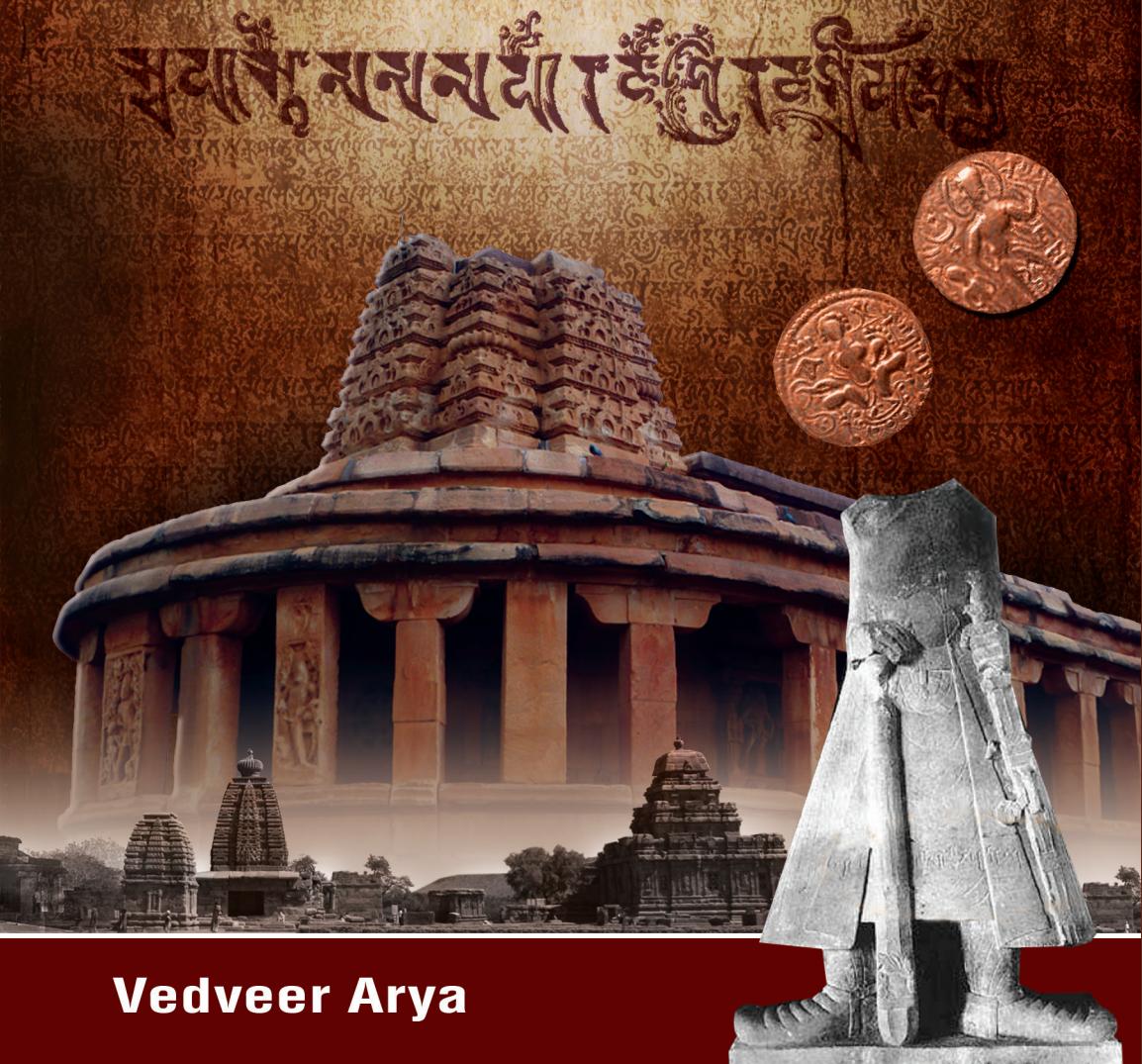


The Chronology of Ancient India

Victim of Concoctions and Distortions



Vedveer Arya

THE CHRONOLOGY OF ANCIENT INDIA

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VEDVEER ARYA

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Dedicated to
My father
Acharya Raghumanna

Published in July 2015

&

Kaliyuga era (3102 BCE)	5117
Buddha nirvana era (2134 BCE)	4149
or	
Buddha nirvana era (1658 BCE)	3673
Mahavira nirvana era (1189 BCE)	3204
Licchavi era (966-965 BCE)	2981
Krita, Malava-gana or	
Karttikadi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)	2734
Gangeya era (656 BCE)	2671
Saka era (583 BCE)	2599
Sri Harsha era (458-457 BCE)	2472
Kalachuri-Chedi era (403-402 BCE)	2417
Gupta era (335 BCE)	2350
Manadeva Samvat (85-84 BCE)	2099
Chaitradi Vikrama era (57 BCE)	2072
Salivahana era (78 CE)	1937
Valabhi era (319 CE)	1696
Laksmanasena Samvat (443-444 BCE)	1571
Simha Samvat (450-451 CE)	1564



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Preface

Extensive study of Sanskrit inscriptions and literature in the original always throws up a few historical or factual inconsistencies; the puzzlement led me to further reading and research to unravel these obvious mismatches. As a simple example, let us take the period of Kālidāsa's life: how are we to reconcile the fact that Kālidāsa who claims to be the court poet of king Vikramāditya of Ujjain is the court poet of the king Chandragupta II Vikramāditya of Pātaliputra. A further inconsistency: Kālidāsa refers to Varāhamihira as his senior contemporary but the modern textbooks of history teach us that Kālidāsa lived in the 5th century CE whereas Varāhamihira was supposed to have lived in the 6th century CE. Seemingly simple inconsistencies but requiring an extraordinary amount of erudition, a command over Sanskrit and amateur astronomical knowledge to be able to validate the celestial events recorded in the wealth of epigraphic records in this country.

There are many such anomalies in the modern chronological history of ancient India that need dedication, erudition and patience but unfortunately for us, 'eminent historians' preferred to brush such inconsistencies aside rather than promoting honest, unbiased research to resolve them. Western historians nurtured a bias towards the traditional chronology of ancient India to further their own political and academic interests and the majority of the historians of independent India carried forward the same legacy, patronised by the certain sections of political establishment.

The entire edifice of the chronology of ancient India was erected on false foundations during the colonial period. While many scholars attempted to expose the fallacy of the distorted Indian chronology with

reference to the Puranic chronology, unfortunately none studied the chronological content of the inscriptions comprehensively to reconcile with Puranic and astronomical inputs. The present research work is completely based on the comprehensive study of the chronological content of the inscriptions. During the course of my research, I have discovered the exact epochs of various ancient Indian eras that conclusively uphold the authenticity of the Puranic chronology and expose the fallacy of the chronology given in the modern textbooks of Indian history. There is a serious need to re-write the entire history of ancient India with reference to the newly discovered epochs of the ancient Indian eras.

During my study of the mathematical and astronomical contributions of ancient India, I noticed some serious problems in the chronology of ancient Indian astronomers. Fortunately, I met Dr. K. Aravinda Rao, former DGP (Andhra Pradesh) in February 2014 and presented him my first book titled "Indian Contributions to Mathematics and Astronomy". In return, he gifted me the entire set of books written by Kota Venkatachalam. The historical research work of Kota Venkatachalam inspired me to take up the original study of the epoch of ancient Indian eras based on the dates mentioned in various inscriptions. I sincerely thank Dr. K. Aravinda Rao who introduced me to the invaluable historical research of Kota Venkatachalam.

I express my profound gratitude to Sh. PPS Hariprasad, former Director (Finance), ECIL and worthy descendant of the family of great astronomers, who patiently calculated certain ancient dates for me whenever I approached him. He also introduced me to the Panchanga software based on Surya Siddhanta by Prof. Michio Yano of Kyoto University, Japan. I have extensively referred to the sites <http://www.cc.kyoto-u.ac.jp/~yanom/pancanga/index.html> and <http://vyasatirthapuri.blogspot.in/2014/04/find-your-nakshatra-withpada-based-on.html> for calculation of ancient dates with tithi, naksatra, etc. in my research work. I am deeply indebted to the developers of these websites.

I also express my profound gratitude to Sh. Sudhir Nathan for his valuable suggestions and efforts in editing the manuscript. My special thanks to Sh. D Lakshminarayana, Sh. Ramesh Kenche, Sh. Siva Nagi Reddy, Sh. Bishwajeet Chowbey and Sh. Nageshwar Rao for their assistance in sourcing of various books from the libraries of Archaeological Survey of India. I also thank my friend Sh. Anup Kumar Sinha for his efforts in editing the manuscript. My sincere thanks to Sh. Vidyasagar and Sh. Bapanna Alapati, Managing Director, Kalajyoti Process Pvt. Ltd., Hyderabad for extending all support in publication of this book. I also thank the team of Kalajyoti Process Pvt. Ltd. for their creative contribution in the design of cover page, type-setting and printing of this book. Finally, I thank my wife Sandhya for her support, encouragement and patience during the time of writing of this book.

Hyderabad
14th June 2015

Vedveer Arya

King Sri Harsha's signature on cover page:

श्रीदाम्भूरनरनदा राजाधिराज-श्रीहर्षस्य

स्वहस्तो मम महाराजाधिराज-श्रीहर्षस्य

Transliteration (ISO 15919)

অ	a	আ	ā	ই	i	ই	ଇ	
ঃ	u	ঃ	ū	ঔ	r	ঔ	ର	
ঃ	e	ঃ	ai	ঔ	o	ঔ	au	
ং	m	ং	ঃ	ং				
ক	ka	খ	kha	গ	ga	ଘ	ঁ	ঁga
চ	ca	ছ	chha	জ	ja	ঝ	ঁ	ঁna
ট	ṭa	ঠ	ṭha	ঢ	ḍa	ঢ	ঁ	ঁna
ত	ta	থ	tha	দ	da	ধ	ঁ	na
প	pa	ফ	pha	ব	ba	ভ	ঁ	ma
য	ya	ৰ	ra	ল	la	ৱ		
শ	śa	ষ	ṣa	স	sa	হ		

Abbreviations

ARIE	Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy
ARSIE	Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy
BISM	Bharat Itihasa Samśodhan Mandala
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
CPIAPGM	Copper Plate Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh Government Museum
EA	Epigraphica Andhrica
EC	Epigraphia Carnatica
EI	Epigraphia Indica
IA	Indian Antiquary
IE	Indian Epigraphy
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
JAHRS	Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JASB	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal
JBBRAS	Journal of Bombay Bengal Royal Asiatic Society
JBISM	Journal of Bharat Itihasa Samsodhan Mandala
JBORS	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
JESI	Journal of Epigraphic Society of India

JKU	Journal of Karnataka University
JRAS	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society
KI	Karnataka Inscriptions
MAR	Mysore Archaeological Report
MJLS	Madras Journal of Literature and Science
QJMS	Quarterly Journal of Mystic Society
SII	South Indian Inscriptions
SMHD	Sources of Medieval History of Deccan (Marathi)

BCE	Before Common Era
CE	Common Era
CV	Chaitradi Vikrama era
KV	Karttikadi Vikrama era
LS	Laksmanasena Samvat



Chapter 1

Introduction

Indian civilisation is arguably, the oldest continuous civilisation that possibly had its origin in the beginnings of the Holocene. Purāṇas relate the chronology of the political history of ancient India starting from the Sūrya Vamśi king Ikṣvāku to the kings of the Gupta dynasty. There is abundance of epigraphic, archaeological and literary evidence for the critical study of the chronology of ancient India. Unfortunately, by 10th and 11th centuries CE, the exact epochs of certain ancient eras were forgotten. This led to many inconsistencies and contradictions in our chronology.

In the last 231 years, Western historians and their followers took advantage of these inconsistencies and distorted the entire chronology of ancient India. They concocted many false theories and managed to take modern Indian historical research in the direction that suited their purpose.

As a matter of fact, the chronic and complex problems in the study of ancient Indian chronology arise from a misunderstanding of the epochs of various eras. As unanimously accepted by all historians, inscriptions are the most valuable source of ancient Indian chronology but the inscriptional or epigraphic evidence is available only after the date of nirvāṇa of Buddha. For the period beyond the date of nirvāṇa of Buddha, only literary evidence is available. Indian inscriptions generally record the date with reference to the epoch of a particular era. Interestingly, many Indian inscriptions contain verifiable details of the dates. Since ancient Indians evolved many astronomical siddhāntas, they seem to have followed different schemes of calendars for the purpose of referring to dates. The tithi, nakṣatra, intercalation, weekday, etc. mentioned in the inscriptions can be verified with reference to the specific calendric siddhānta applied in those days. But we have no other option

but to depend upon the inputs from the inscriptions to reconstruct the calendric siddhānta followed.

Indian calendric siddhāntas have been revised and updated from time to time. Therefore, certain details like intercalation, weekday, etc. may not be in line with the currently available Indian calendric siddhāntas. Interestingly, many inscriptions refer to solar and lunar eclipses occurred on the dates that are eternally verifiable astronomical events irrespective of the calendric siddhānta followed. Therefore, I have considered the references to solar and lunar eclipses as the strongest evidence to calculate the exact epoch of the era referred to in the inscriptions. Based on the study of solar and lunar eclipses mentioned in the inscriptions, I was able to determine that the Śaka era and the Śālivāhana era commenced in two different epochs. Also, Kārttikādi Vikrama era and Chaitrādi Vikrama era commenced in two different epochs.

In general, by the 10th and 11th centuries CE, Indians had come to accept that the Śaka or Śālivāhana era commenced in 78 CE and that the Kārttikādi or Chaitrādi Vikrama era commenced in 57 BCE. ‘Eminent’ historians of modern times also believed in these two epochs only, though they knew that many references of solar or lunar eclipses in the inscriptions cannot be explained by these two epochs. They simply conjectured that Indians referred to certain solar eclipses themselves on the basis of calculations though the eclipses were not visible in India. As ancient Indians celebrated the days of eclipses as festivals, it is totally absurd to conclude that Indian kings celebrated solar eclipses that were not visible to them. Actually, a section of historians never honestly attempted to study the epoch of various eras with reference to Puranic chronology. Since Western historians rejected the Puranic history of ancient India as mythology, a certain section of historians also blindly followed them. Consequently, the entire chronology of ancient India got distorted.

I have attempted to study the epoch of various eras with reference to the eclipses mentioned in the inscriptions and the literary evidence. According to my study, the Śaka era commenced in 583 BCE whereas the Śālivāhana era commenced in 78 CE. Similarly, I have found that

the Kārttikādi Vikrama era commenced in 719-718 CE whereas the Chaitrādi Vikrama era commenced in 57 BCE. Based on these epochs, I have also discovered the exact epoch of other ancient eras and presented the chronology of ancient India with reference to epigraphic and literary evidence in the forthcoming chapters. Interestingly and very gratifyingly, I found that the most of the epigraphic evidence is in agreement with the literary evidence.

The antiquity of Vedic civilisation, probably stretches back to the beginnings of Holocene as appears from the archaeological, genetic and astronomical studies. In fact, the Indus-Saraswati civilisation was an advanced phase of Vedic civilisation and it declined gradually due to the disappearance of Saraswati River around 3500-3000 BCE. Therefore, Vedic civilisation is the oldest continuous civilisation that started its journey around 10,000 BCE and we, Indians are the direct descendants of this glorious civilisation. Undoubtedly, the banks of Sapta Sindhu (Saraswati, Sindhu and five Rivers of Punjab) were the original homeland of Vedic civilisation. It is not out of proportion to say that the region of Sapta Sindhu was the cradle of human civilisation. There are numerous astronomical references in the Vedas (Ref. Chapter 9) that point to the antiquity of Vedic civilisation up to 10,000 BCE. According to the latest report of Archaeological Survey of India, the mounds at Bhirrana village, on the banks of the Saraswati (Ghaggar) River, in Fatehabad (near Hisar) district of Haryana date back to 7570 BCE. It is also proven in the genome studies that India's population mix has been broadly stable for over 10,000 years.

Purāṇas are the ancient chronicles of India that recorded the chronology of royal dynasties starting from the earliest king Ikṣvāku of Sūrya Varmśa. Interestingly, Pliny, the elder (23-79 CE) mentions that “from the time of Father Liber’s [Dionysos] to Alexandrus, 153 kings of India are counted in a period of 6451 years and three months.” Thus, the chronological history of Indian royal dynasties goes back to 6776 BCE (6451+325). The first Sūrya Varmśi king Ikṣvāku probably flourished around 6800-6700 BCE.

Indian astronomy started evolving during early Vedic period. Initially, ancient Indians followed smaller yugas for astronomical

calculations. The span of a Yuga was probably 1200 years and possibly, the Kṛta Yuga was from 6700 BCE to 5500 BCE, the Tretā Yuga from 5500 BCE to 4300 BCE and the Dvāpara Yuga from 4300 BCE to 3100 BCE. Māndhātā, a descendant of the Ikṣvāku lineage and the most illustrious King of the Kṛta Yuga (*Māndhātā sa mahīpatil Kṛtayugālairikāra-bhūto gataḥ*)¹ flourished around 6200 BCE. It is stated in the Sūrya Siddhānta that Maya authored the earliest version of the Sūrya Siddhānta at the end of the Kṛta Yuga.² Maya probably wrote the famous Sūrya Siddhānta around 5600-5500 BCE.

The recent research by I-SERVE (Institute of Scientific Research on Vedas) has concluded based on the sky views, generated through Planetarium software, of planetary references in the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa that Rāma was probably born on 10th January 5114 BCE during the Tretā Yuga (5500-4300 BCE). Maharshi Vālmiki probably authored Rāmāyaṇa, the first kāvya in classical Sanskrit around 5050 BCE was later updated. It appears that ancient Indian astronomers reviewed and updated the astronomical siddhāntas at the end of the Tretā Yuga around 4300 BCE based on the observational data collected over 1200 years. John Playfair, a Scottish mathematician had demonstrated in 1789 CE that the epoch of the astronomical observations recorded in the tables, still in use among Hindu astrologers, had to be 4300 BCE.

According to ancient Tamil literature, the first Sangam was supposed to have been started by the Vedic Rishi Agastya. Totally, three Sangams were patronised by 89, 59 and 49 Pandyan kings respectively. According to KD Abhyankar, the star Agastya (Canopus) was known to Indians since the Rig Vedic period. The star Agastya became visible for the first time in India at Kanyākumari around 10,000 BCE, at Chennai around 8500 BCE, at Hyderabad 7200 BCE, in the Vindhya region around 5200 BCE and at Delhi around 3100 BCE.³ The epoch of the Puranic story about Agastya who crossed the Vindhya Mountain cannot be later than 5000 BCE. Thus, the history of the 197 Pandyan kings of the Sangam period ought to have begun around 5000 BCE and the first Pandyan king may have belonged to the era of the Rāmāyaṇa i.e. 5100 - 5000 BCE.

It is well known that the events of Mahābhārata occurred around 3200-3100 BCE. The year of the Mahābhārata war can be fixed around

3128 BCE. The principles of Indian astronomy witnessed major revisions many times over a period of time. Finally, the epoch of Kaliyuga was fixed at the midnight between 17th and 18th Feb 3102 BCE when the Sun, Moon and the planets were in conjunction. Interestingly, the span of a Yuga was increased by 360 times and the concept of Mahāyugas and Manvantaras was introduced to ensure the accurate integer solutions for astronomical calculations.

King Yudhiṣṭhīra ascended the throne after the Mahābhārata war and his grandson Janamejaya probably started an era in memory of King Yudhiṣṭhīra. The epoch of the Mahābhārata war, the epoch of Yudhiṣṭhīra era and the epoch of Kaliyuga came into use after 3000 BCE. Ancient Indians also observed that Saptarṣis (Great Bear) reside hundred years in one nakṣatra constellation and completes one cycle of 27 nakṣatras in 2700 years. Indians used this cycle of Saptarṣis as a calendar. Greek historians mention that Indians used the Saptarṣi calendar with the epoch in 6676 BCE. According to Vṛddha Garga and Varāhamihira, the Great Bear was in Maghā constellation during 3176-3077 BCE.

The purāṇas were pure chronicles in ancient times but they have evolved into veritable encyclopaedias after the era of the Mahābhārata. All Purāṇas available today were updated during the period from 500 BCE to 200 CE. Only the *Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta* was written much later, probably around the 9th to 10th century CE. These Purāṇas provide valuable information about the chronology of royal dynasties of Magadha from the Mahābhārata war to the period of the Gupta dynasty. A total nine dynasties ruled over Magadha from 3128 BCE to 92 BCE.

In CE

1. Brhadratha dynasty	3128-2122 BCE
2. Pradyota dynasty	2122-1984 BCE
3. Śiśunāga dynasty	1984-1616 BCE
4. Nanda dynasty	1616-1516 BCE
5. Maurya dynasty	1516-1217 BCE
6. Śuṅga dynasty	1216-916 BCE
7. Kaṇva dynasty	915-830 BCE
8. Śātavāhana dynasty	830-338 BCE
9. Gupta dynasty	338-92 BCE

According to the Purāṇas, the Magadha Empire disintegrated into smaller kingdoms after the fall of the Gupta dynasty. *Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta* tells us that the Pāla kings ruled over Magadha after the Gupta kings. Kalhaṇa wrote a comprehensive history of Kashmir starting from the era of the Mahābhārata in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. Various Rāja-Vamśāvalis of Nepal also recorded the chronology of royal dynasties of ancient Nepal starting from the Mahābhārata era. Traditionally, Indians have followed the Puranic chronology of ancient India till the 18th century CE.

During the colonial era, Western scholars came to know about the Puranic chronology of ancient India but they could not bring themselves to believe it. Having been born and brought up in Christian society, their subconscious belief was likely based on Biblical chronology. Their racial bias also probably did not allow them to accept the Puranic chronology that was older than the chronology of ancient Greece. Western scholars completely rejected the Puranic chronology as mere mythology rather than history. They questioned the historicity of various royal dynasties mentioned in the Purāṇas and declared the Rāmāyaṇa as fiction and the Mahābhārata as historical fiction. Interestingly, the same Western scholars selectively accepted the genealogy of some royal dynasties as mentioned in Purāṇas.

Unfortunately, only literary evidence is available for the history of ancient India beyond the date of nirvāṇa of Buddha. Moreover, in due course of time, Indians completely forgot the real epoch of certain eras creating more confusion in fixing the chronology of ancient India. Western scholars simply concluded that literary evidence was contrary to epigraphic evidence, hence not reliable. They rejected the Puranic chronology and stressed upon modern Indian historical research based on epigraphic and archaeological evidence. Some scholars like John Playfair and Hermann Jacobi have logically argued that the antiquity of Vedic civilisation goes beyond 4300-4500 BCE but the majority of Western scholars simply brushed aside the irrefutable facts presented by them.

William Jones (1746-1794 CE) founded “The Asiatic Society” in Calcutta on 15th Jan 1784 and laid the foundation for modern Indian historical research. Western scholars were fascinated with the victories of Alexander from their childhood and started searching for traces of Alexander in the history of ancient India. Firstly, William Jones rather

deliberately identified the “Sandrokottus” mentioned by the Greek historians to be Chandragupta Maurya. The Indian King Samudragupta of the Gupta dynasty was, in fact, the contemporary of Alexander and this is also supported by Puranic chronology. Therefore, Samudragupta must be identified as “Sandrokottus” and not Chandragupta Maurya (Ref. Chapter 4). Some scholars like Mr. Troyer rightly pointed out this mistaken identity but Western scholars upheld this mistaken identity as eternal historical fact to facilitate the distortions in the chronology of ancient India.

The mistaken identity of “Sandrokottus” became the sheet-anchor theory for reconstructing the chronology of ancient India leading to numerous concoctions and distortions later on. A majority of Indian historians accepted this mistaken identity as an irrefutable historical fact because the epigraphic evidence of other dynasties based on the wrong epoch of eras also supported it.

Secondly, as Indian chroniclers completely forgot the epoch of certain eras by 11th century CE, it was rather easy for a section of modern historians to draw erroneous conclusions about the dates and eras referred to in ancient inscriptions of India. The issue of the mistaken identity of “Sandrokottus” cannot be settled without an in-depth study of the eras referred to in the inscriptions.

The present research work is all about reconstruction of the chronology of ancient India based on a critical study of the dates and eras referred to in inscriptions. I have considered the epigraphic evidence as primary and literary evidence as secondary. Surprisingly, I found that Western historians had unreasonably rejected many inscriptions as “spurious” or “forgery” because they do not fit into the chronology of ancient India as perceived by them. Instead of accepting the error in the identity of “Sandrokottus”, Western scholars not only distorted many historical facts brazenly but also concocted many myths and presented them as ‘historical facts’. Western scholars and colonial historians never made a serious and honest effort to reconcile Puranic chronology and the chronology derived from the epigraphic evidence. This resulted in entire body of modern Indian historical research being led in the wrong direction over the last 231 years.

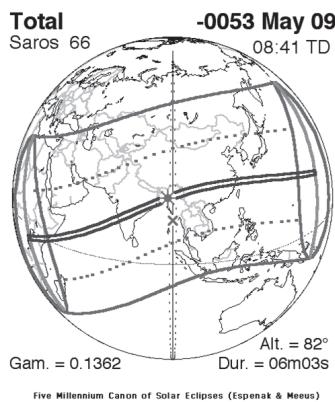
During the study of inscriptions, I found that the chronology derived from the epigraphs is absolutely in line with Puranic chronology. I also found that all inscriptions are genuine if we follow the real epochs of certain eras. For instance, majority of historians simply assumed that both the Śaka and the Śālivāhana eras commenced in 78 CE though the details of many inscriptions cannot be verified with reference to the epoch of 78 CE. The study of Indian inscriptions reveals two distinct epochs i.e. the coronation of the Śaka king and the death of the Śaka king. The epoch of the death or the end of the Śaka king commenced in 78 CE. The same epoch was referred to as the Śālivāhana era later. Historians generally conclude that the epoch of 78 CE was earlier referred to as the coronation of the Śaka king and the same was referred to as the death of the Śaka king later. But it is an egregious blunder committed by the historians.

The inscriptions clearly indicate two different epochs of the Śaka era. Undoubtedly, the epoch of the death of Śaka king commenced in 78 CE. Later, this was referred to as the Śālivāhana era. The Kurtaketi copper plates of the early Chalukya king Vikramāditya and the Hyderabad copper plates of Pulakeśin II unambiguously indicate the untenability of the epoch of 78 CE. These two inscriptions provide the strongest verifiable details of solar eclipses that cannot be explained with reference to the epoch of 78 CE. Ridiculous conclusions were drawn like the one that Indians occasionally referred to the solar eclipses on calculation basis only though they were not visible in India. Traditionally, Solar and lunar eclipses are observed piously in India even today and such ‘eminent historians’ want us to believe that Indian kings celebrated the occurring of invisible solar eclipses? Actually, the incorrect epochs of eras considered by the historians led to these absurd conclusions.

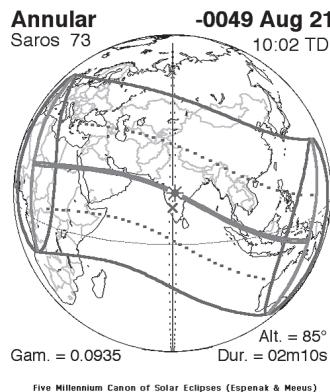
The Kurtaketi and Hyderabad copper plates refer to the epoch of the coronation of the Śaka king and not the epoch of the death of the Śaka king. The Kurtaketi plates⁴ are dated in the year 530 elapsed from the epoch of the coronation of the Śaka king. It refers to the total solar eclipse that occurred on the new moon day of the Vaiśākha month in Northern Karnataka which ended around noon. The following ten total solar eclipses occurred in Northern Karnataka (considering the latitude 15:55 N and longitude 75:40 E of Badami) during the period 1500 BCE to 1500 CE.

1. 13th Aug 1416 BCE
2. 27th Jul 1257 BCE
3. 4th Mar 180 BCE
4. 9th May 53 BCE
5. 27th Jan 111 CE
6. 25th Jun 754 CE
7. 20th Aug 993 CE
8. 23rd Jul 1134 CE
9. 6th Nov 1268 CE
10. 9th Dec 1322 CE

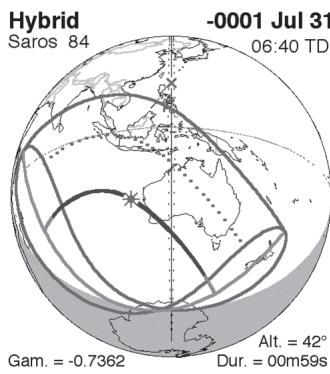
The data shows that there was only one total solar eclipse that occurred in Northern Karnataka on the new moon day of Vaiśākha month i.e. 9th May 53 BCE that started at 09:04 hrs and ended at 11:45 hrs. The day was the new moon day of Vaiśākha month (between Vaiśākha and Jyeṣṭha months) and the moon was in Rohinī nakṣatra. The Sun and Moon were also in Vṛṣabha rāśi i.e. Taurus sign.



The Hyderabad copper plates⁵ of Pulakéśin II are dated in the year 534 elapsed from the epoch of the coronation of Śaka king. These plates refer to the occurrence of a solar eclipse on the new moon day of Bhādrapada month i.e. 21st Aug 49 BCE.



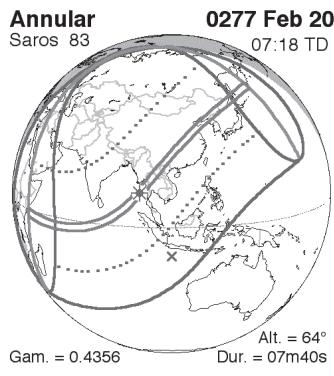
Similarly, the Talamanchi (Nellore) plates⁶ of Chalukya Vikramāditya I are dated in his 6th regnal year i.e. 1 BCE - 0 CE and refer to a solar eclipse that occurred on the new moon day of the Śrāvaṇa month i.e. 31st Jul 1 BCE. This solar eclipse was visible at Nellore, Andhra Pradesh.



The three solar eclipses mentioned in the copper plate inscriptions of the Bādāmi Chalukyas cannot be explained with reference to the epoch of the death of the Śaka king i.e. 78 CE. It is evident that the epoch of the coronation of the Śaka king is different from the epoch of the death of the Śaka king. Considering the year 530 elapsed in 53 BCE, it can be easily concluded that the epoch of the coronation of the Śaka king commenced in 583 BCE. Since the calendar of the Śaka era was Chaitrādi

and Amānta (a scheme in which month ends on new moon day), the epoch of the Śaka era ought to have commenced on 19th Feb 583 BCE. It is evident that the early Chalukyas of Badami flourished around 1st century BCE and not in the 7th century CE as established by modern ‘eminent’ historians. It is well known that the Gupta dynasty flourished before the Badami Chalukyas thus validating the correctness of Puranic chronology. Therefore, “Sandrokottus” must be identified as Samudragupta and not Chandragupta Maurya.

An inscription found in Shimoga district of Karnataka refers to an annular solar eclipse (*Valaya grahanā*) that occurred on Chaitra pratipadā i.e. the 1st tithi of the bright fortnight of Chaitra month in the year 861 of the Śaka era.⁷ Considering the epoch of the coronation of the Śaka king in 583 BCE, 277-278 CE was the 861st year of the Śaka era and the annular solar eclipse occurred on 20th Feb 277 CE.



The above mentioned references to solar eclipses found in the inscriptions clearly indicate that the epoch of the coronation of the Śaka king and the epoch of the death of the Śaka king are different. Evidently, the epoch of the coronation of the Śaka king commenced in 583 BCE whereas the epoch of the death of Śaka king or the end of the Śaka era commenced in 78 CE. Therefore, we have to study the inscriptions dated in the Śaka era carefully to find out the exact epoch for reconstructing the chronology of a particular dynasty.

Similarly, a section of historians considered only one epoch of the Vikrama era that commenced in 57 BCE. It is well known that the inscriptions dated in the Vikrama era followed two different calendars. One calendar was the Kārttikādi (New Year starting from the month of Kārttika) and another was the Chaitrādi (New Year starting from the month of Chaitra). It is evident from the inscriptions that the Kārttikādi calendar is older than the Chaitrādi calendar.

Kālakācārya-Kathānaka of Jaina tradition tells us that Kālakācārya persuaded the Śakas to invade Ujjain and they defeated Gardabhilla, the king of Ujjain. After four years, Vikramāditya defeated the Śakas and established the Mālava kingdom and founded an era known as the Krita, Mālava-gaṇa or Vikrama era. After 135 years, the Śakas again invaded Ujjain and established their kingdom.

The Vikramāditya mentioned in Jaina literature flourished 135 years before the epoch of the coronation of Śaka king i.e. 583 BCE. Therefore, Vikramāditya founded an era in 719-718 BCE and the calendar was Kārttikādi. The chronology of various dynasties which refer to Kārttikādi Vikrama era in their inscriptions must be reconstructed with reference to the epoch of 719-718 BCE. It can be concluded that the Kārttikādi Vikrama era commenced in 719-718 BCE whereas the Chaitrādi Vikrama era commenced in 57 BCE.

Though Indians adopted the epoch of the coronation of the Śaka era (583 BCE), probably, Indian astronomers were not comfortable in using this epoch for various astronomical calculations. They not only wanted to do away with the epoch that started in commemoration of the coronation of a tyrant Mleccha king but also felt the necessity to establish a new epoch because the epoch of the Śaka era was not comfortably placed with reference to the epoch of the Kaliyuga era for accurate astronomical calculations. Thus, Indian astronomers discovered the perfect epoch in the year 78 CE when 3179 years elapsed from Kaliyuga era and linked it with the epoch of the death of the Śaka king or the end of the Śaka era.

Since the Kārttikādi Vikrama era followed the Kārttikādi calendar, a necessity was also felt to introduce a Chaitrādi calendar during the 2nd century CE. During the process of introducing the Chaitrādi calendar,

Indian astronomers reset the epoch of Vikrama era in 57 BCE with reference to the epoch of 78 CE ensuring a similar gap of 135 years. Thus, the epochs of 78 CE and 57 BCE were actually introduced by Indian astronomers and became so immensely popular in India by the 11th century CE that Indians completely forgot the epochs of the Śaka era (583 BCE) and the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE).

We have to segregate the inscriptions dated in the Śaka era and the Vikrama era into the following four categories to work out the chronology of various dynasties.

1. Inscriptions referring to the epoch of the coronation of the Śaka King (583 BCE)
2. Inscriptions referring to the epoch of the death of the Śaka king (78 CE)
3. Inscriptions referring to the epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)
4. Inscriptions referring to the epoch of the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE)

Western historians wrongly calculated the epochs of the Sri Harsha, Kalachuri-Chédi and Gupta eras too. Alberuni clearly states that Indians used the Sri Harsha era that commenced 400 years before the epoch of the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE). Thus, the epoch of the Sri Harsha era commenced in 457 BCE. Western historians distorted the statement of Alberuni and created an epoch of fictitious era around 606 CE and named it the Sri Harsha era. Alberuni explicitly calculated and confirmed that the year 1031 CE to be 1488th year in the Sri Harsha era. Since Western historians were biased towards the distorted chronology of ancient India, they could not believe that Sri Harsha flourished earlier than the Mauryas.

According to Puranic chronology, the Gupta dynasty started ruling in the 4th century BCE. The inscriptions of Gupta kings and their feudatories are dated in the Gupta era. Western historians concluded that both the epoch of Gupta era and the epoch of the Valabhi era commenced in 319 CE. Alberuni apparently clarified that the epoch of the Valabhi era commenced in 319 CE when the Gupta kings ceased to

exist. Again, these historians distorted the statement of Alberuni and concocted that the Gupta era and the Valabhi era share the same epoch in 319 CE. Based on the references of four solar eclipses in the inscriptions dated in the Gupta era, I found that the epoch of the Gupta era commenced in 335 BCE (Ref. Chapter 4). The earliest inscription of Samudragupta is dated in the 5th year of the Gupta era and Samudragupta ruled for 51 years. Therefore, Samudragupta flourished around 331 BCE to 280 BCE. It is evident that Samudragupta was the contemporary of Alexander & Seleucus Nikator and not Chandragupta Maurya. Thus, we have to consider the epoch of the Gupta era in 335 BCE and the epoch of the Valabhi era in 319 CE to reconstruct the chronology of ancient India.

Eminent historians made every effort to find the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chedi era but utterly failed to find one epoch. Historian VV Mirashi concluded that the epoch of the earliest inscriptions dated up to the year 490 commenced in 249 CE whereas the epoch of the later inscriptions dated from the year 722 to the year 969 commenced in 248 CE. This unusual approach of eminent historians not only gives a long rope to explain the dates mentioned in the inscriptions but also facilitates the justification of their distorted chronology. I analysed the solar and lunar eclipses mentioned in the inscriptions dated in the Kalachuri-Chedi era and discovered that the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chedi era commenced in 403-402 BCE and the calendar was Kārttikādi (Ref. Chapter 6). We have to work out the chronology of the Kalachuri and Chedi kings with reference to the epoch of 403-402 BCE.

Some historians concocted that the inscriptions of ancient Nepal are dated in the Śālivāhana era (78 CE) but there is not even an iota of evidence to prove it. In fact, historians concocted an epoch of a fictitious era in 606 CE and propounded it to be the epoch of the Sri Harsha era. Since some ancient inscriptions of Nepal are dated in the Sri Harsha era, they simply concluded that the inscriptions of early Licchavi kings are dated in the Śālivāhana era. Actually, the Sri Harsha era commenced in 457 BCE and the inscriptions of the early Licchavi kings used an ancient era that undoubtedly commenced much before 457 BCE. The epoch of the era used in the inscriptions of the early Licchavi kings may have

commenced around 966 BCE; this is also evident from the oldest method of intercalation of Pauṣa-Āśāḍha months used in these inscriptions. This method of intercalation was in vogue during the Vēdāṅga Jyotiṣa period (1400 BCE).

Since Western historians mistakenly identified “Sandrokottus” with Chandragupta Maurya, they generally fixed the date of Mahāparinirvāṇa of Buddha around 486 BCE or 483 BCE considering Aśoka’s consecration around 268 BCE or 265 BCE. According to the Tibetan Sa-skya-pa tradition, Buddha attained nirvāṇa around 2134-2133 BCE. The King Aśoka mentioned in Buddhist literature was probably a Kashmiri king and Buddha may have attained nirvāṇa around 2134-2133 BCE. In case, the Aśoka of Buddhist literature was a Mauryan King, Purāṇas tell us that Aśoka flourished in the 15th century BCE; therefore, Buddha may have attained nirvāṇa in 1658 BCE. Therefore, the Mahāparinirvāṇa of Buddha cannot be dated later than 1658 BCE (Ref. Chapter 7). Jaina sources tell us that Mahāvīra attained nirvāṇa 605 years and 5 months before the commencement of the Śaka era (583 BCE) and 470 years before the commencement of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE). Thus, Mahāvīra attained nirvāṇa on 22nd October 1189-88 BCE.

It is evident that the mistaken identity of “Sandrokottus” has brought forward the chronology of ancient India by 1200 years. Chandragupta Maurya of 16th century BCE has been erroneously dated in the 4th century BCE. Moreover, the wrong assumption of the same epoch (78 CE) for the Śaka era (583 BCE) and the Śālivāhana era (78 CE) has brought forward the chronology of various South Indian dynasties by 661 years. Pulakēśin II, the early Chalukya king of Badami flourished in the 1st century BCE but historians erroneously dated him in the 7th century CE. Similarly, the assumption of the same epoch (57 CE) for the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and the Chairādi Vikrama era (57 CE) brought forward the chronology of various North Indian dynasties by 661 years. Bhoja, the most illustrious king of the Paramāra dynasty, flourished in the 4th century CE but historians mistakenly dated him in 11th century CE.

Eminent historians concocted an epoch of a fictitious era in 606 CE and brought forward the Sri Harsha of the 5th century BCE to the 7th

century CE. The chronology of the Gupta kings and the Kalachuri kings has also been brought forward by more than 650 years due to the erroneous fixing of the epoch of the Gupta era (319 CE instead of 335 BCE) and the Kalachuri-Chedi era (249 CE instead of 403 BCE). The dates of nirvāṇa of Buddha and nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra have also been brought forward by 1648 years and 661 years respectively.

The eminent historians have also robbed off more than 1000 years of the antiquity of the history of ancient Nepal by erroneously identifying the era of the inscriptions of the early Licchavi kings to be the Śālivāhana era.

Thus the entire chronology of ancient India was distorted by a section of historians and many theories without any basis have been floated as historical facts in modern textbooks of Indian history. Indian chroniclers should share the blame for these concoctions and distortions as they forgot the epoch of the coronation of the Śaka king (583 BCE) and the epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE). Eminent historians mistakenly identified “Sandrokottus” with Chandragupta Maurya and some dubious scholars fraudulently concocted the theory of the Aryan invasion misleading the entire body of modern Indian historical research in a wrong direction over the last 231 years. Moreover, modern eminent historians lack the knowledge of basic Sanskrit and that adversely affects the quality of Indian historical research. The Govt of India should promote the compulsory teaching of Sanskrit to the students of Indian history to ensure the future of fundamental research in Indian history.

Being a student of Sanskrit, I have studied the original text of various inscriptions instead of reading the English translations. Based on the study of the exact epoch of ancient Indian eras and the solar or lunar eclipses mentioned in inscriptions, I have attempted to reconstruct the entire chronology of ancient India in the forthcoming chapters. I request the learned readers to go through the entire book before evaluating this research work.



Chapter 2

The Epoch of the Śaka Era

The Śaka era was popularly used for dating in the ancient and medieval period inscriptions and texts in India, Cambodia and Java (Indonesia). It is generally accepted that the Śaka era commenced on 3rd March (Chaitra Śukla Pratipadā) 78 CE. There has been an interesting debate about the origin and originator of the Śaka era among historians particularly from 1890 to 1960. The epoch of Śaka era is a settled issue for a majority of historians now. I dare to re-open the debate. In fact, a divergence of opinion about the origin and originator of the Śaka era exists even today. The issue of the originator will be discussed at the end of this chapter. First, we will discuss about the two theories related to the origin of the Śaka era:

- Only one Śaka era exists and it commenced in 78 CE.
- There are two Śaka eras: The first era originated much before 78 CE and the second era popularly known as “Śālivāhana Śaka” commenced in 78 CE.

JF Fleet and F. Kielhorn propounded the theory that there is only one Śaka era that commenced in 78 CE. A majority of ‘eminent’ Indian historians accepted this as eternal truth. TS Narayana Sastri¹ was the first who pointed out the existence of two eras in the name of Śaka. He attempted to prove that the old Śaka era commenced in 550 BCE and that the Śālivāhana Śaka era originated later in 78 CE. Prof. Gulshan Rai² and Kota Venkatachelam³ supported the theory of TS Narayana Sastry. V.Thiruvenkatacharya⁴ proposed that the epoch of Śaka era was in 551 BCE whereas Jagannatha Rao and CV Vaidya believed it was in 543 BCE. K Rangarajan proposed that it was in 523/522 BCE. Though these scholars could not convincingly prove the epoch of the Śaka era, they successfully exposed the weak foundations of the theory of only one Śaka era.

JF Fleet had collected more than 370 references of the Śaka era from various inscriptions. F. Kielhorn published an article “On the dates of the Śaka Era in inscriptions” in Indian Antiquary, Vol XXIII, May 1894. He verified 370 references to the Śaka era with the presumption of 78 CE as the epoch. He found that the calculation of about 140 dates “satisfy the requirements” whereas that of 70 dates was “unsatisfactory”. He also claimed that the details of more than 30 dates are doubtful and that around 100 dates contain no details for verification. Based on their analysis, JF Fleet and Kielhorn dubbed certain inscriptions as “spurious documents”. Unfortunately, most Indian historians also accepted these inscriptions as ‘spurious’ without any verification.

William Jones identified the “Sandrokottus” referred to by ancient Greek historians as Chandragupta Maurya and presented the Indian chronology of the Imperial era from 324 BCE. John Faithful Fleet, F. Kielhorn and other western historians blindly believed the distorted chronology given by Sir William Jones and did not accept any date beyond 324 BCE. These scholars declared some of the inscriptions and texts as “spurious” because details therein did not reconcile with their biased approach to Indian chronology. Surprisingly, Fleet and Kielhorn even alleged that these inscriptions are forgeries though at the same time accepting the information selectively from these sources.

In the light of epigraphic and literary data, historians need to correct their theories. Partial acceptance and partial rejection of epigraphic and literary data without any substantial proof should be rejected with contempt. Let us make one more effort to read the ‘spurious’ inscriptions of the Śaka era to ascertain whether these are really spurious epigraphs or whether they run contrary to certain spurious theories.

While reading the inscriptions and texts of the Śaka era, we can easily distinguish two different ways of referring to the reckoning of the Śaka era. Some epigraphs unambiguously refer to the epoch of the Śaka era from the coronation of the Śaka king whereas some epigraphs refer to the epoch of the Śaka era from the death of the Śaka king or the end of the Śaka era.

*From the coronation of
the Śaka King*

Śaka-nṛpati-rājyābhiseka-saṁvatsare

Śakavarṣeṣu-atīteṣu

Śaka-bhūpa-kāla, Śakendra-kāla

Śaka-nṛpa-kālāt or Śakānām kālāt

Śaka-nṛpa-kālākrānta-saṁvatsara

Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīteṣu

Śakānāmapi bhūbhujām gateṣu abdeṣu

Śaka-prthivīpateḥ varṣāṇām

Śakābde

Śāke or Śākeṣu

Śaka-kālād-ārabhya

Śakābdānām pramāṇe

Śakavarṣam neya

*From the death of the Śaka King
or the end of the Śaka era*

Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-
śateṣu

Śaka-varṣātīta-saṁvatsare

Jāte Śakābde tataḥ, Śakendre atigate

Yāte kāle Śakānām,

Svasti Śri Śāke

Svasti Śri Śakavarṣe or Svasti Śri
Śakavatsare

Śālivāhana Śakābdam..... neya

Śri Jayābhuyudaya Śālivāhana Śake

Svasti Śri Śakavarṣam.... neya

Śakavariṣam neya

Any scholar with a basic knowledge of Sanskrit can make the distinction in the meaning of the references segregated above. It is evident that one set of references leads to the coronation of the Śaka king whereas other set of references leads to the end or death of the Śaka king. How can the totally different references “Śaka-nṛpati-rājyābhiseka-saṁvatsara” and “Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara” lead to the same epoch? Eminent historians must learn some basic Sanskrit to understand the real meaning of these references in epigraphs. Prima facie, it appears that the epigraphs that refer to “Śaka-nṛpa-kāla” denote a different epoch from that in the epigraphs that refer to “Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara”. Interestingly, “Śaka”, “Śakābda” and “Śakavarṣa” became synonymous to “Saṁvat” (meaning era) from the 7th century CE onwards. We must be very careful while dating the epigraphs referring “Śakavarṣam..... neya” because the same expression was used for both epochs.

From the 8th or 9th century CE onwards, the common people ignorant of the two different epochs, started using the expressions interchangeably both for the epoch of the coronation of the Śaka king or the epoch of the death of the Śaka king. This created confusion among learned

astronomers too. To eliminate this confusion, the name of “Śālivāhana” was later attached to distinguish the epoch of the death of the Śaka king from the epoch of the coronation of the Śaka king. The reference of “Śālivāhana” in epigraphs started around 897 CE.⁵

It is argued that the epoch initially referred to the coronation of the Śaka King and later to the death of the Śaka King. This absurd argument can easily be rejected because the Pimpalner copper plate grant⁶ of Chalukya Satyāśrayadeva (*Śaka-kālātīta* 310) refers to the epoch as “Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara” whereas the inscription of Chalukya Mangalīśvara (*Śaka* 500)⁷ refers to as “Śaka-nṛpati-rājyābhiseka-saṁvatsara”. It is proven beyond doubt that Mangalīśvara reigned as king before the Chalukya king of Pimpalner copper plate grant. Interestingly, the majority of the so-called spurious inscriptions refer to “Śaka-nṛpa-kāla” whereas the majority of regular inscriptions refer to “Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta” or “Śālivāhana Śaka”. This indicates that the epoch of “Śaka-nṛpa-kāla” was different from the epoch of “Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara”. The expression “Śaka-nṛpa-kāla + atīta-saṁvatsara” (from the end of the era of the Śaka king) itself is compelling epigraphic evidence to prove the existence of “Śaka-nṛpa-kāla” (the era of Śaka king) prior to 78 CE.

Bhaskaracharya, the author of *Siddhānta Śiromāṇi*, clearly mentions the existence of the Śaka era or Śakābda prior to the death of the Śaka king.

Yātāḥ ṣaṇmanavo yugāni bhamitānyanyadyugāṅghritrayam,
Nandādrīndugunāstathā Śakanṛpasyānte kalervatsarāḥ ।
Godrīndvadrikṛtāṅkadasranagagocandrāḥ Śakābdānvitāḥ
Sarve saṅkalitāḥ pitāmahadine syurvartamāne gatāḥ ॥⁸

In this verse, Bhāskara states that 3179 years elapsed since the beginning of Kaliyuga till the end or death of the Śaka king and 1972947179 years elapsed from the starting of Kalpa till the death of the Śaka king including the years of Śakābda or Śaka era. The word “Śakābdānvitāḥ” explicitly indicates the existence of the Śakābda or Śaka era prior to 78 CE.

Undoubtedly, the epoch of “Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta” commenced in the year 78 CE when the Śaka king was killed. Alberuni, a Persian scholar, who visited India between 1017 CE and 1031 CE, wrote:⁹

"The epoch of the era of Śaka falls 135 years later than that of Vikramāditya. The here-mentioned Śaka tyrannised over their country between the river Sindh and the ocean, after he had made Aryāvarta in the midst of this realm his dwelling place. He interdicted the Hindus from considering and representing themselves as anything but Śakas. The Hindus had much to suffer from him, till at last they received help from the east, when Vikramāditya marched against him, put him to fight and killed him in the region of Karur, between Multan and the castle of Loni. Now this date became famous, as people rejoiced in the news of the death of the tyrant and was used as the epoch of an era, especially by the astronomers. Since, there is a long interval between the era which is called the era of Vikramāditya and the killing of Śaka; we think that Vikramāditya from whom the era has got its name is not identical with that one who killed Śaka."

Thus, Alberuni clearly indicated that the death of the Śaka king is the epoch of the Śaka era that commenced in 78 CE but he had no information about the era of the coronation of the Śaka king because it was not in vogue at that time. The era that commenced with the killing of the Śaka king was also referred to as "Śālivāhana Śaka" from the 9th century onwards. Thus, 78 CE is the epoch of "Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta" era. It can never be the epoch of "Śaka-nṛpati-rājyābhiseka-saṁivatsara" i.e. the coronation of the Śaka King. Now the question is what is the epoch of the Śaka era that commenced on the coronation of the Śaka King? To answer this question, we have to study the inscriptions of the Śaka era carefully.

The inscriptions of Early Chalukyas of Badami or Vātāpi explicitly refer to the epoch of the coronation of the Śaka king. The Kurtaketi copper plates of the Early Chalukya King Vikramāditya and the Hyderabad copper plates of the Early Chalukya Pulakeśin II provide unambiguous leads to the year of the coronation of Śaka king.

The selected text from the Kurtaketi copper plates of Vikramāditya:¹⁰

*"Viditamastu sosmābhīḥ ba[va] trimśottara-pañca-śateṣu
Śakavarṣeṣu atīteṣu, vijayarājya-saṁivatsare ṣoḍaśavarṣe
pravartamāne, Kiśuvojala-mahānagara-vikhyāta- sthitasya Vaiśākha-
Jyeṣṭha-māsa-madhyamāmāvāsyāyām bhāskaradine Rohinyarkṣe*

*madhyāhnakāle Vikaramādityasya..... mahādevatayorubhayoḥ
Vṛṣabharāśau tasmin Vṛṣabharāśau Sūryagrahaṇa sarvamāśī
(Sarvagrāśī) bhūte..... “*

While this inscription clearly mentions that the elapsed Śaka years are 530, it has been erroneously read as 532 years assuming “*ba trimśottara*” as “*dvātrimśottara*”. Possibly, “*Viditamastvasamābhīr vas-trimśottara*” was deciphered as “*Viditamastu sosmābhī ba*”. The phrase “*sosmābhī valī*” may have been read as “*sosmābhī [bal]*”. If so, “*ba*” should not be part of “*trimśottara*” because “*asmābhīr vas trimśottara [asmābhīḥ + valī + trimśottara]*” is the correct expression in Sanskrit. Precisely, Walter Elliot and Dr. Burnell considered the date as Śaka 530 but JF Fleet insisted that the real date of the grant was Śaka 532. Unfortunately, the third plate which is now missing probably carried a footnote saying “in Śaka 530, on the eighth day of the sixteenth royal victorious year”.¹¹

The Kurtaketi copper plates provide enough details for verification as “530 years of Śaka era elapsed, in the 16th regnal year of Vikramāditya I, on the occasion of total solar eclipse around noon time, on the occasion of new moon day (*amāvāsyā*) between Vaiśākha and Jyeṣṭha months, moon in Rohiṇī nakṣatra, sun and moon both in Taurus sign (*Vṛṣabha Rāśī*), the total solar eclipse occurred in Taurus and the day was Bhāskara dina i.e. Sunday.”

The selected text from the Hyderabad copper plates of Pulakeśin II:¹²

*“Ātmanalī pravardhamāna-rājyābhiṣeka-saṁvatsare trītye Śakanṛpati-
saṁvatsara-śateṣu catuṣtrimśatyadhikeṣu pañcasvatīteṣu
Bhādrapadāmāvāsyāyām Sūrya-grahaṇa-nimittam”*

This inscription also provides details for verification as “534 years of Śaka era elapsed, 3rd regnal year of Pulakeśin II, the occasion of solar eclipse on the new moon day (*amāvāsyā*) of Bhādrapada month”.

