

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF CAULUKYAS UP TO VASTUPĀLA

A) ORIGIN OF GURJARADEŚA AND ITS PEOPLE

In any attempt to study the History of Caulukyas certain problems connected with the history of Gurjaradeśa have to be examined again in the light of materials which the labours of Indian Scholars have made available.

A controversy has arisen over the word 'Gurjara'. Does the word primarily denote the country, Gurjaradeśa, Gurjarabhumi, Gurjarātra or Gujarāt?. And has the word been transferred to its rulers and residents in its secondary meaning? Or was Gurjara in its inception the name of an immigrating tribe or tribes and was later transferred to the tract where they first settled and to the kings and the people of that race ?.

This problem has been created by a failure to appraise the value of two facts. Modern Gujarat (=Gujarāt) is not geographically the same as the Gurjarabhumi of the Caulukyas; and modern and Caulukyan Gujarats are both different historically and geographically from Gurjaradesa. The term 'Gujarat' is at present, used in different senses by different people. In ordinary language the term Gujarat is used in two senses. In the first sense it denotes the main land between Mount Abu and the river Daman-Ganga distinguishing it from Cutch and Kathiwar on the one side and Marwar and the Malwa on the

other. In the second sense it means the much larger language-field in which modern Gujarati is spoken. The boundary of this linguistic Gujarat in the north touches Sirohi and Marwar and includes Cutch and the districts of Thar and Parkar in Sind. Its eastern frontier runs down from the Aravalli hills along the eastern boundary of Palanpur enclosing the Bhil settlements and running along the eastern boundary of Dharampur, with the sea in the west. Linguistic Gujarat tapers down to a narrow strip which ends in the bilingual area of the city and the suburban district of Bombay. This area, within which modern Gujarati is spoken may, therefore be called modern Gujarat.¹

But at no time in history were its frontiers co-terminous with the boundaries of any part of political Gujarat or of Gurjaradeśa known to history. At the same time at no time in history were Mount Abu and the town Srimala or Bhillamala outside the boundaries of the tract known as Gurjara or Gurjaradesa or Gujarat. Bhillamāla therefore, is the centre, the fluctuating boundaries of the province have to be measured from it.

Gujarat again is not the same thing as Gurjaradeśa or Gurjara. The word 'Gurjara' appears in history as applicable to a region in the middle of the sixth century. A.D. Its capital was Bhillamala . Its southern boundary was somewhere about the river Sarasvati on which the town of Patana (now in Baroda state) came to be situated. Its northern boundary was beyond modern Jodhpur. The land was styled 'Gurjara' pure and simple. The names of the countries which surrounded it and which now form part of modern Gujarat were not very different in point of population, but were differently

delimited. Nasik was Nasik in Maharashtra. From Bulsar to Broach was Bhrgukaccha or south Lata. From Broach to Mahi including the modern Baroda. Pranta was Malava, from Mahi to Sabarmati was Khetaka, modern Kheda; parts of Ahmedabad district were Aśapalli near the modern village Aslali ; north of it was Anarta with its capital Anandapura of modern Vadānagar. Kathiawar was divided into Valabhi and Saurashtra. Kaccha was so named even then. What is Malva now was called Ujjayini or Avanti. The southern part of the old Gurjara is now included in modern Gujarat as its northernmost part and lies between Sirohi and the Sarasvati.²

The imperial Gurjaras of the first dynasty, who are styled by modern historians as the Pratihāras of Kanauj, looked to Gurjaradeśa as their homeland. That is why they were called Gurjaras. And the imperial Gurjaradeśa under the greatest of them, Mihirabhoja, extended in the west, from Prthudaka in the Punjab to Jodhpur, from Jodhpur to Abu, from Abu to the mouth of Sarasvati, so as to include the portion east of modern Wadhwan. The Sarasvati was the southern limit or perhaps Anarta was absorbed in Gurjaradesa. The bulk of modern Malwa also formed part of it. Saurashtra and Kaccha were not in Gurjaradesa but were ruled by the Imperial Gurjaras. The region from Khetaka, modern Kaira, or perhaps from Mahi to Kaveri in the Surat district was not in Gurjaradeśa and was called Lāta. Lāta was the battle-ground, between the Pratihāra emperors of Gurjaradeśa and the Rāṣṭrakuta emperors of Karnataka.³

Two successive raids of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, one in 915. A.D., and the other in 940 A.D. broke the first empire of Gurjaradesa. The political fabric which the imperial Gurjaras of the Pratihara dynasty had reared went to pieces. Every feudatory became independent. Gurjaradeśa from the homeland of emperors became a battle-ground of petty kings. The principal fragments of the imperial Gurjaradeśa were the regions of Delhi, Sapadalaksa with Sakambhari, modern Sambhar, as its capital in the north, Gopagiri, modern Gwalior, Kiradu near Jodhpur, Marwar with its capital at Naddula, Medapata with its capital at Citrakuta or Chitor, Jabalipura or modern Jalor, Abu with its capital at Candravati; Sarasvata Mandala or the valley of the Sarasvati river with its capital Anahilavada Patana; Vagada or Dungarpur Banswara State and Malva with its Capital Dhara.⁴ Gurjaradesa at the height of its first Empire includes other provinces also, Viz. Kanyakubja Visaya, the region around Kanauj. Pratisthana Visaya, the region around Kasi; Jejabhukti or Bundelkhand, Saurashtra and Kaccha. These also drifted away as separate kingdoms and the limits of old Gurjaradeśa were forgotten.

In this confusion, Mūlarāja the founder of the Caulukya dynasty captured the Southernmost slice of Gurjaradeśa and established himself at Anahilavada Pātana. His little principality was known as Sārasvata Maṇḍala, not as Gurjaradeśa. When he carved out this little kingdom for himself the Paramara ruler who ruled over modern Malwa, Khetaka Maṇḍala and parts of Lāṭa was called a Gurjara. But the title, Gurjareśvara struck to Mūlarāja and his successors who ruled at Pātana. No doubt Sārasvata Maṇḍala and Satyapura Maṇḍala which he soon captured and adjoining Abu region, were parts of old

Gurjaradesā⁵ But after 940 A.D. the territory over which the Caulukyas of Gujarat ruled, came to be called 'Gurjarabhumi'. And as the Southern frontier of their little kingdom advanced under Karna, Jayasimha-Siddharaja and Kumārapāla, the name 'Gurjarabhumi' or 'Gujarata' came to be applied to such accretions. Each of the other fragments of the imperial Gurjaradeśa was known by a separate name, but the region from Abu in the receding southern frontier which first rested on the Mahi, then on the Narmada and then on the Daman-Ganga on the main-land, came to be known as Gujarat. The kings of Anahilavada were invariably Gurjaresvaras.

The name Lāta as applied to the portion between Mahi and Daman slowly disappeared and the southern boundary of Gujarabhumi was Daman-Gaṅgā when Kumārapāla died in 1174. A.D.⁶ When the Muslims captured Anahilavāda Pātana the kingdom that they inherited from the Caulukyas of Pātana was known as the kingdom of Gujarat. Thus it was Mūlarāja and his successors who acquired a part of the imperial Gurjaradeśa for themselves and brought with them the name Gurjaresvaras and it was in their time that the bulk of the peninsular Gujarat received its name.

The second belief almost elevated to the pedestal of a religious dogma, which consciously or unconsciously obscures judgement of this period of Indian History, is that Gurjaras were a foreign tribe. They immigrated to India with the Hunas in C.450 A.D. Whatever the locality of which the word 'Gurjara' or any word of which it forms part like Gujranwala, Gujarat, Gurjarkahan is applied at present, indicates the settlement of this foreign tribe

in its onward march from the north-western frontier of India to the Khatiwat peninsula. People or kings referred to as Gurjaras, therefore, belonged to this foreign tribe.

This theory of immigration has so captured the imagination of students of Indian History, both Indian and Foreign, that everything connected with Gurjara is sought to be explained by it⁷. But against great names in Indian Research like JACKSON, BHAGWANLAL, HOERNLE, BHANDARKAR and SMITH, there has been a protest led by VAIDYA, OJHA and KRISHNASWAMI IYENGAR the last of whom states, "I do believe that the immigration of the Gurjaras is not such a settled fact of history for deductive applications. I did my best to examine the materials on which the theory of immigration was based and I submit that in view of all the evidence that has been forth-coming of recent years the theory of immigration is unsustainable".⁸ K.M. MUNSHI, clarifies the position in this statement by saying "I venture to submit that there is no determinative piece of evidence that the word Gurjara was used to indicate the race of the person indicated; or that the person denominated was of the foreign origin."⁹

The theory began with an early bias which can be traced to European scholars of the mid-nineteenth century. Some of the inferences drawn under the influence of this bias were remarkable :

(A). The Gurjaras were always coupled with the Hunas. They were 'Khazaras', part of the great horde of which Juan-Juan or Avars and the Epithaletes Yeats and the white Hunas were leading elements. Therefore the Gurjaras came with the Hunas to India.¹⁰

As against this, is the other view which is borne out by the literary and epigraphic references of six centuries. In the seventh century A.D. a certain tract in modern Rajaputana was known by the name of Gurjara. Its inhabitants were divided into Brahmanas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras and were similar in race and culture to others of North India. They with the people who occupied Lāṭa, Saurashtra, Malva, Ānarta and Ujjayini formed a homogeneous people. The people residing in this tract whenever they migrated to other parts of the country, were known as Gurjaras from the name of their homeland just as residents of other provinces like Gouda, Lata, Dravida were known by the respective names of their homelands. The rulers of Gurjaradesa politically consolidated the surrounding parts of which the people were homogeneous. As a result Gurjaradesa grew to become co-terminous with the kingdom of its kings. The geographical units which are known as Gujarat, which carry the word Gurjara in it, are isolated fragments of that larger Gurjaradesa which have retained old name while the surrounding parts have lost it, or were towns or fortresses built or occupied by persons who called themselves Gurjaras. Finally the castes and tribes which bear the name Gurjara and the kings who styled themselves or were known as such, derived it from their homeland.¹⁴

A detailed examination of the sources therefore becomes necessary. But, a few correctives must not be forgotten while securing such evidences.

Firstly, the absence of reference to the name of a country in the *Mahābhārata* or such earlier records does not mean that the name of the country

is necessarily derived from a foreign name. Lāta, for instance, is not known to the *Mahābhārata*, and yet no one has suggested that the name was given to modern south Gujarat by foreigners. Vāgada, the name of the region represented by modern Dungarpur-Bansvara, is not mentioned in the Purānas. Even Khetaka Maṇḍala is not found in old literature though its name sprung into existence between the first and the fifth century of the Christian Era. The absence of the name of Gujjara or its Sanskritised form Gurjara therefore from any literary or ephigraphic record before the sixth century A.D. need not necessarily involve its foreign origin.¹⁵

Secondly, the name of a country is used for its kings both in literature and ephigraphic records as in the case of Lāta, Malava, Kuntala, Cedi etc. If Gurjara was the name of a country, its kings would naturally be referred to as Gurjara. Such use does not necessarily denote the original tribe to which the king belonged.

