ruled the upper portion of the flat Doab between the Jhelum and the Chenab rivers, south of Dārva-bhisāra, and probably also a part of the Panjab plain further east. Alakhaṇa’s kingdom was invaded by king Saṅkaravarman (A.D. 883-

103 Stein, I, pp. 205-6.
902) of the Utpala dynasty of Kashmir, who succeeded in wresting from him a part of his kingdom known as the Škka land, which Stein identifies with 'a tract adjoining the lower hills east of the Chenab'. Alakhāna seems to have succeeded in preserving the rest of his kingdom with the help of Lalliyā Shāhi. Saṅkaravarman also tried to crush the power of Lalliyā but failed. The Rājataraṅginī states that Lalliyā Shāhi 'was not received into service by Saṅkaravarman, who desired to remove him from his sovereign position'. It may be that Lalliyā wanted to enter into a friendly relation with Saṅkaravarman after the discomfiture of Alakhāna, but his overture was rejected. Saṅkaravarman, however, could not dethrone Lalliyā.

The history of the Shāhi kingdom after the death of Lalliyā is somewhat obscure. We know the names of some kings from their coins and the chronicle of Kashmir, but it is not easy to ascertain their relations. Different scholars have accordingly construed the history of this period in different ways. The following sketch is based on the views of Stein, and a somewhat different account, based upon the study of coins, will be found in Chapter on Numismatics.

Lalliyā had a son named Toramāṇa, but, according to Alberuni, Samand ascended the throne after Kallār's death. It is likely that Samand usurped the throne by ousting Toramāṇa. This Samand has been identified with Sāmanta, known from numerous coins. But Sāmanta could not enjoy his sovereign position for a long time. Gopālavarmā (A.D. 902-4), son and successor of Saṅkaravarman, took up the cause of the dethroned Toramāṇa and sent his minister Prabhākara against the usurper. Prabhākara forcibly entered Udabhāṇa, overthrew the rebellious Shāhi,104 and placed Toramāṇa on the throne. He gave Toramāṇa a new name Kamaluka.105 Alberuni mentions the name of Kamalu's successor as Bhima. An inscription106 mentions the name of the father of the Shāhi Bhima as Kalalavarman, obviously an error for Kamalavarman. Kamalu and Kamaluka are no doubt contractions of this name.

Kamalu is mentioned as the Rai of Hindustan by Muhammad 'Ufi.107 The same authority relates that Sakawand, situated in Zabulistan (the capital of which was Ghazni), was a place of pilgrimage to the Hindus, who visited that place for the worship of the idol there even coming from distant parts of Hindustan. Fardaghan, 104. The 'rebellious Shāhi', who was dethroned by Gopālavarmā, king of Kashmir, seems to have been Sāmanta. Ibid., p. 217.
105 Ibid.
106 Et., XXI, p. 299.
107 Elliot, II, p. 172.
who was appointed governor of Zabulistan by Amru Lais (A.D. 878-900), led an expedition against Sakawand, conquered the place, drove out the idolaters, and broke the idols into pieces. A portion of the plunder that was obtained was distributed among the troops and the rest was sent to Amru Lais, who was informed of the conquest of the place with a request to send strong re-inforcements. As soon as the news of the fall of Sakawand reached Kamalu, he organised a vast army and advanced towards Zabulistan. Fardaghan felt distressed when he heard about the advance of Kamalu at the head of a big army. He had not sufficient force to oppose the enemy and decided to take recourse to a device to meet the situation till the arrival of the reinforcements despatched by Amru Lais. He succeeded in securing the services of some renegade Hindus and sent them to the Kamalu with necessary instruction. They pretended to be friends and reported to Kamalu that Fardaghan, in anticipation of an attack by the Hindus, collected a huge army, which would soon be reinforced by a big contingent sent from Khurasan. Kamalu believed all this and slowed down the advance of his army for precautions for his safety. This gave a respite to Fardaghan, who was soon joined by the forces from Khurasan. Kamalu lost courage, dared not confront this vast army, and abandoned the project. The information supplied above may be accepted as historical. Sakawand was near Jalalabad, which is described by Baihaki\textsuperscript{108} as a mountain pass leading to Kābul from India. It was obviously within the kingdom of the Shāhis.

According to the Rājatarāginī Kamalu became king during the reign of Gopālavarman, King of Kashmir, who ascended the throne in A.D. 902. But according to Muhammad 'Ufī, Kamalu was on the throne when Amru Lais (A.D. 878-900) was the ruler of Zabulistan. This anomaly may be solved by assuming that Kalhaṇa is wrong in placing the date of Gopālavarman’s accession in A.D. 902, and that it probably took place some time before A.D. 900.

Kamalu was succeeded by his son Bhīma. A stone inscription\textsuperscript{109} of Bhīma discovered at Dewai in Gadun territory, describes the king as the Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Śrī Shāhi Bhimadeva. Bhīma gave his daughter in marriage to Siṅharāja, king of Lohara, modern valley of Lohrin comprising the mountain districts south-west of Kashmir in the ‘Hill State’ of Punch. Siṅharāja’s daughter by the Shāhi princess was Diddā, who played a notable part in the history of Kashmir.\textsuperscript{110} Bhīma appears to have succeeded in exercising in-

\textsuperscript{108} Ibid., p. 140.
\textsuperscript{109} EL, XXI, p. 299.
\textsuperscript{110} Cf. Ch. XVIII.
fluence over the royal court of Kashmir on account of his close relationship with queen Diddā. He built a temple of Vishṇu in Kashmir and gave it the name, Bhīmakesava, after his own. Stein identifies it with the ruins of a temple at Bamzu near Mārtāṇḍa now converted into a Muslim zirata. Bhīma closed his reign some time after A.D. 950. He was succeeded by Jayapāla, whose history will be related in the next volume.

111 Stein, II, p. 298.
112 The date of the accession of Kṣhema-gupta who married Diddā.