Now, let us verify the details of these two inscriptions. If the epoch of Śaka era is 78 CE, it follows that 20th April 608 CE (530 years elapsed) or 29th April 610 CE (532 years elapsed) would be the date of the Kurtaketi copper plates and 31st August 612 CE is the date of the Hyderabad copper plates. However, it has been established that a Solar eclipse was not visible anywhere in India on these dates or any date from 608 CE to 612 CE. Therefore, JF Fleet and Kielhorn declared the Kurtaketi inscription

as spurious because the data was contrary to their idea of Indian chronology. Interestingly, they have accepted the elapsed years mentioned in inscriptions as part of the chronology of early Chalukyas. This biased approach of JF Fleet and Kielhorn is nothing but distortion. If JF Fleet and Kielhorn were honest, they ought to have accepted their inability to explain the solar eclipses mentioned in these epigraphs. Instead, in their biased chronology, they floated a distorted theory of palaeography to selectively reject certain epigraphs that were inexplicable as spurious or forgeries, thereby casting shadow on their intellectual integrity.

These two inscriptions clearly refer to the epoch of the coronation of the Śaka king. Thus, the epoch of the death of the Śaka king i.e. 78 CE is not acceptable. Let us verify the two solar eclipses which occurred in Śaka 531st year and Śaka 535th year in the kingdom of the early Chalukyas. All eclipses must be verified with reference to the longitude and latitude of the locations mentioned in the inscriptions. Western historians generally verified solar eclipses anywhere in India or outside India based merely on calculations. I have based my verification of the date and time of eclipses on the comprehensive data on eclipses from NASA (<http://eclipse.gsfc.Nasa.gov>).

The details given in the Kurtaketi copper plates perfectly match the date 9th May 53 BCE. A total solar eclipse was visible and ended around noon time in the Early Chalukya kingdom on 9th May 53 BCE. The solar eclipse started at 09:04 hrs and ended at 11:45 hrs. The day was the new moon day of Vaiśākha month (between Vaiśākha and Jyeṣṭha months) and the moon was in Rohiṇī nakṣatra. The Sun and Moon were in Vṛṣabha rāśi i.e. The Taurus sign. The day was “*Bhāskara dina*” meaning Sunday but it cannot be verified with reference to the modern Indian calendar. It depends on the *Siddhānta of Ahargaṇa* (for calculating the number of days for a specified date with reference to an original epochal date) considered in the calendar used during those days.

The details given in the Hyderabad copper plates also perfectly match the date 21st August 49 BCE. A Solar eclipse was visible in the Early Chalukya kingdom on 21st August 49 BCE starting at 10:42:47

hrs and ending at 14:19:26 hrs. The day was the new moon day of Bhādrapada month.

Based on these two dates, the year of coronation of the Śaka king can be easily calculated. The epoch of the Śaka coronation era ought to have commenced on Chaitra śukla pratipadā of 583 BCE i.e. 19th February 583 BCE. Thus, the 530th year of Śaka's coronation era was elapsed on 11th March 53 BCE and the 534th year was elapsed on 24th February 49 BCE.

Let us now verify the inscriptions of various dynasties that refer the Śaka coronation era with the epoch of 583 BCE without any prejudice to the chronology given in modern texts or ancient texts.

Henceforth, any reference to the Śaka era means the epoch that commenced in 583 BCE whereas the Śālivāhana era means the epoch that commenced in 78 CE.

The Early Chalukyas of Badami

Vātāpi or Badami (in Bagalkot district of Karṇātaka) was the capital of the early Chalukya dynasty. Ptolemy (140 CE) mentions Badami as “*Badiamaioi*” indicating that Badami was a place of some importance during the 1st and 2nd centuries CE. Pulakeśin I, the founder of the Chalukya Empire in Vātāpi, according to the Altem or British Museum copper plates, was the grandson of Jayasimha and son of Rañarāga. The Aihole inscription¹³ also gives a similar lineage of the Chalukyas. Pulakeśin I ruled from Śaka 411 (172 BCE) to Śaka 466 (117 BCE).

The selected text from the Altem or British Museum copper plates:¹⁴

“Śaka-nṛpābdeśvekādaśottareṣu catuś-śateṣu vyatīteṣu Vibhava-saṁivatsare pravartamāne | Krte ca ye | Vaiśākhodita-pūrṇa-puṇya-divase rāho (hau) vidhau (vidhor) mandalam śliṣṭe.....”

“411 years elapsed in Śaka era, in the Jovian year of Vibhava and on the occasion of lunar eclipse, on full moon day of Vaiśākha month and moon in Viśākhā nakṣatra”.

Considering 583 BCE as the epoch, Śaka 411th year i.e. 173-172 BCE elapsed and 172-171 BCE current, the day of 19th April 172 BCE was the full moon day of Vaiśākha month and the moon was also in Viśākhā nakṣatra. A penumbral lunar eclipse was visible at Badami starting at

19:44 hrs and ending at 21:32 hrs. If 78 CE had been the epoch, 1st May 489 CE was the full moon day of Vaiśākha month but no lunar eclipse was visible at Badami nor was the moon in Viśākhā nakṣatra.

Pulakeśin I was also known as “Vallabheśvara”. He constructed the fort in Badami in Śaka 465 elapsed as mentioned in a Badami inscription.¹⁵ Pulakeśin I had two sons; Kīrtivarman I and Mangaliśvara. Pulakeśin I was succeeded by his elder son Kīrtivarman I. According to Chalukya inscriptions, Kīrtivarman I defeated the rulers of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kalinga, Gaṅga, Magadha, Madraka, Kerala, Kadamba etc. His younger brother Mangaliśvara succeeded him as the ruler of Badami in Śaka 489 (95 BCE).

The selected text from the Badami cave inscription of Mangaliśvara:¹⁶

“Pravardhamāna-rājya-saṁvatsare dvādaśe Śaka-nṛpati-rājyābhiseka-saṁvatsareṣu-atikrānteṣu pañcasu śateṣu mahā-Kārttika-paurṇamāsyām”

“500 years elapsed in Śaka coronation era, in the 12th year of reign, on full moon day of Kārttika month.”

The year of 84-83 BCE was the elapsed year of Śaka 500 and 83-82 BCE was the 12th regnal year of Mangaliśvara and 19th October 83 BCE was the full moon day of Kārttika month and the moon was also in Kṛttikā nakṣatra.

Mangaliśvara also conquered Revatīdvīpa (near Goa). He conspired to secure the succession for his son but Satyāśraya-Pulakeśin II, the son of Kīrtivarman I, rebelled and in the ensuing civil war between Mangaliśvara and Pulakeśin II, Mangaliśvara lost his life as stated in the Aihole inscription.¹⁶ Due to the civil war, the Chalukya Empire became highly vulnerable. Pulakeśin II had the greater responsibility to re-instate the authority of the Chalukyas in Kuntala (Northern Karṇātaka) and Dakṣināpatha. Therefore, he decided to put his older son Kokkulla Vikramāditya on the throne in Śaka 515 (69 BCE) and personally led the army to counter the invasions of neighbouring kings. He conquered “Vanavāsi” the capital of Kadambas. He also defeated the Gaṅgas of Mysore, Lātas, Mauryas, Mālavas and Gurjaras.

Pulakeśin II defeated Harsha, the king of Uttarāpatha by Śaka 530 (53 BCE) as stated in the Kurtaketi grant of Vikramāditya; it was the greatest achievement of Pulakeśin II. He also defeated the Pallava king and won more than 100 wars against neighbouring kings between Śaka

515 and Śaka 531 (69-53 BCE) and laid strong foundations to Chalukya Kingdom. He was referred to in the Hyderabad copper plates as “*Samaraśata-sainghaṭṭa-paranṛpati-parājayopalabdhā-parameśvarāparanāmadheyah*” which meant that Pulakeśin II achieved the title of “*Parameśvara*” by defeating other kings in hundred wars.

Pulakeśin II took over the reins of Badami in Śaka 532 (52 BCE) from his older son Kokkulla Vikramāditya and appointed him as Viceroy of the Lāta region. Buddhavarasarāja, the younger brother of Pulakeśin II and the uncle of Vikramāditya, was also placed there to support Kokkulla Vikramāditya. The Sanjan grant of Buddhavarasarāja¹⁷ indicates this clearly. This grant was issued on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new moon day of Pauṣa month but the Śaka year is not mentioned. There was only one solar eclipse which occurred on Pauṣa Amāvāsyā i.e. 5th January 28 BCE between Śaka 515 and Śaka 602 (69 BCE-19 CE). Śaka 515 was the 1st regnal year of Kokkulla Vikramāditya whereas Śaka 602 was the last regnal year of Vikramāditya I. Thus, the date of the Sanjan grant can be conclusively fixed on 5th January 28 BCE. This means Kokkulla Vikramāditya was ruling the Lāta region in Śaka 555 (28 BCE).

It can also be construed that the Chalukya rule in Gurjara was established by Śaka 532 (52 BCE) and Kokkulla Vikramāditya was the first ruler of Gujarat branch of Chalukyas. In fact, he was the author of the Kurtaketi grant issued in Śaka 530 elapsed when he was ruling from Badami. Vikramāditya I, the youngest son of Pulakeśin II, ruled between Śaka 577 and Śaka 602 (6 BCE-19 CE). Therefore, Vikramāditya I cannot be the author of the Kurtaketi grant and thus, it follows that Vikramāditya I was the younger brother of Kokkulla Vikramāditya.

JF Fleet rejected the Kurtaketi grant as spurious because he could not explain the total solar eclipse in Śaka 530 elapsed and the rule of Vikramāditya between Śaka 515 to Śaka 602. Interestingly, he also attempted to mislead Indologists by overruling Walter Elliot and Dr Burnell about the Śaka year of the Kurtaketi grant. He argued that it was Śaka 532 and not Śaka 530. I suspect that JF Fleet deliberately distorted the Śaka year of the Kurtaketi grant because it provides the strongest epigraphic evidence i.e. total solar eclipse with enough verifiable details.

Pulakeśin II had three younger brothers namely Kubja Vishnuvardhana, Buddhavarasarāja and Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarmā. As stated above, Buddhavarasarāja was supporting Kokkulla Vikramāditya in the Gurjara region. Pulakeśin II appointed Kubja Vishnuvardhana who later founded Eastern Chalukya dynasty at Veṅgi as Viceroy of coastal Andhra region. It seems that Pulakeśin II also appointed his brother Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarmā as Viceroy near Balegrāma (Belgaum). The Nirpan grant of Nāgavardhana,¹⁸ issued by Tribhuvanāśraya Nāgavardhanarāja, the son of Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarmarāja, clearly tells us about the brother of Pulakeśin II. Pulakeśin II had at least six sons namely Kokkulla Vikramāditya, Chandrāditya, Raṇarāgavarmā, Ādityavarmā, Vikramāditya I and Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarmā.

JF Fleet declared the Nirpan grant spurious because one of the sons of Pulakeśin II was named Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarmā. Can the fact that an uncle and nephew have the same name be uncommon, unusual, objectionable or indefensible? JF Fleet deliberately concocted convoluted theories to prove that some Indian inscriptions were spurious or forgeries in order to convince other Indologists that some Indian inscriptions were not genuine and hence, need to be rejected. By selectively rejecting some inscriptions as spurious, JF Fleet succeeded in distorting the chronology of ancient India. It appears that any Indian inscription dated prior to 4th century CE, was pushed to a corner by JF Fleet. The controversy about the chronology of the Gaṅga dynasty between B Lewis Rice and JF Fleet is enough to understand the devious mind-set of JF Fleet.

Pulakeśin II was ruling in Śaka 557 (26 BCE) as mentioned in the Aihole inscription.¹⁹ Śaka 577 (6 BCE) was the first regnal year of Vikramāditya I. The Nerur grant²⁰ and Kochre grant²¹ of Queen Vijayabhaṭṭārikā (the wife of Chandrāditya, the elder brother of Vikramāditya I) were probably issued between Śaka 561 and Śaka 577. The Nerur grant was issued in the 5th regnal year of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā on the 2nd tithi of the dark fortnight of Āśvayuja month and on the occasion of "Viṣuva". Viṣuva or Viṣuvatkāla means Sāyana Meṣa Saṃkrānti (21st March) or Sāyana Tulā Saṃkrānti (23rd September). Therefore, the Nerur grant was issued on Sāyana Tulā Saṃkrānti, on kṛṣṇa-pakṣa dvitiyā of Āśvayuja corresponding to only one date i.e. 23rd September 18 BCE

between Śaka 561 to Śaka 577. Thus, Vijayabhaṭṭārikā's 1st regnal year was Śaka 562 (22-21 BCE). It appears that Pulakeśin II was alive up to Śaka 561 (23-22 BCE).

Vijayabhaṭṭārikā's grant clearly mentions that Vikramāditya I was the successor of the Chalukya Empire (*Sva-vamśajām lakṣmīm prāpya ca parameśvaram nivārita-Vikramādityaḥ*). Probably, Vikramāditya I had to encounter internal conflicts for succession as well as invasions from neighbouring kings after the death of Pulakeśin II. It is likely that Vikramāditya I took the responsibility of re-establishing the supremacy of the Chalukyas. He allowed Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, the wife of his elder brother Chandrāditya, to take over the reins in Vātāpi and he himself led the army to counter aggressive neighbouring kings. Vijayabhaṭṭārikā ruled between Śaka 562 (22-21 BCE) and Śaka 576 (8-7 BCE). Vikramāditya I ascended the throne in Śaka year 577 (6 BCE).

The selected text from the Talamanchi (Nellore) plates of Vikramāditya I:²²

"Viditamastu vosmābhilī pravardhamāna-vijayarājya-śadvatsare Śrāvaṇamāsa-Sūryagrahaṇe" (In the 6th regnal year and on the occasion of solar eclipse in Śrāvaṇa month).

The Solar eclipse was visible on 31st July 1 BCE in Nellore and the day was the new moon day of Śrāvaṇa month.

Savnur plates²³ of Vikramaditya I are dated in Śaka 597 (14 CE). Vikramāditya I was succeeded by his son Vinayāditya in Śaka 602 (18-19 CE).

The selected text from the Sorab (Shimoga) plates of Vinayāditya:²⁴

"[Ca]turddaśottara-śaṭcchateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣu atīteṣu pravardhamāna-vijayarājya-saṁvatsare ekādaśe varttamāne..... Dakśinābhīmukhe bhagavati bhāskare Rohiṇī-nakṣatre śanaiścaravāre" (Śaka 613 elapsed, 11th regnal year, on the occasion of Dakśināyana Samkrānti in Rohiṇī nakṣatra and Saturday).

The elapsed year is 29-30 CE and 30-31 CE is current. Dakśināyana Samkrānti started on 16th June 30 CE and nakṣatra was Rohiṇī. The reference to Saturday cannot be verified with reference to the modern Indian calendar. It depends on the *Siddhānta of Ahargraṇa* (for calculating number of days for a specified date with reference to an original epochal

date) considered in the calendar used during those days. JF Fleet and Kielhorn declared that this inscription refers to the date with wrong nakṣatra because they considered 78 CE as the common epoch of Śaka kāla era and Śaka kālātīta era.

The selected text from the Kendur plates of Kīrtivarman II:²⁵

"Viditamevāstu vosmābhilḥ dvisaptiyuttara ṣaṭcchateṣu Śakavarsesvatīteṣu pravardhamāna-vijayarājya-saṁvatsare ṣaṣṭhe varttamāne..... Vaiśākha paurnamāsyām Somagrahaṇe" (Śaka 672 elapsed, 6th regnal year, lunar eclipse on the full moon day of Vaiśākha month)

Though elapsed years are mentioned, Śaka 672 was the current year. 88-89 CE was the 6th regnal year. 24th April 88 CE was the full moon day of Vaiśākha month and lunar eclipse was visible at 18:56 hrs.

Vijayāditya, Vikramāditya II and Kīrtivarman II ruled from Śaka 619 (36 CE) to 680 (97 CE). The Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Dantidurga and Krishnarāja defeated Kīrtivarman II and Chalukya empire came to an end by Śaka 680 (97 CE).

The chronology of the early Chalukyas:

	<i>Śaka era (583 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Jayasimha	—	225-200 BCE?
Raṇarāga	—	200-172 BCE?
Pulakeśin I	411-466	172-117 BCE
Kīrtivarman I	466-488	117-95 BCE
Mangaliśvara	489-505	94-78 BCE
Kokkulla Vikramāditya (elder son of Pulakeśin II)	515-531	68-52 BCE
Pulakeśin II	531-561	52-22BCE
Vijayabhaṭṭārikā (wife of Chandrāditya)	562-576	22-7 BCE
Vikramāditya I (Younger son of Pulakeśin II)	577-601	6 BCE – 18 CE
Vinayāditya	602-618	19-35 CE
Vijayāditya	619-655	36-72 CE
Vikramāditya II	655-666	72-83 CE
Kīrtivarman II	666-680	83-97 CE

A comparative analysis of verifiable epigraphic evidence:

	<i>The epoch: 583 BCE (Śaka era)</i>	<i>The epoch: 78 CE (Śālivāhana era)</i>
1.	Lunar eclipse on the full moon day of Vaiśākha month and the moon in Viśākhā nakṣatra. ²⁶ (411 th year elapsed, 412 th year of Śaka was current.)	Lunar eclipse was visible on 19 th April 172 BCE and the moon in Viśākhā nakṣatra.
2.	Total solar eclipse on the new moon day of Vaiśākha month (between Vaiśākha and Jyeṣṭha months) and the moon was in Rohiṇī nakṣatra. The Sun and Moon were also in Vṛṣabha rāśi i.e. Taurus sign and Sunday. ²⁷ (530 th year elapsed, 531 st year of Śaka was current.)	Total solar eclipse was visible on 9 th May 53 BCE.
3.	Solar eclipse on the new moon day of Bhādrapada month. ²⁸ (534 th year elapsed, 535 th year of Śaka was current.)	A solar eclipse was visible on 21 st August 49 BCE.
4.	Solar eclipse on the new moon day of Śrāvaṇa month. ²⁹ (6 th regnal year of Vikramāditya I i.e. 583 rd year of Śaka.)	No Solar eclipse in the year 612 CE. Only in 613 CE which was 536 th year of Śaka and the month was Śrāvaṇa not Bṛahmaṇapada. (Technically, only elapsed or current year should be acceptable)
5.	Śaka 591 elapsed, 15 th Regnal year of Vikramāditya I. The 8 th tithi of the dark fortnight of Āśvayuja month and “Viśuvatkāla”. ³⁰ (Sāyana Tulā Samkrānti)	Considering Śaka 591 current, the date was 22 nd /23 rd September 669 CE.
6.	Uttarāyaṇa ended in Āśāḍha month. ³¹ (Śaka 594 elapsed & 17 th regnal year of Vikramāditya I.)	Uttarāyaṇa ended on 17 th June 11 CE and Āśāḍha month ended on 20 th June 11 CE.
		This cannot be explained in 672 CE.

7.	Dakṣiṇāyana Saṃkrānti in Rohinī nakṣatra and Saturday. ³² (613 years elapsed, 614 th year of Śaka.)	D a k ś i ḥ a y a n a Saṃkrānti occurred in Rohinī nakṣatra on 16 th June 30 CE but the day was Friday.	D a k ś i ḥ a y a n a Saṃkrānti was in Uttarabhadra on 23 rd June 691 CE. Not acceptable.
8.	The full moon day of Āśāḍha month during Dakṣiṇāyana period. ³³ (Śaka 614 elapsed, 12 th regnal year.)	The date was 23 rd September 31 CE.	The date is irregular in 691 CE or 692 CE.
9.	Kārttika? Paurṇamāsi, Lunar Eclipse, Thursday. ³⁴ (Śaka 627 elapsed, 10 th regnal year.)	7 th September 43 CE, Saturday but Āśvina pūrṇimā not Kārttika.	Irregular.
10.	Āśvayuja Paurṇamāsi, at the time of autumnal equinox. ³⁵ (Śaka 630 elapsed, 13 th regnal year.)	Sāyana Tulā Saṃkranti occurred on 22 nd /23 rd September 47 CE.	The date is irregular in 708 CE.
11.	Chaitra Paurṇamāsi, Saṃkrānti, Monday. ³⁶ (Śaka 640 elapsed, 22 nd regnal year.)	20 th /21 st March 56 CE but the day was Saturday.	Regular. The date was 21 st March 718 CE and Monday.
12.	Lunar eclipse on the full moon day of Vaiśākha. ³⁷ (672 years elapsed, 673 rd year of Śaka)	A lunar eclipse was visible on 24 th April 88 CE. (considering 672 nd year as current.)	No Lunar eclipse on Vaiśākha paurṇamāsi of 749 CE, or 750 CE or 751 CE.

All verifiable details from the 12 inscriptions above perfectly correspond to the dates in Śaka era (583 BCE) as explained whereas the details of only two inscriptions can be explained in the Śālivāhana era (*Śaka-kālātīta era*). The strongest epigraphic evidence i.e. one total solar eclipse and two partial Solar eclipses cannot be explained in Śālivāhana era. Thus, it is evident that the early Chalukyas used Śaka era that commenced in 583 BCE.

The text of the following two inscriptions needs to be verified from the original plates to ascertain the actual details of the date because it appears that there are some errors in the transcription.

	<i>The epoch: 583 BCE (Śaka era)</i>	<i>The epoch: 78 CE (Śālivāhana era)</i>
1.	Lunar eclipse on the full moon day of Jyeṣṭha? (Āśāḍha) month. ³⁸ (Śaka 594 year elapsed & 17 th regnal year of Viśvavardhana I.) <i>Temburni plates of Viśvavardhana I, (JESI, Vol 10, 1983) were found in damaged condition. It seems that "Jyeṣṭha" month has been assumed with reference to 672 CE. Probably, the month was Āśāḍha not Jyeṣṭha. It needs verification from the original plates.</i>	Considering the month as Āśāḍha, the date was 4 th June 11 CE and the total lunar eclipse was visible from 18:52 hrs to 21:00 hrs.
2.	Lunar eclipse on the full moon day of Bhādrapada or Bhādrapada nakṣatra. ³⁹ (Śaka 645 elapsed, 28 th regnal year of Vijayāditya.) <i>Actually, Śaka 646 elapsed is the 28th regnal year of Vijayaditya. It needs verification from the original plates.</i>	A penumbral Lunar eclipse was visible on 27 th Aug 63 CE.

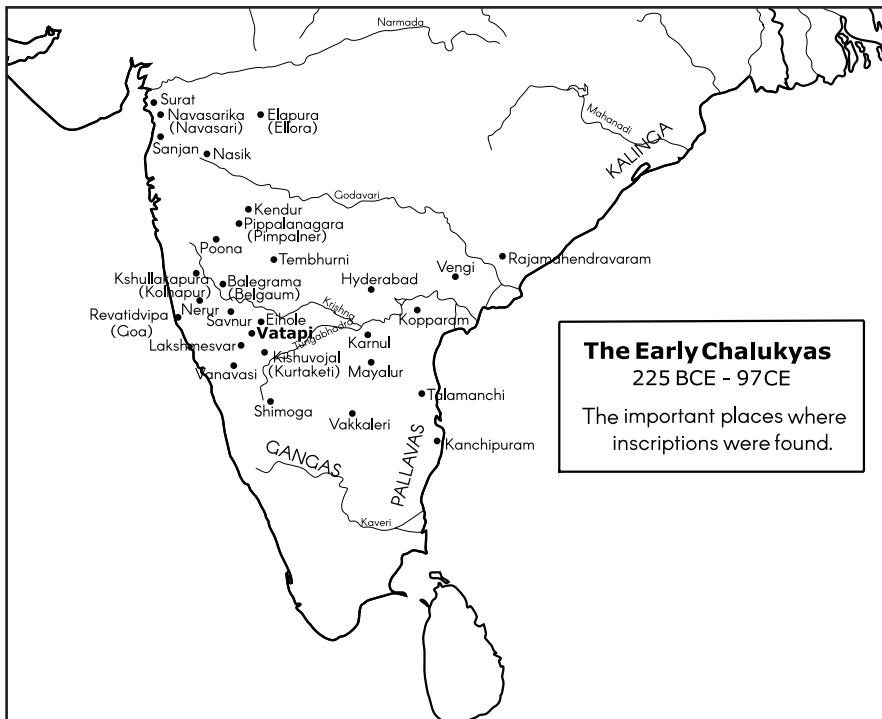
The chronology of the early Chalukyas given by JF Fleet and his followers consists of many distortions. In fact, JF Fleet appears to be obsessed with his concocted idea that Pulakeśin II and Harshavardhana were contemporaries of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang. According to JF Fleet, Hiuen Tsang visited the court of Ho-li-sha-fa-t'an-ha or Harshavardhana, otherwise called Shi-lo-o'-t'ie-to or Sīlāditya and apparently visited a capital of the kingdom of Mo-ho-la-ch'a or Mahāraṣṭra, the king of which was named Pu-lo-ki-she or Pulakeśin II.⁴⁰ Since Hiuen Tsang sojourned in India from 629 CE to 645 CE, JF Fleet argued that the date of defeat of Harshavardhana cannot be earlier than 630 CE. Thus, he distorted the entire chronology of the early Chalukyas by rejecting the Altem plates (Śaka 411), the Kurtaketi plates (Śaka 530) and the Kanadalgaon plates (issued in the 5th regnal year of Pulakeśin II or Śaka 537) as spurious or forgery.

The Kurtaketi and Kanadalgaon plates refer explicitly to the defeat of Harshavardhana that means Pulakeśin II defeated Harshavardhana at prior to Śaka 530 (53 BCE). This date in Śālivāhana era should be before 608 CE but JF Fleet argued for the date 630 CE. Truly speaking, the idea to link Hiuen Tsang with Pulakisin II and Harshavardhana is not only baseless speculation but also a palpable forgery because Pulakeśin II flourished in the 1st century BCE whereas Harshavardhana lived in the 5th century BCE (Alberuni mention that the Sri Harsha era commenced in 457 BCE). We will discuss Harshavardhana and his era in detail in Chapter 6. In fact, Harsha or Harshavardhana mentioned in the Chalukya inscriptions was Harsha Vikramaditya of Ujjain and not Harshavardhana of Puṣpabuti dynasty. Pulakeśin II might have defeated Harsha Vikramāditya of Ujjain. Thus, Pulakeśin II and Harsha Vikramāditya lived in the 1st century BCE. Therefore, Hiuen Tsang cannot be their contemporary.

Interestingly, another historian James Fergusson speculated that Pulakeśin II was a contemporary of Khusru II of Persia. He referred an Arabic chronicle, which records the fact that in the 36th regnal year of Khusru II of Persia, gifts and letters were exchanged between him and Pulakeśin II.⁴¹ He also speculated about a painting in one of Ajanta caves depicting the presentation of a letter from a Persian king to an Indian king, supposedly Pulakeśin II. This is again baseless. Pulakeśin II lived in the 1st century BCE whereas Khusru II belonged to the 7th century CE. It is evident that some of the Western scholars indulged in speculative research without any evidence.

The Early Chalukyas of Gujarat

Kokkulla Vikramāditya, the elder son of Pulakeśin II, was the founder of the Gujarat branch of the early Chalukyas. He was appointed the Viceroy of Gurjara region around Saka 532 (51 BCE) by his father Pulakeśin II and he was ably supported by Buddhavarasarāja, his father's younger brother. Many inscriptions of the early Chalukyas referred to Kalachuri-Chedi era because Kalachuri-Chedi era was popular in this region. It may be noted that Kalachuri-Chedi era commenced in 403-402 BCE; the epoch of this era will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.



Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarmā, the youngest brother of Kokkulla Vikramāditya, succeeded him. He had three sons namely Śryāśraya Silāditya, Jayāśraya Vinayāditya Mangalarasa and Avanijanāśraya Puṇakeśirāja. The Navasāri grant of Puṇakeśirāja⁴² was issued in Kalachuri year 490 (86-87 CE). This establishes that the Gujarat branch of the Chalukyas was ruling right up to 87 CE. The rise of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas ended the rule of the early Chalukyas.

It appears that a Chalukya king Satyāśrayadeva was ruling in the Khandesh region at the end of the 4th Century CE. He was the author of the Pimpalner grant. Interestingly, the Pimpalner grant is the earliest grant to refer to the Śaka-nrpa-kälātita era or Śālivāhana era indicating the beginning of the use of the Śālivāhana era in the 4th century CE. The Pimpalner grant itself is the strongest evidence to reject the modern chronology of the early Chalukyas.

The selected text from the Pimpalner Plates of Chalukya Satyāśrayadeva:⁴³

"Svasti Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-sāmivatsara-śateṣu tri (tri) śu daśottareśvasyām sāmivatsara-māsa-pakṣa-divasa-pūrvyāyām tithau"

The date expressed in this inscription as “Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-sāmivatsara-śateṣu” indicating the epoch of “Śaka-nṛpa- kālātīta” (the end of Śaka era) in 78 CE and not the epoch of “Śaka-nṛpa-rājyābhiseka” (the coronation of Śaka king). Earlier, all the inscriptions of the Chalukyas mentioned the date as “Śaka-varṣeṣu-atīteṣu” explicitly referring to the epoch of 583 BCE. The date given in Pimpalner Plates is Śālivāhana 310 that corresponds to 388 CE. It seems that the Chalukyas re-instated themselves in Khandesh (Central India) by 388 CE.

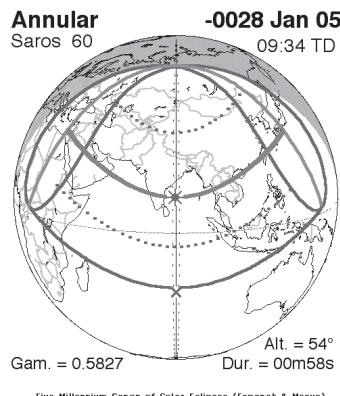
JF Fleet rejected the Pimpalner grant and called it a “modern forgery” because it was written in late characters. The Pimpalner grant was written in late characters because it belongs to a period that came 300 years after the last inscriptions of the Early Chalukyas. This one instance is evidence enough to expose the shallowness of JF Fleet’s palaeography; he had erected the structure of palaeography based on his distorted and concocted chronology. Actually, Fleet’s distorted palaeography in itself is a “modern forgery”. A palaeography derived from the distorted chronology cannot be accepted as evidence till the fundamental issues in ancient Indian chronology get resolved. Moreover, palaeography can be supporting evidence only for dating inscriptions.

The chronology of early Chalukyas of Gujarat:

	Śaka Era (583 BCE)	Kalachuri- Chedi era (403 BCE)	Śālivāhana Śaka era (78 CE)	In CE
Kokkulla Vikramāditya (elder son of Pulakeśin II)	532-573	352-393	—	51-10 BCE
Dharāśraya Jayasimha	573-616	393-436	—	10 BCE- 33 CE
Śryāśraya Śilāditya	601-623	421-443	—	18-40 CE
Jayāśraya Vinayāditya	593-653	413-473	—	10-70 CE
Avanijanāśraya Puṇakeśirāja	653-670	473-490	—	70-87 CE
No inscriptions available between 78 CE to 388 CE				
Satyāśrayadeva	—	—	310	388 CE -?

The verifiable epigraphic evidence:

The Sanjan plates of Buddhavarasarāja:⁴⁴ Solar Eclipse on the new moon day of Pauṣa month. Considering the epoch of the Śaka era in 583 BCE, a solar eclipse was visible on 5th January 28 BCE (there was only one solar eclipse occurred on Pauṣa Amāvāsyā between Śaka 515 and Śaka 602).



The Nasik plates of Dharāśraya Jayasimha:⁴⁵ the 10th tithi of the bright fortnight of Chaitra month and “Viṣuva” or Sāyana Meṣa Saṁkrānti. The date corresponds to 18th March 34 CE (436th year of the Kalachuri-Chedi era i.e. 32-33 CE is current and 33-34 CE is elapsed considering the epoch in 403 BCE).

The Pimpalner plates of Satyāśrayadeva:⁴⁶ Solar eclipse in Śālivāhana era 310 elapsed. The year was 388-389 CE considering the epoch in 78 CE. A solar eclipse was visible on 18th Aug 388 CE between 13:30 hrs to 16:20 hrs.

It is evident that Western historians and many Indian historians too were ignorant of the different epochs of the Śaka era and the Śālivāhana era. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji opined that Navasāri grant of Śilāditya is a forgery because he could not understand the date of the grant and thought that the name “Śilāditya” cannot be a Chalukya.⁴⁷ JF Fleet also declared some grants of the early Chalukyas of Gujarat spurious. Actually, these Indologists were ignorant of the real epoch of the Kalachuri-Chedi era. Moreover, when Vikramāditya, Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya can be Chalukyas then why not Śilāditya? I take strong

objection to this tendency to declare certain Indian inscriptions spurious or forgeries without any concrete evidence. It seems preposterous to think that the early Chalukya kings got the weird idea of forging copper plates in anticipation that some wise men from the West will write their history in the 19th and 20th centuries CE !! And it would have been well nigh impossible for a common man of that era to forge copper plates and a royal seal. As it is well established that Indians had a sophisticated knowledge of the lunisolar calendar from the post vedic period, it would be farcical to think that a common man could mislead learned people with spurious dates and eclipses. In all my extensive studies in this area, I have not once encountered a spurious inscription till date while quite a few of the chronologies propounded by Western scholars are ill-founded, unsubstantiated and hence, spurious.

Inscriptions of the early Chalukyas prior to Pulakeśin I

It is evident from certain inscriptions that Jayasimha I, the grandfather of Pulakeśin I, was not the earliest king of the Chalukyas. It appears that the Kaira grant of Vijayarāja,⁴⁸ the Maruturu grant of Satyāśraya Śri Pṛthivīvallabha,⁴⁹ the Nerur grant of Mangalarāja,⁵⁰ the Godachi grant of Katti Arasa⁵¹ and the Mudhol grant of Pugavarman⁵² were issued in periods prior to the reign of Jayasimha I. Interestingly, all of the above grants except Mudhol grant mention the phrase “*Svāmi-Mahāsenapādānudhyātānām*”, a common feature in the grants of the Kadāmba Dynasty. Probably, Chalukyas and Kadāmbas shared a common heritage. None of the Badami Chalukya grants from the time of Pulakeśin I mention “*Svāmi-Mahāsenapādānudhyātānām*” but Veṅgi Chalukyas used it occasionally.

Historians have erred in identifying the Satyāśraya of Maruturu grant to be Pulakeśin II, the Katti Arasa of Godachi grant to be Kīrtivarman I, the Mangalarāja of Nerur grant to be Mangalīśvara and the Pugavarman of Mudhol grant to be the son of Pulakeśin I. There is no evidence to prove them as such. Unfortunately, these inscriptions are not dated. Only the Kaira grant of Vijayarāja mentions a date in unknown era as “| *Satiotsara* | 394 | *Vaiśākha śu 15* |”. Thus, Kaira grant was issued on full moon day of Vaishkha month in the year 394. Kaira grant also tells us that Vijayarāja was the son of Budhavarmā and the grandson of Jayasimha.

It is certain that the date of the Kaira grant was not recorded in the Śaka era. In my opinion, the Kaira grant probably refers to the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE), also known as “Kṛta era” and “Mālava-gaṇa era”. Western historians concocted the theory that the Kṛta, Mālava-gaṇa and Vikrama eras have the same epoch that commenced in 57 BCE. However, the Kārttikādi Vikrama or Kṛta or Malava-gaṇa era commenced in 719-718 BCE. Thus, the Kaira grant was probably issued in 326-325 BCE. In Chapter 5, we will discuss the epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama or Kṛta or Mālava-gaṇa eras in detail. A comprehensive list of important inscriptions of the early Chalukyas of Badami is provided in Appendix I.

The Eastern Chalukyas of Veṅgi

Vishnuvardhana I (Kubja Vishnuvardhana) was the founder of the Eastern Chalukya Dynasty. He was the younger brother of early Chalukya king Pulakeśin II who established the strongest empire of the Chalukyas between the Narmadā and Kāveri rivers. Pulakeśin II extended his territory towards east from Viśākhapaṭnam to Nellore. He appointed his brother Vishnuvardhana I as Viceroy in the coastal Andhra region. In a short period, Vishnuvardhana I became independent and established his capital at Veṅgi and ruled for 18 years.

Most of the inscriptions of the Eastern Chalukyas relate the history of their dynasty. As some inscriptions mention the tenure of the kings reigned, we can easily reconcile the chronology of Eastern Chalukyas based on the verifiable epigraphic evidence. Let us, therefore, verify the dates given in the inscriptions of the Eastern Chalukyas. The copper plates of Amma Rāja II mention the date of his coronation.

The selected text of the copper plates of Amma Rāja II:⁵³

“Giri-rasa-vasu sankhyābde Śaka-samaye Mārgaśīrṣa-māse’smin kṛṣṇa-trayodaśadine bhṛguvāre Maitra-nakṣatre. Dhanuṣi ravau Ghāta-lagne dvādaśavarṣe tu janmataḥ paṭam (ttam)”

The Eastern Chalukya King Amma Rāja II was coronated when he was 12 years old, in the year of Śaka 867, on the 13th tithi of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa month. The moon was also in Maitra (Anurādhā) nakṣatra and Sun was in Dhanu sign. Lagna was Ghāta and the day was bhṛguvāra i.e. Friday.

Considering the epoch of the Śaka era in 583 BCE, 283-284 CE was 867th year of Śaka. 4th December 283 CE was the date of the coronation of Amma II. It was kṛṣṇa trayodaśī of the Mārgaśīrṣa month and the moon was also in Anurādhā (Maitra) nakṣatra. The lagna was Ghāṭa and Sun was in Dhanu rāśi. Bhṛguvāra or Friday cannot be verified without ascertaining the *Siddhānta* of *Aharganya* considered in the calendar of those days.

Considering the epoch in 78 CE, 944-945 CE was the current. 16th December 944 CE was the 13th tithi of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa month but the moon was in Jyeṣṭha nakṣatra. Therefore, Kielhorn considered 867th year as elapsed and fixed the date in 868th year of Śaka. The date of 5th December 945 CE meets the requirements but Lagna was not Ghāṭa. However, the inscription unambiguously mentions that 867th year is current.

The selected text from the copper plates of Rājarāja I:⁵⁴

“Yo rakṣitum vasumatīm Śakavatsareṣu,
Vedāmburāśi-nidhi varttiṣu Siṁhage’rke |
Kṛṣṇa-dvitīya-divasottarabhadrikāyām,
Vāre guror vaniji lagna-vare’bhiṣiktaḥ ||”

Eastern Chalukya King Rājarāja I was coronated in the year of Śaka 944 on 2nd tithi of the kṛṣṇa pakṣa. Sun was in Siṁha rāśi and Moon was in Uttarabhadra nakṣatra.

Considering the epoch in 583 BCE, 360-361 CE is 944th year of Śaka. The word “*varttiṣu*” clearly indicates that 944 is the current year. Thus, 15th August 360 CE was the 2nd tithi of the kṛṣṇa pakṣa of Bhādrapada month, the moon in Uttarabhadra nakṣatra and the Sun in Siṁha rāśi.

Considering the epoch in 78 CE, 1021-1022 CE is 944th year. The date is 28th July 1021 CE and corresponds to the 2nd tithi of kṛṣṇa pakṣa of Bhādrapada month but the moon was in Śatabhiṣaj nakṣatra and not in Uttarabhadra. Therefore, the epoch of 78 CE cannot explain the date of the coronation of Rājarāja II.

The selected text from the Chittoor copper plates of Kulottunga Chodadeva II:⁵⁵

“Śakābdānām pramāṇe rasa-viśikha-viyaccandra-sankhyām prayāte deśe Ādrarkṣe pūrvapakṣe viśuvati sutithau” (In Śaka era, 1056 years elapsed, saṃkrānti in Ārdra nakṣatra and in pūrvapakṣa i.e. śuklapakṣa.)

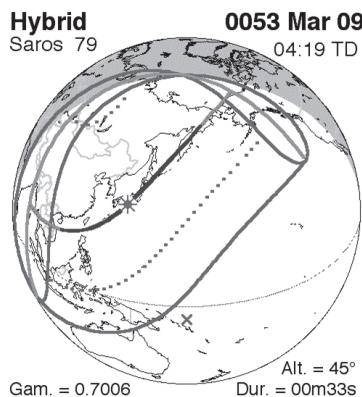
Considering the epoch in 583 BCE, 472-473 CE was elapsed and 473-474 CE was current. Makara saṃkrānti took place on 19th December 473 CE. It was the 14th tithi of śukla pakṣa in the month of Pauṣa and the nakṣatra was Ārdra.

Considering the epoch in 78 CE, 1133-1134 CE was elapsed and 1134-1135 CE was current but none of the saṃkrānti took place in Ārdra nakṣatra.

The selected text from the copper plates of Vishnuvardhana III:⁵⁶

“Ātmano Vijaya-pañcame saṁvatsare Phālguna-māse amāvāsyāyām Sūryagrahaṇa-nimittam” (On the occasion of solar eclipse, on the new moon day of Phālguna month and 5th regnal year of Vishnuvardhana III).

Vishnuvardhana III ruled for 37 years between 49 CE to 86 CE. 5th regnal year was 53 CE. The Solar eclipse was visible on 9th Mar 53 CE in the morning between 6:34 hrs to 6:49 hrs and the day was the new moon day of Phālguna month.



Five Millennium Canon of Solar Eclipses (Espenak & Meeus)

The selected text from the Chīpurupalle copper plates of Vishnuvardhana I:⁵⁷

“Satyaśraya-Śrivallabha-Mahārājaḥ | Tasya priyānujaḥ..... Śri Vishnuvardhana Mahārājaḥ..... Śrāvaṇa māse Candragrahaṇa

nimitte..... Saṁ 10 8 ma 4 di 10 5 | ” (Lunar eclipse on the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa month and in 18th regnal year of Vishnuvardhana I.)

Vishnuvardhana I ruled for 18 years between 46 BCE to 29 BCE. A Lunar eclipse was visible on 26th July 29 BCE between 18:54 hrs to 19:49 hrs and the day was the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa month.

The chronology of the Eastern Chalukyas:

Satārā grant⁵⁸ of Vishnuvardhana I dated in the 8th regnal year of Mahārāja or Pulakeśin II gives the title of “Yuvarāja” to Vishnuvardhana I. Hyderabad plates are dated in the 3rd regnal year of Pulakeśin II which was 535th year of Śaka. Thus, Śaka 540 was the 8th regnal year. Chipurupalle plates mention the lunar eclipse on the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa month in the 18th regnal year of Vishnuvardhana I. Considering that the lunar eclipse occurred on 26th July 29 BCE, 46-45 BCE was the 1st regnal year and 29-28 BCE was the 18th regnal year of Vishnuvardhana I.

Based on the coronation date of Amma Rāja II in Śaka 867 (4th Dec 283 CE), the date of the coronation of Rājarāja I in Śaka 944 (15th Aug 360 CE) and the date of the copper plate grant of Kulottuṅga Chodadeva II in Śaka 1056 elapsed (19th Dec 473 CE), the chronology of Eastern Chalukya Dynasty can be reconstructed as shown below:

	Duration	Śaka era (583 BCE)	In CE	Chronology given by JF Fleet ⁵⁹
Vishnuvardhana I (Brother of Satyāśraya Pulakeśin II)	18 years	538-555	46-29 BCE	615-633 CE
Jayasīṁha (Brother of Kubja Vishnuvardhana)	30 years	555-584	28 BCE - 2 CE	633-663 CE
Indrarāja	7 days	584	2 CE	663 CE
Vishnuvardhana II (elder son of Indrarāja brother of Jayasīṁha)	9 years	585-593	3 - 11 CE	663-672 CE
Maṅgi Yuvarāja (son of Vishnuvardhana II)	25 Years	594-619	11 - 36 CE	672-696 CE
Jayasīṁha II (Son of Maṅgi Yuvarāja)	13 Years	619-631	36 - 48 CE	696-709 CE
Kokkili (Jayasīṁha's brother, the son of his step mother)	6 Months	632	49 CE	709 CE

THE CHRONOLOGY OF ANCIENT INDIA

Vishnuvardhana III also named as Vishnu Rāja (Elder brother of Kokkili and younger Son of Indra Bhaṭṭāraka)	37 Years	632-669	49 - 86 CE	709-746 CE
Vijayāditya Bhaṭṭāraka (Son of Vishnuvardhana III)	18 Years	670-687	87 - 104 CE	746-764 CE
Vishnu Rāja or Vishnuvardhana IV	36 Years	688-723	105 - 140 CE	764-799 CE
Vijayāditya Narendra Mṛigarāja	40 Years	724-763	141 - 180 CE	799-843 CE
Kali Vishnuvardhana	1 year & 6 months	763-764	180 - 181 CE	843-844 CE
Guṇagāṅka Vijayāditya	44 Years	765-809	182 - 226 CE	844-888 CE
Chalukya Bhīma I (Drohārjuna)	30 Years	810-839	227 - 256 CE	888-918 CE
Kollabigañda Vijayāditya	6 Months	839	256 CE	918 CE
Amma Rāja I				
Vishnuvardhana Sarvalokāśraya	7 Years	840-846	257 - 263 CE	918-925 CE
Tadapa	1 Month	847	264 CE	925 CE
Vikramāditya (Son of Chalukya Bhīma I)	11 Months	847	264 CE	926-927 CE
Yuddhamalla (Son of Taḍapa)	7 Years	848-855	265 - 272 CE	927-934 CE
Bhīma II (Brother of Amma Rāja I)	12 Years	855-867	272 - 283 CE	934-945 CE
Amma Rāja II Vijayāditya (Son of Bhīma II)	25 Years	867-892	283 - 309 CE	945-970 CE
Indrarāja	7 days	892	309 CE	970 CE
Dānārṇava (Son of Bhīma II & Āṅkidevi and half-brother of Amma Rāja II)	3 years	893-896	310-312 CE	970-973 CE
Baḍapa and his brother Tala II	—	896	312 CE	—
Dark period (No King)	27 years	897-923	313-340 CE	973-1003 CE
Śaktivarman or Chalukya Candra (son of Dānārṇava)	12 years	924-936	341-353 CE	1003-1015 CE
Vimalāditya (Brother of Śaktivarman)				
Vimalāditya married Rājendra Choda's sister Kuṇḍavamahādevi	7 years	936-944	353-360 CE	1015-1022 CE

Rājarāja I (son of Vimalāditya)	41 years	944-985	360-401 CE	1022-1063 CE
Kulottuṅga Choḍadeva I (Son of Rājarāja I)	49 years	985-1033	401-450 CE	1063-1112 CE
Vīra Choḍa (son of Kullottuṅga Choḍadeva I)	31 years	1001-1033	417-450 CE	—
Vikrama Choḍa (Son of Kulottuṅga Choḍadeva I)	15 years	1033-1048	450-465 CE	1112-1127 CE
Kulottuṅga Choḍadeva II (Son of Vikrama Choḍa)		1048-1056	465-473 CE	1127 CE to

Jayasimha ruled for 30 or 33 years and Vijayāditya Narendra Mrigarāja for a probable 8 or 4 years as “Yuvarāja” and 40 years as “Mahārāja”. Thus, I have considered 30 years for Jayasimha and 40 years for Narendra Mrigarāja that reconciles with the date of the coronation of Amma Rāja II.

Probably, Kulottuṅga Choḍadeva II was the last eastern Chalukya ruler of Veṅgi. The Pithapuram pillar inscription of Malladeva⁶⁰ tells us that King Malladeva, the descendant of the eastern Chalukya dynasty, was coronated in Pithapuri on the 10th tithi of the dark fortnight of Jyeshtha month, when moon was in Aśvīnakṣatra in Śaka 1124 (541 CE). Considering the epoch in 583 BCE, 540-541 CE is elapsed and 541-542 CE was current, the date corresponds to 5th June 541 CE.

A comparative analysis of verifiable epigraphic evidence:

	<i>The epoch: 583 BCE (Śaka-kāla era)</i>	<i>The epoch: 78 CE (Śaka-kālātīta era)</i>
1. Lunar eclipse on the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa month in the 18 th regnal year of Vishnuvardhana I. ⁶¹	A lunar eclipse was visible on 26 th July 29 BCE.	No lunar eclipse in 632 CE (18 th regnal year).
2. Amma Rāja II was coronated when he was 12 years old, in the year of 867 Śaka, on Kṛṣṇa pakṣa trayodaśī in Mārgaśīrṣa month, the moon in Maitra (Anurādhā) Nakṣatra, Ghāṭa lagna, the Sun in Dhanu sign. ⁶²	The year 283-284 CE was 867 th year of Śaka. The date 4 th Dec 283 CE meets all requirements. Lagna was also Ghāṭa.	944-945 CE was 867 th year but we have to consider 867 Śaka as elapsed year and 868 as current. Then, 5 th December 945 CE meets the requirements but lagna was not Ghāṭa.

3.	Rājarāja I was coronated in the year of 944 Śaka on 2 nd day of Kṛṣṇa pakṣa. The Sun was in Siṁha rāśi and the moon in Uttarabhadrā nakṣatra. ⁶³	The year 360-361 CE was 944 th year of Śaka. The date 15 th August 360 CE meets all requirements.	1021-1022 CE was 944 th year. 28 th July 1021 CE meets the requirements but the nakṣatra was Śatabhiṣaj not Uttarabhadrā.
4.	13 th day of the bright half of the month, Śrāvaṇa Nakṣatra, the Sun in Siṁha (Leo) sign, Vṛścika lagna and Guruvāra (Thursday). ⁶⁴ (1001 st year in Śaka era)	The year 417-418 CE was Śaka 1001. The date was 11 th August 417 CE.	The date cannot be explained in the year of 1078-1079 CE.
5.	Saṁkrānti in Ārdra nakṣatra and in pūrvapakṣa or śuklapakṣa (1056 th Śaka year elapsed and 1057 th current). ⁶⁵	472-473 CE elapsed and 473-474 CE is current. Makara saṁkrānti took place on 19 th December 473 CE. It was 14 th day of śukla pakṣa and the nakṣatra was Ārdra.	1133-1134 CE elapsed and 1134-1135 CE is current. No saṁkrānti took place in Ārdra nakṣatra.
6.	10 th (daśamī) tithi of Chaitra and the moon was in Maghā nakṣatra in 2 nd regnal year of Vishnuvardhana II. ⁶⁶	The date is 20 th March 4 CE.	In 664 CE, Chaitra daśamī was a kṣaya tithi.
7.	On the occasion of Solar eclipse on the new moon day of Phālguna month and in 5 th regnal year of Vishnuvardhana, the son of Indra Bhaṭṭāraka. ⁶⁷ (It seems that Indra Bhaṭṭāraka had two sons. Vishnuvardhana II was the elder and Vishnuvardhana III was the younger.)	Vishnuvardhana III ruled for 37 years between 49 CE to 86 CE. 5 th regnal year was 53-54 CE. A solar eclipse was visible on 9 th Mar 53 CE in the morning between 6:34 hrs to 6:49 hrs	Solar eclipse in the tenure of Vishnuvardhana II cannot be explained. It was only possible in 6 th regnal year of Vishnuvardhana III.

It is evident that the inscriptions of the Eastern Chalukyas referred only to the Śaka era (583 BCE) and not the Śālivāhana era (78 CE). The chronology of the Eastern Chalukyas in Śālivāhana era cannot explain most of the epigraphic details. A comprehensive list of important inscriptions of Eastern Chalukyas is provided in Appendix II.

The grant of Ammarāja I⁶⁸ and subsequent grants tell us that Narendra Mrigarāja (141-180 CE) fought a hundred and eight battles with the forces of the Raṭṭas (Rāṣṭrakūṭas) and Gaṅgas. These grants

also tell us that Guṇagāṅka Vijayāditya (182-226 CE), at the instigation of the king of Raṭṭas, killed the king of Nodamba-rāṣṭra in a great battle of Maṅgi and also defeated the Gaṅgas who took refuge on the peak of Gaṅgakūṭa. He terrorised Krishna (Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Akālavarṣa Krishnarāja II) and burnt his city. He also terrorised Saṅkila, the king of Dāhāla (Probably, a king of Chedi dynasty), who was joined by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Vallabha. Later, the province of Veṅgi was overrun by the new Raṭṭa claimants but it appears that Chalukya Bhīma I (227-256 CE) re-established the authority of the Eastern Chalukyas.

The Maṅgallu grant of Amma Rāja II⁶⁹ says that Amma Rāja's half-brother, Dānārṇava, the son of Añkidevi, had taken over the country from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Vallabha and ruled the kingdom according to the principles of Manu ("Tasya dvaimāturaḥ kśmām Śakala-jana-mude Vallabhādāpta-rājyo Bhaimo Dānārṇaveśopyavati Manu-nayād Añkidevitānūjaḥ"). The grant also states that, after ruling for eleven years, Amma Rāja II proceeded to the Kaliṅga country in wrath against Krishna ("Dharitrīm Rakṣan ekādaśābdam jitariṇu-ragamat Kṛṣṇa-kopāt Kaliṅgam"). The "Krishna" mentioned here is probably the Chedi king of Tripuri who also ruled over Magadha and Kalinga (as mentioned in Sudi plates of the Ganga king Butuga II). He cannot be a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king because Rāṣṭrakūṭas never ruled over Kaliṅga.

Interestingly, the Eastern Chalukya kingdom gradually became a part of the Choḍa kingdom during the 4th century CE and slipped into its deepest internal crisis during the reign of Dānārṇava. Jatā Choḍa Bhīma, the brother-in-law of Amma Rāja II, killed Dānārṇava. Consequently, the succession struggle between the sons of Dānārṇava and Jatā Choḍa Bhīma was prolonged for 27 years. Vimalāditya, the younger brother of Śaktivarman and the son of Dānārṇava, took refuge in the court of Rājarāja Choḍa. Rājarāja invaded Veṅgi and killed Jatā Choḍa Bhīma. Rājarāja ensured that Veṅgi was part of Choḍa or Chola Kingdom and appointed Śaktivarman as the King of Veṅgi under his control. He also married off his daughter Kuṇḍavamahādevi to Vimalāditya, the younger brother of Śaktivarman.

Rājarāja also ensured that his grandson Rājarāja II, the son of Kuṇḍavamahādevi and Vimalāditya, took over the reins of Veṅgi. Thus,

the successors of the Eastern Chalukya kingdom became more Chodas than Chalukyas and gradually, the territory of Veṅgi was absorbed by the Choḍa Empire. By this period, the Western Chalukyas re-established themselves in Northern Karṇātaka by overthrowing the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. They were outraged by the absorption of Veṅgi into the Choḍa Empire. Veṅgi became a bone of contention resulting in repeated conflicts between the Chodas and the Western Chalukyas.