Thirdly, the residents of a country were always described by the name of the country. The use of the words Saurāstras, Lātas, Malavas for residents of these parts is well-known to literature. If the sub-conscious bias in favour of foreign immigration of the Gurjaras is excluded, there is no reason whatever why the word Gurjara applied to Brahmanas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras need be treated as referring to anything except their home-land.¹⁶

Fourthly, the evolution of Hindu tradition and society shows a tendency to absorb foreigners settled in this country within the social organisation of *Varnāśramadharmā*. The absorptive tendency of Hindu

(B). Sapādalakṣa is Sevalik. Sevalik is Socotra. Socotra is in Africa. Socotra was colonised by remnants of the Greek army of Alexander. The Capas were Gurjaras and were therefore descended from the Greek heroes.¹¹

(C). The Huna group of tribes permanently settled in Rajaputana. The Gurjaras were its important elements. They migrated to all parts of India, among them were Gurjara Brahmanas and Gurjara cultivators. Therefore the foreign tribe of Gurjaras under Brahmanical influence divided itself into four castes, and hence the foreign Gurjaras became Gurjara Brahmanas. Gurjara Vaiśyas Gurjara Kṣatriyas and Gurjara Śūdras.¹²

(D). People calling themselves Gurjaras are found from the Indus to Ganges, and from the Hazara mountains to the Narmada. They are numerous in western Himalayas a tribe of herdsmen is found calling itself Gurjar in Kāśmir. They are numerous on the banks of upper Jumna and the Doab. This distribution testifies to the tribal movements of the foreign Gurjaras.¹³

(E). In the Punjab, the names Gujarat, Gujarnwala, Gurjarakhan, still retain their connection with the word Gurjara. Saharanpur was called Gujarat in the eighteenth century. One of the northern districts of Gwalior is still called Gurjaragadh. The northern and central portions of Rajputana were called Gurjaratra in the ninth century. The Gurjaras are found in Bundelakhanda. The word Gujarata of course is there as applied to modern Gujarat. There are Gurjaras in the Narmadā valley and Nagpur ; and also in South India where they have drifted atleast before sixth century. These places, argue eminent scholars, indicate the main stages in the onward march of the foreign Gurjaras from Peshawar to Narmadā.

culture was so effective that within two generations communities of foreign origin became rooted both in tradition and social institutions of the land. If Gurjaras were foreigners, if its warriors had been absorbed completely as Kṣatriyas, so that they traced their decent from a Brahmana Haricandra or from the Ikṣvāku Lakṣmaṇa, it would be surprising indeed if they continued to maintain the badge of their foreign origin by calling themselves Gurjaras. The absorption of foreign tribes in Hindu society has always taken the form of giving to military leaders the position of Kṣatriyas and others the position in the lower strata of the society according to the profession they followed. But in no case except in the isolated and doubtful case of Maga Brahmanas settled at Śrimala who are stated Magi priests of Persia, has foreign group been given the status of Brahmanas. But to assume that the Gurjaras under Brahmanical influence divided themselves into four castes is to misread the processes of Hindu social and cultural evolution.¹⁷

Fifthly, Rajaputana, Gujarat and Malva wherein are found traces of people, kings and places known by the name of Gurjara or any other name associated with it, were not empty places before the sixth century. From early times Brahmanas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas of Aryo-Dravidian stock, and the aborigines lived there ; and the foreign Hunas or Gurjaras, only came if at all as conquering tribes to win, to settle, and to be absorbed among the existing population. Their number therefore could never have been so large as to displace or to absorb the population. The Rajputs of Rajaputana so named only by the Muslim chroniclers could not be all Hunas and Gurjaras, who simply elbowed out the original Kṣatriya donned the belief, tradition and

culture of their victims, as if it were a clock. And if so, where did the old Kṣatriyas go ?

If the earliest records which refer to the word Gurjara are examined with the aid of these correctives the theory of immigration will appear to be of doubtful validity.

Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* describes Prabhākaravardhana (569-601 A.D.), the father of Emperor Śrī Harṣa as "The lion to the deer which is the Huna, the dangerous fever to Sindhu Rāja, the one who kept the Gurjara awake, the fell disease to the elephants of Gandhara, the thief of the expanse of Lāṭa, the axe of the creeper of the sovereignty of Malava".¹⁸ These rhetorical references are clearly to the kings of Huna, Sindhu, Gurjara, Gandhara, Lāṭa and Malava, the countries. There is no warrant for treating Gurjaras as necessarily referring to the race, as opposed to the country of the king, nor is Gurjara connected with Huna in such a manner or context as to suggest affinity of race.

Next are two references, one of an individual called Gurjara who engraved a copper-plate charter of Sri Harṣa found in a village thirty-two miles north-east of Azamgadh,¹⁹ and another to "Kucharakudihaj" a temple of Gurjara workmanship referred to in a Tamil poem Manimekhalai composed in the sixth century A.D.²⁰ These references would equally make sense if the word Gurjara was applied to the individual or individuals with reference to the country of their origin. In C.550 A.D. a Gurjaranṛpati invaded region of Broach in Lāṭa from the north ; and Daḍḍa I, of Lāṭa is described as

Gurjaranṛpativamsa in the inscription of his grand-son.²¹ This *Gurjaranṛpati*, from epigraphic evidence is now identified with Haricandra the Brahmana who founded the fortunes of the Pratihāra family in the region of modern Jodhpur, which upto the tenth century A.D. was included in Gurjaratra or Gurjaradeśa.²² Why should he be taken to be a king of a foreign tribe and not as referred to by the name of the kingdom he ruled over, when definite epigraphic evidence establishes that this king was a "Learned Brahmana well versed in Vedas?" A Javanese tradition places the arrival of Bhṛvijaya the son of Kasamacitra or Bālāditya, King of Gujarat in 603 A.D.²³

In the seventh century the evidence is conclusive. The Aihole inscription of Pulakesi II of C.625 A.D. records the defeat of Lata, Malava, Gurjara. This is a clear reference to the kings of Gurjara, Lāṭa and Malava whose territories were contiguous.²⁴ The king of Lāṭa was *Gurjaranṛpativamsa*; while the king of Gurjara can be no other than Haricandra's descendant of the Pratihāra dynasty who reigned at Bhillamāla, the capital of Gurjaradeśa.

Yuan Chwang, the Chinese traveller, is definite that the countries in Western India from South to North were ranged as follows :

- (a) Maharashtra;
- (b) Bhṛgukaccha;
- (c) Malava, the territory between the Narmadā and Mahi and West part of modern Malva.

- (d) Khetaka or the modern district of Kaira;
- (e) Asapalli or the Ahmedabad district;
- (f) Valabhi and Saurāṣṭra in Peninsula;
- (g) Ānarta, North Gujarat.
- (h) Gurjara; and
- (i) Ujjayini.

In 739 A.D. Pulakeshi *Avanijanāśraya* of Navasari describes the conquest of the Arabs or Tejakas over different kings among whom are mentioned Saindhava, Kaccha, Saurāṣṭra, Cavotaka, Maurya and Gurjara.²⁵ Though Cavotaka and Maurya are the family names of rulers, Kaccha and Saurāṣṭra are the names of countries used for their respective kings. The word Gurjara need not therefore be assumed to be applied to the race of the king but to the country over which he ruled.

In the *Pañcatantra*, there is a reference to Gurjaradeśa where camels were available. This points to Gurjara being identical with Rajputana.²⁶

In 778 A.D. Udyotana writing his work *Kuvalayamāla* at Jabalipura, modern Jhalor, describes the beautiful Gurjaradesa and also refers to its residents in general as Gurjaras.²⁷

C.942 A.D. Mūlarāja, the founder of Caulukya dynasty and his successors adopted the title of Gurjareśvara, possibly because they came from

Gurjaradeśa or because Sārasvata and Satyapura Maṇḍalas over which Mūlarāja ruled formed part of Gurjaradeśa.²⁸

C.997 A.D. Ksemendra in his *Aucitya-Vicāra-Cartā* describes the war between Muñja, identified as Vākpati II, and Mūlarāja of Pātana as one between the lion of Malava and the lord of Gurjara.²⁹

These all facts make it clear that the people of Rajaputano, Malva, and of modern Gujarat during the period under survey, were one homogeneous people divided into *Varnas*.

Next, we have to observe the Caulukya dynasty of Gujarat, of which, our hero of the *Vasantoilāsa Mahākāvya*, by name Vastupāla was the prime-minister in the court of Caulukya king Viradhavala.

B. HISTORY OF CAULUKYAS

In the following pages an attempt has been made to trace in brief the history of the dynasty established by Mūlarāja in Gujarat with its capital at Aṇahilapāṭaka. This dynasty is usually referred to as the Caulukyās of Gujarat, though two other dynasties are known to have existed in Gujarat who also called themselves Caulukyās. The relationship, if any, which existed between these three dynasties is not known, and we shall confine our attention exclusively to the activities of the dynasty established by Mūlarāja, and of its successors, the Vaghelas, of which the hero of the *Vasantoilāsamahākāvya* Vastupāla was the prime-minister.

It is generally held that the terms Caulukya and Calukya are synonymous and that these two names and their variants denote the same or various branches of the same family. But while the royal houses of Badami, Veṅgi and Kalyāṇa were called Caulukyās, Calukyās— and particularly in the case of the house of Badami under variants of the same term — the dynasty founded by Mūlarāja described themselves in all but four of its records as Caulukyās.³⁰ Thus while the earlier dynasty and its branches practically never call themselves Caulukyās, the latter dynasty also never uses the form Calukya. Moreover, while both the Eastern Calukyās of Veṅgi and the Western Calukyās of Kalyāṇa have claimed relationship with maun dynasty of Badami the Caulukyās have never done so, nor have they like the Calukyās of Badami ever claimed to be the sons of *Hariti* and to belong to *Mānavya-gotra*.³¹ But they had the following common traditions with the Calukyās of Kalyāṇa, namely, origin of the dynasty from Brhma's *Culuka*, and migration of their ancestor's from Ayodhya, the latter being common with the Vengi branch also.³² Hence though the term Caulukya will be used throughout this work to denote the family name of Mularaja and his successors, it may be assumed that all these families had a common origin, though there is no conclusive evidence for such an assumption.

According to the tradition current among the Caulukyās as early as the twelfth century A.D. their ancestor was created from the *Culuka* or the water-pot of Brahma. This has been described in two inscriptions of the reign of Kumāralpāla of which the *Vaḍanagara-Prasasti* states : "Humbly asked by the gods for a protector against the insults of Danu's sons, the Creator, though

about to perform the twilight worship, produced forthwith in his pot (*Culuka*) filled with the holy water of Gaṅgā, that hero named Culukya who sanctified these three worlds with the floods of his fame. From him sprang a race” which came to be known as Caulukya.³³

Practically the same story is repeated by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi, the commentator of *Dvyāśrayakāvya*, while commenting on the word *Caulukyavamsa* occurring in the second verse of that work; and Merutuṅga in his *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* repeats the verse quoted by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi :

The elephants are ill to take service with, the mountains
have lost their wings

The tortoise is a laggard in love of his friends, and this
lord of the snakes is double tongued,

The creator considering all this, produced, for the support
of the earth,

From the mouthful of water sipped at the evening ceremony,
a brave warrior with waving sword blade.³⁴

Bālacandra Sūri, however, in his *Vasantavilāsa* follows story of the *Vadanagar-Prasasti*, and relates that the first Caulukya was created to destroy the demons.³⁵

An entirely different version is given by Jayasimha Sūri, who wrote his *Kumārapālabhūpālacaritra* later than the authorities cited above. Ignoring the supernatural origin of the race, Jayasimha Sūri traces the descent of his hero's ancestors from one Caulukya, who was a great and virtuous warrior who destroyed countless enemies and then fixed his capital at *Madhupadma*. There then arose a race known by his name Caulukya; after many kings and in the course of time Śrī Simhavikrama was born in the family, who freed the whole world from debt and proclaimed his own era. Simhavikrama's son was Harivikrama from whom were descended eighty-five kings of admirable splendour. Then came a king named Rāma, his son was Bhaṭa, destroyer of Śakas and his son was Śrī Daddaka, conqueror of the Gaja king of Pipasa. Daddaka's kingdom was occupied by Kāñchikavyāla. Then there shone the moon-like king Rāji who married Lilādevī; their son was Mūlarāja.³⁶

It may be mentioned here that in the *Vikramāñkadevacarita*, Bilhana relates that once during his *Sandhya* meditation, Brahma was requested by Indra to produce a warrior and Brahma created one from the water of his *Culuka*. From this warrior arose a race of kings which included the first man Harita and Mānavya.³⁷

Thus we see that with the exception of Jayasimha Sūri, all the other authors have recorded mythical stories probably because during that age it became customary for the royal dynasties to trace their origin to some mythical or epic hero.

The bardic stories which gave another version of the origin of the Caulukyias are no less fanciful; some of these tales were first recorded by Tod, according to whom the Paramaras, the Pratihāras, the Caulukyias, and the Chahamanas belonged to the *Agnikula*. Tod recorded a bardic tale according to which once upon a time the *Daiyas* began to render impure the sacrifice of the *Munis* who had their *Agnikuṇḍa* (Fire-pit) on the summit of Mt. Abu. Tormented by its repeated desecration, the priests assembled round the fire-pit and prayed for help to *Mahādeva*. "From the fire-fountain a figure issued forth, but he had not a warrior's mien. The Brahmins placed him as guardian of the gate, and hence his name Pratihadvara. A second issued forth, and being formed in the palm (*Caloo*) of the hand was named *Calooka*, the third was *Paramar*, and the fourth *Chauhan*".³⁸

A different bardic account was however recorded by Cunningham. It is as follows :

From Brahma's essence the Solankhi was born
 Brahma named him Caluk Rao;
 From Siva's essence the Puwar was born
 From Devi's essence the Pariyar was born
 From the fount of fire sprang up; and wandered forth
 leaving Abu for Abharh of chosen race the Chahuwan.³⁹

It is difficult to trace the source of the second legend, but there is hardly any doubt that the first legend gained in popularity after its inclusion in the

Prithvirāja Rāso of Chand Bardai, who is generally considered to be the originator of the tale. According to the *Rāso* an incantation was commenced by the whole body of the Sages on Mt. Abu under the leadership of Vasistha. The ceremony was interrupted by the demons, when in answer to the prayer of Vasistha there appeared the Pratihara's, Caulukyas and Paramara's, one after another but as none of them was able to defeat the demon, the Chāhamāna had to be created who killed the demons, so that the Sages were at last able to conclude their ceremony peacefully.⁴⁰

MODERN VIEWS

Like the myths, these fanciful tales do not deserve serious consideration; but these bardic lores generally known as the *Agnikula* legend was accepted by Jackson, Campbell, Indrajī and D.R. Bhandarkar, as a corroborative testimony of their theory of the foreign origin of the Gurjaras amongst whom they included Caulukyas.⁴¹ But Buhler, Syamaldas, Ojha and Halder have conclusively proved by demonstrating great historical discrepancies that the worth of *Prithvirāja-Rāso*, as a sober historical work, is practically negligible.⁴² Among the errors contained in the *Rāso* is the statement that Anaṅgapāla Tomara was the grandfather of Prithvirāja which is not a fact; similarly the *Rāso*'s statement that *Rāṇā Samarasimha* of Mewad married a sister of Prithvirāja and died fighting Mu'izz ud-Din is quite unfounded. The known facts about *Rāṇā Samarasimha* prove that he flourished a century after Prithvirāja, so that it was as impossible for him to

have married the sister of the Chāhamāna Emperor as to have fought against his conqueror. Further the *Rāso* relates that Bhima II was killed by Prithvirāja, though it can be proved that the latter outlived the former by about half a century. As for the *Agnikula* legend neither the Caulukya records nor any of the Gujarat chronicles claim for them such an origin, though they not only knew the legend but recorded that Paramara's were descended from the sacrificial fire.⁴³

A.K.Majumdar in his celebrated work "*Caulukyas of Gujarat*" discussed all the statements of scholars about the origin of Caulukyas and came to the conclusion that :

" The discovery of the *Varuṇasarmaka grant* has thrown fresh light on the ancestry of Mūlarāja. These plates issued during the reign of Mularaja by his son record that Mūlarāja was a descendant of *Vyālakāñchi-Prabhu*. As Jayasimha Suri states in his work that *Kāñchikavyāla* was the father of Rāji, M.M.Mirashi has identified him with *Vyālakāñchi* which is quite likely. Thus, of the three Chroniclers Jaysimha Sūri alone seems to have based his narrative on a tradition which is to some extent corroborated by an inscription; therefore we may place greater reliance on Jayasimha Suri's statement. According to him the progenitor of the race was a warrior called Chulukya, who, after having destroyed many enemies established his capital at Madhupadma. There then arose a race known by the name of Caulukya and in course of time king Simhavikrama was born in that family. Simhavikrama freed the whole earth from debt, and proclaimed his own era. His son was

Harivikrama from whom were descended eighty five kings. Then came a king named Rāma whose son was Sahajarāma, the destroyer of the Śakas. His son was Dadakka conqueror of the Gaja king of Pipāsa. Dadakka's kingdom was occupied by Kāñchikavyāla, whose son was Rāji, the father of Mūlarāja."

"Evidently the first part of Jayasīnha Sūri's story has no more value than a legendary tradition. But, beginning with Rāma, the kings mentioned in his chronicle seem to be historical persons. Probably Rāji's ancestors were petty princes of a place called Madhupadma. M.M.Mitashi is of the opinion that, this Madhupadma was situated on the river Madhuvēnī (modern Mahuwar) a tributary of the Betwa. But this identification is beset with too many difficulties, and tentatively we may assume that Madhupadma was Mathura. We may therefore conclude that Rāji came from outside Gujarat, not from Kanauj, but probably from Mathura".

From Mularaja, we will get a correct historical informations about the Caulukya dynasty. Now we can briefly observe the geneology of the kings from Mūlarāja to Vīradhavalā.

I) Mūlarāja I [V.S.998-1053] (A.D.941-997)

There were once three brothers, Rāji, Bija and Dañḍaka, who came to Somanātha on a pilgrimage. On their return journey they were passing through Anāhilapāṭaka, the capital of the Chapotkata king, Sāmantasiṃha. One day king Sāmantasiṃha was engaged in the amusement of manege" and the three young pilgrims hastened to witness the show. Suddenly the king mishandled a horse and whipped it. This was too much for Rāji who exclaimed : "Alas ! Alas !" This censure drew the attention of the king to Rāji who was then able to impress him by his knowledge of horsemanship. Thus began a friendship which was strengthened when Sāmanthasiṃha gave his sister Līlādevī in marriage to Rāji. Some time later Līlādevī died while pregnant ; her womb was opened and the son taken out. This son was named Mūlarāja as he was born under the auspices of the star Mūla.

Mūlarāja became popular at an early age because he was 'resplendent as the newly rising sun', and by his valour he extended the sway of his maternal uncle Sāmantasiṃha. But Sāmanthasiṃha began to throw dangerous temptations in the way of his ambitious nephew : he would crown Mūlarāja when drunk and depose him when sober ; the 'Chapotkata gift' became a proverbial jest . Finding himself daily disappointed in this manner, Mūlarāja made ready his followers and while he was one day being placed on the throne by his inebriate uncle, he killed him and thus became the master in reality.⁴⁴ This event probably took place in V.S. 998.

This detailed story of Mūlarāja's accession is given by Merutuṅga. But three other Chroniclers, namely, Arisimha, Udayaprabha, and Kṛṣṇāji also state that Mūlarāja was the son of the sister of the last Chapotkṛta king.⁴⁵ We also learn from the drama *Moharājaparājaya* that the Chapotkṛtas were notorious drunkards.⁴⁶ Mūlarāja claims in one of his inscriptions that he conquered the "province watered by Sarasvati through the strength of his arms".⁴⁷ Thus it seems that the transfer of power from the Chapotkṛtas to the Cauhukyās was not peaceful and Mūlarāja was most probably the nephew of the last Chapotkṛta king.

However, Merutuṅga's story suffers from one great drawback. According to him Sāmantasimha reigned only for seven years. If, therefore Rāji married Sāmantasimha's sister during the latter's reign, the child of that marriage could at most be about six years old at the time of Sāmantasimha's death. The absurdity of a child of six years murdering his uncle and ascending the throne was pointed out long ago by Bühler, who entirely dismissed the story of the Gujarat Chroniclers and suggested that Mūlarāja was a conqueror of Sāmantasimha's kingdom.⁴⁸

There is no doubt however that Mūlarāja removed the Chapotkṛta king, for we find in the *Vadānagar-Praśasti* the following statement :

"Illustrious Mūlarāja by excessively light taxes gained to the affection of his subjects. He made the fortune of the Chapotkṛta princes, whom he took captive at his will, an object of enjoyment for the multitude of his relations, of Brahmins, bards and servants".⁴⁹

II) Cāmuṇḍarāja [V.S.1053-1066] (A.D.997-1009)

Cāmuṇḍarāja, son of Mūlarāja, probably ascended the throne sometime in A.D.996-7.⁵² As early as V.S.1033 (A.D.977), Cāmuṇḍa as a *Yuvārāja* was issuing land grants.⁵³ This shows that he was at that time old enough to be entrusted with such considerable power. Hence at the time of his accession, he must have been quite advanced in age.