It is evident that Rājarāja was a contemporary of Dānārñava, Śaktivarman and Vimalāditya. The inscriptions of Rājendra Choḍa, the son of Rājarāja Choḍa refer to the Śaka era.

The selected text from the stone inscription at Bāneśvara Temple at Belaturu:⁷⁰

“Śaka variṣa tombhaynūra-nalvatta-mūra (943) neya variṣada Raudra sanīvatsarada Āṣāḍha-māsada punnave Uttarāṣāḍha-nakṣtram Makara-chandram brihaspativaram Śri-Mudigoṇda Rājendra Cholam” (Śaka year 943, “Raudra” (Jovian) year, the full moon day of Āṣāḍha month, Uttarāṣāḍha nakṣatra, Moon in Makara (Capricorn) and Thursday.)

The date corresponds to 27th June 359 CE. However, the weekday was Sunday. Kielhorn calculated the date as 7th July 1020 CE in Śālivāhana era but Āṣāḍha was an intercalary month in 1020 CE. Intercalary months are considered inauspicious especially in South India. Inscriptions generally mention the prefix “Prathama” or “Dvitiya” for an Intercalary month. Thus, it would be irrational to think that Rājendra Choḍa performed a special “Pūjā” in Bāneśvara temple in an intercalary month and erected the pillar inscription. Apparently, the date intended here is in the Śaka era and not in the Śālivāhana era.

Kielhorn quotes one more inscription of Rājendra Choḍa at the same temple.⁷¹

“Svasti Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-sanīvatsara-śatamga 955 neya Śrimukha sanīvatsarada Mārgaśīrṣa-śuddha-paḍivam Mūlarkkadamdu”

This inscription unambiguously refers to Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta era which is the Śālivāhana era. Thus, the Rājendra Choḍas mentioned in these two inscriptions are two different personalities from different eras.

Actually, it is easy to identify the Śaka or Śālivāhana eras from Sanskrit inscriptions because the Sanskrit references are generally unambiguous. Interestingly, Kannada inscriptions say “Śaka variṣam..... neya” and Telugu inscriptions say “Śakavarṣambulu” for both eras. Therefore, we have to study the Kannada and Telugu inscriptions carefully to ascertain the actual era intended. Sometimes, the date can be explained satisfactorily in both eras. In such cases, we need to depend upon supporting evidence to draw any conclusions about the chronology.

The origin of the Chalukyas and the Early Chalukyas of Rājamahendravaram

The grant of Vīra Choḍa⁷² contains valuable information about the origin of the Chalukyas. At the outset, it gives the genealogy of Soma Vamśa (Lunar dynasty) from Atri Muni to Pāndavas and Arjuna to Udayana. Starting from King Udayana, total 59 kings ruled over Ayodhyā. Vijayāditya was the 60th king of Ayodhyā. He went on to conquer “Dakśināpatha” and attacked Trilochana Pallava but unfortunately got killed in the battle. His queen, who was pregnant (śāntmāsagarbhīṇī), reached an “agrahāra” called *Mudivemu* along with the family-priest and the old ministers. Viṣṇubhaṭṭa-somayājin protected her like a daughter and she gave birth to a son, Vishnuvardhana. After coming of age, Vishnuvardhana founded a kingdom in *Dakśināpatha*. Thus, Vishnuvardhana founded the rule of Chalukya dynasty.

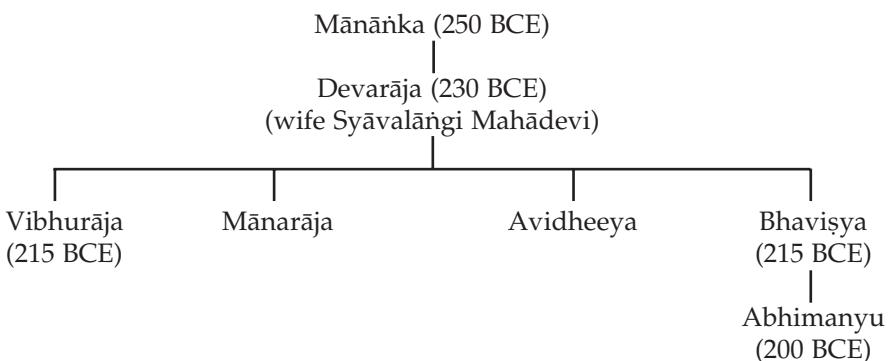
Two grants of the Early Chalukyas who ruled at Rājamahendravaram are available today. These grants are dated in the Kaliyuga era. One grant available at the Govt Museum of Hyderabad⁷³ is unambiguously dated in Kali year 2628 elapsed (474-473 BCE). It was issued by King Vishnuvardhana II, the grandson of King Vishnuvardhana I. Historians have identified this grant with Vishnuvardhana I or Vishnuvardhana II of the Eastern Chalukyas and assumed that the Kali year given is incorrect. However, there should be no doubt that these grants belong to the Early Chalukyas who ruled at Rājamahendravaram, much before the establishment of the Eastern Chalukya kingdom at Veṅgi. It appears that the Chalukyas were attempting to establish a kingdom in *Dakśināpatha* from the beginning of the 6th century BCE till the end of the 3rd century BCE. I have also

referred to five more grants of the Early Chalukyas in the context of the early Chalukyas of Badami which may also belong to this period. Jayasirīha I or Vishnuvardhana, who married the daughter of a Pallava king, established a strong Chalukya kingdom between the Narmadā and Setu by defeating the Kadamba and Gaṅga kings. His grandson, Pulakesīn I made Badami or Vātāpi as the capital city of the Chalukya Empire.

The Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas were the descendants of Raṣṭrikas or Raṭhikas mentioned in the edicts of Aśoka. According to a Tamil chronicle namely “*Koṅgu-deśa-rājakkal*”, seven Raṭṭa kings ruled over the Koṅgu region. The Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant of Abhimanyu⁷⁴ is the earliest available copper plate inscription of early Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The emblem of this grant bears a Simha (lion). Mānāñka was the founder of the early Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty of Mānapura (later Mānyakheṭa or Malkhed). The Hīngni Berdi plates of Vibhurāja⁷⁵ and the Pañḍuraṅga-palli grant of Avidheya⁷⁶ also belong to the same lineage of Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Avidheya also claimed to be ruling over Kuntala (Northern Karṇāṭaka). Unfortunately, these inscriptions are dated either in the regnal years or undated.

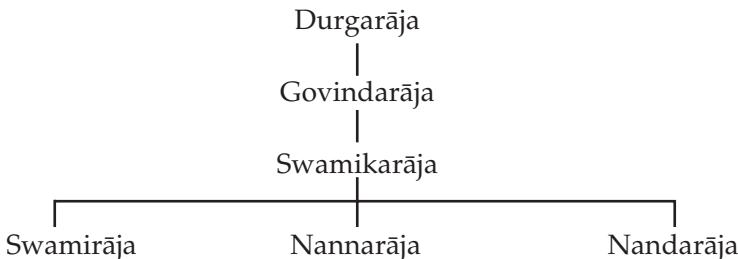
The genealogy of the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas:



The Nagardhan plates of Swamirāja⁷⁷ and the Tiwarkheda plates of Nannarāja⁷⁸ indicate that the early Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Achalapura ruled over the region of Vidarbha around Śaka 553(30 BCE). It appears that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas shifted their base to Vidarbha following the establishment of the Chalukya kingdom in Northern Karṇāṭaka. Thus, the date of

Mānāñka, Devarāja and Abhimanyu must be fixed as being prior to Chalukya Pulakeśin I (172 BCE).

The Nagardhan, Tiwarkheda and Multai plates⁷⁹ provide the genealogy of the Achalapura branch of the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty.



The chronology of the Achalapura branch of the early Rāṣṭrakūṭas:

	<i>Śaka era (583 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Durgarāja	500-515?	83-68 BCE?
Govindarāja	515-530?	68-53 BCE?
Swamikarāja	530-550?	53-33 BCE?
Swamirāja	550-573	33-10 BCE
Nannarāja	553-615	30 BCE – 32 CE
Nandarāja Yuddhāsura	615-632	32 – 49 CE

The Main Branch of Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas

Govindarāja was the earliest king of this branch and was succeeded by his son, Karkarāja. The Bhindon grant of the feudatory of Karkarāja⁸⁰ tells us that Karkarāja was also called “Pratāpasīla”. Indrarāja was the son of Karkarāja. Indrarāja defeated the Western Chalukya king and married his daughter.⁸¹ Dantidurga, the Son of Indrarāja, was the first founder of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire. He built the Daśāvatāra temple at his capital Elāpura (Ellora). He defeated the Chalukya king Vallabha i.e. Kīrtivarman II, the kings of Kāñchi (Pallava), Kerala, Chola, Pāṇḍya, Śri Harsha, Vajraṭa and Karṇāṭaka between Śaka 671-675 (88-92 CE) [*Kāñchiśa-Keralanarādhipa-Chola-Pāṇḍya-Śri-Harsha-Vajraṭa-vibheda-vidhāna-dakṣam, Karṇāṭakam*].⁸² He defeated the kings of the Gurjara dynasty in Ujjain and made them his “*Pratihāra*” or door keepers. He also extended his empire up to the Konkan region.

Three copper plate grants of Dantidurga:

The Ellora Plates:⁸³ *Śaka 663 current, Āśvayuja month, Śuddha trayodaśī, Somavāra (Monday).* The date corresponds to 27th Sep 79 CE.

The Manor Plates:⁸⁴ *Śaka 671 current i.e. 88 CE.* No details for verification.

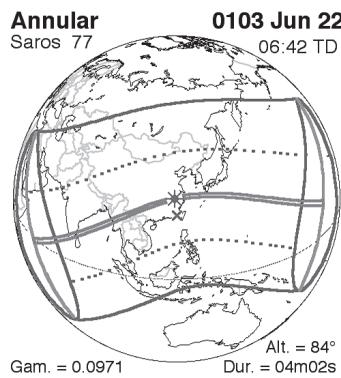
The Samangad Plates:⁸⁵ *Śaka 675 elapsed, Māgha month, Rathasaptamī (7th day in bright fortnight).* The date corresponds to 24th Dec 92 CE.

After the untimely death of Dantidurga, Krishnarāja or Krishna I, the son of Karkarāja and the uncle of Dantidurga, took over the reins. Krishnarāja constructed the famous Kailāsa temple at Ellora. He annexed the kingdom of the early Chalukyas and Manna-nagara (Mānapura) from the Gaṅgas.⁸⁶ His son Govindarāja II was appointed as Yuvarāja in Śaka 692 (109 CE).⁸⁷ Govinda II subjugated the Eastern Chalukya king of Veṅgi Vishnurāja or Vishnuvardhana IV. He and the Pallava king Nandivarmā also played a role in the coronation of Gaṅga King Śivamāra II.

The Copper plate grants of Krishnarāja I & Govindarāja II:

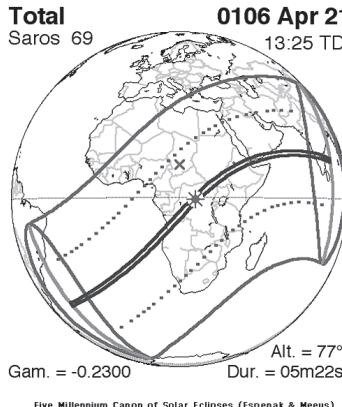
The Manne Plates of Krishnarāja I:⁸⁸ *Śaka 680 current, "Hemalamba" saṁvatsara, new moon day of Āśvayuja and solar eclipse.* Probably, the day was 3rd September 99 CE. The Saka year needs to be verified from original text (Śaka 680? or 682?).

The Barsi Plates of Krishnarāja I:⁸⁹ *Śaka 687 current (103-104 CE), "Śubhakṛt" saṁvatsara, new moon day of Jyeṣṭha month and solar eclipse.* The date corresponds to 22nd June 103 CE.



Five Millennium Canon of Solar Eclipses (Espenak & Meeus)

The Talegaon plates of Krishnarāja I:⁹⁰ Śaka 690 current (106-107 CE), “*Plavaṅga*” saṁvatsara, new moon day of Vaiśākha month and solar eclipse. Vaiśākha amāvāsyā occurred on 21st Apr 106 CE and a solar eclipse was visible between 16:56 hrs and 18:28 hrs.



The Alas Plates of Govindaraja II:⁹¹ Śaka 692 current, “*Saumya*” saṁvatsara, Āṣāḍha śuklapakṣa saptami. The date corresponds to 3rd June 108 CE.

Govinda II also known as “*Vallabha*”, was referred to as “*Jagattuṅga-Prabhūtavarṣa-Pratāpāvaloka-Śrivallabha*”. The Pimpri plates of Dhārāvarṣa-Dhruvadeva⁹² clearly mention that Govindarāja was called “*Vallabha*” (*Vallabhākhyāḥ..... Śrigovindarājō*). The Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings were in general called as “*Vallabha*”. In the concluding *Praśasti* of a Jaina Purāṇa “*Harivaniśa*”, Jinasena states,

“Śākeśvabdaśateśu Saptaśu diśam pañcottareśūttarām,
Pātīndrāyudhanāmni Kṛṣṇanṛpaje Śrivallabhe dakṣinām |
Pūrvām Śrimadavanti-bhūbṛti nr̥pe vatsādhirāje’param,
Śauryānāmadhimandale Jayayute vire varāhe’vati ||”⁹³

“During the Śaka year 705 (121-122 CE), Śrivallabha (Govindarāja or his brother Dhruvarāja) ruled in the South, Indrāyudha in the North, Vatsarāja of Avanti in the East and Varāha or Jayavarāha of Śaurya territory (Saurāṣṭra) was ruling in the West.” These directions are given with reference to Vardhamānapura (*Śripārśvālaya-Nannarāja-vasatau*), probably Wadhwān in Jhālāvad division of Kāṭhiāwād. Only one inscription of Pratihāra Vatsarāja that was issued in Śaka kāla 717 elapsed (134-135 CE), is available.

Muni-śāśi-naga-saṁsthe yāti kāle Śakānām |
 Surabhi-carama māse śukla-pakṣe daśamyām ||⁹⁴

The date referred to is the 10th tithi of the bright fortnight of Surabhi-carama (last month of Vasanta ritu i.e. Vaiśākha) month in Śaka year 717 elapsed corresponding to 21st April 134 CE. This inscription mentions the victories of Vatsarāja over the Karṇāta, Lāṭa rulers, Jayāpīda of Kashmir and the king of Gauda (*avajitāśeṣa-Karṇāṭa-Lāṭair bhaṅgtvā diksū kṣatārir-jjaya-janita-Jayāpīda-pīdasya yasya*). The Jayāpīda mentioned in this inscription was Chippata Jayāpīda who ruled over Kashmir around 102-114 CE. Kuvalayamāla of Uddyotana Sūri⁹⁵ was composed in Śaka 700 (116-117 CE) at Jāvālipura (Jalor) during the reign of Vatsarāja. Thus, Vatsarāja was a contemporary of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda II and Dhārāvarşa Dhruva.

The reference of Śaka-kāla in the inscription of Vatsarāja indicates the epoch of the Śaka coronation era (583 BCE) and not the epoch of Śaka Kālātīta era (78 CE). It is evident that Vatsarāja ruled at Avanti in the beginning of the 2nd century when the Śaka era was still in vogue. It appears that Nāgabhaṭa II shifted his capital from Avanti to Kānyakubja and used the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) in his inscriptions.

Dhārāvarşa Dhruva, the second son of Krishnarāja and the younger brother of Govinda II, succeeded his elder brother around Śaka 700-706 (117-123 CE). It may be noted that the Pimpri grant of Dhārāvarşa Dhruvarāja was issued in Śālivāhana 697 (775 CE) [Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁivatsara-śata-ṣaṭke sapta-navatyadhike....]. Interestingly, the Dhruvarāja of the Pimpri grant himself tells us about his ancestor Dhruvarāja.

*"Tasyānujali Sri-Dhruvarāja-nāmā mahānubhāvo-vihata-pratāpaḥ prasādhitā'śeṣa-narendra-cakraḥ krameṇa vālārka-vapur-babhūva |"*⁹⁶

The verb "babhūva" is used only in the narration of events that took place in the remote past and certainly would not have been used for the reigning king Dhruvarāja. Therefore, it is evident that Dhruvarāja II of the Pimpri grant refers to his ancestor Dhruvarāja I. Thus, the reign of Dhruvarāja, the younger brother of Govindarāja, flourished in 2nd century CE whereas Dhruvarāja II of the Pimpri grant ruled in 8th century CE.

It appears that Dhruvarāja I was coronated by the ministers around Śaka 700-706 (117-123 CE) as Govindarāja became increasingly addicted to women and shirked his responsibilities. Dhruva, who was also called “Nirupama”, imprisoned the powerful Gaṅga king (Śivamāra II) and defeated Vatsarāja who attempted to seize the Gauda (Bengal) kingdom.⁹⁷ Dhārāvarṣa’s son Govinda III, who ascended the throne as Yuvarāja around Śaka 720 (137 CE), ensured the release of the imprisoned Gaṅga King (Śivamāra II).

Three copper plate grants of Govinda III:

The Manne plates:⁹⁸ Śaka 724 (140-141 CE), *Lunar eclipse and Puṣya nakṣatra*. Total Lunar eclipse was visible on 11th Dec 140 CE from 19:57 hrs to 1:22 hrs. (The nakṣatra was Ārdra according to modern Sūrya Siddhānta; needs verification of the proper siddhānta.)

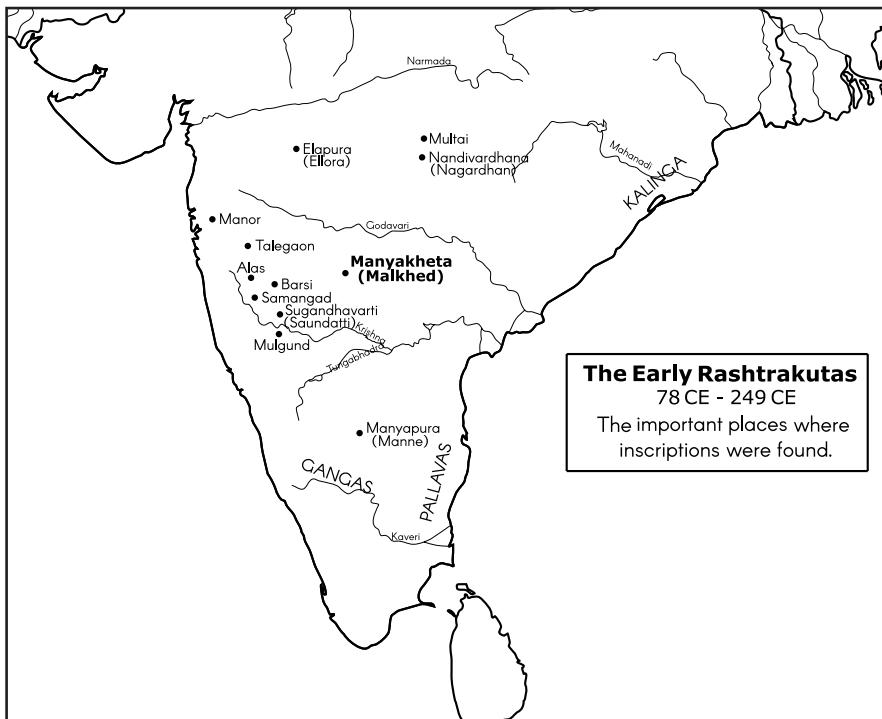
The Manne plates:⁹⁹ Śaka 732 elapsed (149-150 CE), *Full moon day of Pauṣa month, Puṣya nakṣatra and lunar eclipse*. The lunar eclipse was visible on 2nd Dec 149 CE in North Karmāṭaka around 20:45 hrs to 22:11 hrs. (The nakṣatra was Ārdra according to modern Sūrya Siddhānta; needs verification of the proper siddhānta.)

The Kadaṁba plates:¹⁰⁰ Śaka 735 elapsed, 10th tithi of the bright fortnight of Jyeṣṭha month, *Puṣya nakṣatra*. The date corresponds to 1st May 152 CE. (The nakṣatra was Uttara Phālguni according to modern Sūrya Siddhānta; needs verification of the proper siddhānta.)

Lokasena, the disciple of Guṇabhadra, wrote a “*Praśasti*” at the end of Uttarapurāṇa. Lokasena’s *praśasti* tells us that Jinasena, the guru of Guṇabhadra, was a contemporary of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa. King Akālavarṣa was ruling during Lokasena’s time. Lokasena clearly mentions the Śaka era as “*Śaka-nṛpa-kālābhyanṭara*” to distinguish it from “*Śaka-nṛpa-Kālātīta*”.

“Akālavarṣa-bhūpāle pālayatyakhilānilam..... Śaka-nṛpa-kālābhyanṭara-viṁśat�adhiकāṣṭa-śata-mitābdānte Maṅgala-mahārtha-kāriṇi Piṅgala-nāmani samasta-jana-sukhade !”

“Śrī-Pañcamyām budh-ārdra-yuga-divasa kare Mañtri-vāre Budhāṁśe,
pūrvyāyām Siṁha-lagne Dhanuṣi Dharaṇije Vṛścike Kau Tulāyām |
sarpe śukle kulire gavi ca Suraguruḥ niṣṭhitam bhāvavaryaiḥ,
prāpte jyām sarvasāram jagati vijayate puṇyametat purāṇam ||”¹⁰¹



According to Lokasena, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Akālavarṣa was reigning in Śaka 820. “Śaka-nṛpa-kālābhyanṭara” clearly indicates the epoch of 583 BCE and not 78 CE. Śri Pañchami is a special ritual performed on the Pañchami tithi before “Nandiśvara” a Jaina festival. The *Nandiśvara* festival is observed in the months of Āśāḍha, Kārttika and Phālguna in the bright fortnight from the Aṣṭami tithi to Paurṇamāsi. Final day i.e. Paurṇamāsi of *Nandiśvara* is called “Taledēvasa”. Śrāvaṇa Kṛṣṇa Pañchami was also called as Śri Pañchami. In order to fix the exact Śri Pañchami referred to in the Uttara Purana, we have to compute the date based on the details given by Lokasena.

The Eastern Chalukya inscriptions refer to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas as Raṭṭas. The grant of Ammarāja I¹⁰² tells us that Vijayāditya Narendra Mrigarāja fought 108 battles in 12 years against the forces of the Raṭṭas and Gaṅgas. Narendra Mrigarāja (141-180 CE) was a contemporary of Govinda III & Amoghavarṣa I. This grant also tells us that Guṇagāṅka Vijayāditya (182-226 CE), at the instigation of the king of the Raṭṭas, conquered the Gaṅgas and cut off the head of Maṇgi in battle field. He also terrorised Krishna

(Akālavarṣa Krishnarāja II) and burnt his city. Later, the province of Veṅgi was overrun by the new Raṭṭa claimants, probably, during the reign of Chalukya Bhīma (227-256 CE).

Two inscriptions of Akālavarṣa Krishnarāja II:

The Saundatti Inscription of Pṛthivīrāma, a feudatory of Krishnarāja II:¹⁰³ Śaka 797 elapsed, *Manmatha sanīvatsara*. 213-214 CE elapsed and 214-215 CE is current; no details for verification.

The Mulgund Inscription of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Krishnavallabha:¹⁰⁴ Śaka 824 elapsed, and *Dundubhi sanīvatsara*. 240-241 CE elapsed and 241-242 CE is current; no details for verification.

The chronology of the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dynasty:

The list of inscriptions of the early Rāṣṭrakūṭas is given in Appendix III. The chronology of Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas has been reconstructed based on the inscriptions dated in Śaka coronation era (583 BCE).

	<i>Śaka era (583 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Govindarāja	600-620?	16-37 CE?
Karkarāja	620-640?	37-56 CE?
Indrarāja	640-661?	57-77 CE?
Dantidurga (also known as Sāhasatuṅga, Khadgāvaloka)	662-676	78-93 CE
Krishnarāja (also known as Akālavarṣa, Shubhattuṅga)	677-692	94-109 CE
Govindarāja II (also known as Prabhūtavarṣa)	692-706	109-123 CE
Dhruvarāja (also known as Dhārāvarṣa, Nirupama)	706-724	123-140 CE
Govindarāja III (also known as Prabhūtavarṣa, Jagattuṅga)	724-740	140-157 CE
Amoghavarṣa I	740-796	157-213 CE
Akālavarṣa Krishnarāja II	797-832	213-249 CE

According to the Pulivarru grant of Ammarāja I, Indaparāja was the king of Mānyakheṭa (*Śri-Mānyakheṭādhipatirindaparāja nāmā viditamahāratṭavamīśajah prakaṭaguṇah*).¹⁰⁵ Ammarāja ruled for seven years around 257-263 CE. The author of “*Jwālā Mālini Kalpa*” stated that he

completed the work in Śaka 861 elapsed (278-279 CE) during the reign of Krishnarāja (*Aṣṭa-śata-saika-ṣaṣṭi-pramāṇa-Śaka-saṁvatsareṣu atīteṣu Śri-Mānyakheṭa-kaṭake parvaṇyakṣaya-tritīyāyām.... Śri-Krishnarāja-rājye samāptametat....*).¹⁰⁶ The Chedi king Krishnarāja was probably ruling around Śaka 861 (278-279 CE). According to the Śravaṇabelagola inscription,¹⁰⁷ Indrarāja III died in Śaka 904 (320-321 CE). The rule of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas ended due to the rise of Western Chalukyas in the beginning of the 4th century CE.

The Later Rāṣṭrakūṭas

Interestingly, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were ruling till they were conquered by the early Chalukya Jayasimha I (225-200 BCE). The Miraj plates¹⁰⁸ tell us that Chalukya Jayasimha I defeated one Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra, the son of Krishna to establish the Chalukya kingdom.

*“Yo Rāṣṭrakūṭa-kulamindra iti prasiddham
Kṛṣṇāhvayasya sutamaṣṭaśatebhāsainyam |
nirjitya dagdha-nṛpa-pañca-śato babhāra
bhūyaśchālukya-kula-vallabha-rājalakṣmīm ||”*

Two Bijapur inscriptions¹⁰⁹ of Vīranārāyaṇa dated in Śaka 1109 (17th October 525 CE) and Navasāri grant¹¹⁰ tells us that Vīranārāyaṇa regained and re-established the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire which was lost to the Chalukyas.

*“Nimagnām yaschālukyābdhau Raṭṭa-rājya-śriyam punah,
Prthvīmivoddharan Dhīro Vīranārāyaṇo’bhavat |”*

It is evident that the early Chalukya Jayasimha I dethroned a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra, the son of Krishna and founded the early Chalukya kingdom. Dantidurga and Krishnarāja established the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire by defeating the early Chalukyas at the end of 1st century CE. It appears that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas again lost their kingdom to the Chalukyas in the beginning of the 4th century CE. Some later inscriptions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas claim that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were the Yādavas and the descendants of Yadu. It seems that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa-Yādava king Vīranārāyaṇa re-established the rule of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas again in the 6th century CE. The Tadakal (Gulbarga) inscription¹¹¹ of Amoghavarṣa, the earliest inscription of the later Rāṣṭrakūṭas to mention Vīranārāyaṇa, is dated in Śālivāhana 651(729 CE). Interestingly, this

inscription starts with the invocation “*Namastuṅga ciraścūmibi....*” which is commonly found in Yādava inscriptions. The Gokak plates¹¹² of Sendraka king Indrananda mention a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dejjā Mahārāja. These plates are dated in Gupta era 845 elapsed. Considering the epoch of the Gupta era in 335 BCE, the year, in which these plates were issued, was 510-511 CE. The epoch of the Gupta era will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4. Thus, one Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dejjā Mahārāja was ruling in the 6th century CE.

The list of inscriptions of the later Rāṣṭrakūṭas dated in *Śaka-kālātīta* era i.e. Śālivāhana era (78 CE) is given in Appendix IV. We can easily reconstruct the chronology of the later Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Gujarat branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who ruled around the period 8th to 10th century CE. The rise of the Kalyāṇi Chalukyas in the 10th century CE ended the rule of the later Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

The chronology of the later Rāṣṭrakūṭas

	<i>Sālivāhana era (78 CE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Amoghavarṣa II	650-675	728-753 CE
Akālavarṣa III (Krishna III)	675-695	753-773 CE
Dhruva II – Dhārāvarṣa Dhruvadeva	695-714	773-792 CE
Govinda IV – Prabhūtavarṣa		
Govindarāja	714-740	792-818 CE
Amoghavarṣa III	741-799	819-877 CE
Krishna IV – Akālavarṣa		
Kannaradeva	800-835	878-913 CE
Nityavarṣa	836-849	914-927 CE
Suvarṇavarṣa	850-856	928-934 CE
Amoghavarṣa IV	856-860	934-938 CE
Krishna V – Akālavarṣa V	861-891	939-969 CE
Koṭṭiga	889-893	967-971 CE
Karka	893-894	971-972 CE

The Gaṅgas of Talakad (Tālavanapura)

The Gaṅga dynasty was the one of the oldest dynasties of South India. Early Gaṅgas started ruling over the Koṅgu region of Tamilnadu

(the modern districts of Salem, Dharmapuri and Coimbatore) Anantapur and Kolār districts and gradually established the empire of the Gaṅgas in Gaṅgavādi i.e. Bangalore, Tumkur and Mysore districts. Elephant was the emblem of Gaṅga dynasty. The majority of Early Gaṅga inscriptions were found in this region. Greek accounts of the 3rd century BCE mention the region of Gaṅgadhikara as Gaṅgaridae which was ruled over by the king of Presii. Pliny also refers to the rulers of Gaṅgadhikara as Gaṅgaridae Kalingae, thereby reinforcing the evidence that the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅga was ruling prior to the 3rd century BCE.

There are several theories about the origin of the Gaṅga Dynasty. The inscriptions of the Western Gaṅgas claim that the Gaṅgas were Jāhnavīyas (sons of Gaṅga) and belonged to the Kāṇvāyana gotra. It seems that the Gaṅgas were either direct descendants of the imperial Kāṇvāyana dynasty of Magadha or an offshoot. According to later Gaṅga inscriptions, Hariśchandra had a son named Bharata. Vijayamahādevi, the wife of Bharata, took a bath in the Gaṅga River at the time of conception and the son born subsequently was named Gaṅgādatta. The descendants of Gaṅgādatta were the Gaṅgas.

According to later Jaina records, Gaṅga King Padmanābha sent his sons, Diḍiga and Mādhava, towards the south during the time of aggression from a neighbouring ruler (Mahipāla of Ujjain). Diḍiga and Mādhava arrived at Perur and met a Jaina Āchārya Simhanandi who supported them in establishing the kingdom of the Gaṅga Dynasty in Kuvalālapura (Kolār). Later inscriptions like the Kulagana plates of Śivamāra I and the Kudlur plates of Marasimha also refer to the Jaina Āchārya Simhanandi. This story may have evolved because Jaina Āchāryas secured the patronage of later Gaṅga Kings.

Koṅgani Varman was the founder of Gaṅga dynasty. Kudlapura stone inscription¹¹³ gives a date as Śaka 25 elapsed (*Śakavarṣam gateṣu pañcavītuśati 25 neya*), Śubhakṛt saṁvatsara, Phālguna śuddha pañcamī, Rohiṇī nakṣatra and Śanivara (Saturday) referring to Prathama Gaṅga (First Gaṅga) Koṅgani Mādhava Varman. This corresponds to 7th Feb 557 BCE; however, the weekday was Wednesday. No further information is available as to how Śaka 25 is linked to the first Gaṅga King Koṅgani Mādhava Varman but the nakṣatra was Rohiṇī on 7th Feb 557 BCE. Possibly, the forefathers of Kongani Varman established the Ganga

kingdom in Śaka 25 (557 BCE). According to the Hebbata grant of Durvinitā,¹¹⁴ Mādhava Varmā or Madivarmā was the father of Koṅgani Varman. A Tamil Chronicle¹¹⁵ called “*Koṅgu-deśa-Rājakkal*” places the reign of Koṅgani Varman in Śaka 111 (473-472 BCE). Earlier, seven kings of Ratta lineage had ruled over the Koṅgu region. Koṅgani Varman dethroned the last Raṭṭa king Śri Vikrama Deva Chakravarty and established the Gaṅga Kingdom in Koṅgudeśa in Śaka 111.

The Sasanakota grant¹¹⁶ was issued in the 1st regnal year of Mādhava Varman I, the son of Kongani Varman and the Kandasala grant¹¹⁷ was issued in his 9th regnal year. He was a learned king and authored a commentary on the “*Dattaka Sūtra*”. Mādhava Varman I had three sons namely Krishnavarman also known as Vijaya Krishnavarman, Āryavarman also known as Ayyavarman and Harivarman also known as Arivarman. The Tanjore plates (Śaka 169)¹¹⁸ and the Tagadur plates (Śaka 188)¹¹⁹ indicate that Harivarman was the one of the earliest users of the Śaka coronation era (epoch in 583 BCE) in South India. Possibly, the Śaka era calendar had become popular by then. These plates provide verifiable details of the reign of Mādhava Varman I.

The Tanjore Plates: Śaka 169 elapsed, “*Prabhava*” *samivatsara*, New moon day of Phālguna month, Revatī nakṣatra, Vṛddhi yoga, Vṛṣabha lagna and Bṛguvāra (Friday). 415-414 BCE elapsed and 414-413 BCE is current. 1st March 413 BCE was the new moon day of Phālguna and the nakṣatra Revati.

The Tagadur Plates: Śaka 188 elapsed, “*Vibhava*” *samivatsara*, the 10th tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna month, Punarvasu nakṣatra and Guruvāra (Thursday). 396-395 BCE elapsed and 395-394 BCE is current. 29th Jan 393 BCE was the śukla daśamī of Phālguna month and the nakṣatra was Punarvasu.

The Kudlur Plates:¹²⁰ Year 88? or 188? or 198? The era is not mentioned. Māgha masa, Amāvāsyā, Svāti nakṣatra, sūrya grahaṇa, somavara. Needs verification. The Kudlur grant probably refers to the 88th year of Gaṅga rule from Koṅgani Varman (Śaka 111). Thus the year intended is Probably, 198th year of Śaka (386-385 BCE). A solar eclipse occurred on 25th September 386 BCE when the nakṣatra was Svāti but the month Āśvina.

Harivarman was also the earliest Gaṅga king to be associated with Tālavanapura (Tālakad). The Tanjore grant of Harivarman relates an interesting story: A Buddhist philosopher named “*Vādimadagajendra*” came to Tālavanapura and affixed a letter of challenge on the main door of the palace for a debate on the subject of the existence of the soul. A Brāhmaṇa named Mādhava Bhaṭṭa took the challenge and, in the debate which took place in the court of Harivarman, he put forth his arguments in favour of the existence of the soul (*ātma*) while the Buddhist scholar denied the existence of the soul. Mādhava Bhaṭṭa defeated the Buddhist scholar and established the theory of the existence of the soul. A very pleased Harivarman gave the Brāhmaṇa the title “*Vādibhasinha*” and gifted him “Varakodu” or Orekodu village in the east of Mysore.

JF Fleet declared the Tanjore grant spurious because he could not digest the early date of the grant (Śaka 169). On the basis of palaeography which in itself is based on distorted chronology, he propagated that the grant was written in the late characters of the 10th century. In reality, the archaic Telugu-Kannada script had remained the same almost for 1000 years. This can be construed from the Tanjore plates (Śaka 169) and Sudi plates (Śaka 860). There are many other instances of such scripts that continued without any major change. For example, the Babylonian script remained almost the same from the 18th century BCE till the 2nd century BCE. Truly speaking, John Faithful Fleet’s unfaithful palaeography is a forgery and spurious, not the Tanjore grant.

Western historians and their followers tied themselves in knots by selectively declaring some of the Gaṅga inscriptions as forgeries or spurious based on their distorted theory of palaeography. There is still a divergence of opinion among historians in this regard. Palaeography can be supporting evidence but it cannot be the primary evidence to reject certain inscriptions as forgeries. Unfortunately, some of the inscriptions have been rejected because they were found to be contrary to the distorted chronology given by Western historians, whereas their entire theory of palaeography was based on the distorted chronology of ancient India.

There is a serious need to study the evolution of ancient Indian scripts without any prejudice from the theories propounded by Western

scholars. Just for the sake of argument, if any inscription is found in late characters, is it not possible that a replica or a copy of the damaged ancient inscription might have been made at a later date with the permission of a descendant king of the same dynasty? The tendency to declare ancient Indian inscriptions as forgeries or spurious without any concrete evidence is highly objectionable and must be repudiated with the contempt it deserves.

In fact, the entire nonsense of rejecting inscriptions forgeries was started by JF Fleet. As the dates given in certain Gaṅga inscriptions cannot be correctly calculated in Śālivāhana era (78 CE), he came up this insidious scheme of labelling these inscriptions forgeries and or spurious. These Gaṅga inscriptions clearly refer to “Śaka-varṣeṣu atīteśhu” not “Śaka-kālātita-samvatsara-sateṣu”. Thus, these Gaṅga inscriptions belong to the Śaka era (583 BCE) not the Śālivāhana era (78 CE). Interestingly, JF Fleet initially believed that all Gaṅga kings up to Śripuruṣa were fictitious personalities but he had to change his stand later. B Lewis Rice, then Director of the archaeological researches in Mysore, accepted all Gaṅga inscriptions as genuine but JF Fleet was wily enough to overrule him.

As shown above, the dates of inscriptions of Harivarman can be correctly calculated considering the epoch of Śaka era in 583 BCE. Harivarman had two brothers namely Āryavarman and Krishnavarman. Historians generally accept that Āryavarman and Krishnavarman are the same personality but there is no concrete evidence to prove it. It appears that there was a succession struggle between the three brothers. The Pallava king Siṁhavarman coronated Āryavarman and later, the Pallava king Skandavarman coronated Mādhava Siṁhavarman, the son of Āryavarman as the successor of the Gaṅga kingdom in Kuvalāla or Kolār region.¹²¹ Krishnavarman or Vijaya Krishnavarman¹²² also ruled for some time and later, his son Siṁhavarman¹²³ became the king. There is no further information available about the descendants of Āryavarman and Krishnavarman.

Harivarman's son Vishnugopa succeeded him. It seems that Harivarman and Vishnugopa ruled for over a century. The Harihar grant of the unnamed son of Vishnugopa¹²⁴ was issued around Śaka 272 (311 BCE) in “Sādhāraṇa” samvatsara. Vishnugopa had two sons. According

to Lewis Rice, Rāja Malla was probably the unnamed son of Vishnugopa who issued Harihar grant. Mādhava II was the second son of Vishnugopa. He married the sister of the Kadarnba king Krishnavarman. Mallohalli plates¹²⁵ indicate that Mādhava II ruled for over 29 years. JF Fleet declared it spurious because his distorted chronology had not enough room to accommodate the rule of more than 29 years of Mādhava II. Bannitalapura grant of Mādhava II was issued on the occasion of lunar eclipse on Mārgaśīrṣa Pūrnimā in Śaka 280 (304-303 BCE). The date regularly corresponds to 1st Nov 304 BCE and it is quite likely that 304-303 BCE was the first regnal year of Mādhava II.

The chronology of the Early Gaṅga kings up to Mādhava II:

	<i>Śaka era</i> (583 BCE)	<i>In CE</i>
Mādivarmā or Mādhava Varman	25?	—
Koṅgani Varman	111-134	472-447 BCE
Mādhava I	135-167	448-416 BCE
Harivarman	168-218	415-365 BCE
Vishnugopa	219-269	364-314 BCE
Unnamed elder son of Vishnugopa	270-280	313-304 BCE
Mādhava II (Younger son of Vishnugopa)	280-324	304-259 BCE

Avinīta was the successor of Mādhava II. It is evident from the Sringeri¹²⁶ and Kondinjeruru¹²⁷ plates that Avinīta was the youngest child. He was coronated while still in the lap of his mother (*Jananī-devatāṅkā-paryāṅkatala-samadhigata-rājya-vaibhava-vilāsena*). Avinīta married the daughter of the Punnāta King Skandavarman. He had two sons namely Durvinīta and Nirvinīta. Based on the regnal years mentioned in the inscriptions, it is evident that Avinīta and Durvinīta, father and son, also ruled for over a century. Avinīta might have had the longer tenure because he became king when still a child. Thus, it seems that Avinīta ruled for 64 years from Śaka 325 to Śaka 389 (258-194 BCE).

The verifiable details of inscriptions of the Gaṅga king Avinīta:

The Śringeri Grant:¹²⁸ 2nd Regnal year, Vaiśākha śukla 5 and Pauṣa śukla daśamī, Rohiṇī nakṣatra with reference to Avinita's mother Brhad Devi.

21st Mar 257 BCE was Vaiśākha śukla pañcamī and 17th Dec 257 BCE was Pauṣa śukla daśamī and the nakṣatra Rohiṇī.

The Residency Plates:¹²⁹ 25th Regnal year, Kārttika śukla pañcamī, Uttarāśāḍha nakṣatra. The date was 18th Oct 233 BCE and the nakṣatra Uttarāśāḍhā.

The Kudunjeruvu Grant:¹³⁰ 25th Regnal year, Bhādrapada śukla daśamī, Pūrvabhadrā nakṣatra, Thursday. Uttarāśāḍhā was on daśamī (25th Aug 233 BCE) and Pūrvabhadrā was on Pūrnimā (29th Aug 233 BCE).

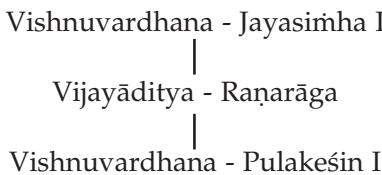
The Merkara Grant:¹³¹ Śaka 388, Māgha month, śukla pañcamī, Svāti nakṣatra, Somavāra (Monday). The date was 26th Dec 196 BCE, but the nakṣatra was Pūrvabhadrā. The date was probably 10th Jan 195 BCE, Māgha kṛṣṇa pañcamī, Svāti nakṣatra.

Durvinīta, the son of Avinīta and the daughter of the Punnāta king Skandavarman, succeeded his father. He was a great patron of learning. He wrote a commentary on the 15th Sarga (canto) of *Kirātārjunīyam* in his 20th regnal year (173 BCE). The great poet Bhāravi was the author of *Kirātārjunīyam*. Durvinīta authored a grammatical work known as “Śabdāvatāra” and translated “Bṛhat-Kathā” into Sanskrit. Guṇāḍhya authored *Bṛhat-Kathā* in Paiśāchi, a literary dialect of Prakrit and it was known as “Vadā-Kathā”. Bhāravi was a contemporary of Gaṅga King Durvinīta.

A Sanskrit work “Avantisundarikathā” relates an interesting story about Bhāravi. One day, Bhāravi met the Pallava King Sirnhavishnu as a stranger and recited a Sanskrit verse in praise of Narasimha, incarnation of Vishnu. Pallava Simhvishnu enquired of Bhāravi who the author of this verse was. Bhāravi replied thus:

“In the North-West there is a town named Anandapura, the crest jewel of Ārya-deśa, from which a family of Brahmanas of the Kauśika gotra migrated and settled at Achalapura. Narayaṇaswāmi, a member of this family, had a son named Dāmodara, who became a great scholar and was known as Bhāravi. He became a friend of the Chalukya Vishnuvardhana. On one occasion, he accompanied the king on a hunting expedition and while in the forest had to eat animal flesh. To expiate this sin he set out on a pilgrimage and finally settled in the court of Durvinīta. He is the author of this verse.”¹³²

It is evident that Bhāravi was a contemporary of the Chalukya Vishnuvardhana, the Gaṅga Durvinita and the Pallava Śimhavishnu. The Cellur grant of Chalukya Vira Choda,¹³³ Kalpataru grant of Vijayāditya¹³⁴ and the inscription of Tribhuvanamalla¹³⁵ tell us that Chalukya kings were endowed with the special coronation names Vishnuvardhana and Vijayāditya (*Vishnuvardhana-Vijayādityādi-viśeṣa-nāmnāmī*).



Based on the regnal period of Pulakeśin I (172-117 BCE), it is evident that Bhāravi lived between 220 BCE and 140 BCE. Bhāravi was a contemporary of the early Chalukya Vishnuvardhana-Jayasimha I or Vishnuvardhana-Pulakeśin I and not the Eastern Chalukya Kubja Vishnuvardhana as wrongly identified by historians.

The inscriptions of Durvinīta indicate that he ruled for over 40 years. Some inscriptions refer to him as “*Vṛddharāja*”. Thus, the reign of Durvinīta can be fixed between Śaka 390 and Śaka 445 (193-138 BCE). Historians wrongly identified Nirvinīta as Durvinīta. The Tagare grant¹³⁶ of Polavīra mentions Nirvinīta as the son of Avinīta. The Serugunda stone inscription¹³⁷ also mentions Nirvinīta. It is more logical to conclude that Avinīta had two sons i.e. Durvinīta and Nirvinīta. Polavīra was the son of Nirvinīta not Durvinīta.

The verifiable details of Gaṅga king Durvinīta's inscriptions:

The Kadagattur Grant:¹³⁸ 4th Regnal year, *Māgha śuddha Saptamī* and *Revatī nakṣatra*. The date corresponds to 22nd Dec 190 BCE.

The Uttanur Plates:¹³⁹ 20th Regnal year, *Kārttika Pūrṇimā*, *Kṛttikā nakṣatra* and *Abhijit muhūrta*. The date corresponds to 24th Oct 173 BCE.

The Hebbata Grant:¹⁴⁰ 31st Regnal year, *Phālguna Pūrṇimā*, *Uttara...nakṣatra*. The date corresponds to 18th Feb 161 BCE, Phālguna pūrṇimā and Uttara Phālgunī nakṣatra.

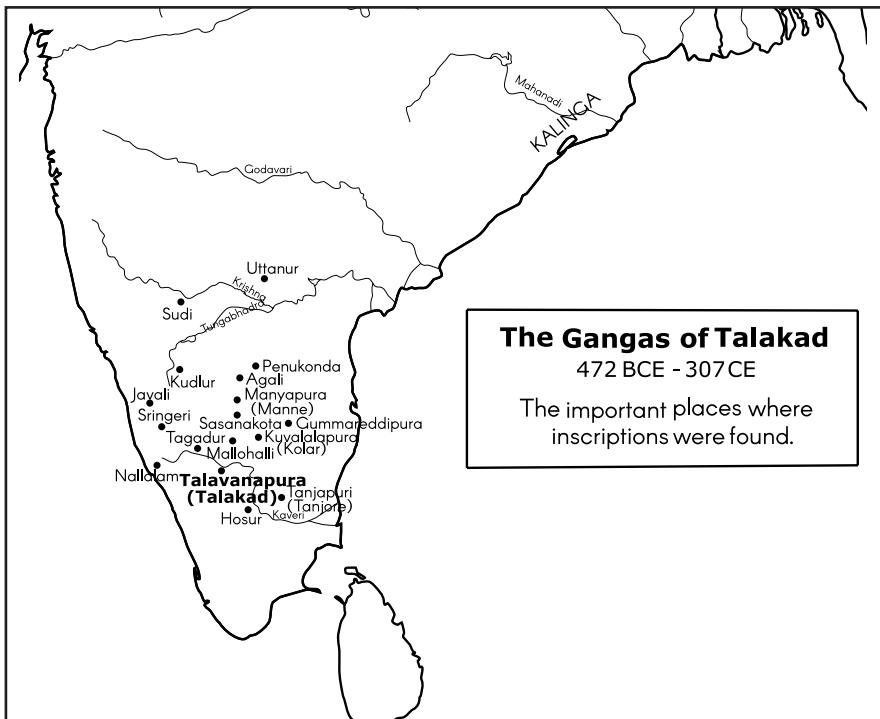
The Saliggame Grant:¹⁴¹ 39th Regnal year, Kārttika śuddha puṇya tithi, Śatabhiṣaj nakṣatra. The date corresponds to 30th Sep 155 BCE, Kārttika śuddha daśamī and Śatabhiṣaj nakṣatra.

The Nallala Grant:¹⁴² 40th Regnal year, Vaiśākha prathama pakṣa, parva (lunar eclipse?), Viśākhā nakṣatra, brāhma muhūrta. The date corresponds to 1st April 154 BCE, Vaiśākha Pūrṇimā and Viśākhā nakṣatra. A lunar eclipse was also visible at 19:28 hrs.

Muṣkara, the son of Durvinīta, also had a very long reign though his records are very few. The British museum grant of Muṣkara¹⁴³ mentions him as “*Mokkara Vṛddharāja*”. JF Fleet declared it spurious because he could not accommodate a “*Vṛddharāja*” in his distorted chronology. Kulagana grant¹⁴⁴ of Śivamāra I also refers to him as “*Śrimat Koṅgani Vṛddharāja*”. Śrivikrama succeeded his father Muṣkara and married the daughter of Sindhurāja (*Sakala-digantara-prasiddha-Sindhurāja-duhitrvarah*). He also married the daughter of a Chola king descended from the reputed Karikāla. The Bedirur grant¹⁴⁵ tells us that Bhūvikrama was born to Śrivikrama and the daughter of a Chola king (*Kārita-kāverītīra-karikāla-kula-vanīśotpanna-Chola-nṛpati-putrī-putrah*). Bhūvikrama started ruling from Śaka 531 (52 BCE) because the Bedirur grant was issued in his 25th regnal year (Śaka 556). He defeated a Pallava king during his reign and ruled for a long period.

Śivakumāra or Śivamāra I, the youngest brother of Bhūvikrama, succeeded him. He was also known as Navakāma. The Hallagere grant¹⁴⁶ of his 34th regnal year is dated, Śaka 635 (51-52 CE) which means Śivamāra I ascended the throne in Śaka 601 (17-18 CE). Bhūvikrama’s reign appears to be very long from Śaka 531(52 BCE) to Śaka 600 (17 CE) and is probably inclusive of his reign as Yuvarāja. Śivamāra I ruled up to Śaka 648 (65 CE) and lived a full life of hundred years. Śivamāra’s grandson Śripuruṣa succeeded him. The Javali plates¹⁴⁷ give Śaka 672 (89 CE) as his 25th regnal year and the Nallamangala plates¹⁴⁸ give Śaka 698 (115 CE) as his 50th regnal year. Thus, Śaka 699 (116 CE) was probably the last year of Śripuruṣa’s reign.

Interestingly, the reigns of all Gaṅga kings up to Śripuruṣa spanned long periods. The Kulagana plates¹⁴⁹ used the term “*Vṛddharāja*” (grand old king) for almost all of these kings. The Gaṅga kings were patrons of



learning and rarely ventured to expand the territories of the Gaṅga Empire. They maintained peaceful relations with neighbouring kings. It appears that Bhūvikrama had the longest reign of 69 years; there is nothing inherently improbable about the duration of the reign of Bhūvikrama as he may have started his rule at the age of 15 or 16 as Yuvarāja.

Śivamāra II succeeded Śripuruṣa in Śaka 700 (117 CE). According to the Manne plates,¹⁵⁰ Śivamāra ventured to defeat the Vallabha army consisting of Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Chalukya, Haihaya and other brave leaders encamped at the village called Mudugudur. The Manne grant of Govinda III¹⁵¹ tells us that Dhārāvaraṇa Dhruva imprisoned a Gaṅga king and that the imprisoned Gaṅga was certainly Śivamāra II. Later, Yuvarāja Govinda III pardoned and released him. Thus, the Gaṅgas became the allies of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

The Manne plates of Śivamāra II inform us that Śivamāradeva was reinstated by Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govindarāja III and Pallava Nandivarmā (*Rāṣṭrakūṭa-Pallavānvaya-tilakābhyaṁ mīrdhābhishikta-Govindarāja-Nandivarmā-bhidheyābhyaṁ samanuṣṭhita-rājyābhisekābhyaṁ*). Yuvarāja

Mārasimha ascended the throne in Śaka 719 (136 CE) because the Kottimba grant of his 3rd regnal year is dated, Śaka 721 (138 CE).

The verifiable details of Gaṅga inscriptions:

The Arekere grant of Śrivikrama:¹⁵² 1st regnal year, Kārttika Pūrṇimā, Rohiṇī nakṣatra, lunar eclipse and Somavāra (Monday). The date corresponds to 27th Oct 81 BCE, Kārttika Pūrṇimā and Rohiṇī nakṣatra. Lunar Eclipse was visible between 20:14 hrs to 1:06 hrs but it was Saturday.

The Bedirur grant of Bhūvikrama:¹⁵³ Śaka 556, 25th regnal year, Chaitra śukla daśamī, Maghā nakṣatra, Thursday. The date corresponds to 13th March 28 BCE, Chaitra śukla daśamī and Āśleṣa/Maghā nakṣatra.

The Agali grant of Śripuruṣa:¹⁵⁴ Śaka 669 elapsed, 22nd Regnal year, Māgha śukla trayodaśī, Punarvasu nakṣatra. The date corresponds to 5th/6th Jan 87 CE and the nakṣatra was Punarvasu.

The Javali grant of Śripuruṣa:¹⁵⁵ Śaka 672 elapsed, 25th Regnal year, Vaiśākha śukla daśamī, Uttara Phālgunī nakṣatra, saṃkrānti in Vṛṣabha rāśi. The date corresponds to 19th Apr 88 CE and the nakṣatra was Uttara Phālguni.

The Hosur grant of Śripuruṣa:¹⁵⁶ Śaka 684 elapsed, Vaiśākha śukla Pūrṇimā. Viśākhā nakṣatra, lunar eclipse, Śukravāra (Friday). Irregular. The lunar eclipse was on 25th March 99 CE but it was Chaitra Purnima and Viśākhā nakṣatra; needs verification from the original text of the inscription.

The Manne plates of Mārasimha:¹⁵⁷ Śaka 719, Āśādha śukla? Pañcamī, Uttara bhadra nakṣatra. Irregular; needs verification from the original text of the inscription.

The Kottimba grant of Mārasimha:¹⁵⁸ Śaka 721, Śrāvāṇa, śuddha pūrṇimā, Daniṣṭhā nakṣatra, Lunar eclipse, Somavāra (Monday). The date corresponds to 29th July 139 CE, Śrāvāṇa Pūrṇimā and the nakṣatra was Dhaniṣṭhā. A lunar eclipse was visible between 4:18 hrs to 5:51 hrs.

The Perjarangi grant of Rājamalla I:¹⁵⁹ Śaka 741 elapsed (158-159 CE), Solar eclipse. The solar eclipse was visible on 13th July 158 CE between 14.03 hrs to 15.19 hrs.

The Narsapura grant of Rājamalla II:¹⁶⁰ Śaka 824, Phālguna month, śukla pakṣa, pañcamī, Rohiṇī nakṣatra, Budhvāra (Wednesday). Rohiṇī nakṣatra was on Saptamī and not on pañcamī and the day was 6th Feb 241 CE.

The Gattavadipura grant of Rājamalla III:¹⁶¹ Śaka 826 elapsed, Mārgaśīrṣa month, full moon day, Mṛgaśīrā nakṣatra, lunar eclipse and Sunday. A penumbral lunar eclipse was visible on 14th Dec 243 CE.

The chronology of the Gaṅga kings from Avinīta to Mārasimha:

	<i>Śaka era</i> (583 BCE)	<i>In CE</i>
Avinīta	325-389	258-194 BCE
Durvinīta	390-445	193-138 BCE
Muṣkara	446-501	137-82 BCE
Śripuruṣa	501-531	82-52 BCE
Bhūvikrama	531-600	52 BCE-17 CE
Śivamāra I also known as Navakāma, Śrivallabha	601-648	18-65 CE
Śripuruṣa	649-699	66-116 CE
Śivamāra II also known as Saygotta	700-719	117-136 CE
Mārasimha	719-733	136-150 CE

Vijayāditya, the youngest brother of Śivamāra II, succeeded Mārasimha. No details are available as to how Vijayāditya, the uncle of Mārasimha, ascended the throne but the Sudi plates¹⁶² of Butuga II tell us that he ruled for a short period (*Saṁksipta-kāleya-carito'bhatat*). Rājamalla I, the son of Vijayāditya, started his rule around Śaka 740 (157 CE).

According to the Galigakere plates, Nītimārga I, the son of Rājamalla I was ruling in Śaka 782 (199 CE). Also known as Eragaṅgadeva, he destroyed his foes in the battle of “Rāmati”. The reign of Rājamalla II, the son of Nītimārga I, can be placed between Śaka 810 (227 CE) to 824 (241 CE) because the Narsāpura grant¹⁶³ is dated, Śaka 824 (241 CE). He was victorious in the battle of “Samiya”. Butuga I, the younger brother of Rājamalla II, succeeded him. Butuga I, whose second name was “Guṇaduttarāṅga”, married “Abbālabbā” the daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Amoghavarṣa and defeated a Pallava King.

Nītimārga II or Eragaṅgadeva was the son of Butuga I; he was also known as “Komāravedāṅga” and according to the Sudi plates, was coronated by his uncle Rājamalla II (*sva-pitṛvyena Rājamallena.... Paṭṭabaddhaḥ*). He effected a public defeat of the Pallavas in a battle at “Jantepperupenjeru”.

Narasimhadeva, the son of Eragaṅgadeva succeeded him. He was also known as “Vīravedāṅga”. Rājamalla III (also known as Nītimārga III), the son of Narasimhadeva, succeeded him. He was also known as “Kachcheya Gaṅga”. It appears that the rule of the Gaṅga dynasty ended by the time of Nītimārga III.

According to the Sudi and Kudlur plates,¹⁶⁴ Butuga II, the younger brother of Rājamalla III, had migrated to the Dahāla region. He married a daughter of the Chedi King Baddega at Tripuri. After the death of Baddega, Butuga II played a crucial role in the coronation of the Chedi King Krishna by seizing the kingdom from the possession of Lalleya. He was a cause of great fear to Kakkarāja of Achalapura, Bijja Dantivarman of Vanavāsi, Rājavarman or Ajavarman. Butuga II, who was also known as Jayaduttarāṅga, Gaṅgagāṅgeya, Gaṅganārāyaṇa and Nannīya Gaṅga, broke the pride of Dāmari, the king of Nulugugiri and Nāgavarmas.

Butuga II also conquered the Chola King Rājāditya and seized the town of Tanjāpuri and Nalkela (Nalkote). He presented a huge amount of money, elephants and horses pillaged in this expedition to the Chedi King Krishna. As recorded in the Sudi plates, Butuga II was ruling at Purīkarapura and Gaṅgamandalam (*Shaṇṇavati sahasramapi Gaṅgamandalam pratipālayan Purīkarapure kritāvasthitam*). Surprisingly, JF Feet declared Sudi plates as spurious and eminent historians blindly followed him.

According to the Kudlur plates, the elder son of Butuga II married the daughter of the Chedi King Krishna who conquered the kings of Magadha, Kaliṅga, Pāṇḍya and Chola (*Magadha-Kaliṅga-Pāṇḍya-Chola-kśmāpālaih abhinuta-pāda-paṅkajasya Kṛṣṇasya*). His first name was Puṇuseya Gaṅga, Nītimārga, Koṅgani Mahārajādhiraṁja and also known as Marula & Kaliyuga Bhīma. The younger brother of Puṇuseya Gaṅga was Mārasimha, also known as Guṭṭiya Gaṅga. According to the Śravaṇabelagola lithic inscription,¹⁶⁵ Satyavākyā Koṅgani Mahāraja (Mārasimha-Guṭṭiya Gaṅga) also became the king of the Gurjaras.

Mārasimha-Guṭṭiya Gaṅga became like a forest-fire for lion Rājāditya, the crest jewel of the Chalukyas. It is evident that Guṭṭiya Gaṅga defeated a Chola-Chalukya King Rājāditya. Interestingly, this inscription tells us that Guṭṭiya Gaṅga entered Mānyakheṭa with the army of Chakravarti (Krishnarāja) and coronated Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indrarāja as King of Mānyakheta (*Bhujabala.... Mānyakheṭa-praveśita-chakravarty.... Śrimad Indrarāja-paṭṭabandhotsavasya*).

Mārasimha-Guṭṭiya Gaṅga also conquered the king of Vanavāsi, the descendants of the Mathura dynasty and the Nolam̍ba, Chera, Chola, Pāṇḍya & Pallava kings (*Bhayopanata vanavāsiśeśādi.... praṇata-Māthura-vamśājasya.... Sakala-Nolam̍bādhīrāja-samara-vidhvansakasya.... Pratāpāvanata-Chera-Chola-Pāṇḍya-Pallavasya*). He was titled “*Nolam̍bakulāntaka*” the destroyer of Nolam̍ba Dynasty. The Śravanabelagola lithic inscription ends with the statement that Mārasimha-Guṭṭiya Gaṅga relinquished the sovereignty and died at Bānkapura by the Jaina rite of “*Sallekhana*” (starvation) in the presence of the Jaina monk Ajitasena-Bhattāraka.

The verifiable details of Gaṅga inscriptions:

The Narsāpura plates of Rājamalla II (Satyavākyā):¹⁶⁶ Śaka 824, 5th tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna month, Rohiṇī nakṣatra, Budhavāra (Wednesday). The date corresponds to 3rd Feb 241 CE, Wednesday but the nakṣatra was Aśvinī.

The Sudi plates of Butuga II:¹⁶⁷ Śaka 860, Kārttika śukla aṣṭamī, Ādityavāra (Sunday). The date corresponds to 21st October 277 CE.

The chronology of the Gaṅga kings from Vijayāditya to Guṭṭiya Gaṅga:

	Śaka era (583 BCE)	In CE
Vijayāditya(Youngest Brother of Śivamāradeva)	733-739	150-156 CE
Rājamalla I (Satyavākyā Koṅganivarman)	739-780	156-197 CE
Nītimārga I	780-810	197-227 CE
Rājamalla II(Satyavākyā Koṅganivarman)	810-824	227-241 CE
Butuga I(Youngest Brother of Rājamalla II)	824-825	241-242 CE
Nītimārga II(Eragaṅgadeva)	825-826	242-243 CE

Narasiṅghadeva (Satyavākyā Koṅgivarman)	826	243 CE
Rājamalla III or Nītimārga III (son of Narasiṅghadeva)	826-830	243-247 CE
Butuga II(brother of Rājamalla III)	830-863	247-280 CE
Puṇuseya GaṅgaSon of Butuga II (also known as Marula)	863-870	280-287 CE
Mārasimha-Guṭṭiya Gaṅga (Younger brother of Puṇuseya Gaṅga and son of Butuga II)	870-890	287-307 CE

Guṭṭiya Gaṅga was probably the last sovereign ruler of the Gaṅga dynasty. Unfortunately, not much information is available about the Gaṅgas of Tālakad from the 4th century CE to the 8th century CE. Evidently, Gangas lost their sovereignty by the 4th century CE. All early Gaṅga inscriptions are available in the form of copper plates and dated in Śaka-*kāla* era (583 BCE) except three grants (Kudlur,¹⁶⁸ Kadalur¹⁶⁹ & Kukkanur¹⁷⁰) of Mārasimha which are dated in Śaka-*nṛpa-kālātīta* era (78 CE). Most of the Gaṅga lithic inscriptions are dated in Śaka-*kālātīta* era (78 CE). It appears that the Gaṅgas re-emerged as feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas during 9th & 10th centuries CE with control restricted to the regions of Kuvalālapura (Kolār) and Nandagiri (Nandidoorg) as the inscriptions of this period refer to the Gaṅga kings as “*Kuvalālapura-vāreśvara Nandagirinātha*”.

Initially, the Gaṅgas started ruling in the Paruvi, Koṅgu and Kuvalāla regions. Harivarmā established Tālakad (Tālavanapura) as the capital of the Gaṅga Dynasty by 375 BCE. Śivamāra I and Śripuruṣa shifted the capital to Mānyapura (Manne) around 25 CE. Butuga II was ruling at Purikarapura in 277 CE. Finally, the Gaṅgas settled at Kuvalālapura and Nandagiri as feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

The Kudlur, Kadalur & Kukkanur grants of Mārasimha are dated in Śaka-*nṛpa-kālātīta* i.e. Śālivāhana era (78 CE) from the year 884 to 890 (962-968 CE). These grants are comprehensive historical documents of the Gaṅgas of Tālakad and provide detailed genealogy of the Gaṅgas from Koṅgani Varman to Guṭṭiya Gaṅga (also known as Mārasimha). Some historians wrongly identified the Mārasimha of the grants of Kudlur, Kadalur & Kukkanur with Guṭṭiya Gaṅga (younger son of Butuga II). These grants used the verb “*āśīt*” for Mārasimha-Guṭṭiya Gaṅga.

“Āśit jagad-gahana-rakṣaṇa rājasimhaḥ
kṣmā-mandalābjavana-mandanarājasimhaḥ ।
Śri-Mārasimha iti bṛihita-bāhu-kīrtih
tasyānujaḥ kṛta-yuga-kśitipālakīrtih ॥”

Evidently, Mārasimha-Guṭṭiya Gaṅga was not alive in Śālivāhana 884 (962 CE). The verb “āśit” cannot be used for the ruling king Mārasimha, the author of the Kudlur grant. Therefore, Mārasimha-Guṭṭiya Gaṅga and Mārasimha of Kudlur grant were two different personalities. Guṭṭiya Gaṅga ruled around Śaka 870-890 (287-307 CE) whereas Mārasimha of the Kudlur grant ruled in Śālivāhana 884-890 (962-968 CE). This also indicates that Śaka-kāla era and Śaka-kālātīta era are two different eras with two different epochs.

The later Gaṅgas appear to have been ruling only as feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas during the 9th and 10th centuries. The author of the Kudlur grant claimed that he was coronated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Krishnarāja. After the 10th century CE, Gaṅgas attained important positions under the Chalukyas and Hoyasalas. Interestingly, a community of Mysore is known today as the *Gaṅgādikār Vokkalingārs*. Amazingly, the descendants of this glorious dynasty of Karṇātaka are still surviving.

Let us discuss certain distortions propounded in the historical account of the Gaṅgas. The Sudi grant of Butuga II and subsequent grants mention King Baddega and Krishna. Interestingly, historians identified Baddega as the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Amoghavarṣa and Krishna as Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kannara Deva or Krishnarāja. This identification has been accepted because Butuga II can be a contemporary of Amoghavarṣa and Krishnaraja in the chronology of the Śālivāhana era. In my opinion, it is a case of mistaken identity. Historians need to address the following points:

- According to the Sudi and Kudlur plates, Krishna defeated the kings of Magadha, Kaliṅga, Pāṇḍya and Chola. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas never conquered Magadha and Kaliṅga at any point of time in their entire history.
- As stated in the Śravaṇabelagola lithic inscription, Satyavākyā Kongani Mahārāja Mārasimha-Guṭṭiya Gaṅga coronated Indrarāja in Mānyakheṭa after defeating Chola-Chalukya Rājāditya. How could Guṭṭiya Gaṅga coronate Indrarāja while Krishnarāja was already on the throne?

- The Sudi and Kudlur plates do not provide even an iota of evidence to prove that Baddiga and Krishna were Rāṣṭrakūṭas.
- Who was Lalleya from whom Butuga II seized the kingdom to strengthen the rule of Krishna? There was no Rāṣṭrakūṭa descendant named Lalleya.

The answer to the above anomalies lies in the fact that the Sudi plates are dated in the *Śaka-kāla* era and not the *Śaka-kālātīta* era. Thus, Butuga II cannot be a contemporary of Baddiga Amoghavarṣa. It appears that the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Gaṅgas of Tālakad became vulnerable around Śaka 833-850 (250-267 CE) due to the rise of the Chedi dynasty in the north and frequent aggressions from the neighbouring kings, the Eastern Chalukyas and Pallavas. The Chedi ruler of Tripuri, King Sri Vandyaga or Baddega consolidated his supremacy by conquering Magadha, Kaliṅga, Kuntala and probably, the Gaṅga kingdom as well. It may also be noted that the Kalachuri-Chedi era commenced in 403 BCE. We will discuss this era in detail in Chapter 6. It appears that the Gaṅgas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas became allies of the Chedis around 260-275 CE. Interestingly, all three dynasties were patrons of Jainism.

Dr. VV Mirashi quoted the following invaluable extract from an ancient manuscript in possession of Dr. SN Sen, Keeper of the Nepal Museum. He personally verified this manuscript, which is a commentary on a Śaiva work, at Hyderabad at the session of the All-India Oriental Conference held there in 1941.

*Gatavati Śaka-kāle maṅgaleśvaṣṭa-saṅkhye,
 Śaradi viṣadapakṣe cāśvine śukravāre |*
*Uḍuni Surapatīṣe yoga Āyuṣmatīyam,
 Tithirapi ca gatānām pañcamī yatra śuddhā ||*
Chedikularājadhānyām gatavati Śri Vandyage nihatyārīn |
Tacchāsanena vasudhām parirakṣati Krṣṇarāje'pi ||¹⁷¹

“When Śaka year 858 elapsed, on the 5th tithi of the bright fortnight of Āśvina Month, Friday, Āyuṣmatī Yoga, King Śri Vandyaga or Baddega went back to Tripuri, the capital city of the Chedi dynasty after defeating all his enemies while Krishnarāja was governing the country as Yuvarāja from the city of Mānyakheṭa”. The date is regular with 12th Sep 275 CE (or 22nd Sep 274 CE). The era mentioned here is *Śaka-kāla* not *Śaka-kālātīta*.

It is evident that Butuga II was the contemporary of Chedi Baddega and not Rāṣṭrakūṭa Baddiga because all inscriptions of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Baddiga are dated in the *Śaka-kālātīta* era. When the Gaṅgas lost their kingdom, Butuga II may have approached King Baddega at Tripuri and impressed upon him that he could be instrumental in strengthening the Chedi rule in the Southern region. Baddega married off his daughter to Butuga II to ensure his loyalty to the Chedi kings. Thus, Butuga II became the patron of Krishnarāja, the Chedi king of Southern region and seized the kingdom from the possession of Lalleya. Lalleya may have been another Chedi prince or a disloyal feudatory.

Butuga II strengthened the rule of the Chedi Yuvarāja Krishna after the death of his elder brother Baddega by defeating Kakkarāja of Achalapura, Bijja Dantivarman of Vanavāsi, Rājavarmān or Ajavarman, Damari the king of Nulugugiri and the Nāgavarmas. He also extended the Chedi kingdom up to Tanjāpuri. This is exactly why, as the Kudlur plates tell us, the kings of Magadha, Kaliṅga, Pāṇḍya and Chola bowed to the feet of Krishnarāja. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas never conquered Magadha and Kaliṅga. Butuga II's two sons i.e. Puṇuseya Gaṅga and Guṭtiya Gaṅga followed the footsteps of his father. Puṇuseya Gaṅga married the daughter of the Chedi King Krishnarāja. Thus, the Gaṅgas not only ruled Gaṅgavādi but also some parts of the Gurjara region at the end of the 3rd century CE around 280-300 CE. Probably, the rise of Paramāra dynasty and Western Chalukyas of Kalyāṇi ended the rule of the Gaṅga dynasty.

All dated lithic inscriptions of the Gaṅgas belong to the Śālivāhana era and not the Śaka era. Most of these inscriptions were written in the 9th and 10th centuries CE. The Atakur inscription¹⁷² is dated in *Śaka-kālātīta* era (Śālivāhana 872). Therefore, the Butuga III mentioned in the Atakur inscription cannot be Butuga II because they belonged to two different eras. Butuga III of Atakur inscription lived around Śālivāhana 872 (949-950 CE) and was a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas whereas Butuga II of the Sudi plates belonged to Śaka 860 (277 CE) and was the sovereign ruler of a larger kingdom including Gaṅgavadi 96000. Thus, the chronology of the later Gaṅgas must be reconstructed based on lithic inscriptions dated in the *Śaka-kālātīta* era. Only Mārasimha among the later Gaṅgas could become a sovereign ruler with the blessings of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Krishnarāja (*ahamiva nijarājyabhāra-samuddharāṇa-kṣama iti*

svayam-kṛta-Gaṅgapati-paṭṭa-bandhotsavo Gaṅga-māndalikah) around Śālivāhana 884 (961-962 CE).

The Bāṇa Dynasty

Bāṇas were one of the earliest rulers of Kolār region of Karnātaka and some parts of Andhra Pradesh. They claimed to be descendants of King Bāṇa who was the son of Mahābali. They might have been connected with Mahābalipuram. Kongani Varman, the founder of the Gaṅga dynasty, had possibly conquered some parts of the Bāṇa kingdom in the 5th century BCE. Many inscriptions of the Bāṇa kings were found in the Kolār region. The Mudyanur grant of the Bāṇa king Malladeva Nandivarmā tells us that after many Bāṇa kings had passed away, there was a king named Nandivarmā (400-375 BCE) whose grandson Malladeva Nandivarmā was ruling in Śaka 261 (322 BCE). Malladeva Nandivarmā, the son of Vijayāditya (375-344 BCE), issued the Mudyanur grant in his 23rd regnal year which means he ascended the throne in Śaka 239 (344 BCE).

The selected text from the Mudyanur grant:¹⁷³

"Ekaśaṣṭṭutara-dvaya-sate Śakābdah Pravardhamānātmanah trayo-viniśati-vartamāna-Vilambi-saṁvatsare Kārttika-śukla-pakṣe trayodaśyām Somavāre Aśvinyām nakṣatre...."

Śaka 261 (323-322 BCE) elapsed, Vilambi saṁvatsara, 23rd regnal year, 13th tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika month, Aśvinī nakṣatra and Monday. This regularly corresponds to 19th October 322 BCE but the weekday was Friday. Interestingly, the backside of the first plate of the Mudyanur grant is an erased Gaṅga grant. The genealogy of the Gaṅga kings is given up to the time of Harivarman on the erased side which also validates the date of the Mudyanur grant. The Gaṅga King Harivarman ruled around 415-365 BCE and the Mudyanur grant was issued in 322 BCE. Therefore, Malladeva Nandivarmā was a contemporary of the Gaṅga king Vishnugopa.

JF Fleet and Kielhorn declared the Mudyanur grant as spurious because the Jovian year "Vilambi" and the weekday (Monday) given in the grant are not regular.

There were various theories of the 60 year cycle in vogue in ancient India but only 3 or 4 theories survive today. Moreover, the surviving

theories may have also undergone midcourse corrections. Similarly, many siddhāntas of *Aharganya* were existing in ancient times and the siddhāntas followed in the ancient calendars need to be decoded to determine the weekday. Therefore, in general, the Jovian year and the weekday given in the epigraphs should not be considered as primary verifiable details. In fact, the Śaka year, solar eclipse, lunar eclipse and nakṣatra referred to must be considered as primary verifiable details of epigraphs and other verifiable details have to be reconciled with reference to the maximum number of primary verifiable details of epigraphs found satisfactory in the chronology of a particular dynasty.

Interestingly, JF Fleet accepted many epigraphs in which the given Jovian year or weekday is not regular. The inconsistency in his approach indicates that Fleet was not comfortable with the early Śaka year given in Mudyanur grant. It is evident that Fleet applied different yardsticks for the epigraphs dated prior to the 6th century CE and the epigraphs dated from 6th century onwards, clearly exposing his fraudulent slant in not accepting authentic and bonafide Indian epigraphs of antiquity.

The Kadamba Dynasty

The Kadamba dynasty was founded by Mayūraśarman in the beginning of the 5th Century BCE. He was the descendant of a South Indian Brāhmaṇa family “Hārīti” and belonged to the “Mānavya” gotra. The rulers of this family were called Kadambas as they took special care of a “Kadamba” tree blossoming near their house. The Kadambas were the one of the earliest rulers of the Kuntala region (North-west of Karṇātaka) and Vanavāsi (also called as Vaijayantī) was their capital. The Talagunda (Sthānakundura) pillar inscription¹⁷² narrates the history of the Kadamba dynasty.

“Once Mayūraśarman, along with his teacher Viraśarman went to the capital of the Pallavas (Kāñchipuram) in order to complete his Vedic studies. There he had a fierce quarrel with a Pallava official who was riding a horse (*tatra Pallavāśva-samisthena kalabhena tīvreṇa rośitah*). He was enraged by the helplessness of Brāhmaṇas against Kśatriyas and decided to adopt the life of a Kśatriya. He overpowered the Pallava guards of the frontier and occupied the inaccessible forests around Śriparvata (Śrisailam in Kurnool District). He established himself as the

powerful ruler of the area and also levied tribute on the Bāṇa king Bṛhad Bāṇa. The Pallavas sent an army to eliminate him but he inflicted heavy losses on them. Ultimately, the Pallavas accepted him as an ally and recognised him as the king of a territory between Amara Ocean (Western Ocean) and Premara country (unidentifiable, but very likely, an eastern landmark)."

Thus, the Brāhmaṇa Mayūraśarman became a Kṣatriya Mayūravarman and founded the kingdom of the Kadambā dynasty. Only the Candravalli inscription¹⁷⁵ written in Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit belong to the reign of Mayurasarman. He was succeeded by his son Kaṅgavarman. Bhagīratha, the son of Kaṅgavarman, had two sons, Raghu and Kākustha. The Halsi plates of Yuvarāja Kākusthavarman I¹⁷⁶ are dated in the eightieth victorious year. Probably, the 80th year was counted from the commencement of Mayūravarman's reign. Kākusthavarman I became a powerful ruler and married off his daughters to the royal families of the Guptas and other dynasties. It appears that he was a contemporary of Mādhavagupta and his son Ādityasena of the Krishnagupta dynasty (wrongly identified as the Later Guptas). The Shāhpur inscription of Ādityasena is dated in Śri Harsha era 66 (391 BCE) considering the epoch of Śri Harsha era in 457 BCE. We will discuss the Śri Harsha era in Chapter 6. Śāntivarman I was the son of Kākusthavarman I. Talagunda pillar inscription was written during the reign of Śāntivarman I. It is also recorded in the inscription that Kākusthavarman I constructed a great tank near a Śiva temple of Sthānakundura at which, Śātakarnī (probably, Chutu Śātakarnī kings) and other kings had worshipped.

The recently unearthed Gudnapur inscription¹⁷⁷ tells us that Viraśarman was the grandfather of Mayūravarman. Mrgeśavarman I was the son of Śāntivarman I who married the daughter of the king of Kekaya. Ravivarman I was the son of Mrgeśa who killed the king Viṣṇudāsa (*nihatya Viṣṇudāsam*). This inscription also mentions the Nītiśāstra (Arthaśāstra) of Viṣṇugupta. Interestingly, this inscription is a grant to "Kāmadevālaya" and refers to "Madanotsava" (festival of love) during the season of Vasanta. "Kāmadevāyatana" in *Mrcchakaṭikam* of Sūdraka and "Kāmadevagr̥ha" in *Kādambarī* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa also indicate the existence of such social institutions. The Gudnapur inscription probably carries the earliest reference to "Kāmadevālaya".

The chronology of the Kadambas up to Ravivarman I:

	<i>Saka era (583 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Mayūraśarman	103-123	480-460 BCE
Kaṅgavarman	123-143	460-440 BCE
Bhagīratha	143-163	440-420 BCE
Raghu	163-173	420-410 BCE
Kākusthavarman I	173-203	410-380 BCE
Śāntivarman I	203-223	380-360 BCE
Mrgeśavarman I	223-243	360-340 BCE
Ravivarman I	243-268	340-315 BCE

The Ammānikā grant of Śāntivarman II¹⁷⁸ tells us that Śarvavarman, who was born in the dynasty of Mayūraśarman, became the king and thereafter, his son Simhavarman I took over the reins. Śāntivarman II, the son of Simhavarman I, issued the Ammānikā grant in Śaka 232 (352-351 BCE) elapsed and in his 7th regnal year (*Dvātrīnīśaduttara-dviśateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samivatsare saptame varttamāne Vanavāsyām adhivasati vijayaskandhāvāre Śrāvāṇa-sita-dvādaśyām*). Thus, Śāntivarman II ascended the throne in Śaka 226 (358-357 BCE). Historians rejected the Ammānikā grant because Śaka 232 cannot be accommodated in the distorted chronology of the Kadambas. In fact, they are ignorant of the Śaka era that commenced in 583 BCE.

	<i>Saka era (583 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Śarvavarman	203-213	380-370 BCE
Simhavarman I	213-226	370-357 BCE
Śāntivarman II	226-258	357-325 BCE

The subsequent grants of the Kadambas tell us that another Kākusthavarman or Kākusthavarman II had two sons, Śāntivarman III & Krishnavarman I and also a daughter who was married off to the Gaṅga king Mādhava II (304-259 BCE). Krishnavarman I became a powerful ruler in Dakṣināpatha and one of the most influential ruler of the Kadambas. the Gaṅga king Avinīta (258-194 BCE) proudly recorded in his grants that he was the son of the beloved sister of Krishnavarman I.

Krishnavarman I had two sons namely Viṣṇuvarman and Devavarman. According to the Bālāghāt plates,¹⁷⁹ the Vākāṭaka king

Narendrasena married Ajjhita Bhaṭṭārikā, a daughter of the lord of Kuntala. The lord of Kuntala referred to was very likely Viṣṇuvarman. In the Birur grant,¹⁸⁰ Viṣṇuvarman tells us that Śāntivarman III was the elder brother of his father Krishnavarman I. Simhavarman II was the son of Viṣṇuvarman and Krishnavarman II was the son of Simhavarman II. The Bannahalli grant¹⁸¹ of Krishnavarman II was issued in his 7th regnal year and on the 5th tithi of śukla pakṣa of Kārttika month and Jyeṣṭha nakṣatra. The Tagare grant¹⁸² tells us that Ajavarman was the son of Krishnavarman II, Bhogivarman was the son of Ajavarman and Viṣṇuvarman II was the son of Bhogivarman.

Mṛgeśavarman was the eldest son of Śāntivarman III. Of seven dated inscriptions of Mṛgeśavarman, three are dated in an old tradition that was in vogue till the first half of the 4th century BCE. The study of the inscriptions of Mṛgeśavarman reveals the following:

Inscriptions of Mṛgeśavarman I (*Genealogy not given*):

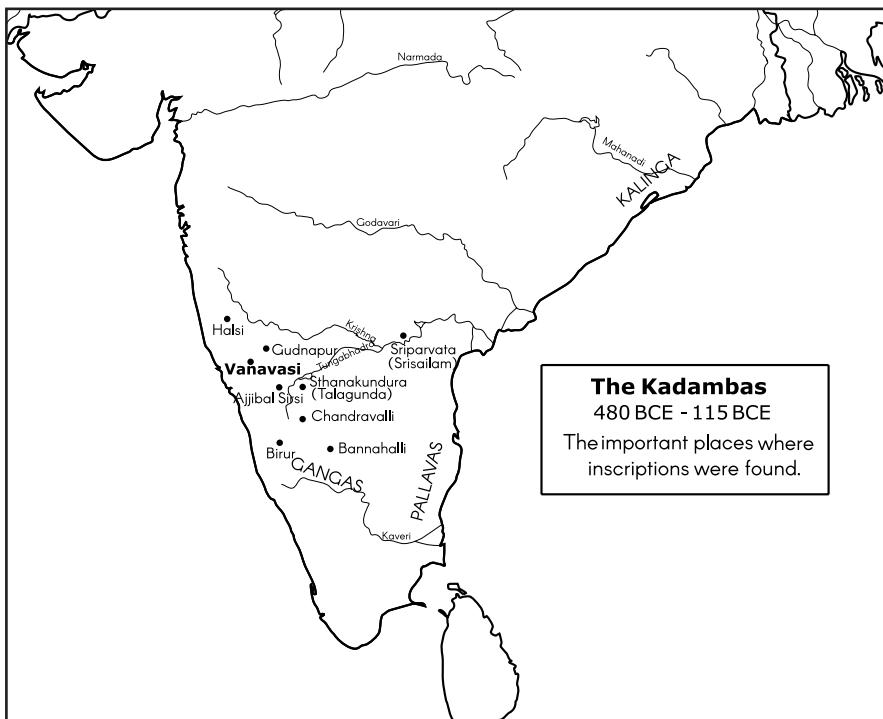
1. 2 nd Regnal year ¹⁸³	10 th day of fourth pakṣa (fortnight) of Hemanta.	Written by Naravara Senāpati
2. 4 th Regnal year ¹⁸⁴	Full moon day of eighth fortnight of Varṣā (Rainy season).	Written by Naravara Senāpati
3. 6 th Regnal year ¹⁸⁵	Full moon day of fourth fortnight of Hemanta.	Written by Kīrtivara
4. 7 th Regnal year ¹⁸⁶	10 th day of bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa month.	Written by Kīrtivara

Inscriptions of Mṛgeśavarman II

(*The son of Śāntivarman and the grandson of Kākustha*):

5. 3 rd regnal year ¹⁸⁷	In Pauṣa saṁvatsara, on 10 th tithi of the dark fortnight of Kārttika month and Uttarabhadra nakṣatra.	Written by Dharmakīrti Bhojaka
6. 8 th Regnal year ¹⁸⁸	On the full moon day of Vaiśākha month.	Not mentioned
7. 8 th Regnal year ¹⁸⁹	In Vaiśākha saṁvatsara, on the full moon day of Kārttika month.	Name of Dharmakīrti Bhojaka mentioned.

Mṛgeśavarman, the author of inscriptions 1 to 4 does not mention his father's name or genealogy whereas Mṛgeśavarman, the author of inscriptions 5 to 7 mentions that he is the son of Śāntivarman and the grandson of Kākustha. Moreover, the names of the engravers of the



inscriptions also do not match. Thus, Mrgeśavarman of inscriptions 1 to 4 was a different person and flourished before the Mrgeśavarman of inscriptions 5 to 7. Probably, Mrgeśavarman I reigned around 360-340 BCE.

It appears that Śāntivarman III's elder son Mrgeśavarman II started ruling during the reign of his uncle Krishnavarman I. Ravivarman II, the son of Mrgeśavarman II, ruled for more than 35 years. The Ajjibal-Sirsī plates¹⁹⁰ of Ravivarman II are dated in his 35th regnal year. Harivarman was the son of Ravivarman II. The Sangoli grant¹⁹¹ of Harivarman was issued in his 8th regnal year and on the occasion of Sāyana Tulā saṃkrānti (viṣuva) and the new moon day of Āśvayuja month which regularly corresponds to 16th September 141 BCE. The Halsī grant¹⁹² of Harivarman was issued in his 5th regnal year at the request of the Sendraka king Bhānuśakti. One grant of Nikumbhāllaśakti,¹⁹³ the grandson of Bhānuśakti is dated in Kalachuri year 404 (0-1 CE). Therefore, the date of Bhānuśakti can be fixed around 145-90 BCE. It may be noted that the Kalachuri-Chedi era commenced in 403 BCE.

Except the Ammānikā grant, none of the grants of the early Kadāmbas refers to the Śaka era. Therefore, we have no other option but to derive the chronology of the Early Kadāmbas based on the inputs mentioned above. The chronology of the Kadāmbas given here is based entirely on the dates of Kākusthavarman's 1st regnal year (80th year from Mayūraśarman), Śāntivarman I's 7th regnal year (Śaka 232), the Gaṅga king Mādhava II (293-259 BCE), Avinīta (258-194 BCE) and the Sendraka king Bhānuśakti (145-90 BCE).

Kākusthavarman II Śaka 268-303 (315-280 BCE)					
	Śaka era (583 BCE)	In CE		Śaka era (583 BCE)	In CE
Śāntivarman III	303-353	280-230 BCE	Krishnavarman I	323-353	260-230 BCE
Mrgeśavarman II	353-393	230-190 BCE	Viṣṇuvarman II	353-378	230-205 BCE
Ravivarman I	393-434	190-149 BCE	Simhavarman II	378-401	205-182 BCE
Harivarman	434-463	149-120 BCE	Krishnavarman II	402-423	181-160 BCE
			Ajavarman	423-448	160-135 BCE
			Bhogivarman	448-468	135-115 BCE
			Viṣṇuvarman II	468?	115?

Māndhāṭṭvarman,¹⁹⁴ the son of Kumāravarman, also ruled for some time, and so did Madhuvarman¹⁹⁵ and Dāmodara¹⁹⁶ but not much information is available in the inscriptions. The early Chalukya king Kīrtivarman I invaded Vanavāsi in the second half of the 2nd century BCE bringing the rule of the Kadāmba dynasty came to an end. The Kadāmbas could not re-establish themselves due to the rise of the early Chalukyas of Badami and subsequently the rise of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

It appears that a branch of the Kadāmbas were ruling in Goa around the 4th century CE. Two grants of Jayakeśi I are dated in the Śaka era and not the Śālivāhana era. The Panjim grant¹⁹⁷ of Jayakesi I was issued in Śaka 981 (397-398 CE) [*Candra-vasu-graha-nimite sāke varṣe vikāriṇi prāpte, Āśādha-kṛṣṇa-pakṣe vāre śāśalakṣmaṇas-tathāṣṭamyām |*]. Raya viragal¹⁹⁸ of Jayakesi I was written in Śaka 993 (409-410 CE), Virodhikṛt saṁvatsara and on the 14th tithi of the dark fortnight of Jyeṣṭha month, Monday, on the occasion of Saṁkramaṇa. Considering Śaka 993 elapsed,

the date regularly corresponds to 18th May 410 CE but weekday was Wednesday. This date cannot be explained in the Śālivāhana era.

The Pallava Dynasty

The Pallavas were one of the earliest rulers of South India. Unfortunately, Pallava inscriptions are dated only in regnal years. We have to rely on references in other inscriptions to construct the chronology of the Pallava dynasty. It is well known that the rise of Pallavas ended the rule of Ikṣvāku dynasty in the lower Andhra regions. The earliest inscriptions of the Pallavas are written in Prākrit. Thus, the early Pallava inscriptions must be dated in the 6th century BCE. Simhavarman I was the earliest known ruler of the Pallavas and his likely contemporaries were Mayūraśarman, the founder of the Kadaṁba dynasty and Kongani Varman, the founder of the Gaṅga dynasty. His son, Śivaskandavarman succeeded him.

The Penukonda grant¹⁹⁹ of the Gaṅga king Mādhava Simhavarman tells us that the Pallava king Simhavarman coronated the Gaṅga king Āryavarman, the son of Mādhavavarman I and later, the Pallava king Skandavarman coronated Mādhava Simhavarman, the son of Āryavarman. The Allahabad pillar inscription²⁰⁰ of Samudragupta mentions Viṣṇugopa as the ruler of Kāñchi. The Hoskote grant²⁰¹ of Avinīta mentions the Pallava king Simhavishnu (*SiṁhaViṣṇu-pallavādhirāja-jananyā*). The Jain scholar Siṁhasūri translated “*Lokavibhāga*”, a Jain work on cosmology into Sanskrit on Bhādrapada Amāvāsyā of Śaka 380 (23rd August 204 BCE) during the 22nd regnal year of the Pallava king Simhavarman.

*Saiṇvatsare tu dvavimīśe Kāñchīśa-Siṁhavarmanah |
Aśītyagre Śakābdānām siddhametacchata-traye ||*²⁰²

Lokavibhāga was originally written in Prakrit by the Jain monk Sarvanandi around the 6th century BCE. Interestingly, *Lokavibhāga* expresses the number 13,107,200,000 in reverse order as 00000 2 7 0 1 3 1 “*Pañcabhyāḥ khalu śūnyebhyāḥ param dvi sapta cāmbaram ekam trīṇi ca rūpam ca*” which indicates that the decimal place-value system and the use of zero were well established in India much before the 6th century BCE.

According to “*Avantisundarīkathā*”, a Sanskrit work of Danḍin, Bhāravi met the Chalukya king Vishnuvardhana (Jayasimha I or Pulakeśin I) and thereafter the Gaṅga king Durvinīta. Later, he also met the Pallava king Śimhavishnu in his capital Kāñchi. The Indrapālanagara copper plate inscription²⁰³ of the Viṣṇukundin king Vikramendra-Bhaṭṭākavarman was issued in Śaka 488 (95 BCE) in his 22nd regnal year in which the Viṣṇukundin king claimed victory over the Pallava king Sirīha. the Manne grant²⁰⁴ of Gaṅga king Mārasimha tells us that the Gaṅga king Śivamāradeva was coronated by the Pallava king Nandivarman and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govindarāja.

Based on these inputs, the chronology of the Pallavas can be deduced as under:

	<i>Śaka era (583 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Śimhavarman I	83-108	500-475 BCE
(Śiva) Skandavarman I	108-138	475-445 BCE
Kumārvishnu (Elder son of Skandavarman I)	138-163	445-420 BCE
Śimhavarman II(Younger son of Skandavarman I who coronated the Gaṅga king Āryavarman)	163-173	420-410 BCE
Skandavarman II(who coronated the Gaṅga king Mādhava Śimhavarman)	173-203	410-380 BCE
Viravarman	203-218	380-365 BCE
Skandavarman II	218-248	365-335 BCE
Śimhavarman III	248-278	335-305 BCE
Viṣṇugopavarman (who fought against Samudragupta)	253-283	330-300 BCE

The following kings were the probable descendants of Viṣṇugopavarman

Śimhavishnu I (contemporary to the Gaṅga king Avinīta)	323-358	260-225 BCE
Śimhavarman (Śimhasūri translated “ <i>Lokavibhāga</i> ” in his 22 nd regnal year)	358-403	225-180 BCE
Śimhavishnu II (Bhāravi met him in Kāñchi)	403-443	180-140 BCE

Simha?(who was defeated by Viṣṇukundin king)	443-488	140-95 BCE
Nandivarman (a descendant of Simhavarman III and the one who coronated Gaṅga king Śivamāradeva)	703-733	120-150 BCE

Western Chalukyas of Kalyāṇi

The early Chalukyas of Badami were dethroned by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas around Śaka 680 (97 CE). After two centuries, it appears that the descendants of the early Chalukyas defeated Rāṣṭrakūṭas and re-established the kingdom of the Western Chalukyas in the beginning of the 4th century CE. Tailapa Āhavamalla was the founder of the Western Chalukyas. The Nilgund inscription²⁰⁵ tells us that Tailapa Āhavamalla defeated the Rāṣṭrakūṭas to establish his kingdom (*Yo'sau śri-vīramārttānda-Rāṣṭrakūṭa-nṛpa-śriyam prāpya pālitavān Samrādeka-cchatreṇa medinīm*). He also defeated the Choda-Andhra, Pāṇḍya and Utkala kings. Āhavamalla appears to have engaged in a conflict with Rājarāja Choda due to his interference in the Veṅgi Kingdom. The Nilgunda inscription is dated in Śaka 904 (*Śaka-nṛpa-saṁivatsareṣu caturadhika-navaśateṣu gateṣu Chitrabhānu-saṁivatsare Bhādrapadamāse sūryagrahaṇe sati*). A solar eclipse occurred in Śaka 904 current (320-321 CE) on 18th October 320 CE but the month was Āsvina and not Bhādrapada according to modern Indian calendar.

The Saundatti inscription²⁰⁶ of Tailapadeva is dated in Śālivāhana 902 (980 CE) [*Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁivatsara-śatangal 902 neya Vikrama-saṁivatsarada Pauṣya śuddha daśamī brhaspativāradandi-nuttarāyaṇa*]. It is evident that Āhavamalla Tailapa of the Nilgund inscription and Tailapa of the Saundatti inscription were two different persons. Moreover, the Nilgund inscription is written in Sanskrit and old Kannada characters whereas Saundatti inscription is written in Kannada and mediaeval Kannada characters. Thus, Tailapadeva of the Saundatti inscription appears to have re-established the kingdom of the Western Chalukyas around 980 CE. Evidently, the Chalukya dynasty ruled mainly in three phases.

- Phase I : Chalukyas of Badami – from 225 BCE to 97 CE
- Phase II: Western Chalukyas of Kalyāṇi – from the beginning of the 4th century CE till the end of the 5th century CE.

- Phase III: Western Chalukyas of Kalyāṇi – from 980 CE till the end of the 12th century CE.

The Miraj plates of Jagadekamalla,²⁰⁷ the Tintini plates of Jagadekamalla,²⁰⁸ the Narihalla plates of Trailokyamalla²⁰⁹ and the Yewur inscription of Tribhuvanamalla²¹⁰ chronicle the genealogy of Western Chalukyas. Generally, the genealogy of a dynasty contains only a listing of the sovereign rulers. The Chalukya genealogy given in these inscriptions simply skips the account of a dark period by stating “*tataḥ*” mean thereafter instead of “*tat-sutah or tadātmajah*”. For instance, “*Tato’pi Yuddhamallākhyo*” and “*Taila-bhūpas-tato jāto*”.

More than 500 inscriptions of the Western Chalukyas of Kalyāṇi have been published in various volumes of South Indian Inscriptions. Surprisingly, more than half of the solar eclipses mentioned in these inscriptions cannot be explained in the Śālivāhana era. The percentage of the number of irregular solar eclipses mentioned in the inscriptions dated in the Chalukya Vikrama era is even higher (see Appendix VI). Something is seriously wrong in the chronology of the Western Chalukyas of Kalyāṇi as given by modern historians. There is a need to refer to the original text (unedited) of inscriptions to ascertain the actual verifiable details of the dates without any prejudice to a particular chronology. The chronology of the Western Chalukyas can only be reconstructed after proper identification of inscriptions dated in the Śaka and Śālivāhana eras.

Interestingly, most of the inscriptions of the Western Chalukyas of Kalyāṇi were written in the Kannada language. Generally, the same expression “*Śakavarṣa.... neya*” has been used to refer to the Śaka era or Śālivāhana era which complicates the identification of the era referred to in these inscriptions. Very few inscriptions mentioned “*Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta*” which clearly refers to the Śālivāhana era. It appears that the word “*Śālivāhana*” was attached to the *Śaka-kālātīta* era in the 9th century CE to eliminate the confusion between Śaka era and Śālivāhana era.

Interestingly, an inscription²¹¹ at Lakśmeśvar in Dhārwar district, written both in Sanskrit and Kannada, records the dates of the death of Śrinandi Pandita and the death of Bhāskaranandi Pandita by the rite of *Sallekhana* and clearly states that Bhāskaranandi was senior to Śrinandi.

The date of the death of Śrinandi Pandita:

In Sanskrit: “*Bhūte Śakābdajātē nava-nava-nava Śri-Vikramāñke dvitīye, Śvete pakṣe ājñāvare dinapa-mita-dine Piṅgale Śukra-māse*”

In Kannada: “*Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsaram [galum] baynura-tombatombatagi (999) Vikramābhudaya-derade-neya Piṅgala-saṁvatsara-dashadha-śuddha-dvādaśi budhava-dandu.....*”

The date of the death of Bhāskaranandi Pandita:

In Sanskrit: “*Sāhasrīsu gatāsu Śākasamaye Chaitrasya kṛṣṇe caturdaśyām kālayuji.....*”

In Kannada: “*Sahasrāntika Śaka-kāla-yuktābda madu-masāvasānadol amāvāsiyu-mādityavāramumāga.....*”

It is evident that Bhāskaranandi died in *Śaka-kāla-yuktābda* 1000 whereas Śrinandi died in *Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta* 999. Apparently, these two dates refer to two different eras. The author of the inscription intended to distinguish between two different eras by expressing “*Śaka-kāla-yuktābda*” for the Śaka era (583 BCE) and “*Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara*” for the Śālivāhana era. Therefore, *Śaka-kāla-yuktābda* refers to the Śaka era (583 BCE) whereas *Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta* refers to the Śālivāhana era (78 CE). Thus, Bhāskaranandi died in Śaka 1000 (12th / 13th April 416 CE) whereas Śrinandi died in Śālivāhana 999 (12th June 1076 CE). This inscription of Lakśmeśvar unambiguously indicates the existence of two eras i.e. *Śaka-kālayukta* era and *Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta* era.

The Kashmiri poet Bilhaṇa (370-450 CE) was in the court of the Chalukya king Vikramāditya and authored a Mahākāvya named *Vikramāñkadevacaritam*. The date of Bilhaṇa will be discussed in Chapter 7 with reference to Chalukya Vikrama Saṁvat. According to him, Tailapa defeated the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and re-established the Chalukya kingdom. The Nilgund inscription of Tailapa is dated in Śaka 904 (320 CE). Satyāśraya succeeded him. Thereafter, Jayasimha and his son Āhavamalla Trailokyamalla became kings. Bilhaṇa mentions that Āhavamalla Trailokyamalla defeated the king of Dhārā. Āhavamalla Trailokyamalla had three sons, named Someśvara, Vikramāditya and Jayasimha. Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla, the second son of Āhavamalla Trailokyamalla, was the *nāyaka* (hero) of *Vikramāñkadevacaritam* written

by Bilhaṇa. The Kotavumachgi inscription of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya is dated in Śaka 934 (350-351 CE).²¹²

Interestingly, the *Śri Chalukyaraja Ayyanavarīśa Caritam* written by Śyāmabhaṭṭa Bharadvāja in Śaka 1737 (1154 CE?) also gives the complete genealogy of the Western Chalukyas. VV Mirashi discussed about this work in Chapter XXVII of his book “*Literary and Historical Studies in Indology*”. Evidently, someone fraudulently inserted few verses referring to the names of the Iranian king Khusro and Hiuen Tsang in this work. There is a serious need to relook into the original manuscript of *Ayyanavarīśa Caritam* but probably, no manuscript is available now. According to Dr. VV Mirashi, this work gives detailed information about the fifty five generations and the long period of 1355 years which elapsed from Śaka 358 till Śaka 1713. Considering the epoch of the coronation of Śaka king (583 BCE), probably, the genealogy may have been given from Śaka 358 (225 BCE) to Śaka 1713 (1130 CE).

The chronology of the Western Chalukyas of Kalyāṇi (Phase II) has to be reconstructed based on *Vikramāṅkadevacaritam* and epigraphic evidence. There were many branches of the later Chalukyas. It is extremely difficult to reconcile the genealogy given by Bilhaṇa and the genealogy given in the Miraj plates of Jagadekamalla, the Tintini plates of Jagadekamalla, the Narihalla plates of Trailokyamalla and the Yewur inscription of Tribhuvanamalla. However, I have tried to reconstruct the chronology that can be refined further.

The chronology of the Western Chalukyas of Kalyāṇi (Phase II):

<i>Genealogy given by Bilhaṇa</i>	<i>Genealogy given in Inscriptions</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Tailapa I	Tailapa I Āhavamalla	290-320 CE
Satyāśraya I	Bhimarāja?	320-325 CE
Jayasimha	Ayyanārya?	325-330 CE
Āhavamalla Trailokyamalla	Vikramāditya?	330-345 CE
Someśvara	—	345-346 CE
Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla		346-405 CE
—	Bhulokamalla? (Śaka 1047) ²¹³	450-480 CE?

The chronology of the Western Chalukyas of Kalyāṇi (Phase III):

<i>Genealogy given in Inscriptions</i>	<i>Śālivāhana era (78 CE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Tailapa II		970-980 CE
Satyāśraya II		980-1000 CE
Vikramāditya (Son of Dāsa varmā, the younger brother of Satyāśraya)		1000-1016 CE
Jagadekamalla Jayasimha (Younger brother of Vikramāditya)	938-967	1016-1045 CE
Āhavamalla Trailokyamalla	967-986	1045-1064 CE
Bhuvanaikamalla (Son of Trailokyamalla)	986-998	1060-1076 CE
Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla (Younger brother of Bhuvanaikamalla)	998-1049	1076-1127 CE

The Yādava Dynasty

An inscription²¹⁴ of Govana III found in Khandesh (Jalgaon, Dhule, Nandurbar districts of Maharashtra and Burhanpur district of Madhya Pradesh) is dated in Śaka 1075 (*Varṣāṇām pañcasaptasya sahasre sādhike gate | Śaka-bhūpāla-kālasya tathā Śrimukha-vatsare ||*). It clearly refers to the Śaka era as “Śaka-bhūpāla-kāla” (583 BCE) and not the Śālivāhana era (78 CE). Therefore, this inscription was written in 491-492 CE (Śaka 1075). The Patna inscription²¹⁵ found near Chalisgaon in Khandesh was authored by Soideva and Hemādideva, the sons of Govana III in Śaka 1128 (544-545 CE) during the reign of the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa. This inscription was written on the full moon day of Śrāvāṇa month and on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. Considering the Śaka 1128 current or elapsed, the date intended would be 6th September 545 CE. The month is not Śrāvāṇa but Āśvina which needs verification from the original text of the inscription.

Interestingly, the Patna inscription mentions Chāṅgadeva, the chief astrologer of the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa. Chāṅgadeva was the grandson of the famous Bhaskaracharya who was born in Śaka 1036 (452-453 CE) [*Rasa-guṇa-pūrṇa-mahī-sama-Śaka-nṛpa-samaye’bhavan-mamotpattiḥ*].¹²⁶ Alberuni (1030 CE) mentions Bhaskaracharya and his book “*Karṇa*”

Kutūhala" as a work of astronomy known in his own country for over a hundred years. It is evident that Bhaskaracharya was born much before Alberuni. Śārṅgadeva authored "*Saṅgitaratnākara*" during the reign of the Yādava king Śīṅghaṇa. He mentions about Yādava kings Bhillama, Śīṅghaṇa and also the city of Jaitra.²¹⁷ Bhilama's son Jaitugi was also titled "Jaitrapāla" meaning a king ruling the city of Jaitra. The Jañjira grant (set I & II issued in Śālivāhana 915)²¹⁸ of Silāhāra Aparājita mentioned Khandesh as "Bhillamīya deśa" (*ā Lātadeśād bhuvi Bhillamiyadeśam vidhāyāvadhimātra yasya*). Khandesh was well known as Bhillamīya deśa because Bhillama founded the Yādava kingdom in Khandesh in the 6th century CE.

Bhillama I was the first Yādava king and the founder of the Yādava dynasty in the 6th century CE. He ruled from Śaka 1107 to Śaka 1114 (523-530 CE). His son Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla I succeeded him and ruled from Śaka 1114 to Śaka 1124 (530-540 CE). The great Yādava king Śīṅghaṇa, the son of Jaitrapāla I, ruled for 45 years from Śaka 1124 to Śaka 1169 (540-585 CE). He defeated King Ballala, King of Andhra, Kakkalla the king of Bhāmbhāgiri and imprisoned the Śilāhāra King Bhoja. The Puruśottampuri grant²¹⁹ of the Yādava king Rāmachandra informs us that Krishna, the grandson of Śīṅghaṇa and the son of Jaitrapāla II, became king in Śaka 1169 (585-586 CE). It appears that Krishna subjugated the kings of Gurjara, Mālava, Chola and Kosala (*Re Re Gurjara jarjara..... bhūpā yadvijaya-prayāṇa-samaye bandijana-vyañjanāḥ!*). After the death of Krishna, his younger brother Mahādeva ascended the throne. According to the Kalegaon grant²²⁰ of Mahādeva, he was coronated on the 2nd tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada month in Śaka 1182 elapsed (599-600 CE) i.e. 29th / 30th July 599 CE. Mahādeva's son Ammaṇa succeeded him but the Puruśottampuri grant tells us that Krishna's son Rāmachandra forcibly wrested the kingdom from Ammaṇa (*prasahya tasmādapahṛtya bhuṅkte*). Rāmachandra ruled for more than 40 years from Śaka 1193 (609-610 CE) to Śaka 1232 (649-650 CE).

The chronology of the Yādava dynasty:

	<i>Śaka era (583 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Bhillama	1107-1114	523-530 CE
Jaitrapāla I or Jaitugi	1114-1124	530-540 CE

Siṅghaṇa	1124-1169	541-585 CE
Krishna	1169-1182	585-599 CE
Mahādeva	1183-1192	599-609 CE
Ammaṇa	1192-1193	609-610 CE
Rāmachandra	1193-1233	610-650 CE

Puruśottampuri grant tells us that King Rāmachandra was the greatest ruler of the Yādava dynasty. Rāmachandra vanquished the king of the great, extensive Dāhala country within a moment (*Yenottāla-visāla-Dāhala-mahīpālah kṣaṇānnirjito....*) and defeated the ruler of the country of Bhāndāgāra (*Bhāndāgāra-dharādhavah paribhavam yenoccakair lambhitah....*). He subjugated the king of Vajrākara (*Yenonmūlitarāja eva racito Vajrākara-ksmāpati....*) and conquered the King of Gopa (*Yenājau vijitaḥ sa Gopanṛpatir....*) & the king of Palli (*Bhallibhil Pallirājaḥ samarabhuvi jitah....*). He also defeated the king of Kānyakubja (*Kubjitaḥ Kānyakubjaḥ*), the king of Māhima (*Māhimendraḥ parāstah*) and captured by force the mighty king of Saṅgama (*Uttuṅgaḥ Saṅgameśaḥ prasabhamadhibato*) and crushed the lord of Kheṭa (*Kheṭanātho yena svenaiva dhāmnā....*). He abrogated the conventional rules about tolls, exempted all āgrahāras from taxes, freed Vārāṇasi from Mlechhas and constructed a golden temple of Śāringadhara (*Yah śulka-sanketalipim vyalopayat sarvāgrahāreśhu karān nyavārayat, Vārāṇasīm Mlecchaganād vyamocayad hiraṇmayam Śāringadharālayam vyadhat*). Rāmachandra claimed himself to be *Praudha-pratāpa-chakravarti* and *Mahārājādhīrāja*.