No inscription issued during the reign of Cāmuṇḍa or the two successors has yet been discovered, and the Chroniclers record little about them. We have already seen that Hemacandra gave the credit to Cāmuṇḍa for defeating Bārāpa during the reign of Mūlarāja but as all other Chronicles ascribe the victory to Mūlarāja himself, it seems that Cāmuṇḍa fought under his father, though he may have led the army during the actual combat.⁵⁴

Two conventional verses in the *Vastupāla-Tejapāla-Prāśasti* describe Cāmuṇḍa as having decorated the earth with the heads of the enemy-princes, and his sword is compared to the well of Goddess Harisiddhi, wherein the truthless enemies, prepared for death, earn fame by pouring their blood.⁵⁵ Jayasīṃha Sūri mentions more specifically that Cāmuṇḍa killed in battle one Sindhuraja who was as ungovernable as the sea.⁵⁶ This Sindhuraja can be no other than the Paramara Sindhurāja of Malava who was Cāmuṇḍa's contemporary. Sindhuraja's court poet Padmagupta mentions his victory over the princes of the Hunas and Keralas, and the inhabitants of Vagaḍa, Lāṭa and Murala.⁵⁷ Vagaḍa was the country comprising Banswara and the Dungepur states, which lies to the north-east of Gujarat, and Lāṭa was southern Gujarat. Padmagupta

does not mention the names of the kings with whom Sindhurāja had to fight for Lata, but it could be either Cāmuṇḍa or Goggirāja. The history of Lata during this period is confused. Most probably Sindhurāja attacked while Lata was under Camunda, who soon after took his revenge. For, apart from the Gujarat Chronicles mentioned above, the *Vāḍanagar-Praśasti* composed about two centuries before Jayasīṃha Sūri's work, records that on seeing from afar the armies of Cāmuṇḍarāja, Sindhurāja together with his elephant-forces beat such a cowardly retreat that he thereby lost all his well established fame.⁵⁸ There is no doubt therefore, that Sindhuraja was thoroughly beaten by Cāmuṇḍa, though the statement of Jayasīṃha Sūri, that Sindhurāja was killed need not be taken as literally true. The effect of Cāmuṇḍa's victory probably led to a diminution of the Paramara influence in Abu and Mewar where Caulukya influence predominated.⁵⁹

According to Hemacandra, Cāmuṇḍa had three sons, namely, Vallabharāja, Durlabharāja and Nagarāja. After their education had been completed, Cāmuṇḍa asked Vallabha to uproot a 'thorn' that is an enemy. In obedience to his father's command Vallabha set out with an army.⁵⁹

III) Vallabharāja. [V.S.1066] (A.D.1009)

Hemacandra nowhere refers to Vallabha as a king, far less does he mention his coronation in the *Dvyāśrayakāvya*, though a benedictory verse in the *Siddha-Hemacandra* is devoted to Vallabha, which shows that Hemacandra regarded Vallabha as a king, for those verses were composed in honour of only the Caulukya Kings.⁶⁰ The *Vādanagar-Prasasti*, composed during the time of Hemacandra includes Vallabha in the list of the Caulukya kings. Bālacandra Sūri also includes the name of Vallabha in the Caulukya genealogy respectively in the same line up.⁶¹ Some Caulukya inscriptions do not include the name of Vallabha in the Caulukya genealogy, but most inscriptions do.

The reason may be as suggested by Bühler, that the shortness of the reign induced the writers of inscriptions sometimes to omit his name; it may also be due to the possible fact that his father Cāmuṇḍarāja was living when he died, as suggested by Dr.Ray. In view of the insertion of the incidents mentioned above by Abhaytilaka Gaṇi, the suggestion of Dr.Ray seems to be correct solution to the problem.⁶²

Merutuṅga in his *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* states that Vallabha ascended the throne after the death of Cāmuṇḍa and reigned for six months.⁶³ But in his other work, namely, *Vicāraśreṇi*, he has assigned Vallabha a reign of fourteen years, and has placed Cāmuṇḍa in the list of Chapotkṛta kings.⁶⁴ Probably Merutuṅga gave the correct version in the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, but it is evident from his conflicting testimonies that his source of information for this particular period was corrupt. This confusion of the narrator can be

Hemacandra has described the exploits of Mūlarāja in six long cantos ; and in his dedicatory verses to Mūlarāja in his *Siddha-Hemacandra*, praises the latter in unmeasured terms customary to a court poet. But, both he and the other court poet,

Someśvara, and also Bālacandra Sūri of *Vasantavilāsa Mahākāvya*, are entirely silent about Mūlarāja's pedigree and his mode of accession to the throne. Had Mūlarāja come as a conquerer, it would have been reasonable to expect atleast one of them to have mentioned the fact in his eulogy. Hence their silence may be taken to be significant; it fits well with Merutuṅga's statement that Mūlarāja murdered his uncle, the last Chapotkata king. And there it seems, until further evidence is available, the question must rest at present.

Mūlarāja had appointed his son Cāmuṅdarāja as the *Yuvarāja*, and had granted him the important right of issuing land grants without his sanction as early as V.S.1033. According to Hemacandra, after Cāmuṅda's return from the victorious campaign against *Bārapa*, Mūlarāja invested him with full royal powers, and had his *Abhiseka* performed. Then Mūlarāja retired to Siddhapura where he gave up life by immolating himself on a funeral pyre on the bank of Sarasvati.⁵⁰ Merutuṅga gives a different version of the abdication of Mūlarāja.⁵¹ It may therefore be concluded that shortly before his death Mūlarāja abdicated in favour of his son, most probably in V.S.1053(A.D.997)

explained if we assume that Vallabha actually ruled during the life time of his father Cāmuṇḍa which Merutuṅga was loath to believe probably because assumption of loyalty by a son during his father's life time was beyond the range of his knowledge.⁶⁵

Abhayatilaka Gani has supplied some details about the death of Vallabha. From the description of disease left by Hemacandra, the commentator rightly concludes that Vallabha was attacked by small-fox, and this is corroborated by Merutuṅga. At first the disease was not properly diagnosed, but with the appearance of eruptions all hope of life was given up. Vallabha then called to his death-bed all his ministers and chided them for not being able to come to a decision even when he was alive. He then called for the commander of the army and ordered that officer to keep his death a secret. Vallabha then offered the officer some gifts and added : "If you remember any benefit derived from my father, return immediately to Aṇahilapāṭaka with the army." The unhappy officer had to carry out his orders, but could not prevent the news of the King's death from spreading. But the army returned safely to the capital from Northern frontier of Malava, though mourning the loss of the gallant prince, who, placing the safety of the army before his own, had chosen to die alone⁶⁶.

The death of his eldest son under such tragic circumstances, naturally affected Cāmuṇḍa, who placed his second son Durlabha on the throne and retired to Śuklatīrtha on the banks of the Narmadā where he died some time later.⁶⁷

IV) Durlabharāja [V.S. 1066 - 1080] (A.D.1009-1023)

Durlabharāja ascended the throne some time in V.S.1066 (A.D.1009). The most important event of his reign was the re-conquest of Lāṭa. The *Vāḍanagara-Praśasti* states that, "when filled with anger he somewhat contracted his arched eyebrows, that forthwith indicated its result the destruction of the Lata country."⁶⁸ Jayasīṃha Sūri also writes, "Then Durlabharāja having obtained his kingdom, a cloud of the forest having destroyed the lord of the Lāṭadeśa, enjoyed his land with his fortunes."⁶⁹

According to Hemacandra, Durlabha was invited by *Mahendra* to attend the *Svayamvara-Sabhā* of his sister. Abhayatilaka Gaṇi explains that *Mahendra* was the king of Naḍḍula in Marudeśa.⁷⁰

He is probably identical with the only *Mahendra* king of *Naḍḍula* that we know of who was a Cāhamāṇa king of that branch, whom *Kielhorn* identified with the prince of the same name who took shelter with *Raṣṭrakūṭa Dhavala* when chased by *Cāhamāṇa Durlabharāja*.⁷¹

Hemacandra devotes practically half a canto to the description of the *Svayamvara-Sabhā* which was held at Naḍḍula. Durlabha went there and was accorded a fitting reception by Mahendra and almost all the girls of the city hastened to catch a glimpse of the good-looking Caulakya king.⁷² At last Durlabha reached the *Svayamvara-Manḍapa* where he was given a seat befitting his exalted rank. Then Durlabhādevī, the sister of Mahendra, entered the pavilion, leaning on a female attendant. The attendant pointed out to the princes-the kings of Aṅga, Kāśī, Avanti, Cedi, Kuru, Huna, Mathura, Vindhya,

Āndhra and Gurjara. But Durlabhā selected Durlabha and garlanded him. After the marriage ceremony was over, Mahendra gave his younger sister in marriage to Durlabha's younger brother Nagarāja, and according to the *Abhayatilaka Gaṇi*. Laxmi was the name of this princess. But the rejected suitors had become very angry with the successful Durlabha, and attacked him when he was returning to Gujarat. Durlabha however, defeated them with comparative ease and returned home with his bride.⁷³

It is difficult to accept the whole of this narrative as a historical truth. During the time when the marriage of Durlabharāja is supposed to have taken place, North India was reeling under the remorseless raids of Sultan Mohammed. Hence it would have been remarkable for so many monarchs of North India to have left their domains for the purpose of attending the *Swayamvara-Sabhā* of an insignificant Naddula chief's sister. But what sets the stamp of real imagination on the whole episode is the defeat by Durlabha of all the assembled kings. It is not surprising that this brilliant feat of Durlabha is not recorded in any Caulukya record, nor is it noticed by any other Chronicler; there is hardly any doubt that it was introduced by Hemacandra so that his *Mahākāvya* might not suffer from want of the elements that characterised the classical *Swayamvara* of Indumati as described by Kālidāsa.⁷⁴

According to Merutuṅga, Durlabha built in Anshilapātaka a seven storoyed palace, with a disbursement office and an elephant stable and a clock-tower. Moreover he had built the temple of Madanaśankara for the welfare of the soul of his brother Vallbharāja and he also had the tank of Durlabha excavated.⁷⁵

V) Bhīma [V.S.1088-1122] (A.D.1023-1065)

According to Hemacandra, the childless Durlabha was very fond of his nephew Bhīma, son of Nagarāja. When Bhīma came of age Durlabha crowned him king inspite of his protests. Nagarāja also retired from all public activities at the same time and the two brothers died soon after.⁷⁶ These incidents probably happened at the beginning of A.D.1024.⁷⁷