The Puruśottamapuri grant refers to the date as “*Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsareṣu dvātriṁśadadhika-dvādaśa-śata-saṅkhyākeṣu sādhāraṇa-saṁvatsarāntargata-Bhādrapada-śuklaikādaśyām*” i.e. on the 11th tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada month and 1232 years elapsed in the era of Śaka king (649-650 CE). The date corresponds to 23rd /24th Aug 649 CE. The compound word “*kālātīta*” used here is a *Saptami tatpuruṣa* (*kāle atītāḥ*) not *Dvitiyā tatpuruṣa* (*kālam atītāḥ*). Therefore, we must translate it here as “1232 years elapsed in the era of Śaka king” and not as “1232 years from the end of the era of Śaka king”.

Since historians are ignorant of the epoch of the coronation of the Śaka king (583 BCE), they mistakenly identified Rām Dev or Rai Rāyān, the king of Devagiri mentioned in Muslim chronicles to be Rāmachandra

of the Puruṣottampuri grant and concluded that the grant was dated in Sālivāhana 1232 elapsed (1310-1311 CE) and issued on 5th Sep 1310 CE. It is well known that Alauddin Khilji, the second ruler of the Khilji dynasty was reigning at Delhi around 1296-1316 CE and it is also recorded in Muslim chronicles that Rām Dev, the king of Devagiri, was paying tribute to Delhi Sultanate since 1296 CE. If Rām Dev were to be Rāmachandra, how can a tribute-paying petty king of Devagiri claim to be the *Praudha-pratāpa-chakravarti, Mahārājādhīrāja* and how can all his victories over the kings of Dāhala, Kānyakubja (Kanauj), Vārāṇasi etc. be explained when the powerful Delhi Sultanate headed by Balban and the Khilji dynasty was reigning over the whole of North India up to the Narmadā River.

According to Muslim chronicles like *Futuh-us-Salatin* of Isami, *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* of Ziauddin Barani and *Tarikh-i-Firishta* of Firishta, Alauddin was the Governor of Kaḍa when he received the information about the fabulous wealth of Devagiri. Under the prevailing political circumstances, Alauddin wanted to plunder the wealth of Devagiri to fulfil his ambition of ascending the throne of Delhi. He conducted a plundering raid on Devagiri and acquired wealth beyond his expectation. Rām Dev, the King of Devagiri, agreed to send the yearly revenue of Illichpur as annual tribute to Alauddin and he also gave in marriage one of his daughters to Alauddin. In return, Alauddin handed over the Devagiri kingdom back to Rām Dev and returned only two elephants to him. Thus, Alauddin not only made Rām Dev, a militarily impotent king but also ensured a permanent source of income for himself. Later, Alauddin killed his uncle Jalaluddin and ascended the throne of Delhi in 1296 CE. Therefore, Rām Dev of Devagiri was reduced to a feudatory of the Khiljis well before 1296 CE.

In 1303 CE, Alauddin sent his army led by Malik Juna Dad Bak and Malik Jhaju to conquer Wārangal, the capital of the Kākatiya dynasty. The Kākatiya King Pratāpa Rudradeva II comprehensively defeated the army of Alauddin. Inspired by the victory of Pratāpa Rudradeva II, the Devagiri king Rām Dev stopped paying his annual tributes to Delhi in 1306 CE. Alauddin sent his commander Malik Kafur, a converted Hindu eunuch, who defeated Rām Dev and sent him to Delhi where he stayed as guest for about six months. Rām Dev agreed to pay the annual tribute regularly and returned to Devagiri. Thus, Rām Dev not only became loyal to the Khiljis but also supplied a contingent of Marātha soldiers as

reinforcements to the army of Alauddin when Malik Kafur attacked Wārangal. According to *Tarikh-i-Alai* of Amir Khusrū, Malik Kafur started on 25th Jamadi I 709 A.H. i.e. 31st Oct 1309 CE from Delhi on the expedition to capture the fort of Wārangal. Malik Kafur succeeded in capturing the fort of Wārrangal around 13th Ramzan 709 A.H. i.e. March 1310 CE. Ultimately, Pratāpa Rudradeva II agreed to pay annual tribute to the Khiljis and handed over the treasure of the Kākatīyas including the famous *Koh-i-noor* diamond.

As directed by Alauddin, a large army led by Malik Kafur and Khvājā Hāji passed through Devagiri in the course of an expedition against the Hoyasala ruler of Dwārasamudra around 13th Ramzan 710 A.H. i.e. 3rd Feb 1311 CE. According to Amir Khusrū, Ram Dev or Rai Rayan helped the army of Alauddin but Barani and Firishta state that when Malik Kafur and Hāji reached Devagiri they found that Rām Dev was dead. It appears that Rām Dev died around Feb /Mar 1311 CE. Malik Kafur subjugated the king of Dwārasamudra by 18th Siawal 710 A.H. i.e. 10th March 1311 CE and marched towards Madurai, the kingdom of the Pāndyas. Malik Kafur reached as far as Rāmeśwaram and returned to Delhi on 18th Oct 1311 with 612 elephants, 96,000 maunds of gold, 20,000 horses and several chests of precious jewels and pearls.

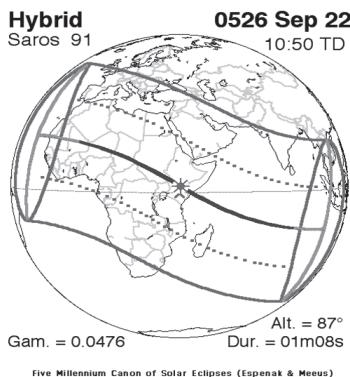
After the death of Rām Dev, his eldest son Śinghanadeva or Śankaradeva became the king of Devagiri. It appears that he stopped paying his annual tribute to Delhi in 711 A.H. i.e. 1312 CE and once again, Malik Kafur was again sent to Devagiri, where in the ensuing war, Śinghanadeva (Śankaradeva?) was killed. Thus, Devagiri became a part of the Delhi Sultanate and Malik Kafur was appointed Governor. On the insistence of Alauddin, Malik Kafur had to hand over the kingdom of Devagiri to Harapāladeva, a prince of the Yādava dynasty in 1315 CE and return to Delhi. Harapāladeva also was killed around 1318 CE and ultimately, Devagiri became Daulatabad during the rule of Tuglak dynasty.

It is evident that Rām Dev cannot be identified with the Rāmachandra of the Puruśottampuri grant. Rām Dev lost his ancestral wealth to Alauddin around 1295 CE and regularly paid annual tribute to Alauddin from 1295 CE till his death in 1311 CE. It is totally absurd to accept that the hapless Rām Dev could claim to be the *Praudha-pratāpa-*

chakravarti, Mahārājādhirāja and refer to his great victories on Dāhala, Kānyakubja and Vārāṇasi while he was attending on Malik Kafur on his expedition to Dwārasamudra. None of the Muslim chronicles ever mention the victories of Rām Dev. Therefore, Rāmachandra's Puruśottampuri grant was issued in Saka 1232 (649-650 CE) and not in Śālivāhana 1232 (1310 CE). It appears that Rāmachandra, who flourished in the 7th century CE, was the greatest king of the Yādava dynasty, even greater than King Siṅghaṇa.

A list of important inscriptions of the Yadava dynasty is provided in Appendix VII. The verifiable details of the solar eclipses mentioned in the Yadava inscriptions:

The Nimbal inscription of Bhillama's Feudatory:²²¹ 3rd Regnal year of Billama i.e. Śaka 1110 (526-527 CE), the new moon day of Bhadrapada, Solar eclipse and Samkrāmaṇa (Tulā Samkrānti). The date corresponds to 22nd Sep 526 CE.

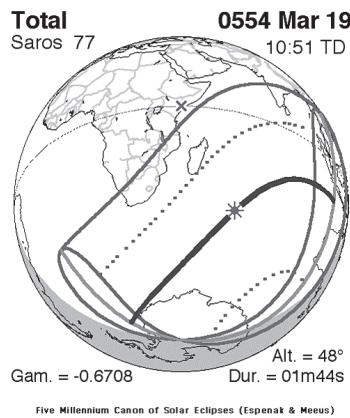


Five Millennium Canon of Solar Eclipses (Espenak & Meeus)

The Devur inscription of Jaitugi's feudatory:²²² Śaka 1118 (534-535 CE), solar eclipse during Uttarayana. The date corresponds to 29th Apr 534 CE.

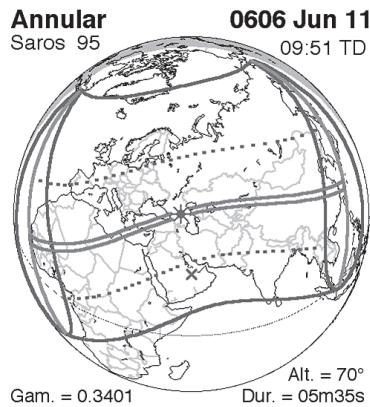
The Devangav inscription of Jaitugi's feudatory:²²³ Śaka 1121 (537-538 CE), Solar eclipse on the new moon day of Māgha month. The date corresponds to 15th Feb 538 CE.

The Khedrapur inscription of Singhana:²²⁴ Śaka 1136 (554-555 CE), Solar eclipse on the new moon day of Chaitra month. The date corresponds to 19th Mar 554 CE.



The Jettigi inscription of Krishna:²²⁵ Śaka 1178 (594-595 CE), Solar eclipse on the new moon day of Pauṣa month. The date corresponds to 16th Jan 595 CE.

The Hulgur inscription of Mahādeva:²²⁶ Śaka 1189 (606-607 CE), Solar eclipse on the new moon day of Jyeṣṭha month. The date corresponds to 11th June 606 CE.



The rule of the early Yādava kings probably ended after the death of Rāmachandra due to the rise of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in 8th century CE. Later, it appears that the Yādavas became feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The Kalas-Bhadruka inscription²²⁷ of Bhillama dated in Śālivāhana 948

(1026 CE) and the Bassein grant of Seunachandra II²²⁸ dated in Śālivāhana 991 (1069 CE) clearly indicate this fact. It also appears that one family branch of the Yādavas evolved as a mixed Yādava-Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. The Bassein grant of Seunachandra II tells us that the Yādavas also had marital relations with the Western Chalukyas. A manuscript²²⁹ collected by Mackenzie gives the list of 18 Yādava kings who ruled from Śālivāhana 730 (808 CE) to 1013 (1091 CE). This list needs further research. the Methi inscription of Kannara²³⁰ dated in Śālivāhana 1176 (1254 CE) informs that a Yādava king Kannara was ruling around 1254 CE. Rām Dev was probably the son or grandson of Kannara.

The genealogy of Later Yādava kings (ruled from 10th century CE to 1318 CE):

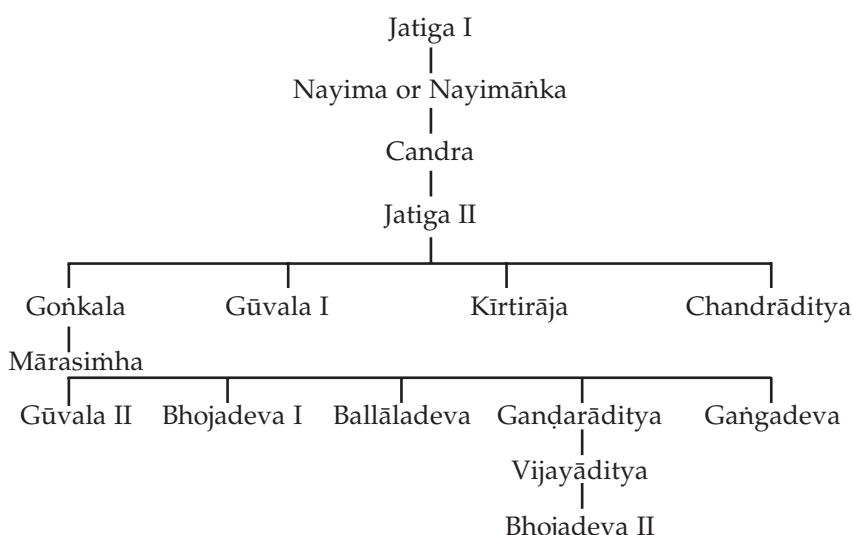
1. Drḍhaprahāra
2. Seunachandra I
3. Dhadipaka
4. Bhillama II
5. Rājā I
6. Vadugi
7. Bhillama III
8. Vāsugi
9. Bhillama IV
10. Seunachandra II
11. Rājā II
12. Mallugi
13. Krishna II
14. Bhillama V
15. Jaitra III
16. Siṅghaṇa II
17. Jaitra IV
18. Krishna III or Kannara
19. Rām Dev
20. Siṅghaṇadeva or Śankaradeva
21. Harapāladeva

The Śilāhāras of Kolhāpur (Kśullakapurā)

The Kolhāpur family of the Śilāhāras ruled over Southern Mahārāṣṭra comprising the districts of Satārā, Sangli, Kolhāpur and Belgaon. The Early Chalukyas (up to 97 CE) and Rāṣṭrakūṭas (2nd - 3rd century CE) had previously ruled over the region. The Western Chalukyas defeated the Rāṣṭrakūṭas to re-establish themselves in the early 4th century CE. This family of Śilāhāras rose to power as an ally or a feudatory of the Western Chalukyas in the 4th century CE. Most of the inscriptions of the Kolhapur Śilāhāras are dated in Śaka era (583 BCE) except the Miraj plates of Mārasimha²³¹ which are dated in Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta or Śālivāhana era (78 CE). All inscriptions of the other families of Śilāhāras are dated in the Śālivāhana era. Thus, the family of the Kolhāpur Śilāhāras was one of the earliest families of the Śilāhāra dynasty.

The Śilāhāra dynasty traces its descent from Jīmūtavāhana, the son of Jimūtaketu. The earliest inscription of this family is the Kolhāpur grant²³² of Gaṇḍarāditya dated in Śaka 1037 (454 CE) [*Sapta-triṁśaduttara-sahasreśu Śaka-varṣeṣu 1037 atīteṣu Manmatha-saṁivatsare Kārttika-māse śukla-pakṣe aṣṭamīyām budhavāre.....*]. According to the genealogy of Kolhāpur Śilāhāras given in this grant, Jatiga I was their earliest king who was the maternal uncle of the Gaṅga king (probably, Mārasimha Guṭṭīya Gaṅga, the second son of Butuga II who ruled around 287-307 CE).

The genealogy of the Kolhāpur Śilāhāras:



Undoubtedly, the inscriptions of Vijayāditya and Bhojadēva II are dated in the Śaka era (583 BCE). The verifiable details of these inscriptions can be better explained in the Śaka era.

The inscriptions of Śilāhāra Vijayāditya:

The Kolhapur Stone Inscription:²³³ Śaka 1065 elapsed (482-483 CE), Dundubhi saṁvatsara, Full moon day of Māgha month, Monday and a lunar eclipse. (*Śaka-varṣeṣu Pañca-śaṣṭyuttara-sahasra-pramiteṣv-atīteṣu Pravarttamāna-Dundubhi-saṁvatsara-māgha-māsa-paurṇamāsyām somavāre, soma-grahaṇe*. The date corresponds to 10th January 483 CE. A penumbral lunar eclipse was visible at Kolhāpur from 4:34 hrs to 5:54 hrs.

The Bamani Stone Inscription:²³⁴ Śaka 1073 elapsed (490-491 CE), Pramoda saṁvatsara, the full moon day in Bhādrapada nakṣatra or Bhādrapada month, Friday and a lunar eclipse. (*Śaka-varṣeṣu Trisaptatyuttara-sahasra-pramiteṣv-atīteṣu aṅkato'pi 1073 Pravarttamāna-pramoda-saṁvatsara-Bhādrapada-paurṇamāsi sukravāre soma-grahaṇa-parva-nimittam*). The date corresponds to 14th September 490 CE. It was the full moon day of Āśvina month in Uttara-Bhadrā nakṣatra and Friday. A penumbral lunar eclipse was visible from 22:50 hrs to 00:52 hrs.

The inscriptions of Śilāhāra Bhojadēva II:

The Kolhapur Stone Inscription:²³⁵ Śaka 1104 elapsed (521-522 CE), Śubhakṛt saṁvatsara, 4th day of the bright fortnight of Pauṣa month, Tuesday and Uttarāyaṇa saṁkrānti. (*Śaka-nṛpa-kālādārabhya varṣeṣu caturuttara-śatādhika-sahasreṣu nivṛtteṣu varttamāna-Śubhakṛt-saṁvatsarāntargata-Puṣya-māsa-śuddha-caturthyām bhaumavāsare Bhānoruttarāyaṇa-saṅkramaṇa-parvaṇi*). The date corresponds to 19th December 521 CE, the day was Tuesday.

The Kolhapur Stone Inscription:²³⁶ Śaka 1112 elapsed (529-530 CE), Sādhāraṇa saṁvatsara, 12th day of the dark fortnight of Pauṣa month, Tuesday and during Uttarāyaṇa (*Śaka-nṛpa-kālādārabhya varṣeṣu dvādaśottara-śatādhika-sahasreṣu nivritteṣu varttamāna-Sādhāraṇa-saṁvatsarāntargata-Puṣya-bahula-dvādaśyām bhaumavāre Bhānoruttarāyaṇa-saṅkramaṇa-parvaṇi*). The date corresponds to 12th January 530 CE but the day was Saturday.

Śaka 1114 elapsed (531-532 CE), Paridhāvi saṁvatsara, 1st day of the bright fortnight of Āśvina month and Friday. (*Śaka-nṛpa-kālādārabhya varṣeṣu caturdaśottara-śatādhika-sahasreṣu nivritteṣu varttamāna-Paridhāvi-saṁvatsarāntargata-Āśvayuja-śuddha-pratipadi śukravāre*) The date corresponds to 29th August 531 CE, the day was Friday.

The Kaseli Grant:²³⁷ Śaka 1113 elapsed (530-531 CE), Virodhikṛt saṁvatsara, 4st day of the bright fortnight of Āśāḍha month, Thursday and Dakśināyana saṁkrānti. (*Śaka-varṣeṣu sa-trayodaśa-śatādhika-sahasreṣu 1113 gateṣu varttamāna-Virodhikṛt-saṁvatsare Āśāḍha-śuddha-caturthyām bṛhaspati-vāre Dakśināyana-saṁkramanā-parva-nimittam*). Probably, there is an error in the date. 15th June 530 CE was the 4th day of Āśāḍha but Dakśināyana saṁkrānti occurred on 21st June 530 CE which was 10th day of Āśāḍha.

The Kutapur Grant:²³⁸ Śaka 1113 elapsed (530-531 CE), Virodhikṛt saṁvatsara, 4st day of the bright fortnight of Āśāḍha month, Thursday and Dakśināyana saṁkrānti. (*Śaka-varṣeṣu sa-trayodaśa-śatādhika-sahasreṣu gateṣu 1113 varttamāna-Virodhikṛt-saṁvatsare Mārgaśīrṣa-māsi amāvāsyāyām tithau saumya-vāsare Sūryoparāgē*). The date corresponds to 15th January 530 CE but the month was Pauṣa. A solar eclipse was visible from 17:30 hrs to 18:19 hrs. This date cannot be explained in the Śālivāhana era. The solar eclipse on 18th December 1191 CE was not visible in the kingdom of Śilāhāras.

Miscellaneous Inscriptions dated in Śaka era (583 BCE)

The Kalbhavi Jain inscription:²³⁹ This inscription is dated in Śaka 261 (323-322 BCE) on the 14th tithi of the dark fortnight of Pauṣa month and during the Uttarāyaṇa saṁkrānti. The date corresponds to 15th December 323 BCE, Uttarāyaṇa saṁkrānti occurred on 12th December.

The An Inscription from Wālā (Thane, Mahārāṣṭra):²⁴⁰ This inscription of the Bhoja-Maurya king Suketuvarman records the consecration of the god Kotīśvara on the full moon day of Vaiśākha month in Śaka 322 current [*Śaka-varṣe dvāvīṁśat�adhike śata-traye vrajati Śaka-nara-nāthānām*] The date corresponds to 24th April 262 BCE.

The Bangalore plates of Vīra-Nonamba:²⁴¹ This grant was issued in Śaka 366 elapsed (217-216 BCE) and in Tāraṇa saṃvatsara on the occasion of the new moon day of Phālguna month. The date corresponds to 11th February 216 BCE.

The Hisse-Borala Inscription:²⁴² This inscription of the time of the Vākātaka king Devasena is dated in Śaka 380 (204-203 BCE) [Śakānām 380].

The Inscription at Bayang (Cambodia):²⁴³ This inscription is dated in Śaka 546 (37 BCE).

“Rasa-dasra-śataih Śakendra-varṣe.....”

Fāhien visited Jāvā in 411 CE while returning from India. He states that the Jāvānese people were Hindus and not Buddhists. This means Indians arrived in South-east Asia much earlier than the 5th century CE. The inscription at Bayang clearly refers to “Śakendra-varṣa” meaning the era of the Śaka king (583 BCE) and not the Śālivāhana era (78 CE).

The Inscription of Iśānavarman at Vat Chakret (Cambodia):²⁴⁴ Vat Chakret is an ancient temple situated at the foot of the mountain Ba Phnom. This inscription refers to King Iśānavarman and is dated in Śaka 548 (35 BCE).

*Pinḍibhūte śakābde vasu-jala-nidhi-śare mādhavādau.
Kite prāglagnabhūte kumudavanapatau tābure kṛttikāyām |
Rājño labdhaprasādo ripumadapidhanāttāmrāpuryā kurājñāḥ
So’traiva svargabṛtyaḥ haritanusahitam sthāpayāmāsa śambhum ||*

The Inscription at Ang Chumnik (Cambodia):²⁴⁵ This inscription records the establishment of a Śivaliṅga by Āchārya Vidyāvinaya in Śaka 551 (32 BCE) when the moon was in the Rohiṇī constellation.

*Khapañcedriyage śāke rohiṇyām śāśini sthite |
Śivaliṅgam tadā tena devassaiṅkriyate punah ||*

The Inscription of Bhavarman (Cambodia): This inscription is dated in Śaka 561 (22 BCE), when the Sun was in Mīna rāśi and the moon in Kanyā rāśi, in Kṛṣṇa pakṣa of Puṣya month and on the fifth day. The date was 19th December 23 BCE.

*Mukhartubāṇairgaṇite śakābde Jhaṣodaye kanyagatārdhachandre |
Puṣyasya kṛṣṇe divaso daśārdhe pratiṣṭhitam devī caturbhujākhyam ||*

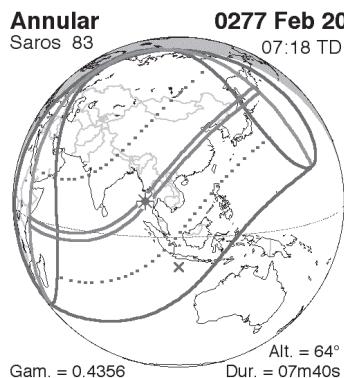
The Inscription at Vat Prey Vier (Cambodia):²⁴⁶ This inscription is dated in Śaka 586 (3 CE).

"Rasa-vasu-viṣayāñām sannipātena labdhe, Śakapati-samayābde....."

The Baijnath (Kiragrāma) Praśasti in Kāngra district:²⁴⁷ This praśasti was written in Sāradā script and dated in Śaka 7[86] elapsed (203-204 CE) on the 1st tithi of the bright fortnight of Jyeṣṭha month (Śaka-kāla-gatābdāḥ 786). Rāma, the poet, was the author of this praśasti. The date corresponds to 30th April 203 CE. A. Cunningham read the year as Śālivāhana 7[26] with reference to the year 80 of Saptarśi saṁvat mentioned.

The Inscription at Mantralaya, Karnool:²⁴⁸ Śaka 815 elapsed (232-233 CE), Pramādi saṁvatsara and a solar eclipse. The date corresponds to 29th December 232 CE, a solar eclipse was visible between 7:38 hrs to 10:17 hrs.

The Inscription at Otur, Sorab, Shimoga:²⁴⁹ Śaka 861(277-278 CE), Vilambi saṁvatsara, Chaitra śukla pratipadā, Wednesday and on the occasion of "Valaya grahāṇa" i.e. annular solar eclipse (Śaka-nṛpa-kālākrānta-saṁvatsara-śatamgal..... Valaya-grahāṇa....). The date corresponds to 20th February 277 CE and an annular solar eclipse occurred in latitude 12.3 North and longitude 95.7 East.



Five Millennium Canon of Solar Eclipses (Espenak & Meeus)

Based on the comprehensive and in-depth study of the inscriptions of the Śaka era as attempted above, it can be unhesitatingly concluded that the Śaka era has two epochs. One era commenced from the coronation of the Śaka king in 583 BCE while the other commenced from

the death of the Śaka king or the end of the rule of the Śaka king in 78 CE. The era that commenced from the coronation of the Śaka king was referred to as “Śaka-nṛpa-kāla”, “Śaka-varṣa” etc. and the era that commenced from the death of the Śaka king was referred to as “Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta”. The compound word “Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara....” has been misinterpreted as “the years elapsed from the era of the Śaka king” considering it *Pañcami* or *Saptami tatpuruṣa* compound as “Śaka-nṛpa-kālāt” or “Śaka-nṛpa-kāle atītāḥ saṁvatsarāḥ, teṣu”. Generally, it is *Dvitīyā tatpuruṣa* compound as “Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta atītāḥ saṁvatsarāḥ, teṣu” which means “the years from the end of the era of the Śaka king. In very few instances like the Puruśottampuri plates of the Yādava king Rāmachandra,²⁵⁰ was the compound “Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta” used as *Pañcami* or *Saptami tatpuruṣa*. The Surat plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa karkarāja²⁵¹ and the Kauthem plates²⁵² of Vikramāditya expressed the date as “Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śateṣu..... atīteṣu” which is irrefutable evidence that “Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta” is the compound word of *Dvitīyā tatpuruṣa* and not *Pañcami* or *Saptami tatpuruṣa*. The poet Somadeva Sūri also refers to the date of his work “Yaśastilakachamipū” as “Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śateṣvaṣṭasvekāśityadhikeṣu gateṣu....” i.e. Śālivāhana 881 (959 CE). It is totally absurd to use “atīteṣu” or “gateṣu” again in case “Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta” is *Pañcami* or *Saptami tatpuruṣa* compound.

The Śaka rulers conquered North-Western India in 6th century BCE and annexed the city of Ujjain, the centre of Indian astronomy. The first Śaka ruler of India enforced the use of the epoch from the date of his coronation i.e. 583 BCE. Gradually, this Śaka era became popular in North-Western India and also in South India. The rule of the Śakas was in decline from the 3rd century BCE onwards and the Śakas were decisively defeated by the 1st century CE. Though the rule of Śakas ended, the use of the Śaka era continued. Around the 1st century CE, Indian astronomers were in search of a perfect new epoch replacing the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) because they found that the epoch of 583 BCE is not suitable for accurate and all-round astronomical calculations. They also wanted to replace the epoch of the Śaka king to get rid of the legacy of a tyrant Mlecchā king. Therefore, Indian astronomers introduced the epoch of 78 CE and named it as “Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta” to commemorate the end of the Śaka era or the death of the Śaka king. Since the Kārttikādi calendar was in vogue in the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE),

Indian astronomers also replaced it with the Chaitrādi calendar and reset the epoch in 57 BCE considering 135 years gap to the epoch of 78 CE. Thus, Indian astronomers introduced the Chaitrādi Vikrama era with the epoch of 57 BCE and linked it to the victory of Vikramāditya, king of Ujjain, over the Śakas. Gradually, the Vikrama era (57 BCE) became popular in North India and the Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta era (78 CE) became popular in South India from the 8th century CE onwards.

Indians forgot the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) in due course of time. Moreover, the use of the same expressions “Śakavarṣa..... neya” etc. for Śaka era and Śaka-kālātīta era in Kannada inscriptions has complicated the problem of distinguishing between these two eras. When Alberuni visited India in 11th century CE, Indians generally knew only one epoch of Śaka era i.e. the death of Śaka king in 78 CE. In the 9th century CE, astronomers introduced a prefix “Śālivāhana”, probably, the name of a king of Pratiṣṭhāna who played a major role in the elimination of the Śakas, in order to distinguish clearly the Śaka-kālātīta era (78 CE) from the Śaka era (583 BCE) but the prefix “Śālivāhana” became popular only after the 11th century CE.

In fact, the death of the Śaka king or the end of the Śaka era was the real epoch of the Śālivāhana era (78 CE). Udayana, the author of “Lakṣaṇāvati”, a work on logic in the year Śālivāhana 906 (984 CE), also confirmed that the epoch of 78 CE was the death of the Śaka king (*tarkāmbarāṅka-pramiteśvatīteṣu Śakāntataḥ varṣeṣu Udayanaścakre subodhām Lakṣaṇāvatīm*). Only “Muhūrta-mārtāṇḍa”, a work on astronomy composed in 1571 CE, mentions that the birth of King Śālivāhana was the epoch of 78 CE (*Śālivāhana-janmataḥ*). Historians argued that Śālivāhana was a Śātavāhana who defeated a Śaka king but it is a wild, baseless speculation. The earliest use of the Śālivāhana era is found in the Pimpalner grant²⁵³ of the Western Chalukya Satyāśrayadeva which is dated in 388 CE but the use of this era became popular only from the 7th century onwards.

Some Indian scholars highlighted the issue of the existence of two Śaka eras from time to time but Western historians and their followers simply rejected the theory issue without any proper debate. Evidently, there were two eras, one that commenced in 583 BCE and the other in 78 CE:

- The strongest epigraphic evidence i.e. the verifiable details of a total solar eclipse recorded in the Kurtaketi grant²⁵⁴ of Chalukya

Vikramāditya and an annular solar eclipse recorded in the inscription²⁵⁵ found at Otur, Shimoga cannot be explained in the Śālivāhana era (78 CE). A total solar eclipse and an annular solar eclipse are the rarest of astronomical events and the verifiable details of these two inscriptions can only be explained in the Śaka era (583 BCE).

- An inscription²⁵⁶ at Lakśmeśvar in Dhārwār district mentions the dates of the death of Śrinandi Pandita and the death of Bhāskaranandi Pandita by the rite of *Sallekhana*. One date was expressed as “Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta” and the other as “Śaka-kāla-yuktābda” which unambiguously indicate the existence of two different eras.
- The Rājapura plates of Madhurāntakadeva²⁵⁷ referred to the Śālivāhana era as “Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-Saṁvat 987....” clearly indicating the era (78 CE) that commenced from the end of the Śaka era (583 BCE).
- It appears that the calendar of the Śaka era (583 BCE) existed till the 15th century CE. An inscription²⁵⁸ at the village of Bittaravalli, Belur taluka, Karṇātaka is dated 2027 (1444 CE) [*Śakavarsāda 2027 neya Ānanda Saṁvatsara Bhādrapada śuddha padiva śukravāradandu*]. This date cannot be explained in the Śālivāhana era. Interestingly, historians edited it as 1027 because the year 2027 in the Śālivāhana era will be 2105 CE.

The originator of Śaka era

Originally, the Śakas or Scythians belonged to the Valley of the Helmund River in Afghanistan as the region was called Śakasthāna (Seistān). One branch of the Śakas probably ruled as allies or feudatories or officials of ancient Indian kings (probably, Yavana kings) of the North-Western region. Gradually, they learnt Sanskrit and adopted Indian traditions but Indian society viewed them as “Mlecchas” because they did not belong to any Rishi gotra. The Śakas were possibly appointed as Kśatrapas and Mahākśatrapas during the reign of the so-called Kuṣāṇa kings. The names of Mahākśatrapa Kharapallāna and Kśatrapa Vanashpara find mention in some inscriptions²⁵⁹ found at Sāranāth which are dated in the third regnal year of Kaniṣka. Taking advantage of the weak Indian political conditions, the Śakas conquered Takṣaśilā & Mathurā in Northern India and Mālava & Kāthiāwār region in Western

India. The Śaka rulers called themselves Mahākśatrapas. During the rule of the Śaka satraps, the Śaka era, a regnal reckoning of a Śaka king in commemoration of his coronation, was introduced in India in 583 BCE.

There is a divergence of opinion about the exact originator of the Śaka era. The most popular view is that the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka introduced this era and his Śaka kśatrapas implemented it. It is well known that the Western kśatrapas of Ujjain were the earliest users of the Śaka era. Two inscriptions of Caṣṭana found in Kutch district are dated in Śaka 11 (572 BCE) and Śaka 6 (577 BCE). Four Andhau inscriptions²⁶⁰ of Caṣṭana & Rudradāman are dated on the 2nd day of the dark fortnight of Phālguna month in Śaka 52 (19th February 531 BCE) [*Rājño Caṣṭanasa Yaśomotika-putrasa rājño Rudradāmasa Jayadāma-putrasa varṣe 50, 2 Phālguna-bahulasa dvitīyām va 2*]. There is no credible evidence to prove that Caṣṭana was a feudatory of the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka. Prof. Ajay Mitra Shastri exposed the fallacy of this theory in detail in his article.²⁶¹ According to him, there is absolutely no evidence to prove that Śaka Kśatrapas like Caṣṭana, Bhumaka, Nahapāna etc. were in any way connected with, not to speak of their being subordinates to, the Kuṣāṇas. Since the Śaka rulers were called Kśatrapas, it has been speculated that some king must have ruled over them. Accordingly, some historians concocted the theory that the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka was the originator of an era in 78 CE and the name Śaka was tagged to this era in a later period. It is quite absurd to believe that the Kuṣāṇa king originated an era in the name of his subordinates i.e. Śakas. Moreover, Kaniṣka cannot be the contemporary of Caṣṭana. According to Rājatarāṅginī, Kaniṣka flourished 150 year later from the date of nirvāṇa of Buddha. We will discuss the date of nirvāṇa of Buddha in Chapter 7.

Probably, Śakas called themselves Kśatrapa or Mahakśatrapa because these were the highest titles in their tradition. Indian society never accepted them as “Kśatriya” because they did not belong to any Rishi gotra. Though, the Śaka Kśatrapas became independent rulers, they were struggling to get social acceptance. It appears that Caṣṭana successfully persuaded some Brāhmaṇas of Ujjain to get bestow a Rishi gotra (Kardamaka Rishi gotra) for his dynasty and ensured that his coronation was carried out according to Indian traditions. Thus, Caṣṭana became the first Śaka king of Ujjain who was coronated by Brāhmaṇas who declared that he was a descendant of the Kardamaka Rishi gotra.

Caṣṭana appears to be the likeliest originator of the Śaka era as he may have introduced it in commemoration of his coronation in 583 BCE.

According to “*Kālakācāryakathānaka*” (a story of Kālakācārya), a Jain source, Gardabhilla, the king of Ujjain abducted the sister of a Jain monk named Kālakācārya. The hapless Kālakācārya sought the aid of the Śakas (Sagakula). Numerous (around ninety-six) Śaka warriors accompanied Kālakācārya and crossed the Indus to Kathiawar and then, to Ujjain. They defeated Gardabhilla in 723 BCE and ruled Ujjain for four years. Vikramāditya I drove them out of Ujjain and founded the Kārttikādi Vikrama era in 719-718 BCE, an era that was earlier known as the Kṛta era or Mālava-gaṇa era. Vikramāditya I and his four successors ruled Ujjain for 135 years. Around 583 BCE, the Śakas led by Caṣṭana conquered Kathiawar and Ujjain and re-established their kingdom in Western India.

TS Nārāyaṇa Śāstri, Prof. Gulshan Rai²⁶² and Kota Venkatāchalam²⁶³ opined that the Śaka king was the Persian Emperor Cyrus I and the Śaka Kśatrapas in India were his subordinates. Though some inscriptions of Darius I (522-486 BCE), the third king of the Persian Achaemenid Empire, refer to some branches of the Śakas as his subordinates and to Punjab as a part of the Persian Empire. There is not even an iota of evidence, either epigraphic, numismatic or literary, to prove that the Śaka kśatrapas of India were the subordinates of Persian kings. Moreover, the Śaka era commenced in 583 BCE as discussed in detail above, which clearly indicates that the Śakas started their rule in India at least 33 years before the establishment of the Achaemenid Empire in Persia. Interestingly, Cyrus was in intimate contact with one Indian king, who helped him with men and money,²⁶⁴ it was probably one of the Northern Śaka kśatrapas or Caṣṭana who was the Indian king who helped Cyrus.

The Western Kśatrapas of Ujjain ruled over 337 years. The inscriptions of these rulers are dated from Śaka 6 (577 BCE) to Śaka 203 (380 BCE) and their coins from Śaka 100 (483 BCE) to Śaka 337 (246 BCE). The Junagarh inscription of Mahākśatrapa Rudradāman I (the grandson of Caṣṭana) is dated in Śaka 72 (511 BCE) [*Svāmi Caṣṭanasya paustra h putrasya Rajño Mahākśatrapasya Rudradāmno varṣe dvisaptatitame 70 2 Margasīrṣa bahula prati.....*].²⁶⁵ The Gunda inscription of the time of Mahākśatrapa Rudrasimha I (the son of Rudradaman I) is

dated in Saka 103 (480 BCE) [*Rājño Mahākśatrapasya Svāmi-Caṣṭana-prapautrasya..... Jayadāma-pautrasya.... Rudradāma-putrasya rājño kśatrapasya Svāmi-Rudrasimhasya varṣe tryuttara-śate 100 3 Vaiśākha śuddhe Pañchamidhatya-tithau Rohinī-nakṣatre....*].²⁶⁶ King Rudrasena I's Mulavasara stone inscription is dated in Śaka 122 (461 BCE) [*Rajño Mahākśatrapasya Svāmi Rudrasenasya varṣe 122 Vaiśākha bahula pañcamyām.....*].²⁶⁷

The chronology of the Western kśatrapas:

	<i>Saka era (583 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Caṣṭana, the son of Yaśmotika	1-52	583-531 BCE
Jayadāman, the son of Caṣṭana	-	-
Rudradāman I, the son of Jayadāman	52-90	531-493 BCE
Damajadasri I	91-97	494-486 BCE
Jīvadāman	97	486 BCE
Rudrasimha I	97-110	486-473 BCE
Iśvaradatta	110-113	473-470 BCE
Rudrasimha I (restored)	113-119	470-464 BCE
Jīvadāman (restored)	119-121	464-462 BCE
Rudrasena I	122-144	461-439 BCE
Saṅghadāman	144-145	439-438 BCE
Damasena	145-154	438-429 BCE
Damajadasri II (ruled along with Vīradāman and Yaśodāman)	154-161	429-422 BCE
Vīradāman	156-160	427-423 BCE
Yaśodāman	161	422 BCE
Vijayasena	161-172	422-411 BCE
Damajadasri III	173-177	410-406 BCE
Rudrasena II	177-199	406-384 BCE
Viśvasirīha	199-204	384-379 BCE
Bhartṛdāman	204-217	379-366 BCE
Viśvasena	215-226	368-357 BCE

Family of Rudrasimha II

Rudrasimha II (ruled along with Yaśodaman II and Rudradāman II)	226-270	357-313 BCE
Yaśodāman II	239-254	344-329 BCE
Rudradāman II	254-270	329-313 BCE
Rudrasena III	270-302	313-281 BCE
Siṁhasena	302-304	281-279 BCE
Rudrasena IV	304-310	279-273 BCE
Rudrasimha III	310-337	273-246 BCE



Chapter 3

The literary references of the Śaka era

Śaka era (583 BCE) is the one of the most popular eras referred to in ancient Indian literature. It appears that the Śaka kings of Ujjain patronised the influential astronomer-Brāhmaṇas of Ujjain so as to popularise the use of the Śaka era. The astronomers of Ujjain most certainly helped the Śaka kings to solve the problems in making the calendar of the Śaka era. Gradually, the calendar of the Śaka era became popular in Western and Southern India. Though Indians hated the Śakas, the use of the Śaka era found widespread use and continued for many centuries, even after the end of the Śaka rule until it was replaced by the Śaka-Kālātīta era i.e. the Śālivāhana era (78 CE).

Yavaneśvara and Sphujidhvaja (Śaka 56 or 191?)

“*Yavanajātaka*”, the famous text on the Yavana School of astrology was originally written by Yavaneśvara in his language. Later, the Yavana king Sphujidhvaja translated it into Sanskrit. This Sanskrit translation contained 4000 verses written in the Indravajrā meter.

In the ancient Indian astronomical tradition, there were principally 18 recognised Siddhāntas: Sūrya, Paitāmaha, Vyāsa, Vaśiṣṭha, Atri, Pārāśara, Kaśyapa, Nārada, Gārgya, Marīchi, Manu, Aṅgira, Lomaśa (Romaka), Pauliśa, Chyavana, Yavana, Bhṛgu, and Śaunaka, of which only five, Sūrya, Paitāmaha, Vaśiṣṭha, Romaka and Pauliśa were extant during the time of Varāhamihira. It is also evident that the Yavana siddhānta was one of the ancient siddhāntas of Indian astronomy and it was admired at par with other siddhāntas in ancient India. The last chapter (79th) of *Yavanajātaka* is called “*Horāvidhi*” in which the following verses were written:

Iti svabhāṣā-racanātiguptād
Viṣṇugrahārkendumayāvatārāt |

*Maharṣi-mukhyairanudṛṣṭa-tattvād
dhorārtha (horārtha)-ratnākara-vaksamudrāt || 60 ||*

*Sūryaprasādāgata-tattvadṛṣṭir
lokānubhāvāya vacobhirādyaiḥ |*

*Idam babhāṣe niravadya-vākyo
Horārtha-śāstram Yavaneśvaraḥ prāk || 61 ||*

*Sphujidhvajo nāma babhūva rājā
ya indravajrābhīridam cakāra |*

*Nārāyanārkendumayādīdṛṣṭam
krtsnam caturbhir-matimān sahasraiḥ || 62 ||*

In these verses, it is stated that Yavaneśvara authored “*Horārthaśāstram*” in his language and the Yavana king Sphujidhvaja translated it into Sanskrit. The statement “*Sphujidhvajo nāma babhūva rājā*” indicates clearly that the author of the last chapter of *Yavanajātaka* was not Sphujidhvaja but a later scholar. The earliest reference to the Śaka era is found in the last chapter of *Yavanajātaka*.

*Gate ṣadagre'rdhaśate samānām
Kālakriyāntattvamidam Śakānām |*

*Raviryuge Sūryadine prapede
kramāt tadabdaḥi yugādi bhānoḥ || 14 ||*

One of the main features of *Yavanajātaka* is the use of a solar Yuga or an astronomical cycle of 165 years. Indicating the date of the epoch of a solar Yuga of 165 years with reference to Śaka era, it is stated that when the 56th year of the Śakas is current (can also be interpreted as elapsed), on a Sunday, the beginning of that year is the beginning of the yuga of the sun. Considering the epoch of Śaka era in 583 BCE, the 56th year was 528-527 BCE. The date was probably 12th March 528 BCE when the conjunction of the Sun and Moon occurred at Meṣa (Aries) 0° but the weekday was Wednesday. In my opinion, the weekday must be verified with reference to the siddhānta of “*Ahargāṇa*” considered in Yavana siddhānta. It is not logical to verify the weekday with reference to other siddhāntas.

The last chapter of *Yavanajātaka* deals with luni-solar astronomy on the basis of a solar yuga of 165 years and the synodic motion of the planets. It is clear that the Śakas and Yavanas shared a common heritage and that the Śakas followed the astrology of Yavana siddhānta. When the Western kṣatrapas established their kingdom in Ujjain and introduced the Śaka era, a need was felt to present the Yavana siddhānta with reference to luni-solar astronomy because Indians followed the luni-solar calendar. Therefore, probably a later Yavana scholar wrote the 79th chapter of *Yavanajātaka*, not part of the original text of Sphujidhvaja. It is evident that Yavaneśvara and Sphujidhvaja lived much earlier and prior to the introduction of Śaka era (583 BCE). The available text of *Yavanajātaka* that includes the 79th chapter was written during the reign of the Western kṣatrapas of Ujjain.

David Pingree, a biased Indologist, translated the *Yavanajātaka* into English in 1978. It is evident from his translation that he undertook this work with the intention of establishing that the *Yavanajātaka* is originally a lost Greek text composed in Alexandria that was later translated into Sanskrit by Sphujidhvaja, an “Indianized Greek”. David Pingree was one of the racist and Eurocentric research scholars who could not digest the fact that India was the birthplace of astral sciences. He committed a number of forgeries to prove his spurious theory. First of all, Pingree conspired to date the *Yavanajātaka* earlier than other Indian astronomical texts by inventing a fictitious “*Bhūtasaṅkhyā*” so that he could propagate the theory of Greek influence on Indian astronomy. He fraudulently distorted the phrase “*Nārāyaṇārkendumayādidṛṣṭam*” of verse 62 of chapter 79 as “*Nārāyanāṅkendumitābda*” and declared that it means Śālivāhana 191 (269-270 CE), the year in which Sphujidhvaja translated *Yavanajātaka* into Sanskrit. He also misinterpreted the phrase “*Viṣṇugraha*” of verse 60 of chapter 79 as “the year 71” to prove that Yavaneśvara wrote *Yavanajātaka* in Śālivāhana 71 (149-150 CE). He also distorted the phrase “*ṣaḍagre’rdhaśate*” (“56th year”) of the verse 14 of the chapter 79 as “*ṣaḍ eke’rdhaśate*” (“66th year) deliberately to match the astronomical facts described in the verse. Undoubtedly, David Pingree committed a fraud in his translation of the *Yavanajātaka*. KS Shukla,¹ Harry Falk and Bill M.

Mak² have rightly pointed out many “incorrect readings” (distortions) in the translation of David Pingree. Truly speaking, David Pingree has fraudulently fixed a particular date for Yavaneśvara and Sphujidhvaja so that he could establish the hypothesis of Greek influence on Indian astronomy.

Pingree also propagated the fallacy that the ideas of the precession of equinoxes and the trepidation of equinoxes were introduced into India by the Greeks.³ It is a baseless claim. It is also an attempt at daylight robbery of the ancient Indian treasure-house of knowledge by a racist and Eurocentric scholar. Ancient Indians had the knowledge of precession and trepidation much before the birth of Hellenistic astronomy of the Greeks. Rigveda mentions the vernal equinox in Puṣya, Punarvasu and Mṛgaśirā nakśatras. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* refers to the shifting of the vernal equinox from Mṛgaśirā to Rohiṇi. Atharva Veda (*ayanam maghāsu ca*) and *Kauśītaki Brāhmaṇa* also points out the beginning of New Year after the new moon in Maghā nakśatra at winter solstice. There exist tonnes of evidence [*Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* (1400 BCE), *Pārāśaratatantra* (between 1150 BCE and 1370 BCE), *Bṛhat Saṁhitā & Pañcasiddhāntikā* (between 156 BCE and 74 BCE)] to establish that ancient Indians were the first who discovered the precession and trepidation of equinoxes. David Pingree also speculated that Romaka meant Romans, that Pauliśa was a Greek and that the ancient Indian astronomer Maṇittha mentioned by Varāhamihira was not an Indian but a Greek named Manetho — all part of Pingree’s mischievously creative imagination.

In his designs to prove that the Greeks were the pioneers of astronomy, David Pingree concluded fraudulently that the astronomy of Āryabhaṭa and later Indians was influenced by Hellenic astronomical ideas. He said that ‘much of what we know about Greek astronomy between Hipparchus and the 4th century can be found in Sanskrit texts’. Racially biased Pingree even claimed that ‘because of the Indian tendency to modify intellectual imports and also of the corrupt nature of the earliest surviving texts, it is often difficult to determine precisely the nature of Greek texts on which the Sanskrit texts are based’. As discussed about the epoch of Śaka era (583 BCE) in Chapter 2, Varāhamihira (156-

74 BCE) was the contemporary of Hipparchus. *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* (1400 BCE), *Pārāśaratāntra* (1370-1150 BCE), Vṛddha Garga's *Garga Saṁhitā* (500 BCE), etc. affirm that Indians were well advanced in astronomy even before the birth of ancient Greek civilisation.

Actually, Western scholars intentionally misinterpreted the word "Yavana" and propagated baseless speculations around it. Historically, Yavanas were an integral part of ancient Indian civilisation and they existed much before the birth of ancient Greek civilisation. According to the *Mahābhārata*, the Yavanas were the descendants of Turvasu and sons of king Yayāti. During the *Mahābhārata* war, the Yavanas supported the Kauravas under the leadership of the Kāmboja king Sudakṣiṇa. According to the Buddhist work "*Milinda Panho*", Yavana king Milinda was flourished around 500 years after the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* of Buddha (2134-2133 BCE). We will discuss the date of *Mahāparinirvāṇa* of Buddha in Chapter 7. *Chulla Niddeśa*, a Buddhist text, gives a list of 16 mahājanapadas including one Yavana mahājanapada that existed before the birth of Buddha (2214 BCE). According to *Majjhima Nikāya*, one of the earliest Buddhist works, Buddha referred to Yavana deśa, Kāmboja deśa, etc. in conversation with Āssalāyana. Pāṇini (1800 BCE) also mentions about Yavanas and their script named Yavanāni. King Aśoka's rock inscriptions mention the names of Yavana kings who were ruling in the north-western parts of India. *Rājatarangiṇī* of Kalhaṇa names five Yavana kingdoms i.e. Abhisāra, Urga, Siṁhapura, Divya Kaṭaka and Uttara Jyotiṣa that are located West of Kashmir. Interestingly, some Yavana kings were feudatories of Kashmir kings.

It is evident that the Yavanas were not Greeks but Indians and lived in the north-western parts of India. The names of Yavanas found in various Indian sources are also very much Indian. According to the Nāsik inscription⁴ at cave no. 17, a Yavana named Indrāgnidatta, the son of Dhammadēva and his son Dharmarakṣita excavated the cave and built a Chaityagrha for Buddhist monks. Moreover, it seems that the Yavanas also followed *catur-varṇa* system.

*Bhikṣuko dhānyamuṣṭīnām yāvano grāmajo dvijah ।
yo'pyabhūdgṛāmadaivajño vaidheyo loṣṭakābhidhah ॥⁵*

This śloka of *Rājatarangiṇī* tells us that a Yavana Brāhmaṇa named Loṣṭaka, who was born in the Yavana village and became a monk, was considered to be an astrologer of the village. In due course of time, the Yavanas were called “*Mlecchas*” as the later Yavanas neglected or disregarded the performance of the Vedic rituals but Yavana Brahmanas were respected in Indian society because they were well educated in astronomy. Varāhamihira quotes a śloka of Garga (500 BCE) that says that though the Yavanas are *Mlecchas*, they are well educated in astral sciences due to which they are respected like Rishis.

*Mlecchā hi yavanāsteśu samyak sāstramidam sthitam |
Riṣivatte'pi pūjyante kim punardaivavid dvijah ||⁶*

It is evident from the above that the Yavanas were very much Indians who founded the Yavana school of astronomy and not the Greeks. The Indian history of Yavanas is much older than the birth of ancient Greek civilisation. The Yavanas probably belonged to one of the oldest branches of Rigveda. The Yavana astronomy/astrology has deeply influenced Babylonians and Egyptians. It is a well-known fact that the Hellenistic astronomy of the Greeks has borrowed heavily from Babylonian and Egyptian sources. There is no direct or indirect credible evidence available to prove that the Yavanas referred to in Indian sources were Greeks. Therefore, it is just the fantasy of a racist and Eurocentric mindset that *Yavanajātaka* is a lost work composed in Alexandria around 149-150 CE by an unknown Greek author because it contains some algorithms of “ultimately Babylonian origin” and an “Indianised Greek” Sphujidhvaja translated it in 269-270 CE into Sanskrit.

Yavaneśvara, the author of *Yavanajātaka* had the knowledge of decimal place-value system, zero, the time-units of Muhūrta, Ghaṭikā, Kalā, etc. and the solar yuga of 165 years. Indians also had the knowledge of a zodiac of 360 degrees which is subdivided into 12 signs since the Rigvedic period.⁷ Therefore, Yavaneśvara and Sphujidhvaja were Indians and not Greeks. Pāṇini also mentions Yavanas and their script (*Yavanāni*). The recently discovered Rabatak inscription of Kaniṣka in Afghanistan was probably written in the *Yavanāni* script and it is likely that the ancient Greeks borrowed the same script. The Rabatak

inscription tells us that Kaniṣka introduced Sanskrit and a phonetic script replacing the Yavana language and Yavanāni script.

Yavaneśvara may have authored his “*Horāśāstra*” in his language and in the Yavanāni script and Sphujidhvaja translated it into Sanskrit before the commencement of the Śaka era in 583 BCE and the 79th chapter of *Yavanajātaka* was written by a later Yavana scholar during the reign of the Western kṣatrapas around the 5th or 4th century BCE much before the birth of the Hellenistic astronomy of the Greeks. Since Parāśara (1370-1150 BCE) and Garga (500 BCE) mention about Yavana siddhānta, Yavaneśvara undoubtedly lived prior to 1400 BCE. Most probably, Yavaneśvara flourished around 2200-2000 BCE before the introduction of Sanskrit by Kaniṣka and the Yavana king Sphujidhvaja around 1500 BCE to 1000 BCE. Sometimes, Sphujidhvaja was also referred to as Yavaneśvara because he was also the king of the Yavanas.