Bhīma played an important role in the downfall of Paramara Bhoja of Malava, which for a time left the Paramara's totally powerless. The defeat of the great Paramara monarch was naturally considered the high watermark of Bhīma's glory, and almost all the Chroniclers, with the surprising exception of Hemachandra, have recorded this victory in suitable verses. The *Vādanagara-Prasasti* states : "Illustrious King Bhīma, who, though terrible to his foes, ever granted enjoyment to his friends, as ruler, carried this load of the earth. What wonder was there that his horses supremely skilled in accomplishing the five faces (called *dhara*) quickly gained Dhara the capital of Malava.⁷⁸ The chaplain Somesvara states that, just as on the rising of the moon the lotus withers, so did Bhoja wither away by (the power) of Bhīma. "He (Bhīma) who has conquered the lord of Dhara with a two bladed sword, what wonder is there, that he (Bhīma) should conquer hundred of swordsmen. By whose (Bhīma's) strong bow, though it reached his neck, Bhoja, when fleeing, has hurled from his horse, as if supposing that he was virtuous."⁷⁹ The *Vastupāla-Tejapāla Prasasti*, states that it was proper that upon this at-

tack the Goddess of wealth left Bhoja's heart, the Goddess of learning his mouth, and the sword his hands.⁸⁰ Arisimha and Bālacandra Sūri, describe in a matter of fact manner how Bhīma defeated Bhoja.⁸¹ But Jayasimha Sūri writes: "At the setting in of the frost of his greatness the arm of Bhoja faded away like the lotus very properly."⁸²

Udayamatī was the name of Bhīma's queen; but according to Merutuṅga he was excessively fond of a beautiful courtesan named Bakulādevī whom he took into his *Antahpura*.⁸³ Both Hemacandra and Merutuṅga say that Bhīma had three sons, But whereas they agree that the name of the eldest was Mūlarāja, and that another was Karṇa, the other son is called 'Kṣemarāja' by Hemacandra and 'Haripāla' by Merutuṅga,⁸⁴ According to Hemacandra, Mūlarāja died during the lifetime of his father who thereupon offered the throne to Kṣemarāja, Kṣemarāja refused the crown, and he and Bhīma induced Karṇa to accept it.⁸⁵ As instances of such voluntary abnegations extremely rare, it may not be a presumptuous reflection on the great monk's veracity to assume that he was glossing over the unsavoury genealogy of his royal disciple as befitted a courtier. For, Merutuṅga relates that Haripāla (who is undoubtedly the Kshemarāja of Hemacandra) was a natural son of Bhīma by Bakulādevī.⁸⁶

Great as the political importance of Bhīma's reign was, its significance in the history of Indian architecture was no less. It was during his reign that one of the finest temples extant was built, - the Dilwara temple at Abu. The

two other important temples constructed during his reign are now in ruins, having been broken by later Muslim hordes. It is interesting therefore to find that the earliest known mosque build in India was erected during his reign and within his territory in A.D.1035 at Ahmedabad. ⁸⁷

Queen Udayamati was also a famous builder. Merutuṅga says that she excavated at the capital a new reservoir which was much better than the Sahasralinga lake. Popular legend credits her with digging the 'Rani ki Vāv', a well at Anahilapataka, which is in ruins to-day but its exquisite carvings still excite admiration. ⁸⁸

Bhīma is described by Krishnaji as dark, stout, tall, and hairy, but handsome, haughty, fond of war, and not afraid of the Mlecchas. Bhīma's reign probably came to an end some time in V.S.1122 (A.D.1065) ⁸⁹

VI) Karṇa [V.S.1122-1150] (A.D.1065-1093)

Karṇa, the youngest son of Bhīma, ascended the throne some time in A.D.1065-6. His mother was Udayamati.

Hemacandra states as usual that Bhīma abdicated and placed Karṇa on the throne ; but, we need not take his statement seriously as he makes the same uncorroborated statement about all the Caulukya kings except Siddharāja. Hemacandra further adds that immediately after Bhīma's death his only other surviving son, Kṣemarāja, retired from public to *Dadhisthali*

whither Karna sent the former's son Devaprasāda, to look after his father, but this was done probably to get rid of the two possible pretenders to the throne.⁹⁰ In any case, this narrative of Hemacandra leads one to suspect that the indication is that the legitimate son Karna, forcibly occupied the throne and banished his step-brother and nephew after Bhīma's death. This would explain the hatred shown by Siddharāja Jayasīma, son of Karna, towards Kumārapāla, the great grandson of Kṣemarāja.

Hemacandra records no other incidents in Karna's life except his marriage to a Kadamba princess under romantic circumstances, and Karna's prayer to the Goddess Lakṣmī for the birth of a son. Indeed from the *Dvyāśraya* written by his son's court-poet, one is led to believe that Karna's reign was a peaceful interregnum between those of his father and son. This may have been the effect intended by Hemacandra in order that the heroic deeds of his first patron, Jayasīma might stand out in greater relief. Probably partiality for the same king led Hemacandra to remain silent over the activities of Bhīma and Karna in Malava, so that the whole credit for conquering the Paramaras might be reserved for Jayasīma. But from the testimony of other Chroniclers, and the records left by other dynasties, it is known that the picture left by Hemacandra is by no means the correct one. As a matter of fact though less successful, Karna was as aggressive as was either his father or son.⁹¹

Like his father, Karna was also a builder. According to Merutunga after defeating Āśa in Āśapalli he built a temple. He also laid out a new city called Karnavati, where he erected a big temple called Karṇeśvara and excavated a large tank called Karṇasāgara. In Anahilapātaka he built the temple of Karṇamerū.⁹² According to Forbes the river Rupin, flowing down from the hills beyond Kheraloo, was arrested in its course towards the Runn and compelled to relinquish its natural outlet and to empty its waters into Karṇasāgara ; the dam broke down in A.D.1814 after a heavy rain.⁹³

Like his ancestors Karna was a Śaiva, and maintained a friendly respect for the Jainas. The commentator Rajaśekhara (A.D.1424) in his *Pañjika* on Śridhara's *Nyāyakāṇḍalī* mentions that king Karna of Gujarat, perceiving the holy dislike of cleanliness of the celebrated Jaina monk Abhayadeva Sūri conferred on him the *Biruda* of *Maladhari*. The same Rajaśekhara informs us that Kheṅgara was at that time the ruler of Saurāṣṭra, and that at the instance of Abhayadeva Sūri, he made the deserted path to the shrine of Girnar full of the traffic of pilgrims again ; that is, he induced Kheṅgara to lessen or remit altogether the tax levied on pilgrims.⁹⁴ Peterson mentions a tradition according to which Karna became a disciple of Vardhmāna Sūri whose disciple Jineśvara won the debate at the court of Durlabha. But this statement must be wrong as we know that Vardhamana Sūri consecrated Vimala's temple and shortly afterwards starved himself to death.⁹⁵

Karna was famous for his good looks ; an inscription of Kumārapāla refers to him as 'Rupaśrijita-Manmatha', while an inscription of Bhīma II

describes him as *Kāmini-kandarpa* ⁹⁶ Bālacandra Sūri describes his attractive and beautiful form like thus: "Having seen his attractive beautiful form, capable of deluding any woman, lord Śiva began to suspect the fidelity of his wife Umā and so ran to the peak of Kailāsa mountain to dissolve her in his own body".⁹⁷

According to *Ham̄ira-Mahāk̄ya* Karna was killed in a battle by Cahamana Durlbharāja, but we have seen that according to *Prthvirājaviḡaya* Karna survived Durlabharāja. Karna's reign probably came to an end in V.S.1150. (A.D.1093) ⁹⁸

VII) Jayasimha Siddharāja [V.S.1150-1200] (A.D.1093 1133)

Jayasimha, son of Karna and Mayanallādevī, who assumed *Biruda* of *Siddharāja* was the most famous king of his dynasty, and of all the Caulukyās his memory is best preserved to-day in the land of his birth. According to Hemacandra, Karna laboured under a great sorrow because he had no son, wherefore he repaired to a temple of Lakṣmī. There the king meditated for a long time and having successfully overcome the temptations offered by some *Apsarāsēs* to distract him, he continued to repeat the *mantra* taught to him by his preceptor and remained unperturbed even when a demon appeared on the scene threatening to kill him. His wonderful devotion was at last rewarded when Lakṣmī herself appeared and bestowed on her suppliant the blessing of

a son.⁹⁹ In due time the son was born, whom the old ladies of the palace named — more appropriately than they imagined — Jayasimha.¹⁰⁰

This semi-mythical account of the birth of Siddharāja did not find favour with Merutuṅga, who simply stated that some time after Karṇa was reconciled to Māyanallādevī their famous son was born. Merutuṅga further adds that when three years old, Jayasimha while playing with some other children, suddenly climbed on the throne and sat on it. As the astrologers predicted that, that particular movement was propitious, Karṇa then and there performed the coronation ceremony of his son. This coronation took place, according to Merutuṅga, on Saturday the third day of the dark fortnight of Pausha in V.S. 1150 in the *Nakṣatra* of Śrāvāṇa in the *lagna* of Taurus.¹⁰¹ Hence according to this account Siddharāja was born in A.D. 1091. Though Karṇa ceased the reign from the day of his son's coronation, he must have lived some time longer as Merutuṅga himself says that Karṇa defeated Āśa after Siddharāja's coronation.¹⁰²

To-day, when this large empire has passed away, this great monarch is chiefly remembered for his peaceful activities, particularly for the help he rendered to a young Jaina monk. That grateful scholar immortalised the name of his royal patron by associating their names as a title for his grammar *Siddha-Hemacandra*.

Siddharāja gathered round him many poets and men of letters, but unquestionably Hemacandra was the towering genius, the polymath, before

whose encyclopaedic knowledge, others paled into insignificance. The Chronicles have preserved different versions of the first meeting between the king and Hemacandra. The *Prabhāvākacarita* relates that Siddharāja was once passing through the streets of his capital on an elephant when his eyes fell on a graceful young monk standing by a shop. The king stopped the elephant and called out to the monk to say something. Hemacandra promptly replied : "Siddha, let the stately elephant jump freely without any hesitation ! May the world protecting elephants tremble ! What is the good of all of them ? By thee alone is the world guarded". Siddharaja was so pleased with this verse that he invited the monk to come to the palace daily at noon to entertain him. Hemacandra gradually won the king's esteem and friendship.¹⁰³

In the *Prabandhacitāmaṇi*, Hemacandra is first mentioned after the return of Siddharaja to his capital after his great victory at Malava. On that occasion "representatives of all the sects were summoned on separate days to utter blessings ; and so, when the time came for the Jaina teachers with Hemacandra at their head, to be invited, they presented themselves before Siddharāja, and were rewarded by the king with presents of clothes and other gifts. Though they were all charming in their incomparable readiness of intellect, they put Hemacandra in front of themselves in two senses, and he recited to the king the following blessings :

'O wishing-cow, sprinkle the earth with streams of thy
 products ! O jewel mines
 Make a swastika of pearls ! O moon, become a full pitcher !
 O elephants of the quarters, take leaves of the wishing tree, and
 with your erected trunks make a temporary arches of forage !
 For truly Siddharāja is coming having conquered the world.¹⁰⁴

Like many famous Indian monarchs Siddharāja was a great builder. The most important edifice built by him was the Rudramahālaya temple at Siddhapura which is said to be one of the largest of its kind ever built in India.¹⁰⁵ His governor of Saurāstra, Sajjana, is said to have been guilty of appropriating three years' state revenue without authority, which he used to build a temple of Neminātha, but the beauty of the temple so pleased the king that he pardoned the erring officer.¹⁰⁶ Siddharāja is chiefly remembered however, for the construction of the Sahasraliṅga-lake which was surrounded by 1,008 small shrines each containing a Siva Linga ; he also established several student's hostels. A pillar of victory raised its head proudly in front of this magnificent lake.¹⁰⁷ On the banks of the Sarasvati he built a temple to Daśāvatāra Nārāyaṇa.¹⁰⁸

The last days of the King were darkened by the sad thought that he would die without leaving a son and he was afraid that his subjects would be oppressed.¹⁰⁹ Hemacandra, who was probably a member of the royal entourage describes the peregrinations of the Emperor from one temple to

another - Hindu and Jaina - passionately praying to each deity for the gift of a son, while the sight of his loyal subjects, who used to come to pay their respects to their great King evoked in him an upsurge of paternal love.¹¹⁰ At last, Hemacandra states, the king came to learn through divine intervention that he would not have a son but would be succeeded by his grand - nephew Kumārapāla. Shortly after this Siddharāja died.¹¹¹

VIII) Kumārapāla [V.S.1200-1229] (1143-1172 A.D.)

To a large section of his countrymen particularly the Jains, Kumārapāla remains the greatest king that ever sat on the throne of Gujarat. His fame rests not so much upon the great power in wielded over the extensive territory that formed his kingdom, but on his propagation of the Jaina faith which he adopted. Of all the Indian kings, ancient and medieval, he has the unique distinction of being the one about whom the largest number of Chronicles have been written. This makes his life an interesting study, but unfortunately the Chronicles differ in many important details, and it is therefore necessary to examine the more important of them.

According to Hemacandra, Bhima's son was Kṣemarāja to whom a son Devaprasāda was born during Bhima's reign. Hemacandra further states that Kṣemarāja was, from his youth, of an ascetic disposition, — hence the name of his son Devaprasāda¹¹² — and that renouncing the throne offered to him

be retired to Dadhistali, whither Karṇa, on his accession, sent Devaprasāda to look after him. Learning of Karṇa's death Devaprasāda put his son Tribhuvanapāla in the care of Siddharāja and burnt himself. Tribhuvanapāla served Siddharāja faithfully ; but Hemacandra docs not mention when or how he died, though the point is of some importance as we shall see later. Tribhuvanapala's son was Kumārpāla who succeeded to the throne after the death of Siddharāja. ¹¹³

According to Merutuṅga, during the reign of Bhīma I, there was a hetaera called Bakulādevī at Paṭṭana, famous for her beauty and other merits. The king wishing to test her rectitude arranged that his servants should deposit with her a dagger worth a lac and a quarter, as a retaining fee, and on that very night he himself left on an expedition to Malava. After having spent two years in that country he returned and found that Bakulādevī had, on the strength of the retaining fee, avoided all men and lived in a state of perfect chastity. Her behaviour pleased the king and she was placed in the Antaḥpura. Bhīma had a son called Haripala by Bakulādevī, and Haripala's son was Tribhuvanapāla, the father of Kumarapala. ¹¹⁴

According to the Chronicles, Kumārapāla defeated Mallikārjuna the king of Koṅkana, who has been identified as the Sitahara king of that name who ruled in North Koṅkana.

From the *Kumārapālacarita* of Hemacandra, it appears that Kumārapāla did not take any part in the battle. Hemacandra relates that one day while

Kumārapāla was seated in his court, a *Sādhivigrahika* described campaign in Kōṅkaṇa to him : "Listen now, to what has happened to the lord of Kōṅkaṇa, who by virtue of his strength, opposed you". The *Sādhivigrahika* then dwelt on the strength of Mallikārjuna and told how in the fight the soldiers of Gujarat at first fared badly and some of them began to flee from the battle field. The situation then became so critical that collyrium mixed with their sweat ran down the faces of the Gurjara soldiers blackening not only their faces but their glory as well. But some of the soldiers valiantly continued the fight ; then suddenly Mallikārjuna, who had all along been in the forefront of the attack, fell from his elephant and was immediately surrounded by Gurjara soldiers who struck off his head. ¹¹⁵

Someśvara also mentions this victory of Kumārapāla but from his statement it appears that Kumārapāla personally led the attack.¹¹⁶ But Someśvara does not supply any detailed information and his version need not be taken seriously. Arisimha states : "What is wonderful in this strong one's (Kumārapāla) conquering even the Jaṅgala princes, seeing the ruler of the masshy land, the Kauṅkaṇa emperor was defeated by his very tradesman (Vanik)".¹¹⁷ This victory was also credited to Kumārapāla by Bālacandra, who says as follows : "Even though he had abandoned all the seven vices, he was addicted to the sevenfold constituents of the kingdom. He defeated and destroyed the kings of Jaṅgala Kauṅkaṇa, and also Ballāla."¹¹⁸

This tradesman was evidently *Ambaḍa*, the son of Udayana, who is credited with this victory by Balacandra, according to whom Vastupāla when provoked exclaimed: "Did not Ambaḍa, though a Vanik kill Mallikārjuna?"¹¹⁹ According to Prabhācandra, Ambaḍa was the second son of Udayana. Ambaḍa was a very powerful man and in execution of Kumārapāla's order struck off the head of Mallikārjuna, the king of Kuṅkana.¹²⁰

Kumārapāla is remembered today as the last great royal protagonist of Jainism; in that respect his position is unique in the history of medieval India. When he first became attracted to Jainism is not known; some Chronicles state that as a young man he met Hemacandra at Siddharaja's court where he was induced by Hemacandra to take a vow that he would 'view other people's wives' as sisters. Most probably this tradition according to the modern historian, A.K.Majumdar, is incorrect, and it may be true however that Kumārapāla gained his throne with the active support of Udayana's family with which Hemacandra was closely associated.¹²¹

Jayasimha Sūri relates that one day Kumārapāla told Hemacandra to advise him as to who should be his successor. "Shall I leave it", said the king, "to Ajayapāla my nephew or to my grandson (Dauhitra) Pratāpamalla". Hemacandra told Kumārapāla that Ajayapāla was a rascal and was not fit to be a king; and that if indeed he got the kingdom, he would destroy everything. As Pratāpamalla was not as bad as Ajayapāla, Hemacandra advised Kumārapāla to nominate Pratāpamalla as his successor. Kumārapāla said that he would do so in proper time and left.

This conversation was overheard by Bālacandra (not the author of *Vasantavilāsa*), a wicked disciple of Hamacandra, and a childhood friend of Ajayapāla. Bālacandra went to Ajayapāla and told him everything that had passed between the king and Hemacandra. In return for this treachery, Bālacandra received the thanks of Ajayapāla and his promise that should he become the king, he would appoint Bālacandra as his preceptor as Hemacandra was of Kumārapāla.

In V.S. 1229 (A.D. 1172), Hemacandra died. Kumārapāla was overtaken with grief; he was also an old man. He therefore thought of bequeathing his kingdom to Pratāpamalla ; but before he could take any decisive step, he was overtaken by illness. Ajayapāla having learned of the intentions of Kumārapāla from Bālacandra, harbored murderous thoughts ; and when opportunity presented itself; he mixed poison with milk and administered it to Kumārapāla.

Immediately after taking the poison, Kumārapāla felt its effects and asked that the shell which was an antidote should be brought from the treasury. But the treacherous Ajayapāla had already hidden it. Kumārapāla thereafter banished all worldly thoughts from his mind and gradually passed away. He died in V.S. 1230. (A.D. 1173) ¹²²

Almost the same story is repeated by Rajaśekhara and Jina Muñḍana. But for reasons which will be given later, it is difficult to believe this version of the Jaina Chroniclers. ¹²³

Kumārapāla's body was cremated and his ashes immersed in the holy water of the Gaṅges and Jamuna at Prayag by the Brahmin Chaplain of his successor, who probably also offered oblations for his departed soul at Gaya.¹²⁴

IX) Ajayapāla [V.S.1229-1232] (A.D.1172-1175)

The short reign of Ajayapāla after the glorious reigns of Siddharāja and Kumārapāla, comes as an anticlimax in the history of Gujarat. The reputation of this monarch also suffered in the hands of the Chroniclers. We have seen that Jayasimha Sūri, Rajaśekhara and Jina-muṇḍana state that Kumārapāla was poisoned by Ajayapāla as he had accepted Hemacandra's advice to disinherit him. It is therefore necessary to note that the Chroniclers have always ascribed to Hemacandra a political role but whereas his earliest biographer Prabhācandra contended himself by limiting it to Hemacandra's efforts on behalf of the fugitive Kumārapāla, the later Chroniclers not only developed the role but assumed that Hemacandra exercised considerable political power during the reign of Kumārapāla, and also influenced him in nominating his successor. But neither Prabhācandra nor Merutuṅga, who was no means friendly to Ajayapāla, apparently knew anything about the story of Kumārapāla's murder by Ajayapāla, or Hemacandra's advises to the king regarding this succession to the throne. These stories are only recorded by the late Chroniclers, and are not worthy of credit unless it can be corroborated by more trustworthy evidence.

We shall now see that the Chroniclers know little about Ajayapāla and probably cared to know even less. There is no doubt that Ajayapāla was a devout follower of the Brahmanical religion. Hence probably his reign was not studied with sufficient care by the Jaina Chroniclers ; for, we shall show, that the story that Ajayapāla was the persecutor of the Jains was started at a late date and that probably he was the son and not the nephew of Kumārapāla. All these misstatements about Ajayapala confirm the suspicion that the story of his poisoning Kumārapāla was an invention of the Chroniclers. ¹²⁵

Little is known of the event of the reign of the Ajayapāla. Many copper-plates of his son Bhīma II give him the epithet *Karadikṛta-Sapādalakṣa-kṣhmapāla*, ¹²⁶ which indicates that he had defeated the Cahamana king of Ajmir, who at this period was most probably Someśvara, the grandson of Siddharāja. Arisimha states that the king of Sapādalakṣa sent Ajayapāla a silver pavilion. ¹²⁷ In the *Kīrtikaumudī* it is stated that Ajayapāla wrested from the king of Jaṅgala, as a punishment, a gold pavilion and the Jaṅgala King's furious elephants. ¹²⁸ Bālacandra Sūri also states that : "By the strength of his army consisting of tall and ichor-oozing elephants he subdued the king of Jaṅgala. ¹²⁹

It is therefore evident that Ajayapāla had defeated the king of Ajmir, and forced him to pay some tribute as a mark of submission.