Sarvanandi and Simhasūri (Śaka 380)

“*Lokavibhāga*”, the Jain work on cosmology was originally written in Prakrit by Sarvanandi and Simhasūri translated it into Sanskrit in Śaka 380 (204-203 BCE).

*Vaiśve sthite ravisute vṛṣabhe ca jīve,
 rājottareṣu sitapakṣamupetya candre |*
*Grāme ca Pāṭalika-nāmini ca pāṇa-rāṣṭre
 śāstram purā likhitavān Muni-Sarvanandī ||⁸*
Samvatsare tu dvāviniśe kāñchiśa-Simhavarmanāḥ |
Aśityagre śakābdānām siddhametat śatatraye ||⁹

Simhasūri tells us that Jaina Muni Sarvanandi authored *Lokavibhāga* in the village named “*Pāṭalika*” in Pāṇarāṣṭra (the country of Bāṇas or Pāṇḍyas). The date of Sarvanandi can be fixed around 6th century BCE. Simhasūri translated *Lokavibhāga* into Sanskrit during the 22nd regnal year of the Pallava king Simhavarman and in Śaka 380 (204-203 BCE). Simhavarman, the descendent of Viṣṇugopavarman, ruled around Śaka 358-403 (225-180 BCE).

Guṇāḍhya

Guṇāḍhya authored the “*Vadda-Kathā*” or *Bṛhat-Kathā* in Paiśāchi, a literary dialect of Prakrit. Sanskrit poets Subandhu, Dandin and Bāṇabhaṭṭa mention Guṇāḍhya. He may have flourished during the reign of Śātavāhanas in Pratiṣṭhāna (modern Paithan), in any case not later than the 5th century BCE. The Western Ganga king Durvinīta, who ruled around Śaka 390-445 (193-138 BCE), translated *Bṛhat-Kathā* into Sanskrit.

Bhāravi

Bhāravi, the legendary Sanskrit poet, was the author of “*Kirātārjunīyam*”. According to “*Avantisundarikathā*” of Dandin, Bhāravi was a contemporary of Chalukya Vishnuvardhana (Western Chalukya king Jayasimha I or Pulakeśin I), Ganga Durvinīta and Pallava Siṁhavishnu. The Ganga king Durvinīta wrote a commentary on the 15th Sarga (canto) of *Kirātārjunīyam* in his 20th regnal year (173 BCE). Therefore, Bhāravi must have lived between 220 BCE to 140 BCE. The Sanskrit poet Dandin relates an interesting story about Bhāravi in his work “*Avantisundarikathā*”.

Dandin also tells us that his great-grandfather was a friend of Bhāravi and was introduced by him to king Vishnuvardhana which indicates that Dandin must have flourished around the 1st century BCE.

Varāhamihira (Śaka 427-509)

Varāhamihira, the son of Ādityadāsa and the most celebrated astronomer of Avanti (Ujjain), was born in Kāmpilyaka or Kāpitthaka. He authored three treatises i.e. *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, *Bṛhajjātakam* and *Bṛhat Samhitā*. Varāhamihira used the expressions “*Śakendra-kāla*”, “*Śaka-bhūpa-kāla*”, “*Śaka-kāla*”, etc. which unambiguously refer to the Śaka era (583 BCE) and not to the Śālivāhana era (78 CE). Interestingly, Varāhamihira quoted a śloka of Vṛddha Garga which indicates the epoch of the Śaka era.

Āsan-maghāsu munayah śāsati prthvīm Yudhiṣṭhire nrpatau |
Ṣad-dvika-Pañca-dvi-yutah Śaka-kālastasya rājñaśca ||¹⁰

“The Great Bear (*munayah* = Saptarśis) was in the constellation of Maghā, when king Yudhiṣṭhira ruled the Earth; the interval between

the Yudhiṣṭhira kāla and the Śaka kāla was 2526 years." Since the Śaka kāla commenced in 583 BCE, if we add 2526 to that figure, then 3109 BCE was the year in which the rule of Yudhiṣṭhira probably ended. It follows that Yudhiṣṭhira must have either died in 3109 BCE or handed over the reins to his grandson Parīkṣit. Vṛddha Garga and Varāhamihira calculated 2526 years from 3109 BCE to fix the epoch of Śaka era in 583 BCE. In case the Śaka era had commenced in 78 CE, then the Yudhiṣṭhira kāla ought to end in 2448 BCE which cannot be reconciled with the date of Yudhiṣṭhira given in all ancient literary sources. Moreover, the Great Bear was in the constellation of Maghā during 3176-3077 BCE whereas it was in the constellation of Kṛttikā during 2476-2377 BCE.

Varāhamihira also gave Śaka 427 elapsed (156-155 BCE) as *Karaṇābda* for calculation of Ahargaṇa (counting of days).

*Saptāśvivedasaṅkhyaṁ Śaka-kālamapāsy Chaitra-śuklādau |
Ardhāstamite bhānau Yavanapure Saumyadivasādye ||¹¹*

"Subtract 427 from Śaka kāla i.e. 583 BCE, when the sun is half setting at Yavanapura at the beginning of Chaitra śuklapakṣa and it is the beginning of Wednesday." Considering the epoch of Śaka era in 583 BCE, the year of Śaka 427 elapsed was 156-155 BCE and the date intended by Varāhamihira was 9th March 156 BCE and the weekday was Wednesday.

Āmarāja Daivajña, who wrote a commentary on "Khandakhādyaka" of Brahmagupta, mentions that Varāhamihira died in Śaka 509 (74 BCE) [*Navādhika-pañca-śata-sankhya-śake Varāhamihirācāryo divam gataḥ*] when the trepidation (the oscillation in the precession of equinoxes) was nil. Āmarāja also state that there was no trepidation in Śaka 511 (72 BCE). He assumes that the limit of trepidation is 24° from fixed Aries 0°. Considering the rate of trepidation 0.1° per year or 1 degree in 60 years, it was fixed at Aries 0° in the beginning of Kaliyuga i.e. 3102 BCE. Therefore, the trepidation was nil during 3102-3042 BCE, 1602-1542 BCE and 102-42 BCE. Precisely, Āmarāja tells us that the trepidation was nil in Śaka 509 (74 BCE) and Śaka 511(72 BCE) considering the epoch of the Śaka era in 583 BCE. Nil trepidation cannot be explained in the Śālivāhana era. Therefore, Āmarāja refers to the Śaka era (583 BCE) and

not the Śālivāhana era (78 CE). We can thus fix the lifetime of Varāhamihira between Śaka 427 and Śaka 509 (156-74 BCE). Prof Gulsan Rai¹² reads that there was an interval of 427 years between the epoch of Cyrus and the coronation of Mithradates II. Therefore, Varāhamihira adopted the Śaka year 427 for the purpose of calculations. V Thituvenkatacharya¹³ presented an astronomical proof assuming zero *ayanāṁśa* in Śaka 427 i.e. 124 BCE (considering the epoch of Śaka era in 551 BCE) but Varāhamihira did not mention any thing about zero *ayanāṁśa*.

Interestingly, Varāhamihira mentions the points in the ecliptic, at which, winter and summer solstices occurred at the time of *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* (1400 BCE) and his time (around 100 BCE). Based on the details given by Varāhamihira, we can determine the exact number of degrees by which the solstices in the ecliptic have receded. By dividing the difference by the rate of precession of equinoxes, we can calculate the exact number of years which intervened between the time of Varāhamihira and *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa*. Varāhamihira states:

Āśleśārdhād-dakṣīṇamuttaramayanam raverdhaniṣṭhādyām ।
Nūnam kadācidāśīd yenoktam purvaśāstreṣु ॥
Sāmpratamayanam savituḥ karkaṭakādyām mrgāditaścānyāt ।
Uktabhavo vikṛtiḥ pratyakṣa-parīkṣāṇair-vyaktiḥ ॥¹⁴

“At the time the Sun’s southward course commenced on his reaching the middle of Āśleśā, and its northward course on his reaching the beginning of Dhaniṣṭhā. This must have been the case as we find it so recorded in ancient Sāstras (*Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa*). But at present the one course of the Sun commences at the beginning of Karkaṭaka (Cancer), and the other at the beginning of Makara (Capricorn).”

Āśleśārdhādāśīdyadā nivṛttiḥ kiloṣṇakirāṇasya ।
Yuktamayanam tadāśīt sāmpratamayanam punarvasutah ॥¹⁵

“Once the Sun changed his course from the mid-point of Āśleśā; but at present, the Ayana begins from Punarvasu.”

Based on the positions of solstices in the ecliptic given by Varāhamihira as detailed above, it can be derived that Varāhamihira

must have authored *Bṛhat Samhitā* and *Pañcasiddhāntikā* in the beginning of the 1st century BCE. Therefore, the “Śaka-kāla” referred by Varāhamihira was Śaka era (583 BCE) and not Śālivāhana era (78 CE).

One more argument is given that Varāhamihira mentions Āryabhaṭa (*Lankārdharātra-samaye dina-pravṛttim jagāda cāryabhaṭah*)¹⁶ who was born in 5th century CE. Therefore, Varāhamihira’s date must be fixed in Śālivāhana era from 505 CE to 587 CE. According to TS Nārāyaṇa Śāstry and Kota Venkatāchalam, the genuine old manuscripts of *Āryabhaṭīyam* contained the following version of the verse.

“Śaṣṭyabdānām ṣadbhir-yadā vyatitāḥ trayaśca yugapādāḥ ।
Tryādhika viṁśatir-abdāḥ tadeha mama janmano’titāḥ ॥”¹⁷

Āryabhaṭa tells us that he was born when 360 (60×6) years and three yugas (Kṛta, Treta & Dvāpara) elapsed. Since Kaliyuga started in 3102 BCE, Āryabhaṭa’s birth year was 2742-2741 BCE and he wrote *Āryabhaṭīyam* when 23 years elapsed from his birth year. Thus, Āryabhaṭa wrote *Āryabhaṭīyam* in 2719-2718 BCE and a later scholar probably edited this verse of Āryabhaṭa by replacing “Śaṣṭyabdānām ṣadbhir” with “Śaṣṭyabdānām ṣaṣṭir” to arrive at the birth year of Āryabhaṭa as the Kali year 3600 (60×60). Western scholars simply assumed “Śaṣṭyabdānām ṣaṣṭir” as original text because it suited their distorted chronology and concluded that 499 CE is the birth year of Āryabhaṭa and he wrote his work in 522 CE. When Western scholars came to know that Varāhamihira mentions Āryabhaṭa, they subtracted 23 years from 3600 and propagated that actually Āryabhaṭa was born in 476 CE and wrote his work in 499 CE because Varāhamihira mentions the Śaka year 427 in his work. It is a blatant distortion because Āryabhaṭa explicitly states that when 360 or 3600 years elapsed in Kaliyuga and then 23 years also elapsed from his birth year which unambiguously indicates that he was born either in Kali year 360 or 3600. Moreover, “ṣaḍbhiḥ” (*tritiyā vibhakti*) is correct expression according to Sanskrit grammar whereas “ṣaṣṭiḥ” (*prathamā vibhakti*) is an incorrect expression.

An astronomical manual called “*Drkkaraṇa*” composed in Malayalam in 1607-08 CE records that:

"Before Kaliyuga, the eclipses and other observed phenomena did not tally with the manuals of siddhāntas. Then, Āryabhaṭa was born in Kali year "Jñanatūṅga" (3600?) ["Jñatūṅga" (360)?] and wrote his work in "Gīrītūṅga" (3623?) ["Gīrītūṅga" (383)?]."¹⁸

We have to verify the actual text of *Āryabhaṭīyam* from the oldest original manuscripts and also the original text of *Dṛkkaraṇa* and various commentaries on *Āryabhaṭīyam* to ascertain the correctness of the phrase "*Śaṣṭyabdānām śadbhir*" or "*Śaṣṭyabdānām ṣaṣṭir*". But it is evident that Āryabhaṭa was completely ignorant of the Śaka era (583 BCE) and the Śālivāhana era (78 BCE). He refers only to the Kali era thus establishing that he flourished much before the commencement of the Śaka era (583 BCE). Varāhamihira uses the verb "*Jagāda*" in the remote past tense (*parokṣa bhūtakāla*) with reference to Āryabhaṭa. Thus, Āryabhaṭa cannot be a contemporary of Varāhamihira. According to Sanskrit grammar, the remote past tense (*parokṣa bhūtakāla*) cannot be used for living or contemporary persons and is to be used only for events occurred earlier than the lifetime of the user. Therefore, Āryabhaṭa flourished before the lifetime of Varāhamihira (156-74 BCE).

According to Āryabhaṭa, the rate of precession of equinox was 46.30 seconds of arc per sidereal year whereas Varāhamihira gave the rate of precession around 50.00 seconds of arc per sidereal year. Actually, the rate of precession is not constant. The average rate of precession (minimum precession) is about 1 degree every 72 years when the Sun is at apoapsis and the average rate of precession (maximum precession) is 1 degree every 60 years when the Sun is at periapsis. The earth will average about 1 degree of precession every 66.6 years over the 24000 year cycle. The rate of precession was around 49.83 in the 1st century BCE and Varāhamihira's estimate of 50.00 seconds of arc was extremely accurate. The rate of precession was 50.25 in 1900 CE, 50.29 in 2000 CE and it will be 50.33 in 2100 CE. Interestingly, the rate of precession was 49.39 in 2000 BCE. It was approximately 49.00 in 3102 BCE. Āryabhaṭa was probably born in 360 Kali year elapsed and he estimated the rate of precession approximately as 46.30 seconds. Therefore, "*Śaṣṭyabdānām śadbhir*" may be the original statement of Āryabhaṭa not "*Śaṣṭyabdānām*

śaṣṭir" as claimed by some scholars. It may also be noted that there is no reference to the Śaka era or the Śālivāhana era in *Āryabhaṭīyam*.

Internal evidence of *Āryabhaṭīyam* also suggests that Āryabhaṭa may belong to a much older period than 499 CE. Āryabhaṭa mentions that "In a Mahāyuga, the Sun revolves 4,320,000 times, the Moon 57,753,336 times and the Earth 1,582,237,500 eastward". Thus, Āryabhaṭa calculated an extremely accurate ratio $1582237500/57753336 = 27.3964693572$ for the number of axial rotations of earth per lunar orbit. According to modern estimates, the value was 27.39646514 in 500 CE and 27.39646389 in 2000 CE. Interestingly, the value given by Āryabhaṭa was accurate up to ten decimal places around 1604 BCE. Therefore, Āryabhaṭa must have been born in the 360th year (2742 BCE) from the epoch of Kaliyuga and not in the 3600th year (499 CE).

As established above, Varāhamihira flourished between 156 BCE to 74 BCE and mentions Āryabhaṭa. Āryabhaṭa was completely ignorant of the Śaka era. Therefore, the date of Āryabhaṭa must be fixed as clearly being prior to Varāhamihira and before the commencement of the Śaka era in 583 BCE.

In fact, Sudhakar Dwivedi (1855-1910) has distorted the phrase "*Śaṣṭyabdānām ṣadbhīr*" by replacing it with "*Śaṣṭyabdānām śaṣṭir*" under the influence of Western scholars. Therefore, "*Śaṣṭyabdānām ṣadbhīr*" is the correct version of the śloka of *Āryabhaṭīyam* and Āryabhaṭa must have been born in Kali year 360 i.e. 2742-2741 BCE and authored *Āryabhaṭīyam* around 2719-2718 BCE.

Kālidāsa (Śaka 445)

The most celebrated Sanskrit poet, Kālidāsa authored numerous works like "*Abhijñānaśākuntalam*", "*Mālavikāgnimitram*", "*Vikramorvaśīyam*", "*Raghuvaṁśam*", "*Kumārasaṁbhavam*", "*Meghadūtam*", "*Ritusamīhāram*", etc. Kālidāsa also authored an astronomical work named "*Jyotiḥvidābharaṇam*" in Kali year 3068 (34 BCE).

*Varṣaiḥ sindhuradarśanāmbaraguṇair-yāte kalau sañimitे,
 Māse Mādhava-saṁjñake ca vihito grantha-kriyopakramah ।
 Nānā-kāla-vidhāna-śāstra-gadita-jñānam vilokyādarād,
 Urje grantha-samāptiratra vihitā jyotiḥvidām prītaye ॥¹⁹*

Kālidāsa states that “I began to write this work (*Jyotirvidābharaṇa*) in the Kali year 3068 and in the month of Mādhava (Vaiśākha). Having consulted treatises on several systems of astronomy, I have completed the work in the month of Īrja (Kārttika)”. Thus, Kālidāsa started writing *Jyotividābharaṇa* on 10th April 34 BCE and completed it by 1st November 34 BCE. Kālidāsa also gave Śaka 445 elapsed (138-137 BCE) as *Karaṇābda* in his work (*Śarāmbodhiyugo nīto hṛto mānam..... ayanam Śakasya*). We can thus fix the lifetime of Kālidāsa between 105 BCE to 25 BCE. Kālidāsa claims that he was one of the navaratnas of King Vikramāditya and a junior contemporary of Varāhamihira.

Dhanvantari-Kṣapaṇakāmarsimha-Śaṅku-
Vetālabhaṭṭa-Ghaṭakarpara-Kālidāsāḥ ।
Khyāto Varāhamihiro nrpateḥ sabhāyām
ratnāni vai Vararuchiḥ nava Vikramasya ॥ 20

Dhanvantari, Kṣapaṇaka, Amarasiṁha, Śaṅku, Vetālabhaṭṭa, Ghatakarpara, Kālidāsa, Varāhamihira and Vararuchi were the nine gems in the court of King Vikramāditya. Kālidāsa also dedicated his work to Vikramāditya, the king of Ujjain.

Historians wrongly identified Chandragupta II as Vikramāditya of Kālidāsa. Western historians wrongly conjectured that Vikramāditya was a mythical ruler and deliberately propounded the myth that Kālidāsa was the court poet of Chandragupta II. Unfortunately, eminent Indian historians also blindly followed them though every piece of literary evidence was to the contrary. Moreover, Kālidāsa referred to Varāhamihira as his senior contemporary but eminent historians ridiculously believe that Kālidāsa flourished during the reign of Chandragupta II (380-415 CE) and Varāhamihira lived around 505-587 CE.

The Vikramāditya mentioned by Kālidāsa was the king of Ujjain. Varāhamihira was also in the court of the king of Ujjain. According to Bhaviṣya Purāṇa,²¹ Vikramāditya was born in the Kali year 3000 (102-101 BCE) to destroy the Śakas and became the king of Ambāvati (Amarāvati in Vidarbha) around 82 BCE. *Rājatarangiṇī* also mentions about the Vikramāditya, who was the king of Ujjain in the 1st century BCE. According to the Purāṇas, the Pramāra or Paramāra dynasty (one

of the four Agni vāṁśas i.e. Pramāra, Pratīhāra, Chaulukya and Chāhamāna) was ruling in the 4th century BCE. It was Vikramāditya who restored the glory of the Pramāra dynasty in 1st century BCE by defeating the Śakas. It appears that Vikramāditya killed a Śaka king around 57 BCE which became the epoch of the Chaitrādi Vikrama era. Kālidāsa tells us in his work “*Jyotirvidābharaṇa*” about the victory of Vikramāditya against a Śaka king.

“*Yo Rummakeśādhipatim Śakeśvaram
jītvā grahitōjjayinīm mahāhave |
Ānīya sariibhrāmya mumoca tam tvaho
Śri-Vikramārka-samasahiyavikramāḥ* ||”²²

“Vikrama of irresistible valour defeated the Śaka king of the province “Rummakeśa” in North-west India, brought him to Ujjain, took him round the city as a captive and released him.”

Alberuni²³ also records that Vikramāditya killed a Śaka king in the region of Karur between Multan and the castle of Loni. Hariswāmi, who wrote a commentary named “*Śrutivivṛti*” on *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, mentions about the king of Avanti, Vikramāditya (*Śrimato'vantināthasya Vikramārkasya bhūpateḥ*). It is evident that Vikramāditya was not a mythical ruler but the real ruler of Ujjain who flourished during the 1st century BCE.

Kālidāsa also wrote a drama named “*Kuntaleśvaradautyam*” which is now lost. Kṣemendra, the author of “*Aucityavicāracarcā*”, quotes a verse from Kālidāsa’s *Kuntaleśvaradautyam* as an illustration of *Adhikarāṇa**citya* (propriety of place): Kālidāsa was sent as the ambassador of king Vikramāditya to the court of the king of Kuntala i.e. the early Chalukya king Pulakeśin II (52-22 BCE) where he did not get a seat worthy of an ambassador of a great king like Vikramāditya, and therefore, sat on the ground. When asked why he did so, Kālidāsa recited the following verse:

*iha nivasati meruḥ śekharāḥ kśmādharaṇām,
iha vinīhitabhāraḥ sāgarāḥ sapta cānye |
idamahipatibhoga-sthambhavibhrājamānām,
dharaṇitalamīhaiva sthānamasmadvidhānām* ||

"This is the only proper seat for us, which is rendered immovable by the numerous pillar-like hoods of the Śeṣa Nāga (lord of serpents); since it is here that Meru, the lord of mountains and also the seven seas are seated. And I am in no way inferior to them".²⁴

Śriingāraprakāśa of king Bhoja also quotes from Kālidāsa's *Kuntaleśvaradautyam* from which it is quite clear that Kālidāsa's visit to the court of Chalukya king Pulakeśin II was eventful. Ravikīrti, the author of the Aihole inscription²⁵ of Śaka 556 (27 BCE), proudly mentions the names of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi. It can be concluded from the above that Kālidāsa was the court poet of the Ujjain king Vikramāditya and flourished in the 1st century BCE.

According to the Purāṇas, Vikramāditya's son Devabhakta succeeded him and it appears that the Śakas again occupied Ujjain during the reign of Devabhakta. Śālivāhana probably won the war against the Śakas decisively and killed their last king in 78 CE. Thus, Indian astronomers introduced the epoch of the Vikrama era in 57 BCE to commemorate the victory of Vikramāditya against the Śakas and the epoch of Śālivāhana era in 78 CE in commemoration of the death of the last Śaka king and the victory of Śālivāhana. The year 78 CE was initially celebrated as the end of the Śaka era that commenced in 583 BCE to commemorate the coronation of Śaka king. Therefore, the Śālivāhana era was initially referred to as "*Śaka-nṛpa-kālātita-saṁvatsara*" (the years from the end of the era of Śaka kings) till the 9th century CE. In due course of time, Indians forgot the difference between the Śaka era and the Śālivāhana era and started using same expressions "*Śakavarṣam neya*", "*Śāke*", "*Śaka-vatsare*", etc. for the Śālivāhana era that created confusion. Therefore, Indian astronomers introduced the prefixing of the name of Śālivāhana in the 9th century CE to distinguish it from the Śaka era.

Interestingly, Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II (210-180 BCE), the son of the daughter of Chandragupta II, wrote a Kāvya "*Setubandha*" in Prakrit which had been revised or re-composed in Sanskrit by Kālidāsa by the order of king Vikramāditya as stated by the commentator Rāmadāsa. Chandragupta II, the maternal grandfather of Pravarasena

II, died at least a few years before the *Setubandha* could have been written. Kālidāsa, who refers to himself as “*nṛpasakhā*” which meant the same age group friend of Vikramāditya, may have also died by then. Therefore, Chandragupta II was not the Vikramāditya who patronised Kālidāsa.

Aśvaghoṣa, the author of *Buddhacarita*, wrote numerous passages similar to those occurring in the works of Kālidāsa. It is evident that Aśvaghoṣa was influenced by Kālidāsa’s works. Aśvaghoṣa lived during the 1st century CE. Moreover, in the 6th act of *Abhijñānaśākuntalam*, Kālidāsa states that the merchant Dhanamitra died heirless because it was the period when the widow of a deceased person could not inherit his property. Such laws existed only up to the beginning of the 1st century CE in India. Therefore, Kālidāsa’s lifetime can undoubtedly be fixed around 105-25 BCE.

Brahmagupta (Śaka 550)

Brahmagupta was the author of the famous astronomical work “*Brahma Sphuṭasiddhānta*”. He records that he wrote the *Brahma Sphuṭasiddhānta* in Śaka 550 elapsed (33-32 BCE) when he was 30 years old during the reign of the king of the Chāpa dynasty Śri Vyāghramukha. Therefore, he was born in Śaka 520 elapsed (63-62 BCE).

Śri-Cāpa-varīśa-tilake Śri-Vyāghramukhe nṛpe Śaka-nṛpāṇām,
 Pañcāśat-samyuktair varṣa-śataiḥ pañcabhiratītaiḥ ।
 Brāhmaṇi Sphuṭasiddhāntaiḥ sajjana-ganitajñā-golavit-prītyai,
 Trīṁśadvarṣeṇa kṛto Jishṇu-suta-Brahmaguptena ||²⁶

Brahmagupta clearly refers to the Śaka era (583 BCE) by stating “*Śaka-nṛpāṇām*”. Brahmagupta also wrote “*Khaṇḍakhaṇḍyaka*” in the 37th year from the date of *Brahma Sphuṭasiddhānta* (Śaka 550) i.e. Śaka 587 (3-4 CE). We can thus fix the lifetime of Brahmagupta between Śaka 520 to Śaka 600 (63 BCE-17 CE). Interestingly, Western scholars edited the phrase “*Śaka-nṛpāṇām*” as “*Śaka-nṛpālāt*”. Some of the manuscripts erroneously included the verses quoted by the commentators. For instance, the 26th verse of Chapter 1 of *Brahma Sphuṭasiddhānta* was not in the manuscript²⁷ published in 1902. It seems that some statements of

the commentators containing the phrase “*Śakānte*”, *Śaka-nrpānte*”, etc. were mixed up with the original text of *Brahma Sphuṭasiddhānta* due to which, it was assumed that Brahmagupta had knowledge of the epoch of 78 CE. We have to refer to the unedited version and the original manuscripts to ascertain the actual text of *Brahma Sphuṭasiddhānta*.

While studying the intercalated months referred to in the Nepali inscriptions, Shankarāman Rājavarmshi, a research scholar of the Archaeological department has attempted to show that *Brahma Siddhānta* works successfully provided the epoch year is pushed back by 22 years prior to 78 CE – 22 = 56 CE.²⁸ He has produced a table where the years showing intercalated months completely agree with the epigraphic data. Historians ignored his research assuming that *Brahma Sphuṭasiddhānta* was written in Śalivāhana 550 (628 CE). Actually, Brahmagupta wrote his work in Śaka 550 (33-32 BCE) and not in Śalivāhana 550 (628 CE).

Lallāchārya

Lallāchārya, the author of “*Sisyadhiśraddhidatantra*”, also refers to the Śaka era as “*Śakakṣitiśābda*”, “*Śāke*”, etc. He was the son of Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa and the grandson of Sāmba. He also clearly tells us that the *Śakakṣitiśābda* i.e. Śaka era ended in 78 CE. This means the epoch of the Śaka era is earlier than 78 CE.

“Nandādricandrānala-saṁyuto bhavet,
Śakakṣitiśābda-gaṇo gataḥ kaleḥ ।
Divākaraghno gatamāsa-saṁyutāḥ,
Khavahninighnasthitibhiḥ samanvitaḥ ॥²⁹

Elaborating the above verse, Mallikārjuna Sūri, a commentator on “*Sisyadhiśraddhidatantra*”, states:

“*Śakanṛpābdagaṇah sahasratrayenāikonāśityadhika-śatena* (3179) *sahitali*
Kaligatābda-gaṇo bhavati”.

It is evident that Lalla and Mallikārjuna Sūri explicitly state here that “3179 Kali years are elapsed including the years of Śaka era”. Thus, Śaka era and Śalivāhana era are not the same but two different eras.

Explaining a formula for certain calculations, Lalla states: “Subtract 420 from the Śaka year elapsed, multiply the remainder severally by 25, 114, 96, 47 and 153. Divide each product by 250” (*Śāke nakhābdhi-rahite*).³⁰ It indicates that Lalla proposed certain necessary corrections in calculating the positions of planets with the constants given by Āryabhaṭa and the year in which these corrections to be effective was 250 years after Śaka year 420 (164-163 BCE) elapsed. Therefore, it can be concluded that Lalla authored his work in Śaka 671(87-88 CE). It seems that the two verses, in which the above formula appears, may not be the part of “*Śiṣyadhiśvṛddhidatantra*” because the commentary of Bhaskaracharya and Mallikarjuna Sūri is not available on these verses but Sūryadeva Yajvā (12th century CE), Parameśvara (14th century CE) and Yallayya (15th century CE) quoted these verses as composed by Lalla. However, we can fix the date of Lalla in the 1st or 2nd century CE because Bhaskaracharya (452-532 CE) wrote a commentary on his work.

Udyotana Sūri (Śaka 700)

The Jain scholar Udyotana Sūri authored his work “*Kuvalayamālā*” on astrology in Śaka 700 (116-117 CE) during the reign of the Pratīhāra king Vatsarāja. An inscription of king Vatsarāja³¹ tells us that he was ruling in Śaka 717 elapsed (134-135 CE) [*muni-śaśi-naga* (717) *sarīsthe yānti kāle śakānām*]. It appears that Pratīhāra Vatsarāja ruled between 110 CE to 140 CE. The date given in *Kuvalayamālā* is Chaitra krṣṇa caturdaśi of Śaka 700. Therefore, Udyotana Sūri authored *Kuvalayamālā* on 30th March 116 CE. Interestingly, *Kuvalayamālā* is also an exhaustive work on social and cultural history of the 2nd century and gives the description of 34 Janapadas and 20 states of India.

Jinasena (Śaka 705)

A Jain scholar Jinasena flourished during the reign of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda, Indra and Amoghavarṣa. Lokasena’s *prāśasti* in *Uttarapurāṇa* tells us that Jinasena, the guru of Guṇabhadrā, was a contemporary of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa. In the concluding *prāśasti* of “*Harivaniśa*” a Jaina Purāṇa, Jinasena gives the date of completion in Śaka year 705 elapsed (122-123 CE).

“Śākeśvabdaśateṣu Saptaṣu diśam pañcottareśūttarām,
Pātīndrāyudhanāmni Krṣṇanṛpaje Śrivallabhe Dakṣiṇām |”³²

Vateśvara (Śaka 802)

Vateśvara was the author of “Vateśvara Siddhānta” where he states that he was the son of Mahādatta Bhaṭṭa, a native of Ānandapura in Punjab and was born in Śaka 802. He refers the era as “Śakendra-kāla” which clearly indicates Śaka era (583 BCE) and not Śālivāhana era (78 CE). Thus, Vateśvara was born in 218-219 CE (Śaka 802). He wrote “Vateśvara Siddhānta” when he was 24 years old i.e. in 243 CE. He also authored “Karaṇasāra” in Śaka 821 (238 CE).

Guṇabhadra & Lokasena (Śaka 820)

Guṇabhadra was the author of *Uttarapurāṇa*. Lokasena, the disciple of Guṇabhadra, wrote a “praśasti” in Śaka 820 (237 CE) at the end of *Uttarapurāṇa* during the reign of Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Akālavarṣa. He clearly mentions the Śaka era as “Śaka-nṛpa-kālābyantara” to distinguish it from “Śaka-nṛpa-Kālātīta-samvatsara”.

“Akālavarṣa-bhūpāle pālayatyakhilānilam..... Śaka-nṛpa-kālābyantara-viṁśat�adhiकāṣṭa-śata-mitābdānte Maṅgala-mahārtha-kāriṇi Piṅgala nāmanī samasta-jana-sukhade.”³³

Muñjāla (Śaka 584 or 854)

Muñjāla wrote his work “*Laghumānasa*” in Śaka 584 (1 CE). According to Kedarnath Joshi, Muñjāla gave Śaka 434 (150-149 CE) as the year of *Ayanacalana* or the year of zero ayanāṁśa.³⁴ Therefore, it seems that Muñjāla was a contemporary of Brahmagupta.

According to some other sources, Muñjāla has given the trepidation of equinoxes as 6:50° for Śaka 854. Thus, Muñjāla authored his works around Śaka 854 (271-272 CE). We have to study further to ascertain the exact date of Muñjāla.

Bhaṭṭotpala (Śaka 888)

Bhaṭṭotpala wrote commentaries on the works of Varāhamihira and Brahmagupta. He wrote a commentary named “*Cintāmaṇi*” on

Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*. In the commentary named "Vivṛti" on Varāhamihira's *Brihajjātaka*, Bhaṭṭotpala stated that he completed the commentary on Chaitra śukla pañcamī of Śaka 888 (304-305 CE) i.e. 27th February 304 CE.

*Chaitramāsasya pañcamyām sitāyām guruvāsare |
Vasvaṣṭāṣṭamite Śāke kṛteyam Vivṛtir-mayā ||*

Interestingly, Bhaṭṭotpala mentions that the *ayanāṁśa* was 7 days during his time or to be more accurate $6\frac{1}{2}$ degrees (*sārdha-ṣatkāṁśaḥ*) according to one reading. V Tiruvenkatācharya proved that the interval between the epoch of *Pañcasiddhāntikā* and the completion of the commentary on *Brihajjātaka* is $888-427 = 461$ years. Therefore, the value of the annual rate of precession of equinoxes is $6\frac{1}{2}$ degrees/ $461 = 390 \times 60 / 461$ seconds = 50.8 seconds which may be considered as a fairly accurate value.

Śripati (Śaka 961)

Śripati wrote his works "*Siddhāntaśekhara*" and "*Dhīkoṭikaraṇa*" in Śaka year 961 elapsed (378-379 CE) [*Candrāṅganando 961 naśako'rkanighnaśchaitrādimasair.....*].³⁵ Śripati was probably 40 years old when he authored "*Siddhāntaśekhara*" and must have been born in Śaka 921 (338-339 CE). He also authored "*Dhruvamānasa*" in Śaka 978 (395-396 CE) and many other works like *Jātaka-paddhati* and *Jyotiṣa-ratnamālā*, etc.

Bhāskaracharya (Śaka 1036)

Bhāskara, one of the most celebrated Indian astronomers, records that he was born in the 1036th year of the era of the Śaka king (*Śaka-nṛpa samaye*).

*Rasa-guṇa-pūrṇa-mahī (1036) sama
Śaka-nṛpa-samaye'bhanvanmamotpattiḥ |
Rasa-guṇa (36) varṣeṇa mayā
Siddhānta-Śiromāṇī racitaḥ ||³⁶*

Thus, Bhāskara was born in Śaka 1036 (452-453 CE) and he wrote his famous work "*Siddhānta Śiromāṇī*" in Śaka 1072 (488-489 CE) when he was 36 years old (*rasa-guṇa-varṣeṇa*). He also authored

“*Karaṇakutūhala*” around Śaka 1105 (521-522 CE) and referred to Śaka 1105 as *Karaṇābda*. According to Bhāskara, there was a *Kṣaya māsa* or suppressed month in the Śaka 974 (390-391 CE) and there will be one each in Śaka 1115 (531-532 CE), 1256 (672-673 CE) and 1378 (794-795 CE).³⁷

Bhāskara states that 3179 years of Kali Yuga elapsed when the Śaka king died (*nandādrīnduguṇāstathā Śaka-nṛpasyānte kalervatsarāḥ*) and 1972947179 years including the years of Śaka era elapsed (*godrīndvadrikṛtaṅkadasranagagocandrāḥ Śakābdānvitāḥ*)³⁸ which is irrefutable evidence that Śaka era (583 BCE) and the era that commenced from the death of the Śaka king (78 CE) are not the same but two different eras. Lallāchārya also states that 3179 years Kaliyuga including the years of Śaka era elapsed in 78 CE. Therefore, Bhāskara’s expression “*Śaka-nṛpa-samaye*” unambiguously refers to Śaka era (583 BCE) and not “*Śaka-nṛpasyānte*” (78 CE). Thus, Bhāskara was born in 452-453 CE and not in 1114-1115 CE.

Alberuni knew about Bhāskara in 1031 CE. He not only mentions about Bhaskaracharya, as the son of Mahādeva but also his book “*Karaṇakutūhala*” as a work of astronomy known in his own country for more than a hundred years. In case, *Karaṇakutūhala* was written in Śālivāhana 1105 (1183 CE), how could Alberuni have known about it in 1031 CE and in his country since the beginning of the 10th century CE? Thus, it is evident that Bhāskara referred to the Śaka era (583 CE) and not the Śālivāhana era (78 CE). Weber, in his book on Sanskrit literature, noticed this anomaly, but was unable to offer any explanation. He honestly accepted: “I confess my inability to solve this riddle; so close is this coincidence as to the personage that the “Bhāskar” of Alberuni is expressly described, like the real Bhāskara, as the son of Mahādeva”.³⁹ The riddle is now solved because Bhāskara was born in Śaka 1036 (452-453 CE) not in Śālivāhana 1036 (1114 CE). Therefore, Bhāskara authored *Karaṇakutūhala* in Śaka 1105 (522 CE) which was available to Alberuni at the time of his visit.

Some scholars argue that Weber suggested that his translation of the Arabic words of Alberuni might be wrong, for Alberuni usually represents the Indian bh by b-h, and for the most part faithfully preserves

the length of the vowels, neither of these is here done in the case of Bashkar, where, moreover, the s is changed into sh", and adds in a footnote that in the passage under discussion "there lurks not a Bhaskara at all, but perhaps, Pushkara". Even if the passage refers to a Bhāskara, Weber suggested that "we may have to think of that elder Bhāskara, who was at the head of the commentators of Āryabhaṭa, and is repeatedly cited by Prithūdakasvāmin, who was himself anterior to the author of the "*Siddhānta Siromañi*".

This entire argument is untenable because there is no credible evidence to prove the existence of fictitious personalities like Pushkara. The so-called elder Bhāskara did not write any treatise on Karaṇa. Alberuni clearly mentions that Bhāskara and his work *Karaṇakutūhala* were known in his country since the beginning of the 10th century CE.

Interestingly, Patna inscription,⁴⁰ which is dated in Śaka 1128 (545 CE), gives the genealogy of Bhaskaracharya.

	<i>In CE</i>
Trivikrama	300-375 CE
Bhāskarabhaṭṭa	325-400 CE
Govinda	350-425 CE
Prabhākara	375-450 CE
Manoratha	400-475 CE
Maheśvara	425-500 CE
Bhāskarāchārya	452-532 CE
Lakṣmīdhara	478-560 CE
Chāṅgadeva	505-590 CE

According to this inscription, Bhāskarabhaṭṭa, the son of Trivikrama, received the title of "Vidyāpati" from the great king Bhojarāja (*Yo Bhojarājena kṛtābhidhāno Vidyāpatir Bhāskarabhaṭṭa-nāmā*). Bhāskarāchārya's son Lakṣmīdhara was the chief astrologer of the Yādava king Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla and Bhāskarāchārya's grandson Chāṅgadeva was the chief astrologer of the Yādava king Sīṅghaṇa. Chāṅgadeva founded a college at Patna village (in Khandesh, Central India) to teach the doctrines promulgated by Bhaskaracharya.

Interestingly, this inscription records a grant made by Soideva, a feudatory of the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa in favour of Chāṅgadeva's college in Śaka 1128 (545 CE).

In view of the above, it can be concluded that Bhaskaracharya was born in Śaka 1036 (452-453 CE) and not in Śālivāhana 1036 (1114 CE). Unfortunately, the year 2014 was celebrated as the 900th birth year of Bhaskaracharya. Actually, the year 2014 was the 1562nd birth year of Bhaskaracharya. Bhaskaracharya is generally referred to as Bhāskara II by modern scholars because another Bhāskara flourished in the 7th century CE who wrote *Mahābhāskarīyam*, *Laghubhāskarīyam* and *Āryabhaṭīya-bhāṣyam*. He states in his commentary on *Āryabhaṭīyam* that the time elapsed since the beginning of the Kalpa is 1986123730 which implies that he wrote his commentary in the year 3730 elapsed of Kaliyuga i.e. 628-629 CE. Therefore, Bhāskara, the author of *Siddhānta Śiromāṇi* must be referred to as Bhāskara I and Bhāskara, the author of *Mahābhāskarīyam* as Bhāskara II.



Chapter 4

The Epoch of the Gupta Era

According to the Purāṇas, the Guptas were “Śriparvatīyas” (local chiefs at Śriparvata near Nepal) and “Āndhrabṛtyas” (the officials of Śātavāhana kings) but originally belonged to the Sūrya Varmśa Kṣatriya lineage.

*“Ete prañatasāmantāḥ Śrimadguptakulodbhavāḥ ।
Śri-Parvatīyāndhrabṛtya-nāmānaścakravartinali ॥”¹*

It is well known that the rise of the Guptas ended the rule of the Śātavāhanas. Śrigupta and his son Ghaṭotkacha Gupta were the earliest kings of the Gupta dynasty but were either officials or feudatories of the Śātavāhanas. Chandragupta I, the son of Ghatotkacha Gupta, was the founder of the Gupta Empire and the one who annexed the Magadha kingdom. Some historians speculated that Śrigupta and Ghatotkacha Gupta may have been feudatories of Indo-Scythian kings but there is no evidence to support this argument.

Chandragupta I married Kumāradevi, a princess of the king of Nepal who belonged to the Licchavi dynasty. Śātavāhana king Chandraśri Śātakarṇi's wife was the elder sister of Kumāradevi (*Liccavīyām samudvāhya devyāścandraśriyo'nujām*). With the support of the Licchavis and being one of their important family members (*Rāṣṭriya-Śyālako bhūtvā*), Chandragupta I not only became the commander-in-chief (*Senādhyakṣa*) of the Śātavāhanas but also controlled the Magadha Empire. With the support of his queen, Kumāradevi's sister (*Rājapatnyā ca coditāḥ*), he killed the Śātavāhana king Chandraśri Śātakarṇi under the pretext of acting as the guardian of his minor son Pulomān III. Thus, Chandragupta I took complete control of the Magadha Empire. Later, he also killed the minor king Pulomān and founded the mighty empire of the Guptas including the Janapadas of Magadha, Sāketa (Ayodhyā), Prayāga, etc. (*anugaṅgām Prayāgaśca Sāketam Magadhānistathā*).

Chandragupta I shifted the capital of the Magadha Empire from Girivraja to Pātaliputra and anointed himself as “*Mahārājādhirāja*”. He founded an era known as the Gupta era which was used in eastern, central and western India.

Western historians and their followers propounded that both the Gupta and Valabhi eras commenced in 319-320 CE. Chandragupta I ascended the throne in 319 CE. According to them, it is evidenced from two sources i.e. Alberuni's account and Mandasor inscription. Alberuni states that the epoch of the Valabhi era falls 241 years after the epoch of Śakakāla (Śālivāhana era) and that the epoch of the era of the Guptas falls like that of the Valabha era, 241 years after Śakakāla.² Therefore, it was concluded that the Valabhi era and the Gupta era were identical. The Mandasor inscription of Bandhuvarman,³ engraved during the reign of the Gupta king Kumāragupta I (*Kumāragupte prithivīm praśāsati*) and dated in the year 493 (436 CE) of the Mālava-gaṇa era (Historians wrongly identified it with the epoch of 57 BCE), supports the contention that the Gupta era commenced in 319 CE.

To begin with, Western historians invented the baseless premise that the Mālava-gaṇa (Karttikādi Vikrama era) and the Chaitrādi Vikrama eras were identical. There is no credible evidence whatsoever to prove this theory. In reality, the Mālava-gaṇa era (Kārttikādi Vikrama era) commenced in 719-718 BCE whereas the Chaitrādi Vikrama era commenced in 57 BCE. We will discuss the Mālava-gaṇa era (Kārttikādi Vikrama era) in detail in Chapter 5. It may also be noted that the Mālava-gaṇa era was also known as the Kr̥ta era. The Mandasor inscription of Bandhuvarman recorded the date as 493 years elapsed in the Mālava-gaṇa era and 13th tithi of the bright fortnight of Sahasya (Pauṣa) month (*Malavāñām gaṇa-sthityā yāte śata-catuṣṭaye | tri-navatyadhike'bdānām ṛtau sevya-ghana-svane | Sahasya-māsa śuklasya praśaste'hni trayodaśe ||*). The 493rd year of the Mālava-gaṇa era elapsed was 226-225 BCE and the date corresponds to 6th December 226 BCE.

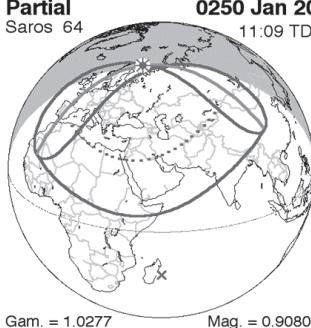
Alberuni clearly states that “As regards the Guptakāla (Gubit Kal), people say that the Guptas were wicked, powerful people, and that when they ceased to exist, this date (319 CE) was used as the epoch of an era (tarikh-e-Ballaba = Valabhi era)”. Actually, the Maitraka kings of Valabhi

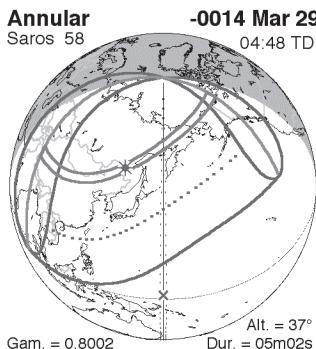
were feudatories of the Guptas and used the calendar of the Gupta era. When the rule of the Gupta kings ended and the Valabhi kings became independent, a necessity was felt to replace the Gupta era and as it was quite likely that the people of Valabhi hated the Gupta kings, the Valabhi era was introduced in 319 CE in commemoration of some historical event but the Valabhi astronomers retained the most of the features of the calendar of the Gupta era for the convenience of astronomical calculations. For this reason, the calendar of the Gupta era and the calendar of the Valabhi era remained identical. By the 10th century, it appears that the Valabhi people forgot the epoch of the Gupta era and had only the knowledge of the epoch of the Valabhi era. In all likelihood, this state of affairs was communicated to Alberuni in the 11th century but he wrongly construed that the epoch of the Gupta era was identical to the epoch of the Valabhi era. Alberuni himself records that the Valabhi era commenced in 319 CE when the Guptas ceased to exist. Therefore, the Valabhi era and the Gupta era are two different eras. The Gupta era undoubtedly commenced during the rule of Chandragupta I whereas the Valabhi era commenced in 319 CE when the Gupta Empire ended. This means that the Gupta Empire flourished much before 319 CE.

The inscriptions of Mahārāja Hastin and Samkṣobha⁴ refer to the Gupta era as “*Gupta-nṛpa-rājya-bhuktau*” meaning “during the reign of the kings of Guptas” clearly indicating that the Gupta era commenced to commemorate the establishment of the rule of Guptas and not to mark the end of the Gupta Empire.

Prior to the discovery of the Mandasor inscription, it was generally accepted that the Gupta era commenced much before the epoch of the Valabhi era based on the statement of Alberuni. Edward Thomas opined that the Gupta era was identical to the Śālivāhana era (78 CE). A. Cunningham fixed it as 167 CE while E. Clive Bayley thought it was 190 CE.⁵ After the discovery of the Mandasor inscription of Bandhuvarman, it was JF Fleet who concocted the idea that Māvala-gaṇa era (Kārttikādi Vikrama era) was identical to the Chaitrādi Vikrama era. He also propagated the theory that the Gupta and Valabhi eras were identical and shared the same epoch in 319-320 CE, quite contrary to the statement of Alberuni.

It can be construed that the Gupta era and the Valabhi era were altogether different and that the Valabhi era commenced in 319-320 CE when the Guptas ceased to exist. But what then is the epoch of the Gupta era? We have to study the verifiable details of the inscriptions of the Gupta era to determine the real epoch of the Gupta era. The following study of solar eclipses mentioned in the inscriptions leads to the conclusion that the epoch of the Gupta era was 335-334 BCE:

	<i>The epoch: 335-334 BCE</i>	<i>The epoch: 319-320 CE</i>
1. Solar eclipse on new moon day of Māgha month in Gupta Saṁvat 585 elapsed. The date given is 5 th tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna month. (<i>Pañcāśītyā yute'tītē samānām śata-pañcake Gaupte dadāv'adau nrpatiḥ soparāgē'rka-maiṇdale Saṁvat 585 Phālguna śudi 5 </i>)	The year was 249-250 CE. A solar eclipse was visible on 20 th Jan 250 CE between 14:33 hrs to 16:12 hrs. It was the new moon day of Māgha month.	No Solar eclipse in Māgha month of 903 or 904 or 905 CE.
(Morbi grant of Jāika) ⁶		
		
2. Solar eclipse on new moon day of Chaitra month in Gupta Saṁvat 322. (<i>Chaitra-amāvāsyāyām..... grahoparāge Saṁvatsara-śata-traye dvavimīśe</i>)	The year was 14-13 BCE. A solar eclipse was visible on 29 th Mar 14 BCE between 6:40 hrs to 6:55 hrs. The day was the new moon day of Chaitra month.	No Solar eclipse on Chaitra amāvāsyā of 640 or 641 or 642 CE
(Nāgardhan plates of Swamirāja) ⁷		

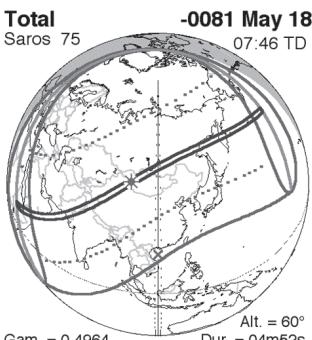


Five Millennium Canon of Solar Eclipses (Espenak & Meeus)

3. Solar eclipse on new moon day of Vaiśākha month in Gupta Saṁvat 254 (257?). (*Sam 200 50 4 Vaiśākha ba 10 5*)
(Bantia plates of Dharasena I)⁸

Considering Gupta Saṁvat 254 elapsed, the year was 81-80 BCE. A solar eclipse was visible on 18th May 81 BCE between 7:57 hrs to 10:10 hrs.

No solar eclipse. 19th Mar 573 CE

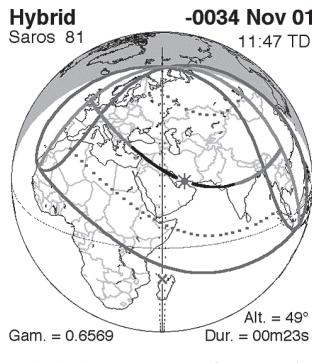


Five Millennium Canon of Solar Eclipses (Espenak & Meeus)

4. Solar Eclipse in Gupta Saṁvat 300. (*Gauptābde varṣa-śata-traye vartamāne.... Suryoparāge.....*)
(Ganjam Plates of King Śaśāṅkarāja)⁹

Considering Gupta Saṁvat 300 elapsed, the year was 35-34 BCE. A solar eclipse was visible on 1st November 34 BCE between 13:37 hrs to 16:25 hrs.

No Solar eclipse in 618-619 CE or 619-620 CE. 2nd Sep 620 CE.



Other verifiable details of inscriptions of the Gupta era:

	<i>The epoch:</i> 335-334 BCE	<i>The epoch:</i> 319-320 CE
1. Mūla nakṣatra was crossed over and on 7 th day of Vaiśākha month in Gupta Saṁvat 157 (178-177 BCE). The statement " <i>Mūle sānipragate</i> " indicates that one tithi before Saptami was associated with Mūla nakṣatra. (<i>Vaiśākha-māsa-saptamīyām Mūle sampragatae</i>) ¹⁰	3 rd April 178 BCE was the Saptami of the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha and Moon was in Mūla Nakṣatra on 2 nd April 178 BCE.	Irregular.
2. Uttarāyaṇa on 11 th day of the dark half of Māgha month in Gupta Saṁvat 250 (86-85 BCE) [<i>Māgha-kṛṣṇasyaikādaśyām uttarāyaṇe</i>] ¹¹	Kumbha Saṁkrānti occurred on 12 th Jan 86 BCE and it was the 11 th day of the dark half of Māgha month.	The date corresponds to 18 th Jan 570 CE.

Apart from the above, there are two inscriptions that refer to intercalary months¹² and six more inscriptions referring to the system of the Twelve Year cycle of Jupiter that is based on the heliacal rising of Jupiter.¹³ The intercalation system adopted in the Gupta inscriptions differs from the system usually adopted by the available siddhāntas. We have to study further to find out the intercalation system and the heliacal rising system of Jupiter adopted in the Gupta inscriptions.

However, the study of solar eclipses mentioned in the Gupta inscriptions clearly leads us to the epoch of the Gupta era to be around 335-334 BCE. Following are five more instances to prove that the epoch of the Gupta era cannot be fixed in 319-320 CE:

1. A Jain scholar Śilācārya wrote a commentary on “Ācārāṅgasūtra” in the city of Gambhūtā (Cambay) on 5th tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada month in Gupta Saṁvat 772 elapsed. The manuscript of this commentary has recorded the following statement in the folios 207b & 208a.

“Dvā-saptatyadhikeṣu hi śateṣu saptasu gateṣu Guptānām saṁvatsareṣu māsi ca Bhādrapade śukla pañcamyām | Śilācāryeṇa kṛtā Gambhūtāyām sthitena tīkaiṣā |”¹⁴

Interestingly, the same manuscript has recorded the following statement in the last folio (256b) of the book.

“Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śateṣu saptasu aṣṭa-navatyadhikeṣu vaiśākha-śuddha-pañcamyām Ācāraṭīkā kṛteti |”

“This Ācāraṭīkā was written on the 5th tithi of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha month in Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta (Śālivāhana) era 798 (875-876 CE).”

If, in fact, the Gupta era had commenced in 319-320 CE, then these two statements are contradictory. The statement in folio 207b & 208a tells us that Śilācārya wrote a commentary in 1091-92 CE (Gupta Saṁvat 772 elapsed) whereas the statement in folio 256b tells us that Ācāraṭīkā was written in 875-876 CE (Śālivāhana 798). The last statement not only confirms that Śilācārya existed either prior to 875-876 CE or in 875-876 CE but also clearly indicates that the epoch of the Gupta era in 319-320 CE is not tenable.

Therefore, the Gupta era commenced in 335 BCE as calculated above on the basis of the solar eclipses mentioned in the Gupta inscriptions. Thus, Śilācārya wrote a commentary on “Ācārāṅgasūtra” on Bhādrapada śukla pañcamī in Gupta Saṁvat 772 elapsed i.e. 22nd August 437 CE. It is quite likely that the person who copied the text in his manuscript, may have recorded the date at the end as Vaiśākha śuddha pañcamī of Śālivāhana 798 i.e. 18th April 875 CE. It is also probable that the manuscript contained two commentaries i.e. one commentary of Śilāchārya written in Gupta Saṁvat 772 (437 CE) and another commentary named “Ācāraṭīkā” written in Śālivāhana 798 (875-

876 CE). We need to verify this from the original manuscript. This manuscript, however, tells us that Gupta Saṁvat 772 was prior to Śālivāhana 798. Therefore, the epoch of the Gupta era is logically not possible in 319-320 CE.

JF Fleet, the ringmaster of the distortionists, claimed that Śilācārya treated the Gupta era and the Saka era as identical.¹⁵ He also stated that the mistake of Śilācārya cannot be cleared away, unless we can obtain some independent record of the real date of Śilācārya. In fact, it was JF Fleet who committed a forgery considering the Gupta era and the Valabhi era as identical well knowing that the Valabhi era commenced when the Guptas no longer existed. The manuscript of the commentary of Śilācārya unambiguously records two dates, one in the Gupta era and another in the Śālivāhana era. There is no evidence to prove that Śilācārya treated the Gupta era and the Śālivāhana era as identical. It was JF Fleet's devious mind that concocted the idea that Śilācārya treated the Gupta era and the Śālivāhana era as identical so that he could easily sidestep the fact that the Gupta Saṁvat 772 was prior to Śālivāhana 798.

2. The Gokak grant of the Sendraka king Indrananda¹⁶ found in Belgaum district is dated in Gupta Saṁvat 845 elapsed. The Sendraka king Indrananda was the feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūta king Dejja Mahārāja. If the Gupta era had, in fact, commenced in 319-320 CE, the Gokak grant would be dated in 1164-1165 CE. However, as this grant was written in the Southern script which was in use only up to the 6th century CE and became extinct by the 6th century CE. It is logically not possible to date the Gokak grant after 6th century CE. N Laxminarayan Rao pointed out that this grant was dated in the Āguptāyika era which probably commenced during the rule of Maurya Chandragupta around 312-313 BCE. Therefore, the date of the grant may be fixed in 532-533 CE. DC Sircar mentions that the starting point of the Āguptāyika era was around 200 BCE; but primarily there is no evidence to prove that an era named "Āguptāyika" ever existed. It is clearly a result of baseless

speculations by historians who were completely ignorant of the Sanskrit language. The Gokak plates recorded the following statement:

“Āguptāyikānām rājñām aştasu varṣa-śateṣu pañca-catvāriṁśad-agreṣu gateṣu.....”

Here, the phrase “*Āguptāyikānām rājñām*” has been derived as “*Gupta*” *iti khyātah Guptāyikah, teṣām Guptāyikānām rājñām, tān ārabhya Āguptāyikānām rājñām*. Thus, “*Āguptāyikānām rājñām*” means “from the starting year of the kings named as the Guptas”. Therefore, the statement recorded in the Gokak plates means that “When forty five years after eight hundred years elapsed from the starting point of the kings named as the Guptas”. Thus, the Gokak plates clearly referred to the Gupta era and not to any fictitious era named “*Āguptāyika*”. As it was clearly proved above that the Gupta era commenced in 335 BCE, therefore the date of the Gokak grant must be fixed in 510-511 CE (Gupta Sarivat 845 elapsed).

The date mentioned in the Gokak grant is also irrefutable evidence which supports the fact that the Gupta era commenced much before 319-320 CE.

3. *Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta*, a treatise written around the 9th or 10th century CE, gives the account of the history of Indian kings based on the Purāṇas and the chronology of the dynasties of the kings with reference to the movement of the Great Bear (Saptarṣi Mandal). According to this treatise, the rule of Gupta Dynasty ended when the Great Bear was in Punarvasu constellation.

“*Yadā Punarvasum yāsyantyete saptarṣayāḥ punaḥ |
Tada Śri-Guptavamśānām rāṣṭraṁtvanyam gamisyati ||* ¹⁷

“By the time the Great Bear reaches Punarvasu constellation again, the empire of Gupta dynasty will pass to others.”

The Great Bear stays hundred years in each constellation of the 27 nakśatras. Thus, it takes 2700 years to complete one cycle. It was in Punarvasu constellation again during the period 176

BCE-76 BCE. The Gupta kings ruled for a minimum of 225 years to a maximum of 255 years. Considering the epoch of the Gupta Era in 335 BCE, the rule of the Guptas ended between 110 BCE to 80 BCE. This confirms that the epoch of the Gupta era undoubtedly commenced in 335 BCE.

If the epoch of the Gupta era was indeed in 319-320 CE, then the rule of the Guptas ought to have ended around 550 CE but the Great Bear was in Revatī constellation during the period 524-624 CE clearly proving that the epoch of the Gupta era cannot be explained in 319-320 CE.

4. A Valabhi grant of Dharasenadeva is dated in Śālivāhana 400 (478 CE) in which Maitraka king Dharasenadeva, the son of Guhasena II calls himself as Sovereign King "*Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka*". According to other Valabhi grants, the Maitrakas of Valabhi were feudatories of the Guptas and used the Gupta era. It is impossible to fix the date of Dharasenadeva in 478 CE considering the epoch of the Gupta era in 319-320 CE. Therefore, Western historians, without any credible evidence, rejected this grant to be a forgery. In fact, Dharasenadeva, who ruled around 478 CE, was the last known king of Maitrakas. The last grant of the Valabhi king Śilāditya VII is dated in Gupta Samvat 447 which means that the Gupta era commenced at least 447 years before the rule of Dharasenadeva.
5. The Dhiniki grant of Jaikadeva II, the Saindhava ruler of Saurashtra, was dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama era 794 (737 CE) whereas one grant of Jaika II is dated in Gupta Samvat 596. Jaika II did not mention Jaikadeva in his genealogy.

Dr. AS Altekar rejected this grant as a forgery considering the epoch of the Gupta era in 319 CE and Jaika II to be later than Jaikadeva. However, this can be easily explained if we consider the Gupta era as earlier than 319 CE. Actually, Jaika II flourished in the 3rd century CE whereas Jaikadeva flourished in the 8th century CE. This explains why, Jaika II did not mention about Jaikadeva in his genealogy and also proves the Dhiniki grant to be absolutely genuine.

Thus, the epoch of the Gupta era must be fixed in 335-334 BCE and it commenced during the reign of Chandragupta I, the founder of Gupta Empire.

The rise of the Gupta Dynasty

Chandragupta I (338-331 BCE): According to *Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta*,¹⁸ Chandragupta I killed the Śātavāhana king Chandraśri Śātakarṇi and his minor son Pulomān III and proclaimed himself the Emperor of Magadha. He ruled for seven years and founded the Gupta era in 335-334 BCE. It appears that Chandragupta I killed Śātavāhana king Chandraśri Śātakarṇi and Puloman III by 338 BCE and ascended the throne in Girivraja (Rajgir). Later, he shifted the capital from Girivraja to Puṣpapura known as Pātalīputra in 335 BCE and founded the Gupta era. His regnal title was “Vijayāditya”.

*“Chandraśriyam ghātayitvā miṣenāiva hi kenacit ।
 tatputrapratibhūtvam ca rājye caiva niyojitaḥ ॥.....
 Tatputram ca Pulomānam vinihatya nr̥pārbhakam ॥
 Vijayādityanāmna tu sapta pālayitā samāḥ ।
 svanāmna ca śakam tvekam sthāpayiṣyati bhūtale ॥”*

Samudragupta (331-280 BCE): Chandragupta I selected his son Kacha as Yuvarāja of the Gupta Empire but Samudragupta, his eldest son by the Licchavi princess Kumāradevi, revolted against his father. Ultimately, Samudragupta had to kill his father and his half-brother Kacha and became the Mahārājādhirāja of the Gupta Empire. He ruled for a long period of 51 years. His regnal title was “Āśokāditya”. The Nālanda grant of Samudragupta is the earliest inscription dated in Gupta Saṁvat 5 (331-330 BCE). The Gaya grant of Samudragupta is dated in Gupta Saṁvat 9 (327-326 BCE). According to the Nālanda grant, Samudragupta was ruling in Gupta Saṁvat 5 which means Chandragupta I had died by then. The Purāṇas tell us that Chandragupta I ruled for seven years. Therefore, it can be construed that Chandragupta I founded the Gupta era at the end of his 3rd regnal year. Surprisingly, eminent historians arbitrarily assumed that Chandragupta I ruled for around 16 to 20 years despite contrary epigraphic and literary evidence.

JF Fleet declared the Nālanda and Gaya grants “spurious” due to minor grammatical mistakes in the language. He also observed that some

of the characters of these inscriptions were antique and some were comparatively modern. There are numerous inscriptions which contain minor grammatical mistakes and cannot, therefore, be the basis to evaluate the genuineness of the epigraphs. Fleet's palaeography, which is based on distorted chronology, cannot qualify to be the yardstick to fix the dates of epigraphs. JF Fleet and his followers concocted the idea that there were some forged copper plate inscriptions to justify their distorted chronology. Fleet used this idea selectively to reject certain inscriptions which were not in line with his distorted chronology. Deliberately, Western historians propagated the myth of the existence of forged copper plate inscriptions to suit their nefarious designs. I challenge historians to put forth some credible evidence other than Fleet's distorted palaeography to prove the myth of the existence of forged copper plate inscriptions.

Samudragupta was the most ambitious king and the greatest warrior among the Guptas, thus, making him the most powerful emperor of India at that time. According to the Allahabad pillar inscription¹⁹ composed by the great poet Harisena, Samudragupta defeated eleven kings of Dakṣināpatha i.e. South India including king Mahendra of Kosala, the Pallava king Viṣṇugopa of Kāñchi, the Śālaṅkāyana king Hastivarman of Venigī, etc. and nine kings of Āryāvartha i.e. Central and Northern India. It is also recorded that the Devaputras of Śāhī-Śāhānuśāhi, the Northern Śaka Kśatrapas, the Muruṇḍas and the Yavanas of Afghanistan also acknowledged his supremacy. Eastern kingdoms like Samataṭa, Dāvaka, Kāmarūpa (Assam) and Nepal also became his tributary provinces. Thus, Samudragupta established the authority of the Gupta Empire in Eastern, Southern (up to Kāñchi) and Central India and in the Western frontier provinces of Devaputra Śāhī-Śāhānuśāhis, Śakas, Muruṇḍas and also in Siṁhala (Sri Lanka).

Who was Sandrokottus: Samudragupta or Chandragupta Maurya?

Alexander, during his invasion of the Persian Empire and some parts of western India, had a few Greek scholars like Baeto, Diognetos, Nearchos, Onesikritos, Aristoboulos, and Kallisthenes in his entourage

to chronicle his achievements. Megasthanes and Deimachos, the ambassadors of Seleucus Nikator the successor of Alexander, also wrote about India. Though the works of these scholars are all lost, their substance is found in the works of Plutarch, Strabo, Pliny and Arrian. Plutarch wrote Alexander's biography over 400 years after the death of Alexander based on oral legends. These Greek scholars repeatedly mentioned a powerful king of India named "Sandrokottus" who was undoubtedly "Samudragupta" with reference to the epoch of Gupta era in 335 BCE and Puranic account of the history of Magadha.

William Jones (1746-1794) deliberately identified "Sandrokottus" mentioned by the Greeks as Chandragupta Maurya and declared that he was the contemporary of Alexander in 327-326 BCE. This concocted theory of William Jones has been propagated by Western historians as an eternal and irrefutable historical fact in constructing the chronology of ancient India. Eminent Indian historians under the influence of western historians toed the same line. Unfortunately, they completely ignored the history of ancient India as recorded in Purāṇas since the Mahābhārata war.

Considering the epoch of the Śaka era in 583 BCE and the epoch of the Gupta era in 335 BCE, the epigraphic evidence supports the fact that the Maurya dynasty ruled Magadha much before the 4th century BCE. Purāṇas tell us that Chandragupta Maurya ascended the throne by defeating the last Nanda king around 1516 BCE.

According to *Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta*, the Great Bear or Saptarṣi Mandal was in Śravaṇa nakṣatra during the reign of Mahāpadma Nanda.

*"Saptarṣayo Maghāyuktāḥ kāle Yaudhiṣṭhire śatam | Śravaṇe te bhaviṣyanti kāle Nandasya bhūpateḥ ||"*²⁰ (During the time of Yudhiṣṭhira, the Great Bear was in Maghā constellation for 100 years. By the time of Nanda, it will be in Śravaṇa constellation.)

The Great Bear was in Śravaṇa nakṣatra around 1676 BCE to 1576 BCE. The Nanda dynasty ruled Magadha for 100 years between 1616 BCE to 1516 BCE. We will discuss the chronology of the Nandas and the Mauryas in detail in Chapter 8. Chandragupta Maurya founded the rule of the Maurya dynasty around 1516 BCE. Therefore, Samudragupta was the contemporary of Alexander in 327-326 BCE and not Chandragupta

Maurya. There is much more evidence to support that the fact that it was Samudragupta who was “Sandrokottus” and not Chandragupta Maurya:

1. The Greek scholars recorded the names of the kings of India as Xandrames and Sandrokottus. Western historians deliberately identified these names with those of Mahāpadmananda or Dhanananda and Chandragupta Maurya. Xandrames was said to be the father of Sandrokottus. According to John W. McCrindle, Diodorus distorted the name “Sandrokottus” into Xandrames and this was again distorted by Curtius into Agrammes.²¹ It is totally absurd to link Xandrames with Mahāpadmananda and Sandrokottus with Chandragupta Maurya. Most probably, the Greeks called Chandra (Chandragupta) as Xandrames and Samudragupta. as Sandrokottus. Moreover, the description given by the Greek scholars about Sandrokottus and his father Xandrames are quite inapplicable to Chandragupta Maurya and could only apply to Samudragupta. According to the Greeks, Xandrames was the king of Gangaridai and Prāsii whereas Dhanananda was the ruler of entire north, west, central and eastern India. It is also said that Sandrokottus (Samudragupta) killed his father Xandrames (Chandragupta). This fact has been wilfully ignored by biased western historians and their followers.
2. All Greek writers mention Sandrokottus, the king of Prāsii, whose capital was Palibothra i.e. Pātaliputra. Megasthenes, Deimachos and other Greek ambassadors of Seleucus Nikator were sent to the court of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II at Palibothra. Pātaliputra became the capital of the Magadha Empire only during the reign of Chandragupta I around 335 BCE. According to the Purāṇas, Girivraja or Rājagrīha (Rajgir) was the capital city of Magadha during the reign of the Nandas and the Mauryas. Thus, Pātaliputra was not the capital city of Chandragupta Maurya. From 3rd century BCE onwards, the city of Pātaliputra became famous as the capital of Magadha. This is the reason why Viśākhadatta referred the Pātaliputra as the capital city of the Magadha Empire in his work “*Mudrārākṣasa*”

but this cannot be taken as evidence to reject the Puranic reference. Moreover, *Mudrārāksasa* is a drama based on historical fiction. All the Purāṇas unanimously tell us that the capital of the Magadha Empire was Girivraja or Rājagrīha till the fall of the Śātavāhana dynasty.

3. According to Megasthanes, the Śakas or Skythians were living in the northern side of India.

“India, which is in shape quadrilateral, has its eastern as well as its western side bounded by the great sea but on the northern side it is divided by Mount Hemodos from that part of Skythia which is inhabited by those Skythians who are called the Śakai, while the fourth or western side is bounded by the river called the Indus, which is perhaps the largest of all rivers in the world after the Nile.”²²

As many other Greek scholars also wrote about the Skythians, it is quite evident that the Northern Śaka Kśatrapas were ruling in the North-western frontier region during the time of Megasthanes.

It is well known that the Śaka Kśatrapas were contemporaries of the Guptas and not the Mauryas. Aśoka inscriptions mention only Yavana kings named Antikina, Alikasundara, Maga, Turamaya and Gongakena (not Greeks but indigenous Yavana kings of Afganistan and Northern Pakistan) as ruling in the western frontier regions. Western historians speculated that these kings may be Antiochus Theos II of Syria, Alexander of Epirus, Magas of Cyrene, Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt and Antigonus Gonatus of Macedonia. These baseless speculations were simply based on the resemblance of names without any direct or indirect evidence. The references to the Yavana kings in the Aśoka inscriptions indicate that the Yavanas were the rulers of the western frontier regions during the Mauryan era, and not the Śakas. There is no reference to the Śaka Kśatrapas in the entire account of Mauryan history. Therefore, Sandrokottus can only be Samudragupta who was the contemporary of the Śaka Kśatrapas and not Chandragupta Maurya.

4. Seleucus Nikator also sent Deimachos on an embassy to Allitrocades or Amitrocades, the son of Sandrokottus.²³ Western historians identified Allitrocades or Amitrocades to be Bindusara, the son of Chandragupta and concocted the fiction that Bindusāra was also known as "Amitraghāta". None of the Indian sources ever referred to Bindusāra as *Amitraghāta*. Western historians deliberately created the word "*Amitraghāta*" to deceive with some sort of resemblance. According to the Purāṇas, Samudragupta was also known as "Aśokāditya" and Chandragupta II was also known as "Vikramāditya".²⁴ Probably, Allitrocades or Amitrocades referred to "*Vikramāditya*", the son of Sandrokottus (Samudragupta).
5. Megasthanes describes the system of city administration of Pātalīputra but there is no similarity between the system described by Megasthanes and the system of city administration given in the *Kautilya Arthaśāstra*. Megasthanes also stated that there was no slavery in India but *Kautilya Arthaśāstra*'s Chapter 65 named "*Dāsakalpa*" is solely devoted to the status of slaves among the Āryans and the Mlecchas.²⁵ Probably, the slavery system that existed during the Mauryan era had gradually declined by the time of the Gupta era. Thus, Megasthanes cannot be a contemporary of Chandragupta Maurya.
6. Megasthanes, who was a frequent visitor to Palibothra, but also stayed in the court of Sandrokottus for a few years. But not once has he mentioned Kautilya, also known as Chāṇakya who was the real kingmaker and the patron of Chandragupta. In fact, no other Greek scholar has ever mentioned Kautilya. Therefore, Megasthanes cannot be a contemporary of Chandragupta Maurya.
7. Greek scholars often refer to Sandrokottus as being the king of the country called as Prāsii (Prācī or Prācyā). Prācyā or Prāsii means eastern country. During the Nanda and Mauryan eras, the Magadha kings reigned over almost the entire country. The Mauryan Empire was never referred to in Indian sources as Prācyā deśa or eastern country. Prācyā deśa was generally

referred to as the Gupta Empire because the Northern Śaka Kśatrapas and the Western Śaka Kśatrapas were well established in North and West India. Megasthenes mentions that Sandrokottus was the greatest king of the Indians and that Poros was even greater than Sandrokottus²⁶ which meant that a kingdom in the North-western region was still independent and with a status that was at least equal to the kingdom of Sandrokottus.

Chandragupta Maurya and his successors being the most powerful kings of India, it is impossible to think of any other Indian king of equal status with the Mauryan kings because the Mauryans inherited a vast and mighty empire from the Nandas. Therefore, Sandrokottus, the king of Prāsii can only be Samudragupta and not Chandragupta Maurya.

8. The Greek historian Plutarch mentions that Androkottus (Sandrokottus) marched over the whole of India with an army of 600 thousand men. Chandragupta Maurya defeated the Nandas under the leadership of Chāṇakya. There was no need for him to go on such an expedition to conquer the whole of India because he had already inherited the Magadha kingdom of the Nandas covering entire India. Actually, it was Samudragupta who overran the whole of India according to the details given in the Allahabad pillar inscription.²⁷
9. According to Greek historians like Justinus, Appianus etc., Seleukos built friendly ties with Sandrokottus and entered into relations of marriage with him.²⁸ The Allahabad pillar inscription tells us that the kings of the North-West region offered their daughters in marriage to Samudragupta (*Kanyopāyanadāna...*). There is nothing in Indian sources to prove this fact with reference to Chandragupta Maurya.
10. The Jain work “Harivamśa” written by Jinasena gives the names of the dynasties and kings along with the duration of their rule since the time of the nirvāṇa of Mahāvira. Jinasena mentions nothing about the Mauryas but he tells us that the Gupta kings ruled for 231 years. Western historians fixed the date of

Mahāvira-nirvāṇa in 527 BCE which means that the Mauryas ruled after Mahāvira-nirvāṇa but Jaina Purāṇas and Jaina Pattāvalis had no knowledge of the Mauryas after Mahāvira-nirvāṇa. Thus, Mauryas ruled prior to Mahāvira-nirvāṇa. Therefore, Sandrokottus can only be identified with Samudragupta. The date of Mahāvira-nirvāṇa will be discussed in Chapters 5 & 7.

11. If Sandrokottus was indeed Chandragupta Maurya, why do none of the Greek sources mention about Aśoka, the most illustrious and greatest of Mauryan kings? It is evident that Greek sources had no knowledge of Aśoka. Therefore, the ancient Greeks were contemporaries of the Gupta kings and not the Mauryas.

In view of the above, Samudragupta was the contemporary of Alexander and not Chandragupta Maurya. Unfortunately, this distorted history has been taught to Indians since the last 231 years. Indian historians also blindly followed the footsteps of Western historians.

Western historians were born and brought up in a Christian society and therefore, faithful to the Biblical conception of the creation of the world in 4004 BCE. They knew the fact that the antiquity of Greece and other European countries was not older than 1000 BCE. When they encountered the fact that the antiquity of Indian civilisation is greater than 6776 BCE, they could not swallow it. Therefore, they started distorting the chronology of ancient India. First of all, William Jones conspired and deliberately cut down 1200 years of Indian history by identifying Sandrokottus as Chandragupta Maurya. To cover up this distortion, Jones declared that the Puranic account of Indian history is mythological and unreliable but selectively accepted the genealogy of various dynasties from the Purāṇas. Actually, many Western historians pursued their research with the objective of curtailing the antiquity of the chronology of ancient India so that the supremacy of ancient Greek civilization could be established.

Western historians were fascinated with the history of Alexander from their childhood. They started searching for the footprints of Alexander's invasion in India. Interestingly, there is no reference of

Alexander's invasion in Indian literary sources because it was actually a non-event for Indians. Western scholars concocted the theory that the Yavanas mentioned in Indian sources are Greeks. According to various Indian sources, Yavana kingdoms existed in Indian history since the Mahābhārata war that located in the west and north sides of the Indus River. Thus, Indian Yavanas were more ancient than the birth of ancient Greek civilisation.

In fact, it can be confidently stated that the great victory of Alexander and the homesickness of Greek soldiers were concocted by historians of Alexander who were employed by him to chronicle his achievements. Probably, the army of Alexander was comprehensively defeated by the Indian king Poros and the wounded Alexander and his army had to flee through the channels of Indus River and they landed on the shores of Arabian Sea. They were then forced to march along the dry Makrān and Persian Gulf coast and somehow finally, made it back to Babylonia where the wounded young Alexander died in 323 BCE at the age of 33 years. It may be noted that Alexander employed the historians to chronicle his victories not the defeats. Therefore, Greek historians concocted that the victorious army of Alexander fell homesick and feigned the ignorance of geography for the return journey through the channels of Indus River. It is unbelievable that the victorious army of Alexander fell homesick otherwise they could have amassed unimaginable wealth from India, the most prosperous country of the world of the times. Moreover, Megasthanes, who was sent as ambassador to King Poros by Seleukos, mentions that Poros was even greater than Sandrokottus. If Poros was defeated and appointed as satrap by Alexander, how could he become greater than Sandrokottus? After the death of Alexander, his generals decided to divide his Empire among themselves but interestingly, no part of India east of the Indus River was included as part of Alexander's Empire. Therefore, it seems that the victory of Alexander over the Indian king Poros, the homesickness of his army and the ignorance of geography were just concocted stories by paid Greek historians of Alexander. Strabo once stated:

"Generally speaking, the men who have hitherto written on the affairs of India were a set of liars. Deimachos holds the first place in the list; Megasthanes comes next; while Onesikritos and Nearchos with

others of the same class, manage to stammer out a few words of truth.”²⁹

As quoted by Kota Venkatachalam, Troyer also rejected the identification of Chandragupta Maurya with Sandrokottus and pointed out that one of the Chandraguptas of the Gupta dynasty should be taken as Sandrokottus.³⁰ If Samudragupta is accepted as Sandrokottus the contemporary Indian king of Alexander and the epoch of Śaka coronation era in 583 BCE as discussed in Chapter 2, there will be no conflict in the traditional Indian records and epigraphic records. Moreover, we need not declare certain copper plate inscriptions “forgeries”. Unfortunately, the Eurocentric and distortionist approach of Western historians caused extreme damage to the chronology of ancient India. These intellectuals having no integrity pursued their research by distorting and concocting numerous so-called historical facts which are nothing less than “fraud”.

The Gupta Empire after Samudragupta

Samudragupta was the greatest king of the Gupta dynasty whose authority ran from Kāñchi in the South to the Himālayas in the North and from Kāmarūpa (Assam) and entire Bengal on the East to Yamuna and Chambal on the West. He also performed the Aśvamedha ritual to proclaim his supremacy. Samudragupta had two sons namely Rāmagupta and Chandragupta II.

Rāmagupta (279-278 BCE): Three Vidiśā stone image inscriptions³¹ indicate that Rāmagupta succeeded his father Samudragupta but he ruled for a very short period. The “Nātyadarpana” of Rāmachandra Guṇachandra tells us that Rāmagupta was the successor of Samudragupta. According to a Sanskrit drama “Devīchandraguptam” written by Viśakhadutta, Rāmagupta was besieged by a Śaka ruler in the course of a war. Rāmagupta had to agree to surrender his queen Dhruvadevi but his brother Chandragupta II could not tolerate this humiliating agreement. He decided to go to the enemy’s camp in the guise of the queen in order to kill the Śaka king. He succeeded in his plan and freed his brother Rāmagupta but the reputation of Rāmagupta suffered a lot. Gradually, this resulted in enmity between the brothers.

Ultimately, Chandragupta II killed his brother Rāmagupta and became the king of Gupta Empire. He also married Rāmagupta’s wife

Dhruvadevi. Bāṇabhatta's Harshacharita also mentions that Chandragupta, in the guise of female, killed the Śaka king at the capital city of the enemy.

Chandragupta II (278-242 BCE): Chandragupta II was the son of Samudragupta and Dattadevi. His regnal title was "Vikramāditya". According to *Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta*, Chandragupta II ruled for 36 years which is in conformity with his inscriptions dated between Gupta Samvat 61(274 BCE) and 93 (242 BCE). Probably, the Mathura inscription of Chandragupta II was dated in his 5th regnal year and Gupta Samvat 61. He defeated the Western Śaka kṣatrapas and advanced to the Arabian Sea and subjugated the peninsula of Saurāṣṭra or Kāṭhiāwār. Chandragupta II married Dhruvadevi and also Kuveranāgā of the Nāga family. Kumāragupta I was born to Dhruvadevi whereas the daughter Prabhāvati Gupta was born to Kuveranāgā. Prabhāvati Gupta was married off to the Vākātaka king Rudrasena II. Prabhāvati Gupta's son the Vākātaka king Pravarasena II referred to his maternal grandfather Chandragupta II as Devagupta.³²

The King Chandra mentioned in the Mehrauli iron pillar inscription³³ is generally identified as Chandragupta II who conquered Bāhlikas after crossing "the seven mouths of the river Sindhu". In my opinion, King Chandra of the Mehrauli inscription may not be Chandragupta II because there is no supporting evidence that he ever conquered the Bāhlika king crossing the Indus River. The script of inscription also suggests that it may have been written around 600-500 BCE. Probably, the king Chandra was the ruler of the Nāga dynasty in Vidiśā region and flourished at least 200 years before Vindhyaśakti, the founder of Vākātaka dynasty as recorded in the Puranas³⁴ (*Bhogo bhavisyate rājā nṛpo Nāgakulodvahāḥ | Sadācandrastu Chandrāśo dvitīyo Nakhavānsthāḥ* ||). It is also wrongly believed that the Chinese pilgrim Fāhien visited India during the reign of Chandragupta II. Fāhien visited India around 399-411 CE whereas Chandragupta II ruled in the 3rd century BCE.

Kumāragupta I (241-199 BCE): Kumāragupta was the son of Chandragupta II and Dhruvadevi. His regnal title was "Mahendrāditya". According to *Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta*, Kumāragupta I ruled for 42 years which is in conformity with his inscriptions dated between Gupta Samvat

96 (239 BCE) and 129 (206 BCE). His silver coins give his last date as Gupta Samvat 136 (199 BCE). He had two sons, Purugupta and Skandagupta. It appears that Kumāragupta I had a younger brother named Govindagupta. According to one Mandasor inscription³⁵ of King Prabhākara, Chandragupta II's son Govindagupta was ruling in central India in Mālava-gaṇa era (Kārttikādi Vikrama era) 524 (194 BCE).

Another Mandasor inscription of Bandhuvarman³⁶ was engraved and placed in the temple of Sun during the reign of Kumāragupta I. This inscription is dated in Mālava-gaṇa era 493. JF Fleet assumed that the Mālava-gaṇa era and the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE) share the same epoch in 57 BCE. Actually, the Mālava-gaṇa era (Kārttikādi Vikrama era) also named as Kṛta era commenced in 719-718 BCE which means 661 years before the commencement of Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE). We will discuss the Mālava-gaṇa and Kṛta era in detail in Chapter 5. Thus, the inscription of Bandhuvarman is dated in Mālava-gaṇa 493 (226-225 BCE) and the inscription was engraved on 6th December 226 BCE.

Interestingly, the second inscription, which is dated in 529 elapsed, has been engraved as an addendum to the inscription of Bandhuvarman. This inscription was composed by Vatsabhaṭṭi on the occasion of renovation of the temple. Vatsabhaṭṭi did not mention the era in which the date was recorded or the name of the ruling king but he unambiguously tells us that when a considerable long time has passed away and some other kings also have passed away, one part of this temple shattered; hence this whole edifice of the Sun was again renovated by the magnanimous guild (*Bahūnā samatītena kālenānyaiśca pārthivaiḥ | vyāśtryadaikadeśo'sya bhavanasya tato'dhunā ||*). Historians concocted that one part of the temple was damaged in lightening because it is highly impossible that a newly built temple went into renovation within 36 years. Vatsabhaṭṭi clearly tells us that one part of the temple shattered after a considerable long period.

Eminent historians accepted that Vatsabhaṭṭi's inscription is dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama era 529 (472 CE). Actually, the statement of Vatsabhaṭṭi clearly indicates that a considerable long time passed and that some other kings also passed away after Bandhuvarman and

Kumāragupta I. Bandhuvarman was the son of Viśvavarman. The earliest inscription of Viśvavarman³⁷ is dated in Mālava-gaṇa 480. Bandhuvarman would have ascended the throne as the ruler of Dāsapura (Mandasor) around Mālava-gaṇa 492. Kumāragupta II was ruling up to Gupta Saṃvat 136 (Mālava-gaṇa 519). Undoubtedly, Skandagupta was the ruler in Mālava-gaṇa 529. Therefore, Bandhuvarman and Kumaragupta II may have passed away by Mālava-gaṇa 529 but this does not justify the statement of Vatsabhaṭṭi.

Actually, there is a gap of 36 years between Malava-gana 493 to 529 which means Vatsabhaṭṭi was born during the reign of Bandhuvarman. If so, it is illogical to say that a considerable long time passed and that some other kings also passed away. Thus, it can be concluded that Vatsabhaṭṭi did not refer to the Mālava-gaṇa era. Most probably, Vatsabhaṭṭi referred to the Śaka era (583 BCE). Therefore, Vatsabhaṭṭi's inscription was engraved on the 2nd day of the bright fortnight of the Phālguna (Tapasya) month in Saka 529 elapsed (11th February 53 BCE) whereas Bandhuvarman's inscription was engraved on 13th day of the bright half of Puṣya (Sahasya) month in Mālava-gaṇa 493 elapsed (6th December 226 BCE). Thus, there was a gap of 171 years between Malava-gana 493 to Śaka 529 which fully justifies the statement of Vatsabhaṭṭi.

Moreover, Vatsabhaṭṭi's poetry indicates that he was conversant not only with the "Meghadūtam" but also with the "Ritusamīhāram" of Kālidāsa. Kālidāsa's influence on Vatsabhaṭṭi is well known to the Indologists. As discussed in Chapter 3, Kālidāsa was in the court of Ujjain king Vikramāditya and his lifetime can be fixed between 105 BCE to 25 BCE. Therefore, Vatsabhaṭṭi was a contemporary of Kālidāsa.

Skandagupta (199-177 BCE): Skandagupta was the son of Kumāragupta I. His regnal title was "Parākramāditya". It appears that Skandagupta himself led the army against the Hūṇas and defeated them during the reign of his father Kumāragupta I as recorded in the Bhitari inscription³⁸ found in Ghazipur district of Uttar Pradesh. According to *Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta*, Skandagupta ruled for 25 years. The Sāranāth inscriptions³⁹ of Kumāragupta II and Budhagupta are dated in Gupta Saṃvat 154 (181 BCE) and 157 (178 BCE) respectively but Budhagupta was mentioned as "Mahārājādhirāja" only in Gupta Saṃvat 159 (176 BCE) onwards.⁴⁰

According to the Jūnāgarh inscription⁴¹ of Skandagupta, the embankment of the Sudarśana lake in Saurāṣṭra burst due to incessant rains in Gupta Samvat 136 (199 BCE). It went into major repair works during the reign of Western Śaka Kśatrapa Rudradāman I in Śaka 72 (511 BCE). Skandagupta's Governor in Saurāṣṭra named Chakrapālita, the son of Parṇadatta, undertook the task of repairing Sudarśana lake and completed it by Gupta Samvat 137 (198 BCE).

The decline of the Gupta Empire

The Gupta Empire began to decline after the death of Skandagupta. Skandagupta had no heir of his own and adopted Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya, the son of his half-brother Purugupta or Sthiragupta Prakāśāditya and Chandradevi. According to *Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta*,⁴² Sthiragupta (Purugupta) and Narasiṁhagupta ruled for 40 years from 176 BCE to 136 BCE.

"Tato Nṛsiṁhaguptaśca Bālāditya iti śrutiḥ ।
 putraḥ Prakāśādityasya Sthiraguptasya bhūpateḥ ॥
 Niyuktaḥ svapitṛvyena Skandaguptena Jīvatā ।
 Pitraiva sākam bhavitā catvāriṇisat samāḥ nṛpaḥ ॥"

Epigraphic evidence suggests that Budhagupta, probably the elder son of Purugupta and Chandradevi, also ruled between Gupta Samvat 157 (178 BCE) to 168 (167 BCE). Probably, Budhagupta and Narasiṁhagupta jointly ruled the Gupta Empire under the guidance of their father Purugupta after the death of Skandagupta.

According to *Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta*, Kumāragupta II, the son of Narasiṁhagupta and Mittradevi, ruled for 44 years from 136 BCE to 92 BCE. His regnal title was "Kramāditya". Kumāragupta II defeated the Maukhari king Isānavarman. The Haraha (Barabanki, UP) stone inscription⁴³ of Sūryavarman (son of Isānavarman) is dated in Kṛta era 611 (107 BCE).

It may be noted that the Kṛta or Mālava-gaṇa era commenced in 719-718 BCE whereas Western historians wrongly identified it to be Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE).

Kumāragupta II was also in regular conflict with the Hūṇas.

*"Anyaḥ Kumāragupto'pi putrastasya mahāyaśāḥ |
Kramāditya iti khyāto Hūṇairyuddham samācaran ||
Vijityeśānavarmādīn Bhatārkenānusevitāḥ |
catuścatvāriṁśadeva samāḥ bhokṣyati medinīm ||"*

It seems that the Maukhari king Iśānavarman established his kingdom around 130-100 BCE. Verse 13 of the Haraha inscription clearly mentions that Iśānavarman defeated the kings of Āndhra (Probably, Viṣṇukundin king Indra Bhaṭṭarakavarman) and Gauda.

*"Jitvāndhrādhipatim sahasra-gaṇita-tredhāksaradvāraṇam,
vyāvalgan niyutāti-saṅkhya-turagān bhaṅgktvā rāṇe Śūlikān |
Kṛtvā cāyatimaucita-sthala-bhuvo Gaudān samudrāśrayān,
adhyāsiṣṭa nata-ksitīśa-caraṇaḥ simhāsanam yo jitī ||"*

According to the Haraha inscription, Sūryavarman, the son of Iśānavarman, was born when his father was on the throne which means Sūryavarman was born around 140-135 BCE. Iśānavarman took advantage of the declining Gupta Empire because the Gupta kings were in regular conflict with the Hūṇas. Despite the fact that Kumāragupta II had defeated Iśānavarman once, he could not stop the gradual disintegration of the Gupta Empire.

The meteoric rise of Yasodharman⁴⁴ in Mālava region in Mālava-gaṇa era 589 (129 BCE) is also another example of the declining Gupta Empire. Kumāragupta II was succeeded by his son Vishnugupta. Damodarpur grant⁴⁵ of Vishnugupta is dated in Gupta Samvat 224 (111 BCE). According to *Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta*, the Gupta Empire disintegrated completely by the end of the rule of Kumāragupta II (*Magadhānām mahārājyam cīnnam bhinnam ca sarvaśah*).

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang visited India around 630-645 CE. Historians wrongly believed that Hiuen Tsang arrived in India when the Gupta Empire declined. Actually, the Gupta Empire declined at least 700 years before the arrival of Hiuen Tsang. Therefore, it is absurd to interpret some of his statements as historical accounts of the Guptas. Hiuen Tsang states that Śakrāditya's son was Budhagupta and he was succeeded by Ta-ta-ka-to-ku-to. After Ta-ta-ka-to-ku-to, his son Bālāditya II succeeded to the throne whose son was Fa-she-lo. Historians

speculated Śakrāditya as Kumāragupta and Ta-ta-ka-to-ku-to as Tathāgatagupta etc. It is just a distortion of Hiuen Tsang's statements to prove that Śakrāditya and Tathāgatagupta of the 6th century belonged to the Gupta dynasty so that the epoch of the Gupta era can be established in 319 CE.

The Chinese pilgrim I-tsing travelled in India around 671-695 CE. He referred to a king named Chi-li-ki-to who ruled five hundred years before his time as having built a temple exclusively for Chinese priests. Some historians deliberately speculated Chi-li-ki-to to be Śrigupta so that the rule of the Guptas can be established in the 4th century CE. Surprisingly, Western historians concocted that Meghavarṇa, the king of Cylon, was a contemporary of Samudragupta without any evidence. Moreover, the date of Meghavarṇa is itself uncertain.

Kashi Prasad Jaiswal in his "History of India" (p. 115) came to the conclusion from a Sanskrit drama named "*Kaumudi Mahotsava*" that the Varmans (Sundaravarman, Kalyānavarman, etc.) were ruling Magadha around the 4th century CE. According to Chinese historians, Yung-nai, an Indian king of Kiapili, sent his ambassadors to China in 428 CE.⁴⁶ Some scholars identified "Yung-nai" with Yagñavarman. If the Gupta era had indeed commenced in 319 CE, Kumāragupta I was the king around 428 CE and not Yagñavarman. It is evident that the Chinese sources of the 4th to 6th centuries do not provide any evidence to prove that the Guptas ruled around the 4th to the 6th century.

Western historians said that the later Gupta kings replaced the imperial Guptas based on the Shahpur and Aphysad stone inscriptions of Adityasena.⁴⁷ These scholars knew that the Shahpur inscription of Adityasena was dated in the Sri Harsha era 66. According to Alberuni, the Sri Harsha era commenced in 457 BCE. Thus, Shahpur inscription was engraved around 391 BCE and therefore, the so-called later Gupta kings were actually the early Gupta kings. Western historians distorted the statement of Alberuni to establish the fictitious epoch of the Sri Harsha era in 606 CE. We will discuss the Sri Harsha era in detail in Chapter 6.

According to *Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta*, the Gupta dynasty ruled for 245 years (*Bhokṣyanti dve śate pañca-catvāriṁśacca vai samāḥ!*). The last

Gupta inscription (Damodarpur grant of Viṣṇugupta) is dated in Gupta Saṁvat 224. Jinasena's Harivaiṁśa Purāṇa⁴⁸ tells us that the Guptas ruled for 231 years whereas Jinabhadra Kśamāśramaṇa refers to the duration of the Gupta rule as 255 years. Thus, the 245 years duration of the Gupta rule seems to be more accurate.

The chronology of the Gupta Dynasty:

	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Gupta Saṁvat</i> (335 BCE)	<i>In CE</i>
Śrigupta	—	—	—
Ghaṭotkachagupta	—	—	—
Chandragupta I	7 years	0-4	338-331 BCE
Samudragupta	51 years	5-55	331-280 BCE
Rāmagupta	2 years?	56-57?	279-278 BCE
Chandragupta II	36 years	57-93	278-242 BCE
Kumāragupta I	42 years	94-136	241-199 BCE
Skandagupta	23 years	136-158	199-177 BCE
Purugupta	—	—	—
Budhagupta	—	—	—
Narasīṁhagupta Bālāditya	40 years	159-199	176-136 BCE
Kumāragupta II and	—	—	—
Viṣṇugupta	44 years	200-243	136-92 BCE

Total duration of the Gupta Rule was 245 years.

The Vākātaka Dynasty

The Vākātaka dynasty was one of the greatest royal dynasties of Central and South India. This dynasty flourished around the 4th century BCE to the 2nd century BCE. Their Kingdom once extended from Vidiśā (Mālava) and Gujarat in the north to the Tungabhadra in the south and from the Arabian Sea in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east. Vindhyaśakti of Viṣṇuvṛddha gotra was the founder of Vākātaka dynasty. The Amarāvati (Guntur) pillar inscription⁴⁹ mentions a certain Gr̥hapati Vākātaka "Gahapatisa Vākātakasa" who had gone to Amarāvati with his wives to make donations which indicates the south-Indian origin of Vākātaka dynasty. Unfortunately, all the inscriptions of Vākātakas are dated only in regnal years. The chronology of the Vākātakas can be

reconstructed based on the Poona plates⁵⁰ of Prabhāvati Gupta, the queen of Vākātaka king Rudrasena II. Prabhāvati Gupta was the daughter of the Gupta king Chandragupta II (278-242 BCE). Therefore, Vindhyaśakti must have ruled at least 100 years before this matrimonial alliance between the Guptas and Vākātakas, placing his period of reign around 385-365 BCE.

Pravarasena I, the son of Vindhyaśakti, succeeded him and consolidated the Vākātaka kingdom taking advantage of the decline of the Śātavāhana Empire. According to Purāṇas,⁵¹ Pravarasena I ruled for 60 years (365-305 BCE) [*Vindhyaśaktisutaścāpi Praviro nāma vīryavān | Bhokṣyate ca samā Ṣaṣṭi purīm kāncanakā ca vai ||*]. Interestingly, the coins of Pravarasena I were found only in the Mathura region and not in the Vākātaka kingdom. Purīka city in Vidarbha was the earliest capital of the Vākātakas. Pravarasena I had four sons but only two names Gautamiputra and Sarvasena are known to us. Gautamiputra's son Rudrasena I succeeded his grandfather Pravarasena I whereas Sarvasena also became king and founded the Vatsagulma (Basim) branch of the Vākātakas.

According to the Vākātaka genealogy given in inscriptions, King Bhavanāga of Bhāraśiva dynasty was the maternal grandfather of Rudrasena I who was ruling at Padmāvati near Gwalior. King Bhavanāga's successor was Nāgasena who was defeated by Samudragupta. It appears that Rudrasena I established his authority in the Vākātaka succession struggle with the help of his maternal grandfather despite his three uncles. Thus, Rudrasena I became the successor of the main branch of the Vākātakas and ruled for 25 years (305-280 BCE). He was succeeded by his son Prithvisena I. Chandragupta II was engaged in regular conflict with Western Śaka kṣatrapas. It seems that Prithvisena I supported Chandragupta II in his expedition leading to the conquest of Saurāṣṭra. Thus, Vākātakas became the allies of the Guptas and Chandragupta II married off his daughter, Prabhāvatigupta to Vākātaka Yuvarāja Rudrasena II around 265 BCE. Prithvisena I may have ruled for 30 years (280-250 BCE). His son Rudrasena II ascended the throne but unfortunately died after completing five regnal years (250-245 BCE). The Mandhal grant⁵² of Rudrasena II is dated in his 5th regnal year.

Rudrasena II had three sons, Divākarasena, Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena II. Prabhāvatigupta had to act as regent to her minor son Yuvarāja Divākarasena after the death of her husband. It is quite likely that she had the full support of her father Chandragupta II and brother Kumāragupta I to effectively administer the Vākātaka kingdom. The Poona plates of Prabhāvatigupta are dated in her 13th regnal year. Divākarasena may have died soon after her 13th regnal year and she continued to be regent for her younger son Dāmodarasena for a few more years. Thus, she ruled for 15 years (245-230 BCE). Probably, Dāmodarasena's period of rule was between 230 BCE and 210 BCE. Thereafter, Prabhāvtigupta's youngest son, Pravarasena II ascended the throne around 210 BCE.

It appears that Pravarasena II's great-grandfather Rudrasena I or grandfather Prithvisena I may have shifted the Vākātaka capital from Purika to Nandivardhana (Nāgardhan) near Rāmagiri or Rāmtek, Nagpur. Kālidāsa's *Meghadūtam* also mentions Rāmagiri (*Rāmagiryāśrameṣu*). The Poona plates of Prabhāvatigupta were issued from Nandivardhana. Pravarasena II shifted his capital from Nandivardhana to Pravarapura (Probably, Pavanar in Wardha district) prior to his 18th regnal year. The Chammak grant⁵³ of Pravarasena II was issued from Pravarapura in his 18th regnal year. From the more than 16 copper plate inscriptions of Pravarasena II that have been discovered so far, it is clear that the reign of Pravarasena II was generally peaceful and prosperous. Undoubtedly, Pravarasena II ruled for at least 30 years (210-180 BCE). The Pandhurna grant⁵⁴ of Pravarasena II was issued in his 29th regnal year. He also married his son Narendrasena to Ajjhitabhaṭṭārikā, a daughter of Kuntala king, probably, the Kadamba king Simhavarman II (205-182 BCE).

Interestingly, the Riddhapur plates⁵⁵ dated in the 19th regnal year (201 BCE) of Pravarasena II describe Prabhāvatigupta as "Sāgra-varṣā-sata-jīva-putra-pautrā" which clearly tells us that Prabhāvatigupta was in her 101st year amidst her sons and grandsons. It is evident that the Riddhapur plates were issued on the occasion of the completion of the 100th birth year of Prabhāvatigupta. Dr. RC Majumdar once rightly argued that Prabhāvatigupta was already more than a 100 years old by

the time of the 19th regnal year of Pravarasena II but Dr. VV Mirashi distorted the fact by claiming that the expression referred to the long life blessing for her sons and grandsons.⁵⁶ Undoubtedly, the expression “*Sāgra-varṣa-sata-jīva-putra-pautrā Śri Mahādevi-Prabhāvatigupta*” tell us that she lived more than 100 years. Therefore, Prabhāvatigupta must have born around 291 BCE and married Rudrasena II around 265 BCE. Dr. Mirashi also distorted the meaning of the expression “*Vākātakānām Mahārāja-Dāmodarasena-Pravarasena-janani*” and argued that Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena II were identical and Dāmodarasena assumed the coronation name of Pravarasena II but he could not provide any evidence.

Dr. VV Mirashi and other historians have distorted these facts to establish that Kālidāsa was still alive during the initial years of Pravarasena II’s accession. Pravarasena II was also a learned person. He wrote the famous “*Setubandha*”, a Kāvya glorifying Rama in the Prakrit language. He also composed several Prakrit Gāthās which have been included in the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*. According to Rāmadāsa the commentator of the *Setubandha*, the same kāvya was revised or re-composed in Sanskrit by Kālidāsa in obedience to the order of king Vikramāditya (*Mahārājādhirāja Vikramādityenājñapto nikhila-kavi-cakra-cūḍāmaṇīḥ Kālidāsa-mahāśayaḥ Setubandha-prabandham cikīrṣur.....*). Indian historians blindly believed in the concocted theory of Western historians that Chandragupta II was the Vikramāditya and Kālidāsa was in his court. Since Prabhāvatigupta attained 100 years of age in the 19th regnal year of her youngest son, she ought to have been 81 years old when Pravarasena II ascended the throne but undoubtedly, Chandragupta II died at least a few years before his accession. Kālidāsa, who referred to himself as “*nṛpasakhā*” means the same age group friend of Vikramāditya, may have also died by then. Therefore, it would have been impossible for Chandragupta II to order Kālidāsa to re-compose the work of Pravarasena II.

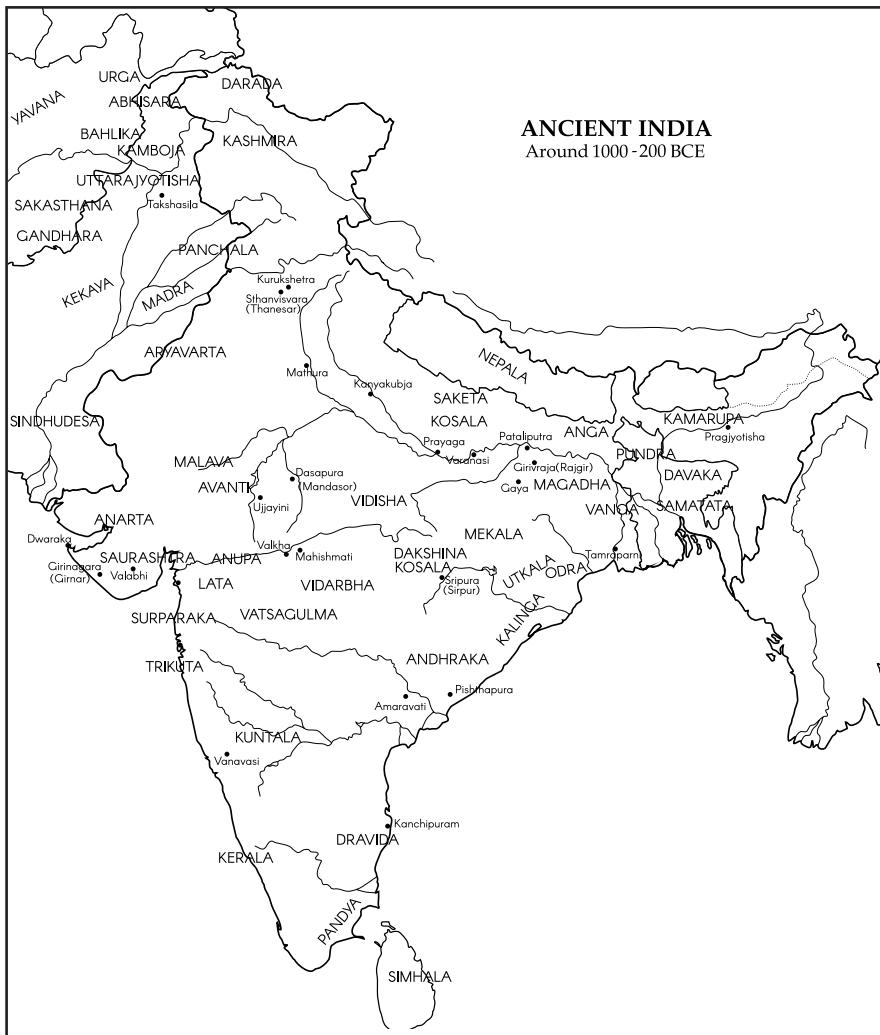
It is well known from Indian literary sources that Kālidāsa was in the court of Ujjain king Vikramāditya and not the Pātalīputra king Chandragupta II and lived in the 1st century BCE. Chandragupta II ruled around 278-242 BCE and Pravarasena II ruled around 210-180 BCE. As discussed in Chapter 3, Kālidāsa lived around 105-25 BCE. Therefore,

Pravarasena II wrote “*Setubandha*” at least 100 years before the birth of Kālidāsa. *Setubandha* became very popular among the scholars during the 2nd century BCE. Considering the popularity of *Setubandha*, the Ujjain king Vikramāditya might have requested Kālidāsa to re-compose it in Sanskrit in the 1st century BCE. Interestingly, some corrupt scholars even doubted Pravarasena II’s authorship of *Setubandha* on the ground that while the theme of the kāvya is Vaiṣṇava, the king was a devotee of Śiva. Since Rāma was himself a devotee of Śiva, therefore this ridiculous argument is not tenable.

Pravarasena II was succeeded by his son Narendrasena. He, probably, ruled for 20 years (180-160 BCE) but faced an invasion by the Nala king Bhavadattavarman in his initial years. The Nala dynasty was ruling in South Kosala (Chattisgarh). Narendrasena lost his kingdom up to Nandivardhana. It seems that he was forced to shift his capital from Pravarapura to Padmapura (in Bhandārā district of Maharashtra). Padmapura was also the city of the ancestors of the famous Sanskrit poet Bhavabhūti. After the death of Bhavadattavarman, Narendrasena not only recaptured his kingdom but also subjugated the kings of Kosala, Mekala and Mālava as stated in the Bālāghat plates.⁵⁷ Prithvisena II succeeded his father Narendrasena as the last of the Vākātaka kings; he ruled for 10 years (160 BCE-150 BCE) and with him, the rule of the Vākātakas ended by 150 BCE.