The reign of Ajayapāla does not seem to have been the unmitigated failure that it is generally said to have been. The Udayapura stone inscription shows that Malava up to Bhilsa was completely under his control and there is no reason to suppose that during his reign the Caulukya empire lost any territory. The army he left was strong enough to inflict a crushing defeat on the Muslim invaders even under the immature guidance of his son. The stable administration which could not put up such a resistance does not seem to have been the legacy of a capricious king guilty of the worst outrages.

According to Merutuṅga Ajayapāla was stabbed to death by one Vayajaladeva, a Pratihara.¹³⁰ But because there are strong reasons to disbelieve his account of Ajayapāla's reign, it is difficult to believe his account of king's death. It is known that he died between Tuesday, 25th March and 6th or 7th April, A.D. 1175.¹³¹

X) Mūlarāja II. [V.S.1232-1235] (A.D.1175-1178)

Mūlarāja II or Bāla Mūlarāja as he is affectionately called by the Chroniclers, ascended the throne of his father Ajayapāla, while still a boy. His mother was Naikidevī, the daughter of one Paramadin, who has been identified with the Goa Kadamba *Mahāmaṇḍalesvara* Permadi or Śivacitta.¹³² But in a Chandella inscription issued in V.S.1261, it is stated that the Donnee's father died at Kakadadaha while fighting the Turushkas.¹³³ Now Merutuṅga states that Queen Naikī fought the Muslims at Gadararaghatta. Probably

Gadararaghata and Kakadadaha are identical, and it is likely that Naiki was the daughter of the Candella Paramardin.¹³⁴

Mūlarāja ascended the throne in V.S.1232. The earliest known inscription of his brother and successor Bhīma II, is dated V.S.1235 Hence Mūlarāja's reign lasted for not more than three years.¹³⁵

The Chroniclers rightly single out the defeat of the Muslims as the only incident worthy of being remembered about Mūlarāja. Someśvara states that Mūlarāja defeated the lord of the Turushkas, and vanquished the Mlechchha army.¹³⁶ Bālacandra states that King Mūlarāja, though an infant, defeated the Mlechchha king.¹³⁷ From the *Sūktakīrtikallolīni* we learn that his mother gave Mūlarāja an army to play with out of curiosity, and with that army he defeated Hammīra and his Turushka army which was dressed in robes that covered the soldiers from the head to foot.¹³⁸ Arisimha also refers to Mūlarāja's victory over the Muslims, and an inscription of Bhīma's reign states that during the reign of Mūlarāja even a woman could defeat Hammīra.¹³⁹ The Mlechchha king was identified as Mu'izz udin, when he attacked Gujarat in A.D.1178.¹⁴⁰

The other important event during the reign of Mūlarāja was the uprising in Malava. This incident is only mentioned in *Suratotsava* by Someśvara whose father Kumāra was given the command in Malava. According to Someśvara Kumāra was made the chief minister by Pratapamalla of the Rāstrakuta family, who was apparently the regent; Kumāra was

entrusted with the charge of the army by the Caulukya king, and achieved victory by defeating the enemies. Kumāra had to fight with Vindhavarman the king of Dhara, who had to leave the battle-field. Thereafter Kumāra destroyed a town called Gogasthana which belongs to Vindhavarman, and struck a well where the palace of the Malava king once stood. Kumāra then plundered the Malava country and took away all its wealth though his son complains, he did not find any gold or silver. Kumāra is also said to have brought down an army of the Mlechchha near the Queen's lake.¹⁴¹

Soon after the battle with Mu'zz ud-din, Mūlarāja died ; for the earliest known inscription of Bhīma II is dated V.S.1235. All the Chroniclers of Gujarat have proudly mentioned this gallant boy with affection and Someśvara laments that the Creator swiftly uprooted the shoot of the tree of paradise that was Mūlarāja.¹⁴²

XI) Bhīma II [V.S.1235-1298] (A.D.1178-1241)

Bhīma II, at an early age, succeeded his brother Mūlarāja after the latter's premature death. At the time of his accession, the extent of his kingdom was practically as Kumārapāla had left it. In the north it included Mewad and Āghatapura ;¹⁴³ in the south it included Lāṭa upto Broach.¹⁴⁴ In the north-east it included the Vāgaḍa region, that is the area occupied by Dungarpur and Banswara.¹⁴⁵ Part of Malava including Dhara probably still formed a part of the Caulukya empire, for the Paramara's are not likely to have succeeded in freeing that part of Malava from the Caulukyas soon after Vindhavarman suffered the humiliating defeat at the hands of Kumāra.

At his accession, Bhima was faced with the grave situation created by the defection of his Maṇḍalikas ; that is the provincial governors, who trying to take advantage of his extreme youth, attempted to parcel out the kingdom amongst themselves, as had been successfully done in the neighbouring states.¹⁴⁶ It was at this juncture that Arṇorāja, who had served under Kumārapāla as a *Sāmānta*, came to the rescue of the throne, which he seems to have saved at the cost of his life, for the Chroniclers state that he died fighting with the rebels.¹⁴⁷ This brave action, however paved the way for the future greatness of his son and grandson, Lavaṇaprasāda and Viradhavala, the real founders of the Vaghela dynasty.

It was all along the peculiar misfortune of Bhīma that he had to face trouble from within and without almost at the same time. Probably the internal disorganisation invited foreign invasion from which the throne emerged weaker and further shorn of glory, which again prompted internal risings. This vicious circle all but exhausted the kingdom in spite of the energetic aid he received from the three or four generations of the Vaghelas.

It has been seen that Lavaṇaprasāda and his son Vīradhavaḷa played a vital role in the history of Gujarat during the reign of Bhīma. It is possible that they came into prominence by helping Bhīma, to recover his capital from the usurper, though different Chroniclers give different versions, of the rise in power of the Vaghelas.

According to Someśvara, once the Gurjaralakṣmī in distress appeared in a dream to Lavaṇaprasāda, and called upon him with the aid of his son Vīradhavaḷa, to save the kingdom which had fallen into decay in the unskilled hands of Bhīma. Someśvara further states that he himself was called before Lavaṇaprasāda on the following morning, and asked the meaning of the vision, He convinced Lavaṇaprasāda that he was appointed by Providence to save his mother-land and induced to obey the command of the goddess. Thereupon Lavaṇaprasāda entrusted to his son the execution of the duty laid upon him. Shortly afterwards Vastupāḷa and Tejapāḷa were appointed ministers by Lavaṇaprasāda without any reference to Bhīma.¹⁴⁸

Bālacandra Sūri wrote his work for the delectation of Vastupāla's son at the end of the thirteenth century of the Vikrama era. He praises Bhīma for his charity but states that owing to his extreme youth, he was unable to control the *Māṇḍalikas* who began to divide the country amongst themselves. Arṇorāja, the father of Lavaṇaprasāda remained true to the king, and annihilating *Māṇḍalikas*, protected the kingdom. His son was Lavaṇaprasāda who delighted in battles and before whom the kings of Cola, Kerala, Lāṭa, Malava, Rada, Huna, Āndhra, Kañchi, Kaunkana, Jāngala, Pandya, Kuntala, Vaṅga, Kalinga and Cedi trembled. His son was Vīradhava who was also very valiant, shared the burden of administration with him. As Vīradhava was thinking of appointing an able minister, one night he had a dream in which Rajyalakṣmi appeared before him and asked him to appoint as ministers the two brothers, Vastupāla and Tejapāla. Next morning Vīradhava acted accordingly. ¹⁴⁹

The other contemporary author Arisimha, writing in V.S.1285, gives a different account of the rise of Vaghelas into prominence. According to Arisimha, it was Bhīma who dreamt; but in his case Kumarapāla appeared and advised him to appoint Lavaṇaprasāda as the *Sarveśvara*, his son Vīradhava as the *Yuvarāja*, and to help to spread the Jaina faith. Next day in the Durbar, Bhīma declared publicly that as it was through Arṇorāja's help that he became king, so out of gratitude and in order to increase his decreasing prosperity, he would appoint Lavaṇaprasāda as *Sarveśvara* and Vīradhava as his heir apparent. As Vīradhava humbly begged for an advisor, Bhīma recommended the two brothers, Vastupāla and Tejapāla. ¹⁵⁰

According to Vastupāla-Tejapāla-Praśasti, Bhīma was very charitable. He appointed Lavaṇaprasāda to the task of reviving the fortunes of his kingdom. Vīradhavaḷa requested Bhīma to give him some good ministers, whereupon Bhīma recommended Vastupāla and Tejapāla who had been working as Bhīma's ministers.¹⁵¹

According to Udayaprabha, the preceptor of Vastupāla, Arṇorāja was the king of Bhimapalli and recipient of favours from Kumārapāla. Arṇorāja defeated the kings of Medhapata and Candravati. In view of the fact that Arṇorāja made him king, Bhīma in his turn entrusted his kingdom to Arṇorāja's son Lavaṇaprasāda.¹⁵²

Bhīma had two wives ; one was Līlādevī the daughter of Cahamana prince Samarasīmha, who has been identified with the Jāvālipura Cahamana king of that name ; the other was Sumaladevī, who had the distinction of signing a land grant jointly with her consort.¹⁵³ The Chroniclers testify to his charitable disposition, and his assumption of the epithets such as *Abhinava-Siddharāja*, *Saptama-Cakravarti*, and *Bāla-Nārāyaṇa* tend to show that though over shadowed by the abler Vaghelas he was not without the qualities that make a man fit to rule.¹⁵⁴

C) VAGHELAS

Origin :

The Vaghelas called themselves Caulukyias, and even went so far as to trace the rise of their earliest ancestor to the same mythological person as the Caulukya did. The Cambay inscription of Visaladeva thus describes the beginning of the Vaghelas : "Who then will destroy the sons of Diti ? Once upon a time when Brahma was thus thinking, a warrior suddenly came out of the *Culuka* from (this) Caulukya descended the fearless race of the Caulukyias. In this line of glorious fame flourished king Arṇorāja."¹⁵⁵ But that the Vaghelas did not belong to the dynasty established by Mūlarāja I, is made clear by their court-poet Someśvara, who has stated that the Vaghelas arose from a "different branch of the Caulukyias".¹⁵⁶

The earliest known member of the Vaghela dynasty was one Dhavala, who, according to Merutuṅga, married Kumārapāla's mother's sister ; Dhavala's son by Kumārapāla's aunt was Arṇorāja, mentioned in the Cambay inscription noted above.¹⁵⁷ Arṇorāja was the first member of the family to gain any importance. We learn from Udayaprabha Sūri that Arṇorāja in return for services rendered, received from Kumārapāla the village of Bhimapalli.¹⁵⁸ It is possible that Kumārapāla rewarded Arṇorāja, because he had a successful campaign in Saurāṣṭra. Probably Arṇorāja acted as a subordinate commander; but later his role was magnified by his descendants. The village Bhimapalli was probably identical with Vyāgrahapalli- the tiger's lair-a

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village ten miles south-west of Anahilapātaka. It was from Vyāgrahapalli that the dynasty took their name, Vyagrahapalliya or Vaghela. ¹⁵⁹

Arnorāja's son Lavaṇaprasāda was born during the reign of Kumārapāla, when according to Merutuṅga, Arnorāja was a *Sāmanāta*. We further learn that the news of Lavaṇaprasāda's birth reached Arnorāja when he was in attendance on Kumārapāla in the palace. On learning the happy news, the great king is said to have predicted a brilliant future for the new born baby. ¹⁶⁰ Arnorāja probably continued his career in the army after the death of Kumārapāla, though we do not hear of him again till we reach the reign of Bhīma II. The reason probably was that he had to remain content with a subordinate rank without any chance of promotion, after his patron Kumārapāla's death. But he had a chance to show his valour and loyalty to the throne after the accession of Bhīma, when the provincial governors revolted. Arnorāja not only proved his devotion, he also displayed other qualities as well, for the revolt was crushed, but Arnorāja died in the attempt to restore order. It was probably during this time that he defeated that the kings of Medapaṭa and Candrāvati. ¹⁶¹ Probably there were other loyal officers of Bhīma like Pratāpamalla and Jagaddeva who also helped in restoring order, but all the Chroniclers who relate his activities were the proteges of Arnorāja's descendents or of their ministers, so that the whole credit for suppressing the rebellion is ascribed to him. However, there is hardly any doubt that Arnorāja played a leading part in rendering the throne safe for Bhīma.

Arnorāja's son was Lāvanyaprasāda or Lavaṇaprasāda. He continued to render faithful services to Bhīma and was promoted by the grateful king to the highest position in the land. We have already discussed the position of Lavaṇaprasāda in the government of Bhīma and have shown that he remained loyal to the king. But it appears that he enjoyed a feudatory status, and Dhavalakka or Dholka was his fief. His official rank was that of a *Mahāmaṇḍalesvara* and *Rāṇaka*. His son by his wife Madanarājñī was Viradhavala. According to Merutunga, Madanarājñī left Lavaṇaprasāda after the death of his sister, and began to live with her dead sister's husband, Devarāja. She took Viradhavala with her, but when the boy came of age, he became ashamed of the circumstances and went back to his father.¹⁶²

Viradhavala shared with his father the burden of government, and he took an active part in repelling the many foreign invasions which at this time threatened Gujarat. The careers of both the father and the son are, however inextricably linked up with the reign of Bhīma, and have already been narrated in that connection.

Thereafter Viradhavala appointed Vastupāla as a *Mahāmātya* of his kingdom. From the good administration, public works and good deeds of Vastupāla, Viradhavala was overshadowed by him, and most of all the Chroniclers are giving a testimony to that, They composed their works on the good deeds of Vastupāla, one of this was Bālacandra Suri's *Vasantavilāsa Mahākāvya*.

FOOT - NOTES

Chapter II. History of Caulukyās Upto Vastupāla.

1. Munshi K.M. Gujarat and its literature P.1.
2. Ibid. Chapter.II.
3. Munshi K.M. Early Aryans in Gujarat Chapter V.
4. Ibid. Chapter VI.
5. Ibid. Chapter VII.
6. Ibid. Chapter IX.
7. **Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I. Pt. I. Appendix III;**
D.R.Bhandarkar, article on 'Gurjaras'-Journal of Bombay Branch of
the Royal Asiatic Society XXI. 405 ff.; Frobes, Rasa-Mala. I.40.
8. **G.H.OJHA- History of Rajaputana.I.151.**
C.V.VAIDYA - History of Mediavel Hindu India I. 83.ff.
Krishnaswami Iyengar, Quoted in R.C. Mujumdar's 'The Gurjara
Pratiharas' X:3.
9. **K.M.Munshi, The Glory that was Gurjaradesa, Bharatiya Vidya**
Bhavan, Bombay 1944. Part.III, The Imperial Gurjaras. ch.I. P4
10. **V.A.Smith, Early History of India, IV.Edition, P.428**
11. **Col. Todd, Annals and Antiquities of Rajastan I,P.106.**

12. D.R.Bhandarkar, *Op.Cit.* XXI, 405 ff.
13. Cunningham, *Archrological Survey of India* II.72
Buhler, *Indian Antiquari*, XVII,P.192.
14. K.M.Munshi, *Op-Cit*, P.6
15. *Ibid.* P.6
16. *Ibid.* P.6
17. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I Pt. II, Apendix, 463.
18. Sri Harsa., *Harsa Carita*, Nirnayasagar Edn 1937,P.120.
हूणहरिणकेसरी सिन्धुराजज्वरो गूर्जरप्रजागरो गान्धाराधिपगन्धद्विपकूटपाकलो
लाटपाटवपाटद्वरो मालवलक्ष्मिलता परशुः प्रतापशील इति प्रथितापरनामा प्रभाकरवर्धनो
नाम राजाधिराजः ।
19. *Ephigraphia Indica*, I.72.
20. N.C.Mehta, *The Pictorial Motif in Ancient Indian Literature*,
P. 498.
21. *Indian Antiquari*, XIII. P.82.
सततमविलङ्गितावधौ स्थैर्यगा [--] भि (भी) र्यलावण्यवति महासत्वतया त् [ि]
दुरवगाहे गुर्जरनृपतिवंशमह [ी] दद्या (धौ) श्रीसहजन्मा कृष्णहृदयाहितास्पदः
कौस्तुभम णिरिह विमलयशोधीधितिनिकरविनिहतकलितिभिरनिचयः सत्पक्षो वैन्तेय
इवाकृष्टशत्रुनागकुलसंततिरुत्पतति इव दिनकरचरणकमलप्रणामापजीवाशेषदुरितनिवहः
सामन्तदहः ।

22. **Journal of Royal Asaitic Socity. 1894.P.4.**

विप्रः श्रीहरिचन्द्राख्यः पत्नी भद्रा च क्षत्रिया ।

ताभ्यां तु ये सुता जातः प्रतिहारांश्च तान् विदुः । ।

23. **Bombay Gazetteer, I.pt. I. App.IV**

24. **Indian Antiquari, VIII. P.242**

प्रतापोपनता यस्य लाटमालवगुर्जराः ।

दण्डोपनतसामन्तचर्या बर्या इवाभवन् । ।

25. **Bombay Gazetteer, I. Pt. I.P.109.**

सरङ्गसीरमद्रोद्धारिणी तरलतरतारतरवारिदारितोदितसैन्धवकद्येल्लासौराष्ट्रचावोटक

मौर्यागुर्जरादिरा (ज्ये) निःशेषदाक्षिणात्यक्षितिपतिजि

26. **Vishnusharma Pancatantra.IV.9.**

समिचीनोऽयं व्यापारः तत्र सम्मतिश्चेत्कुतोऽपि

धनिकात्किञ्चिद् द्रव्यमादाय मया गुर्जरदेशे गन्तव्यं

खरभग्नहणाय । ततश्च गुर्जरदेशं गत्वोष्ट्रीं

गृहीत्वा स्वगृहमागतः ।

27. **Udyotana, Kuvalayamala, Quoted in Apabhramsa Kavyatryi, Gaikwad**

Oriental Series, Baroda, No. XXXII. Intr.P.93.

28. **Indian Antiquari, VI. 191.**

चौलिकिकान्वयो महाराजाधिराज श्रीमूलराजः । निजभुजोपार्जित सारस्वतमण्डलो

..... सुविधितम् ।

29. Ksemendra, *Aucitya-Vicara-Carca*, Kavyamala edition. P.136.
 त्वत्पाब्जरजः प्रसादकणिकालोबोन्मुखस्तन्मरी मन्ये मालवसिंहगूर्जरपतिस्तीव्रं तपस्तप्यते ।
 मग्नानि द्विषतां कुलानि समरे त्वत्रण्डमधाराकुले नाथास्मिन्निति बिन्दिवाचि बहुषो
 देव श्रुतयां पुरा । मुग्धा गूर्जरभूमिपाल महिषी प्रत्याशय प्रायसः कान्तारे चकिता
 विमुंचति मुहुः प्रत्युः क्रपाणेदृषी ।
30. A.K.Mujamdar, *CAULUKYAS OF GUJARAT*. Bharatiya Vidya
 Bhavan, Bombay. 1956. Ch. II, P.5
31. *Ibid.* P.5.
32. R.S.Satyasrya. *Origin of the Caulukyias*. Calcutta, 1937. P.20.
33. Buhler, *Epigraphica Indica*. Vol. I. P.301.
34. Hemachandra, *Dvyasrayakavya*, With Commentary by Abhayatilaka
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 कश्चित्पुरा दानवदूनविश्वत्राणाय नारायणवत्पयोधेः ।
 स्वयम्भुसन्ध्याचुलुकादुदस्थाद्वीरो विकोशाणिविहस्तहस्तः । ।
 चौलुक्यनामा कमठेन्द्रखट्वामहाहितूलीतलसन्निविष्टाम् ।
 स दैत्यरक्तापवासानमत्तामाधायभूमीसुमुखीं सिषेवे । ।
36. Jayasimha Suri, *Kumarapalabhupalacaritra*; Ed. by Kshati Vijaya Gani,
 Vijayaderasurasangha, Bombay. 1926. I, Verss. 16-21.

37. Bilhana, **Vikramankadevacharita**, I.
38. A.K.Mujamdar, **Op-Cit**, II.7
39. Cunningham, **Annul Report of the Archaeological Survey of India**, Vol.II, P.254.
40. A.K.Mujamdar, **Op-Cit**, P.8.
41. D.R.Bhandarkar, **Op-Cit** P.483.
42. Halder, **Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal**, LV, P.5-65.
43. A.K.Mujamdar, **Op-Cit**, P.8.
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52. A.K.Mujamdar, **Op-Cit**, P.34.
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55. Jayasimha Suri **Vastupala-Tejapala-Prasasti**, vv 8-9.
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60. Hemacandra, *Siddha-Hemacandra*, P.10, V.10.
61. A.K.Mujamdar, *Op-Cit*, P.37.
62. *Ibid*, P.37.
63. Merutunga, *Op-Cit*, P.29.
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88. **Ibid**, P.56.
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114. Merutunga, PCT, P.116.
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116. Kirtikaumudi, Canto II,47-49.

117. **Sukrtasankirthana, Canto I.43.**
118. **VV, Canto III.**
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120. **Prabhavakacarita, XXII, 726.**
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148. KK, II. 66-115.
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