The chronology of the main branch of Vākātakas:

	<i>In CE</i>
1. Vindhyaśakti	385-365 BCE
2. Pravarasena I	365-305 BCE
3. Rudrasena I	305-280 BCE
4. Prithvisena I	280-250 BCE
5. Rudrasena II	250-245 BCE
6. Prabhāvatigupta (as regent of his son Divākarasena)	245-230 BCE
7. Dāmodarasena	230-210 BCE
8. Pravarasena II	210-180 BCE
9. Narendrasena	180-160 BCE
10. Prithvisena II	160-150 BCE



The Viṣṇukundīn Dynasty

The Viṣṇukundīn dynasty was ruling in the Āndhra region during the reign of Vākātakas. According to the Chikkulla, Tummalagudem and Tundi copper plate inscriptions⁵⁸ of Viṣṇukundīn king Vikramendravarman II, Mādhavavarman II's son Vikramendravarman I belonged to both the Viṣṇukundīn and Vākātaka dynasties (*Viṣṇukundī-Vākātaka-varṇśa-dvayālankṛta-janmanah*). This means the Viṣṇukundīn king Mādhavavarman II married a Vākātaka princess, probably, the

daughter of Pravarasena II. Some historians speculated that Mādhavavarman II might have defeated the Vākātakas but it is just a myth. Vākātakas were more powerful than Viṣṇukundins. The Indrapālanagara (in Nalgonda district) inscription⁵⁹ of Vikramendravarman II is dated in Saka 488 (95 BCE) and also in his 22nd regnal year. Viṣṇukundin kings were the successors of Śālaṅkāyana kings and ruled in the Āndhra region. Based on the date given in Indrapālanagara inscription, the chronology of the Viṣṇukundin dynasty can be reconstructed as given below.

	<i>Saka era (583 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
1. Indravarman	283-318	300-265 BCE
2. Mādhavavarman I	318-348	265-235 BCE
3. Govindavarman I	348-378	235-205 BCE
4. Mādhavavarman II	378-408	205-175 BCE
5. Vikramendravarman I	408-438	175-145 BCE
6. Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman	438-466	145-117 BCE
7. Vikramendravarman II or Vikramendrabhaṭṭārakavarman	467-488	116-95 BCE

The Vatsagulma Branch of Vākātakas

Sarvasena, the son of Pravarasena I was the founder the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākātakas. His capital was Vatsagulma city, modern Basim in the Akola district of Maharashtra. Vatsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* also mentions the city of Vatsagulma and the *Jayamaṅgalā* commentary on *Kāmasūtra* tells us that Vatsa and Gulma were two princes of Dakśiṇāpatha and the province led by them came to be known as Vatsagulma. Interestingly, Guṇāḍhya mentioned in his *Bṛhatkathā* that Vatsa and Gulma were his maternal uncles. Vatsagulma was well known as a centre of learning and culture. Some Ajanta caves of a later period were made during the rule of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākātakas. The Ajanta caves were made around the 8th century BCE to the 2nd century BCE. The earliest group of caves were made under the patronage of the Śātavāhanas and a later group of caves were made under the patronage of Hariṣena, the last Vākātaka king of Vatsagulma branch.

Sarvasena was a learned king and the author of the Prakrit kāvya "Harivijaya". He also authored many Prakrit Gāthās, some of which have been included in the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*. Sarvasena's son Vindhyaśakti ruled for a long period at least for 40 years. The Basim plates⁶⁰ of Vindhyaśakti II were issued in his 37th regnal year. It appears that Vindhyaśakti II's successor Pravarasena II may have ruled for a very short period. According to the Ajanta cave XVI inscription,⁶¹ Pravarasena II' son ascended the throne when he was just 8 years old. Therefore he may have ruled for 50 years. His son Devasena became the king by 210 BCE because his Hisse-Borala inscription⁶² is dated in Saka 380 (203 BCE). This inscription clearly refers to the Śaka era (583 BCE) as "*Sakānām 380*" and not Śālivāhana era (78 BCE). Hariṣeṇa succeeded his father Devasena as the last king of Vākātakas of Vatsagulma branch.

	<i>In CE</i>
<i>Vindhyaśakti</i>	385-365 BCE
<i>Pravarasena I</i>	365-305 BCE
1. Sarvasena	340-305 BCE
2. Vindhyaśakti II or Vindhyasena	305-265 BCE
3. Pravarasena II	265-260 BCE
4. The son of Pravarasena II (name not known)	260-210 BCE
5. Devasena or Devarāja	210-180 BCE
6. Hariṣeṇa	180-150 BCE

The feudatories of the Guptas (Maitrakas, Parivrājakas, Ucchakalpas, Gārulakas and Saidhavas)

The Maitrakas were the feudatories of the Gupta kings and used Gupta Saṁvat in their inscriptions. Bhaṭṭārka was the founder of this dynasty. Bhaṭṭārka and his elder son Dharasena I were the Senāpatis or commanders of the Gupta army in Saurāṣṭra during the reign of Skandagupta and Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya. Maitrakas established the city of Valabhi as their capital. Bhaṭṭārka's second son Dronasirinha called himself "Mahārāja" and used the term "*Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādānudhyāta*" in his Bhamodra Mahota inscription⁶³ dated in Gupta Saṁvat 183 (153-152 BCE). It seems that Dronasimha achieved the status of a feudatory

king of the Guptas during the reign of Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya by 153 BCE. Droṇasiṁha's younger brother Dhruvasena I succeeded him.

Guhasena ruled between Gupta Samvat 235 to 252. The Gupta Empire declined by Gupta Samvat 243 (92 BCE). Taking advantage of the disintegration of the Gupta Empire, Guhasena became a sovereign ruler. Sīlāditya VII was the last ruler of Valabhi. The Alina grant⁶⁴ of Sīlāditya VII is dated in Gupta Samvat 447 (112 CE). More than 70 inscriptions of Maitrakas are available, based on which the chronology of Maitrakas can be reconstructed:

	<i>Gupta Samvat</i> (335 BCE)	<i>In CE</i>
Bhaṭṭarka	140-150	195-185 BCE
Dharasena I	150-170	185-165 BCE
Droṇasiṁha	170-185	165-150 BCE
Dhruvasena I	185 -226	150-109 BCE
Dharapatiṭṭha	227-235	108-100 BCE
Guhasena	235-251	100-84 BCE
Dharasena II	252-275	83-60 BCE
Sīlāditya I (Dharmāditya)	275-295	60-40 BCE
Kharagraha I	295-300	40-35 BCE
Dharasena III	300-312	35-23 BCE
Dhruvasena II (Bālāditya)	312-323	23-12 BCE
Dharasena IV	323-333	12-2 BCE
Dhruvasena III	333-337	2 BCE-2 CE
Kharagraha II	337-340	2-5 CE
Sīlāditya II	340-347	5-12 CE
Sīlāditya III	347-381	12-46 CE
Sīlāditya IV	381-390	46-55 CE
Sīlāditya V	390-415	55-80 CE
Sīlāditya VI	415-442	80-107 CE

A grant⁶⁵ of Valabhi dated in Śālivāhana (*Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta*) 400 (478 CE) tells us that Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭaraka Dharasenadeva was ruling in Valabhi. He was the son of Guhasena II and the grandson of Bhaṭṭarka II. It seems that Bhaṭṭarka II re-established

the rule of Maitrakas in the beginning of the 5th century. Thus, Bhaṭṭārka II ruled around 400-430 CE and Guhasena II ruled around 430-460 CE. This grant is also evidence to prove that the Gupta era commenced much earlier than 319-320 CE. Interestingly, this grant tells us that Guhasena II was proficient in three languages i.e. Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa.

	<i>Śālivāhana era (78 CE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Bhaṭṭārka	322-352	400-430 CE
Guhasena II	352-382	430-460 CE
Dharasenadeva or Dharasena V	382-400	460-478 CE

Interestingly, Buhler declared this Valabhi grant a forgery one by erroneously identifying Dharasenadeva with Dharasena II; this is clear because if one considers the epoch of the Gupta era in 319 CE, it is impossible to fix the date of Guhasena's son Dharasena II around 478 CE. The inscriptions of Guhasena and Dharasena II are dated between Gupta Saṃvat 240 and 270. Actually, this erroneous identification of Dharasenadeva could have been avoided if he had accepted the epoch of the Gupta era in the 4th century BCE instead of the 4th century CE. In fact, the blind belief of Western historians in the contemporaneity of Chandragupta Maurya and Alexander not only led to numerous distortions and concoctions in the chronology of ancient India but also created the myth of the existence of forged inscriptions. Truly speaking, the distorted chronology of the Gupta dynasty and the Maitrakas given by Western historians and their followers is a forgery and not the cited Valabhi grant.

Buhler concocted that the Valabhi grant is a forgery because the seal of the grant and the genealogy given are different from other Valabhi grants. There is a gap of 266 years between the last grant of Śīlāditya VII [Gupta Saṃvat 447 (112 CE)] and the Valabhi grant of Dharasenadeva [Śālivāhana 400 (478 CE)]. Dharasenadeva was the grandson of Bhaṭṭārka whereas Dharasena II was the grandson of Dharapāṭṭa. Moreover, Dharasena II never used the title "Deva"— attached to the names of later Valabhi kings from the Grants of Śīlāditya III to Śīlāditya VII. Thus,

Dharasenadeva cannot be identified as Dharasena II, the son of Guhasena I but undoubtedly, a later Valabhi king and the son of Guhasena II who ruled in the 5th century CE, 250 years after Śilāditya VII. Therefore, the seal and the genealogy of Dharasenadeva are different from those of Dharasena II.

Buhler also argued that the Valabhi grant is written in Gurjara characters and closely resembles those of Umota, Bagumra and Ilao plates of Gurjara ruler Dadda II Praśāntarāga of Bharukaccha (Bharoch). Historians again wrongly identified the Dadda of Umota, Bagumra and Ilao grants to be Dadda II. The Kaira grants of Dadda II are dated in the Kalachuri-Chedi era from the year 380 to 392 and two more grants of Dadda II are dated in the year 427 of the Kalachuri-Chedi era. It may be noted that the Kalachuri-Chedi era commenced in 403-402 BCE. Thus, Dadda I and Dadda II flourished in the 1st century BCE and 1st century CE respectively whereas Dadda of Umota, Bagumra and Ilao grants lived in 5th century CE. Therefore, he must be identified as Dadda IV.

Interestingly, Dharasenadeva's Valabhi grant and Umota grant of Dadda IV Praśāntarāga were issued on the same date i.e. 3rd April 478 CE (full moon day of Vaiśākha month in Śālivāhana 400). Valabhi grant and Ilao grant both were written by Reva, the son of Mādhava. Actually, Dadda IV Praśāntarāga was a feudatory of the Valabhi king Dharasenadeva as inscribed on the seals "*Śri-Sāmanta-Dadda*". Thus, these grants not only closely resemble each other but are also almost exact copies of the same text. Therefore, the Valabhi grant of Dharasenadeva is genuine. Interestingly, JF Fleet has rejected the Umota, Bagumra and Ilao plates of Dadda IV Praśāntarāga due to some other complications in his distorted chronology. We will discuss this issue in the context of Kalachuri-Chedi era in Chapter 6.

The Parivrājakas and Ucchakalpas were also feudatories of the Gupta Kings in Madhya Pradesh and Bundelkhand region. The chronology of the kings of Parivrājakas and Ucchakalpas can be reconstructed based on the Gupta era mentioned in their inscriptions.

	<i>Gupta Saṁvat (335 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
The Parivrājakas		
Devādhyā	—	—
Prabhañjana	—	—
Dāmodara	—	—
Hāstin	156-198	179-137 BCE
Samkṣobha	199-210	136-125 BCE
The Ucchakalpas		
Aughadeva	—	—
Kumāradeva	—	—
Jayasvāmi	—	—
Vyāghra	—	—
Jayanta	174-190	161-145 BCE
Sarvanātha	191-215	146-120 BCE

It is quite likely that the Gārulaka kings were also feudatories of the Guptas or the Maitrakas because they used Gupta Saṁvat in their inscriptions. Varāhadāsa I was the founder of the Gārulaka family. It seems that he was a Senāpati. According to the Palitāna plates,⁶⁶ his son Varāhadāsa II and grandson Simhāditya ruled in Gupta Saṁvat 230 to 255.

	<i>Gupta Saṁvat (335 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Varāhadāsa I	—	—
Varāhadāsa II	230	105 BCE
Simhāditya	255	80 BCE

The Saindhavas of Saurashtra were the contemporary kings of the Maitrakas in Gujarat. Probably, they were also feudatories of the Gupta Kings because they used Gupta Saṁvat in their inscriptions. Saindhavas were ruling from the ancient city of Bhūtāmbilika or Bhumilika (Ghumli) in Western Kāthiāwār. They claimed that Jayadratha of the Mahābhārata era was the founder of their family. Jayadratha was the son-in-law of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and the ruler of Sindhu-deśa. The name of Saindhava has been derived from the word Sindhu. Six copper plate inscriptions of the

Saindhavas⁶⁷ were found at Ghumli and dated in Gupta Saṁvat 513 to 596. One more grant⁶⁸ of Jaika II was found in Morbi and dated in Gupta Saṁvat 585.

One undated grant⁶⁹ found in Prabhaspatan (in Junagarh) was issued by a Saindhava king Ahivarman. According to the genealogy given in the grants of Jaika II, Puṣyadeva was the founder of the Saindhava kingdom. The name of Mahārāja Mahāsenāpati Puṣya, the son of Ahivarman is mentioned on the clay seal found at Valabhi. The Navasāri Plates⁷⁰ of Chalukya king Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśirāja dated in Kalachuri-Chedi era 490 (87 CE) mentions the kingdom of Saindhavas. Probably, Puṣyadeva or Krishnarāja I was the contemporary of the Chalukya king Pulakeśirāja. The chronology of the kings of Saindhava family can be reconstructed based on the date mentioned in the Gupta era in their inscriptions.

	<i>Gupta Saṁvat</i> (335 BCE)	<i>In CE</i>
Ahivarman	--	--
Puṣyadeva	400-420	65-85 CE
Krishnarāja I	420-440	85-105 CE
Agguka I	440-460	105-125 CE
Raṇaka	460-480	125-145 CE
Krishnarāja II	480-500	145-165 CE
Agguka II	500-525	165-190 CE
Jaika I	525-556	190-221 CE
Chāmundaśarāja	556-565	221-230 CE
Agguka III	565-580	230-245 CE
Jaika II	580-600	245-265 CE

All the grants of the Saindhava kings refer to them as “*Mahāsāmanta*” meaning feudatories. The Dhiniki grant of King Jaikadeva⁷¹ dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama era 794 (737 CE) refers to him as “*Saurāṣṭramandalādhipatiḥ Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvarah*” denoting that he was an independent ruler.

Dr. AS Altekar rejected the Dhiniki grant as a forgery because all Saindhava rulers were feudatories and the name of Jaikadeva is not

mentioned in the genealogy given by Jaika II. Actually, the problem is again with the epoch of the Gupta era. Considering the epoch of the Gupta era in 319-320 CE, Dr. Altekar believed that Jaika II ruled around 899-919 CE. Thus, Jaikadeva flourished as a sovereign king at least 160 years earlier but Jaika II did not give the name of Jaikadeva, the only sovereign Saindhava ruler in his genealogy consisting of seven generations. Therefore, he declared the Dhiniki grant of Jaikadeva a forgery. Dr. Altekar also argued that the date of the grant is also spurious due to non-occurrence of the eclipse on the date given.

As explained in the beginning of this chapter, the Gupta era commenced in 335 BCE and not in 319 CE. Thus, Jaika II flourished in the 3rd century CE whereas Jaikadeva flourished in the 8th century CE. Therefore, the Dhiniki grant is absolutely genuine. It is likely that Narahari, the chief of accounts department (*Mahākṣapāṭalika*) and the writer of this grant, made a mistake in calculating the year in Chaitrādi Vikrama era. He probably under calculated 10 years while converting the Śālivāhana era or other era into Vikrama era. He calculated 794 instead of 804. Thus, the correct date of the Dhiniki grant must be Chaitrādi Vikrama era 804 (747 CE). The date regularly corresponds to 7th November 747 CE. The solar eclipse was visible in Saurāṣṭra on new moon day of the Kārttika Month and the nakṣatra was Jyeṣṭha.



Chapter 5

The Epoch of the Kṛta, Mālava-gaṇa and Vikrama era

Most of the north Indian inscriptions used the Vikrama era and referred to the era as “Kṛta”, “Mālava-gaṇa” and “Vikrama”. Many inscriptions simply referred to the era as “Saṁvat” without mentioning the name of the era. One Mandasor inscription¹ tells us that “Kṛta” and “Mālava-gaṇa” refer to the same era (*Śri-Mālava-gaṇāmnāte praśaste Kṛta-saṁjñite*). The study of these inscriptions also indicates that the Kṛta era or Mālava-gaṇa era was also referred to as the Vikrama era in a later period. Thus, all historians were in general agreement that the Kṛta era, Mālava-gaṇa era and Vikrama era refer to the same epoch.

However, opinions differ on the origin and originator of the Kṛta era, Mālava-gaṇa era or the Vikrama era. There are two theories about the origin of Vikrama era.

1. The Kṛta era, Mālava-gaṇa era or Vikrama era commenced from the same epoch i.e. 57 BCE.
2. According to Kota Venkatachalam,² the Kṛta era or Mālava-gaṇa era commenced in 725 BCE whereas Vikrama era commenced in 57 BCE.

The issue of the originator of the Vikrama era is also one of the most controversial problems of ancient Indian history and again there are two prime theories relating to this issue:

1. Indian literary and archaeological sources are unanimous in declaring King Vikramāditya of Ujjain, the originator of the Vikrama era.
2. Western historians and their followers propounded that the Scythian king Azes I or the Parthian king Vonones initiated this era in North-Western India from where it was later brought to Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh by the Mālava people.

John Marshall was the first to suggest that the Mahārāja Aya mentioned in the Takśaśilā silver scroll inscription³ dated in the year 136 and the Mahārāja Aja mentioned in the Kalwan copper-plate inscription⁴ dated in the year 134 were one and the same and that it was the era used in the inscriptions of the Scythian king Azes I was the actual so-called Vikrama era. BN Mukharjee has also cited five more inscriptions⁵ of Mahārāja Aya dated in the years from 63 to 126 and strongly propagated the theory that the era used in Mahārāja Aya's inscriptions is actually the Azes era which was later known as the Vikrama era. He also opined that the Azes era came into use out of the continuation of counting the regnal years of king Azes even after his death. DC Sircar suggested that the Parthian king Vonones had initiated this era in the first century BCE. DR Bhandarkar stated that it was probably Puṣyamitra Śunga who initiated this era. VV Mirashi speculated that the Vikrama era was founded by the Mālava people in commemoration of their victory over the Śakas and that it was later named after Vikramāditya Chandragupta II.

Indian literary and archaeological sources, however, tell us that it was Vikramāditya who founded this era. But the racial bias towards Indian literary sources nurtured by Western historians and their followers led us to these baseless speculations. Actually, the distorted chronology of ancient India as presented by such historians cannot prove the existence of King Vikramāditya in the 1st century BCE. Therefore, eminent historians generally believed that King Vikramāditya was purely a mythical figure. Surprisingly, some historians ignorant of the ancient glorious Indian astronomical tradition even speculated that the ancient Indians were not accustomed to the use of eras and that such earlier eras like Kaliyuga, Yudhiṣṭhira, Buddha-nirvāṇa or Mahavira-nirvāṇa were just fictitious inventions of a later age. Thus, the Vikrama era and the Śaka era were supposedly 'founded' originally by foreign rulers.

There being compelling evidence that ancient India was indeed the birth place of astronomy and that the knowledge of astronomy was disseminated to the rest of the world from India, it would be absurd and nonsensical to think that ancient Indians were not accustomed to the use of eras; it is demonstrable that Indians were the first to use eras

such as Saptarṣi era, Kaliyuga era, etc. in the history of human civilisation.

There is enough numismatic and literary evidence to prove that Vikramāditya was the real king of Mālava and not a mythical figure. As a matter of fact, there were two Vikramādityas who ruled over Mālava. Vikramāditya I reigned in the Mālava kingdom around 719-718 BCE and founded the Kārttikādi Vikrama era whereas Vikramāditya II ruled over Mālava around 57 BCE and the Chaitrādi Vikrama era was named after him. I have not considered Chandragupta II (278-242 BCE) as Vikramāditya because Indian literary or archaeological sources refer to Chandragupta II as “Chandragupta-Vikramāditya” but never independently as “Vikramāditya”. All the Gupta kings had regnal names but they never used them independently in their inscriptions. Gupta inscriptions refer to him as Chandragupta whereas Vākātaka inscriptions refer to him as Devagupta. Some of the coins of Chandragupta II have the legend “*Chandragupta-Vikramāditya*”. It is evident that Chandragupta II was generally not referred to as Vikramāditya. Therefore, the coins found with the legends “*Śri Vikramāḥ*”, “*Vikramādityah*”, “*Kśitimatvajitya sucharitairdivam jayati Vikramādityah*”,⁶ etc. must belong to either Vikramāditya I or Vikramāditya II but historians mistakenly identified the Vikramāditya of these coins with Chandragupta II.

The epoch of the Mahavira-nirvāṇa era

Jaina *Paṭṭāvalis* are the historical records of Jainas and provide great deal of information about the early history of Jainas. These *Paṭṭāvalis* used the Mahavira-nirvāṇa era and tell us about the king Vikramāditya who founded the Kārttikādi era in 719-718 BCE. It may be noted that the Śaka era commenced in 583 BCE as discussed in detail in Chapter 2. Therefore, the Śaka era started exactly after an interval of 135 years from the Kārttikādi Vikrama era. Primarily, we have to fix the date of Mahavira-nirvāṇa to reconstruct the early history of the Jainas based on the valuable information available in the ancient Jaina literary sources.

1. According to *Kharatara-gaccha* and *Tapa-gaccha*,⁷ two main sects of Jaina *Paṭṭāvalis*, King Vikramāditya received “*diksā*” of Jainism from the Jaina scholar Siddhasena Divākara in Mahavira-nirvāṇa samvat 470. Thus, Mahavira attained nirvāṇa 470 years before 719-718 BCE.

2. Jaina works like *Tiloyapannati* of Yativṛṣabha, *Harivāṁśa* of Jinasena, *Dhavala* of Āchārya Vīrasena, *Trilocasāra* of Nemichandra, *Mahaviracaritam* of Nemichandra and *Vicāraśreṇi* of Merutunga tell us that Mahavira attained nirvāṇa 605 years and 5 months before the start of the Śaka era (583 BCE) and 470 years before the start of Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE).
3. Jaina works like *Paṭṭāvalis* of Nandi, Sena and Kāṣṭhā sarīghas, *Tiloyapannati*, *Jambūdvīpa-prajñapti Saṅgraha*, *Harivāṁśa*, *Dhavala*, *Jayadhvavala*, *Kalpasūtra*, *Therāvali*, *Pariśiṣṭaparva* and *Prabhāvakacaritam* give the genealogy of the 28 immediate successors of Mahavira up to 683 years from Mahavira-nirvāṇa. These Jaina works also state that by deducting 77 years and 7 months from the period of 683 years, we get 605 years and 5 months, which is the exact interval between Mahavira-nirvāṇa and the beginning of the Śaka era (583 BCE).

According to Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa*, Mahavira became a Siddha in the month of Kārttika, kṛṣṇa pakṣa chaturdaśi and Svāti nakṣatra. Thus, Mahavira attained nirvāṇa on 22nd October 1189-88 BCE, 605 years and 5 months before the commencement of the Śaka era in 583 BCE.

Gradually, during the early medieval period, Indians forgot the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) and Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and it appears that only the Śālivāhana era (78 CE) and the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE) gained popularity during the 11th century CE when Alberuni visited India. Since the Śaka era and the Kārttikādi Vikrama era were generally not in vogue, Alberuni could only collect the information of the epoch of the Śālivāhana era and the epoch of the Chaitrādi Vikrama era. Therefore, eminent historians also could not distinguish between the epochs of the Śaka & the Śālivāhana eras and the Kārttikādi Vikrama & the Chaitrādi Vikrama eras. Thus, some historians erroneously believed the year of Mahavira-nirvāṇa to be 527 BCE on the presumption that the Śaka & the Śālivāhana eras commenced in 78 CE and the Kārttikādi & Chaitrādi Vikrama eras commenced in 57 BCE.

Some historians argued that Mahavira's nirvāṇa occurred in 467 BCE based on the statement of the Jaina author Hemachandra (5th century

CE). The *Pariśiṣṭaparva* of Hemachandra tells us that Chandragupta ascended the throne at Ujjain in the Mahavira-nirvāṇa era 155.

*“Evam ca Śri-Mahavira-mukter-varṣa-śate gate |
Pañca-pañcāśadadhike Chandragupto’bhavannṛpaḥ ||”*

Apart from Hemachandra's work, Sanskrit works like *Bṛhatkathākośa* of Hariṣeṇa, *Bhadrabāhucaritam* of Ratnanandi and Kannada works like *Munivarnśābhyudaya* of Chidānandakavi, *Rājāvalikathe* of Devachandra (1838 CE)⁹ also mention that Chandragupta, the king of Ujjain, became the disciple of Bhadrabāhu. Chandragiri, a cave associated with Bhadrabāhu and a few inscriptions at Śravaṇabelgola in Karnāṭaka also substantiate the visit of Bhadrabāhu to Śravaṇabelgola along with his disciple Chandragupta. The brief story of Bhadrabāhu, the last Śrutakevalin runs thus:

“Bhadrabāhu was the son of a Brāhmaṇa named Somaśarma who was in the court of King Padmaratha or Padmadhara of Devakotta city in Paundravardhana (North Bengal) region. The fourth Śrutakevalin Govardhana met Bhadrabāhu when he was playing with his friends. He became Bhadrabāhu's teacher later. Thus, Bhadrabāhu received “dīksā” of Jainism from Govardhana and became the fifth Śrutakevalin. In the course of his wanderings, Bhadrabāhu went to Ujjain and during his stay in Ujjain, Chandragupta or Chandragupti, the king of Ujjain received “dīksā” of Jainism from Bhadrabāhu. One day, Chandragupta requested Bhadrabāhu to interpret his dreams of the previous night. While explaining them, Bhadrabāhu predicted a twelve-year famine in the kingdom. Therefore, he advised his followers to leave Ujjain and go south. King Chandragupta handed over the reins of kingdom to his son Simhasena and followed his guru. Thus, Bhadrabāhu along with Chandragupta visited Śravaṇabelgola and stayed at Chikka betta or Chandragiri where he died by the Jaina rite of *Sallekhana* or in an attack by a tiger. Chandragupta continued to stay at Chandragiri by worshipping god and died by the rite of *Sallekhana*. Sometime after the death of Chandragupta, his grandson Bhāskara, the son of Simhasena came to Śravaṇabelgola and built Jain temples and a city near Chandragiri which was named Belgola.”

It is evident, according to the ancient Jaina tradition, that Chandragupta or Chandragupti was the king of Ujjain and not

Pātaliputra. He was the father of Siṁhasena and the grandfather of Bhāskara whereas Chandragupta Maurya was the father of Bindusāra and grandfather of Aśoka. Actually, Jain scholars like Hemachandra, Chidānandakavi, etc. of later period mistakenly identified Chandragupta, the disciple of Bhadrabāhu to be Chandragupta Maurya. Moreover, none of the early Jaina works mention Mauryan kings after Mahavira-nirvāṇa. Jaina *Paṭṭāvalis* like *Kharatara-gaccha* and *Tapa-gaccha* mention Bhadrabāhu and his death in Mahavira-nirvāṇa sārvat 170 (1019 BCE) but do not give any details of King Chandragupta. *Harivamīśa*, written by Jinasenāsūri in Śaka 705 (122 CE), gives the details of the duration of the rule of various kings starting from the Nirvāṇa of Mahavira. According to *Harivamīśa*, king Pālaka ascended the throne in the year of Mahavira-nirvāṇa. It is also recorded in Jaina tradition that Chanḍa Pradyota, the king of Avanti, died on the same night Mahavira attained nirvāṇa and was succeeded by his son Pālaka.

Starting from Mahavira-nirvāṇa year,¹⁰

- The Pālaka kings ruled for 60 years
- The Viśaya kings ruled for 150 years
- The Muruñdas ruled for 40 years
- Puṣpamitra ruled for 30 years
- Vasumitra and Agnimitra ruled for 60 years
- The “Rāśabha” kings ruled for 100 years
- Naravāhana ruled for 40 years
- The Bhaṭṭubāṇas ruled for 240 years
- The Gupta kings ruled for 231 years
- Kalkirāja ruled for 42 years
- After Kalkirāja, his son Ajitamjaya began his rule at Indrapura.

Therefore, it is clear that Jaina *Paṭṭāvalis* and *Harivamīśa* carry no mention of Maurya kings after Mahavira-nirvāṇa.

According to the *Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta*, Saptarśi or the Great Bear was in Maghā constellation during the time of Yudhishthira and it was in Śravaṇa constellation during the rule of the Nanda dynasty.

*Saptarśayo Maghāyuktāḥ kāle Yaudhiṣṭhire śatam |
Śravaṇe te bhaviṣyanti kāle Nandasya bhūpateḥ ||¹¹*

Since Śravaṇa is the 15th star in the reverse direction from Maghā, the interval between the times of Yudhiṣṭhira and Nanda was 1500 years. The Nandas ruled for 100 years. Therefore, Chandragupta Maurya ascended the throne 1600 years after Yudhiṣṭhira (3128 BCE or 3109 BCE) and commenced his rule around 1516 BCE whereas Mahavira attained nirvāṇa in 1189-1188 BCE considering 605 years and 5 months before the commencement of the Śaka era (583 BCE). Mahavira attained nirvāṇa 327 years after the accession of Chandragupta Maurya. It is therefore logical not to find any mention of the Mauryas after Mahavira-nirvāṇa in either the, *Harivamśa* of Jinasenāsūri or other early Jaina works.

Later Jaina scholars like Hemachandra, Chidānandakavi, etc. mistakenly identified Chandragupta or Chandragupti, the king of Ujjain to be Chandragupta Maurya. Based on this mistaken identity, some historians believed that the Maurya kings had a second capital at Ujjain and that the accession of Chandragupta Maurya at Ujjain took place in 312 BCE. Therefore, they came to the mistaken conclusion that Mahavira died in 467 BCE. As seen above, Chandragupta Maurya ascended the throne 327 years prior to Mahavira-nirvāṇa and therefore, Chandragupta, the disciple of Bhadrabāhu, cannot be identified with Chandragupta Maurya. It is quite probable that Chandragupta was the one of the earlier kings of the Mālava Gupta dynasty (wrongly referred to as the later Guptas) who became the ruler of Ujjain 155 years after Mahavira-nirvāṇa. Moreover, while Hemachandra calculated the year of the accession of Chandragupta in Mahavira-nirvāṇa samvat 155, other sources such as the *Tiloyapannati* of Yativṛṣabha (2nd century BCE), *Harivamśa* of Jinasenāsūri (122 CE), *Trilocasāra* of Nemichandra, *Vicārasreṇi* of Meruttuṅga and many other Jaina works mention Mahavira-nirvāṇa Samvat 215 as the year that Chandragupta ascended the throne, clearly making it evident that Chandragupta, the disciple of Bhadrabāhu was the king of Ujjain and cannot be identified with Chandragupta Maurya.

Mahavira attained nirvāṇa on 22nd October 1189-1188 BCE exactly 605 years and 5 months before the commencement of the Śaka era in Chaitra month of 583 BCE.

The epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era

According to Jaina *Paṭṭāvalis*, King Gardabhilla became the king of Ujjain in Mahavira-nirvāṇa saṃvat 453 (736-735 BCE) and reigned for 13 years. Early Jaina scholars have preserved an interesting historical story named “*Kālakācārya-kathānaka*” in their works. This story tells us the background of the rise of Vikramāditya in 719-718 BCE. In the Jaina tradition, there were three Kālakācāryas.¹² Kālakācārya I lived around Mahavira-nirvāṇa saṃvat 376 (813-812 BCE) and authored commentaries on “*Nigoḍas*”. Kālakācārya II lived during the reign of king Gardabhilla (736-723 BCE) whereas Kālakācārya III flourished around Mahavira-nirvāṇa saṃvat 993 (196-195 BCE). The famous “*Kālakācārya-Kathānaka*” is the real story of Kālakācārya II.

“King Vairisiṁha of Dhārā (modern Dhar in Madhya Pradesh) had a son named Kālaka and a daughter named Sarasvati, both of whom embraced Jainism at an early age. They went to Ujjain which was the major centre of Jainism in Madhyadeśa. King Gardabhilla, the king of Ujjain at that time was so smitten by Sarasvati’s beauty that he forcibly took her to his palace. All of Kālaka’s efforts and pleas to convince the king to release his sister with honour went in vain. Furious and frustrated Kālaka decided to avenge this humiliation. He went westward, crossed the Sindhu River and reached the country (modern Afghanistan) where a number of Śaka kṣatrapas were ruling as subordinate to the Śāhānuśāhī kings. He successfully persuaded 95 or 96 Śaka kṣatrapas to migrate to India and become independent rulers instead of ruling as subordinates. These Śaka kṣatrapas came to Ujjain accompanied by Kālaka and defeated the King Gardabhilla and imprisoned him. Kālaka thus avenged his humiliation and liberated his sister Sarasvati. The Śaka kṣatrapas declared themselves the kings of Ujjain in Mahavira-nirvāṇa saṃvat 466 (723-722 BCE) and had ruled for four years when Vikramāditya, the Great attacked the Śakas and drove them away. Thus, Vikramāditya became the king of Ujjain and founded the Kārttikādi era in 719-718 BCE which was referred to initially as the Kr̥ta era or Mālava-gaṇa era and later as the Vikrama era.”

Kālakācārya II, also known as Kālakasūri, is repeatedly mentioned as the uprooter of Gardabhilla in Jaina tradition. Apart from the Paṭṭāvalis, Kālakasūri is mentioned in *Sthānakavṛtti*, *Dharmopadeśamālāvṛtti*, *Puṣpamālāvṛtti*, *Samasta-Kālakācārya-Kathā* and *Prabhāvakacaritam*. According to Jaina works, the illustrious king Vikramāditya received “*dikṣā*” of Jainism from Siddhasena Divākara in Mahāvria-nirvāṇa saṃvat 470 (719-718 BCE) and ruled for 60 years. After Vikramāditya, his four successors ruled for a period of 75 years and 5 months. Thus, the dynasty of Vikramāditya ruled for 135 years and 5 months. The Śaka kṣatrapas regrouped themselves and invaded Ujjain again after 135 years and 5 months and re-occupied Ujjain. It is quite probable that the Śaka Mahākṣatrapa Caṣṭana was coronated as the king of Ujjain. He founded the Śaka era in 583 BCE which was referred to as “*Śaka-nṛpa-kāla*”, “*Śaka-nṛpa-rājyābhiseka-saṃvatsara*”, etc.

The chronology of King Vikramāditya and his four successors is given in the *Guruāvali* of *Vṛddhagaccha*:

“*Sunnamuniveyajutta 470 Jinakala Vikkamo varisa-satthi 60 | Dhammaichcho chalisa 40 Gaila panavisa 25 Nahade attha 8 | Ikkammi 3 vasasaye gayami panatisavachcharasadiye 135 | Vikkama-kalau saga na vachcharo puna vi samjao |*”¹³

	<i>Mahavira-nirvāṇa Saṃvat (1189-1188 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
1. Gardabhilla (13 years)	453-466	736-723 BCE
2. Śaka Kṣatrapas (4 years)	466-470	723-719 BCE
3. Vikramāditya (60 years)	470-530	719-659 BCE
4. 1 st successor (40 years)	530-570	659-619 BCE
5. 2 nd successor (25 years)	570-595	619-594 BCE
6. 3 rd successor (8 years)	595-602	594-587 BCE
7. 4 th successor (3 years)	602-605	587-583 BCE
8. Coronation a Śaka king (Probably Caṣṭana)	605 (1 st day of Chaitra month)	19 th February 583 BCE

It is evident from early Jaina sources that Vikramāditya founded an era in Mahavira-nirvāṇa saṃvat 470 (719-718 BCE) when he became the king of Ujjain by defeating the 96 Śakas. *Prabhāvakacarita* of

Prabhāvakasūri mentions that Kālakācārya brought 96 Śakas to Ujjain to uproot Gardabhilla. *Gathāśptaśati*, a Prakrit anthology compiled by the Śātavāhana king Hāla of the 5th century BCE, tells us that Vikramāditya was an illustrious king well known for his generosity and victories (*Samvahana-suha-rasa-tosiena demtena tuha kara lakkham | Chalanena Vikkamaiccha-chariam anusikkhiam tissa |*). The *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya (5th century BCE) also has a record of Vikramāditya. The Rājamahendravaram inscription¹⁴ of Vishnuvardhana dated in Kaliyuga era 2628 (475-474 BCE) refers to Vikramāditya while comparing Vishnuvardhana with Vikramāditya (*Vikramāditya iva rājanya-viṣama-siddhilī*). Subandhu (400-250 BCE), the author of *Vāsavadattā*, also pays tribute to the King Vikramāditya.

The above cited literary sources refer to the great king Vikramāditya who defeated Śakas and founded an era in 719-718 BCE belong to the period prior to the 1st century BCE. The people of Mālava who suffered considerably under the tyrannical four-year rule (723-719 BCE) of the Śakas were liberated when Vikramāditya led the Mālava army and drove away the Śakas, thus elevating Vikramāditya to the status of a legend not only in Mālava but over entire India as well. The people of Mālava considered the rule of Vikramāditya as a golden era and they named the era founded by him as “Kṛta” era. Since this era has commenced from the date of the establishment of Mālava-gaṇa or Mālava republic, it was also referred to as the Mālava-gaṇa era. Interestingly, this era commenced on the 1st tithi of the bright fortnight (*śukla pratipadā*) of Kārttika month in 719-718 BCE i.e. 17th September 719 BCE or 17th October 719 BCE. Undoubtedly, this Kṛta or Mālava-gaṇa era is Kārttikādi and its months are *amānta*. The Nāndśā (Udaypur, Rajasthan) Pillar inscription¹⁵ of Śaktiguṇaguru is the earliest inscription dated in the Kṛta era or Kārttikādi Vikrama era 282 (437 BCE). Two yūpa inscriptions¹⁶ from Barnala (Jaipur) are also dated in Kṛta 284 (435 BCE) and Kṛta 335 (384 BCE).

The inscriptions of the Maukhari, Aulikaras, Pratihāras, Paramāras, Chaulukyas, Chāhamānas, Gāhadwālas and Chandrātreyas (Chandellas) used the epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE).

The Maukharis

The Maukhari was one of the oldest Kṣatriya dynasties of North India. Mukhara was the progenitor of the Maukharis. Later Sanskrit grammarians like Vāmana, Jayāditya and Kaiyatā have mentioned “*Maukharya*” as an example of “*gotrāvayava*”.¹⁷ This indicates that the Maukhari dynasty is derived from one of the ancient gotras. The Haraha inscription¹⁸ claims that the Maukharis are descendants of the hundred sons whom king Aśvapati got as a boon from Vaivasvata (*Sutaśatam lebhe nrpo'śvapatir Vaivasatād.....*) According to the Mahābhārata, Aśvapati was a king of Madra in Central Punjab. Three Yupa inscriptions¹⁹ found in Kota, Rājasthan are the earliest inscriptions of the Maukharis that are dated in the Kṛta or Kārttikādi Vikrama Saṁvat 295 (424–423 BCE). These Yūpas were installed by the three sons (Balavardhana, Somadeva and Balasirin̍ha) of Mahā-Senāpati Maukhari Bala on the 5th tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna month i.e. 26th January 423 BCE.

The Barabar²⁰ and Nagarjuni hill²¹ inscriptions tell us that The Maukharis were reigning in the Gayā region of Magadha as chief feudatories (*Sāmanta-cūḍāmaṇi*). These inscriptions refer to one Maukhari chief Anantavarman, the son of Śārdūlavarmaṇ and the grandson of Yajñavarman. Unfortunately, these inscriptions are not dated. It is quite likely that Yajñavarman, Śārdūlavarmaṇ and Anantavarman ruled as feudatories of the Śātavāhanas in the 6th century BCE. Historians wrongly assumed that they were feudatories of the Imperial Guptas.

According to the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the Maukhari prince Grahavarman, the son of Avantivarman, married Rājyaśrī, the daughter of Prabhākaravardhana of the Puṣpabhūti dynasty and the sister of the illustrious king Sri Harsha. It is established that Sri Harsha founded an era in 457 BCE. Undoubtedly, the marriage of Grahavarman and Rājyaśrī took place prior to 457 BCE. We will discuss the Sri Harsha era in detail in Chapter 6.

The Maukhari kings Avantivarman and Grahavarman were in all probability the descendants of the Maukharis of the Gaya region. Historians concocted the fable that Grahavarman was the grandson of Śarvavarman but the Nalanda seal²² clearly tells us that the name of Śarvavarman's grandson must start with “Sucha” or “Su”.²³ Thus,

Grahavarman was not the grandson of Śarvavarman. Therefore, Śarvavarman's son Avantivarman and Grahavarman's father Avantivarman cannot be the same personage. Moreover, as Śarvavarman was the brother of Sūryavarman and the Haraha inscription of Sūryavarman is dated in Kārtikādi Vikrama era 611 (108-107 BCE), it follows that Grahavarman's father Avantivarman flourished around 400 years before Śarvavarman's son Avantivarman.

According to the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, Suvra was the successor of Graha. Suvra was probably, the son of Grahavarman. One ancient Nepali inscription i.e. the Paśupati inscription of Jayadeva²⁴ tells us that the Licchavi king Śivadeva married the daughter of Bhogavarman, the crest-jewel of the illustrious Varmans of the Maukhari dynasty. This Nepali inscription is dated in Sri Harsha era 157 (300 BCE). Bhogavarman was probably the grandson of Grahavarman; he married the daughter of Ādityasena whose Shahpur inscription²⁵ is dated in Sri Harsha era 66 (391-390 BCE).

The Haraha stone inscription²⁶ of Sūryavarman and the Asirgarh copper seal of Śarvavarman²⁷ give the genealogy of the Maukhari dynasty starting from Mahārāja Harivarman but the Shankarpur grant of Mahārāja Harivarman²⁸ gives the genealogy starting from Mahārāja Sālanaka and also tells us that Mahārāja Harivarman was a feudatory of the Gupta king Budhagupta. Harivarman, Ādityavarman and Iśvaravarman were feudatories of the Gupta kings and were ruling at Kānyakubja (Kanauj). Taking advantage of the decline of the Gupta Empire, Iśvaravarman's son Iśānavarman established the Maukhari Kingdom by defeating the Āndhras, the Śūlikas and the Gauḍas and became Mahārājādhira. According to *Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta*, Kumāragupta II defeated Iśānavarman but he could not re-establish the authority of the Guptas over the Maukharis. Iśānavarman successfully established himself as Mahārājādhira. He had two sons, Sūryavarman and Śarvavarman. Sūryavarman renovated a Śiva temple and recorded it in the Haraha stone inscription dated in Kṛta era 611 (108-107 BCE) during the reign of his father Iśānavarman. Śarvavarman, Ādityavarman and Suchandravarman were the successors of Iśānavarman.

The Mālava Gupta king Ādityasena records in his Aphysad stone inscription²⁹ that his great-grandfather Kumāragupta defeated the Maukhari king Iśānavarman and that Dāmodaragupta also defeated a Maukhari king. Historians mistakenly identified Iśānavarman of the Aphysad inscription with the Iśānavarman of Haraha inscription and referred to the Mālava Guptas as “Later Guptas”. The Shahpur inscription of Ādityasena is dated in Sri Harsha era 66 (391-390 BCE). It may be noted that the Sri Harsha era commenced in 457 BCE. Therefore, Iśānavarman of the Aphysad inscription was the earlier Maukhari king who lived before the Iśānavarman of the Haraha inscription. Therefore, the Mālava Gupta kings must be called the Early Guptas instead of the Later Guptas. The Kadamba king Kākusthavarman married off his daughter to the Mālava Guptas and not the Imperial Guptas as erroneously concluded by historians. The chronology of the Maukharis can be re-constructed based on the above cited facts.

Maukhari kings, the contemporaries of the early Guptas and Sri Harsha:

	<i>In CE</i>
Yajñavarman	620-600 BCE
Śārdūlavavarman	600-570 BCE
Anantavarman	570-550 BCE
Iśānavarman (Iśānavarman I)	550-510 BCE
Avantivarman	510-475 BCE
Grahavarman	475-460 BCE
Suvra or Suvratavarman	460-410 BCE
Bhogavarman	410-370 BCE

Maukhari kings, the contemporaries of the Imperial Guptas:

	<i>In CE</i>
Sālanaka	260-235 BCE
Gītavarman	235-210 BCE
Vijayavarman	210-185 BCE
Harivarman	185-165 BCE
Ādityavarman	165-155 BCE
Iśvaravarman	155-130 BCE
Iśānavarman (Iśānavarman II)	130-100 BCE

Sūryavarman	100-80 BCE
Śarvavarman	90-70 BCE
Ādityavarman	70-50 BCE
Su or Suchandravarman	50-30 BCE

The chronology of the Early Guptas (Later Guptas?) [see Chapter 6]:

In CE

Krishnagupta	640-610 BCE
Harshagupta	610-580 BCE
Jīvitagupta I	580-550 BCE
Kumāragupta	550-520 BCE
Dāmodaragupta	520-490 BCE
Mahasenagupta	490-460 BCE
Mādhavagupta	460-430 BCE
Ādityasena	430-390 BCE
Devagupta	390-360 BCE
Viṣṇugupta	360-330 BCE
Jīvitagupta II	330-300 BCE

The Pānduvarṁśis

The Pānduvarṁśi kings were ruling in the Dakṣiṇa Kosala region (Bilaspur, Raipur, Mahāsamand, and Gariaband districts of Chattisgarh and Sambalpur of Orissa) around the 2nd and 1st century BCE. Sirpur was the capital city of this dynasty. The Sirpur stone inscription³⁰ tells us that the Maukhari king Sūryavarman was the maternal grandfather of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna who ruled Magadha around 100-80 BCE. Tīvaradeva was the grandfather of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna. The Rajim and Baloda grants of Tīvaradeva³¹ used the box-headed script which was in use in Central India during the Vākāṭaka period. Tīvaradeva was the son of king Nannadeva, the grandson of king Indrabala and the great-grandson of king Udayana.

Nannadeva had two sons, Tīvaradeva and Chandragupta. Harshagupta was the son of Chandragupta and married Vāsatā, the daughter of Maukhari king Sūryavarman. Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna, the son of Harshagupta and Vāsatā, had a long reign of 57 years.

	<i>In CE</i>
Indrabala	160-140 BCE
Nannadeva	140-120 BCE
Tīvaradeva	120-100 BCE
Chandragupta	100-80 BCE
Harshagupta	80-55 BCE
Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna	55 BCE - 2 CE

Ajay Mitra Sastry argued³² that the Sūryavarman mentioned in the Sirpur inscription of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna was not the Maukhari king because the Maukharis never ruled over Magadha as their territorial possessions were confined to Uttara Pradesh. He also opined that Iśānavarman's victory over the Gauḍas was just a raid. According to the Haraha inscription, Iśānavarman established a strong Maukhari kingdom by defeating the Āndhras and the Gauḍas which would not have been possible without taking over Magadha. The Gupta Empire ended by the time of Sūryavarman. Undoubtedly, Sūryavarman consolidated the Maukhari kingdom in Magadha following the footsteps of his father. It is also possible that his brother Śarvavarman was ruling at Kanauj whereas Sūryavarman was ruling at Magadha after the death of their father Iśānavarman. Thus, the Sūryavarman mentioned in the Sirpur inscription was undoubtedly the Maukhari king. Interestingly, Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna mentions his maternal uncle Bhāskaravarman who was probably the son of Sūryavarman.

The Aulikaras

The Aulikaras ruled over the western Mālava region of Madhya Pradesh and Mandasor or Dāsapura was their capital. The Aulikara kings used the Mālava-gāṇa saṃvat in their inscriptions. The Mālava-gāṇa era was also known as the Kṛta era. Thus, the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) was used by the Aulikaras. Initially, the Aulikaras were the feudatories of the Imperial Gupta kings but later, became independent rulers. The first family of the Aulikaras ruled around Mālava-gāṇa Saṃvat 430-510 (289-209 BCE). The Mandasor inscription of Naravarman³² is dated in Mālava-gāṇa era 461 (258 BCE) and the

Gangadhar inscription of Viśvavarman³³ is dated in Mālava-gaṇa era 481 (238 BCE). Bandhuvarman mentions Gupta King Kumāragupta I in his Mandasor inscription³⁴ dated in Mālava-gaṇa era 493 (226 BCE).

The chronology of the first family of the Aulikaras:

	<i>Mālava-gaṇa era</i> (719-718 BCE)	<i>In CE</i>
Jayavarman	430-445	289-274 BCE
Śimhavarman	445-460	274-259 BCE
Naravarman	460-480	259-239 BCE
Viśvavarman	480-492	239-227 BCE

One Mandasor inscription³⁵ dated in Mālava-gaṇa era 524 (195 BCE) tells us that King Prabhākara, a Gupta feudatory, was ruling at Dāsapura. A statement by Vatsabhaṭṭi at the end of the inscription of Bandhuvarman talks about the renovation of the Sun temple built by Bandhuvarman. Vatsabhaṭṭi records the year of renovation as 529 without referring to the name of the era but based on his statement [“when a considerably long time has passed away and some other kings also passed away”], it is not possible to justify the year 529 in the Mālava-gaṇa era. It is entirely probable that he was referring to the Śaka era that commenced in 583 BCE.

The second family of the Aulikaras emerged around Mālava-gaṇa era 550 (169 BCE) and ruled over Mālava as independent rulers. A stone slab inscription³⁶ of Prakāśadharman is dated in Mālava-gaṇa era 572 (147 BCE) and two Mandasor inscriptions³⁷ of Yasodharman are dated in Mālava-gaṇa 589 (130 BCE). Yasodharman was the most prominent king of this family.

The chronology of the second family of the Aulikaras:

	<i>Mālava-gaṇa era</i> (719-718 BCE)	<i>In CE</i>
Drumavardhana	—	—
Jayavardhana	—	—
Ajitavardhana	—	—
Vibhiṣaṇavardhana	—	—

Rājyavardhana	—	—
Prakāśadharma	550-575	169-144 BCE
Yaśodharma	575-600	144-119 BCE

Yaśovarman of Kanauj

The Nalanda stone inscription³⁸ of the time of Yaśovarman has records that Mālada, the son of a minister of King Yaśovarmadeva donated certain gifts to the temple that King Bālāditya erected at Nalanda in honour of the son of Śuddhodana i.e. the Buddha. Unfortunately, this inscription is not dated. “*Gaudavaho*”, a poetry written in Mahārāṣṭri Prakrit by Vākpati and Jaina works like *Prabandhakośa* of Rājaśekhara Sūri and *Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri Caritam* of Māṇikya Sūri are the main sources for the history of the reign of Yaśovarman. *Prabhāvaka-Caritam* of Prabhāchandra Sūri, *Vicārasāra-Prakarana* of Pradyumna Sūri and a *Paṭṭāvali* by Ravivardhana Gaṇi also tell us about Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri, a Jaina scholor who was the junior contemporary of Vākpati.

According to the *Gaudavaho*, Yaśovarman was ruling at Kanauj; he conquered Magadha, Vaṅga, Gauḍa and also defeated the Pārasīkas. The killing of the king of Gauḍa by Yaśovarman is the title story of the Prakrit poetry “*Gaudavaho*”. He probably became the most powerful king of North India. As recorded in Jaina sources, Yaśovarman’s son Āmarājā became the king of Kanauj in Kārttikādi Vikrama era 811(91-92 CE). Yaśovarman had quite likely died by then. Thus, the rule of Yaśovarman can be fixed around 30-91 CE. Vākpati, the author of “*Gaudavaho*”, was in the court of Yaśovarman and the famous Sanskrit poet Bhavabhūti was his senior contemporary. Kalhaṇa states in his *Rājatarangiṇī* that Bhavabhūti and Vākpati were in the court of Yaśovarman (*Kavi-Vākpatirāja-Śri-Bhavabhūtyādibhiḥ sevitāḥ..... Yaśovarmā*).³⁹ Therefore, Bhavabhūti and Vākpati flourished in the 1st century CE.

According to Jaina Sources, Yaśovarman invaded and killed the Gauḍa king Dharma and imprisoned his court poet Vākpati. Vākpati wrote “*Gaudavaho*” during his confinement to please king Yaśovarman and thus became his court poet. The *Rājatarangiṇī* of Kalhaṇa mentions a war between the Kashmir King Lalitāditya and Yaśovarman. They entered into a peace treaty but Lalitāditya’s minister Mitraśarman

opposed it. Later, Lalitāditya defeated Yaśovarman comprehensively. Thus, the time of Lalitāditya can be fixed around the 1st century CE. We will discuss the chronology of the kings of Kashmir given by Kalhaṇa in Chapter 8.

Gaudavaho also tells us that Yaśovarman defeated the Pārasikas in the West. The Pārasikas were the Sasanian kings of Persia.

According to Jaina sources, Āmarāja was the son and successor of Yaśovarman. Āmarāja became the Yuvarāja of Kanauj in Saṁvat 807 (87-88 CE) and the king in Saṁvat 811 (91-92 CE). The era mentioned in the Jaina sources was the Kārttikādi Vikrama era that commenced in 719-718 CE. Interestingly, the renowned Jaina scholar Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri was educated by Siddhasena who happened to be the teacher of Yaśovarman's son Āmarāja. Thus, Bappabhaṭṭi was not only the classmate of Āmarāja but also became his teacher. Therefore, Jaina sources referred to Bappabhaṭṭi as "Āmarājaguru", "Āmarāja-pratibodhakāḥ" etc.

The *Vicārasāra Prakaraṇa* of Pradyumna Sūri tells us that Harisūri was born one thousand fifty five years after the nirvāṇa of Mahavira and Bappabhatti Sūri was born around 1300 years after the nirvāṇa of Mahavira.⁴⁰ As discussed above, Mahavira attained Nirvāṇa in 1189 BCE. According to *Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri Caritam*, *Prabandhakośa* and the *Pattāvali* of Ravivardhana Gaṇi, Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri was born in Kārttikādi Vikrama era 800 (80-81 CE) and died in Kārttikādi Vikrama era 895 (175-176 CE). The time of Bappabhaṭṭi can be fixed around Mahavira-nirvāṇa Saṁvat 1269 to 1364 which validates the statement of Pradyumna Sūri that Bappabhaṭṭi flourished around 1300 years after Mahavira-nirvāṇa. Bappabhaṭṭi was born on the 3rd tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada month and in Hasta nakṣatra. The date corresponds regularly to 6th August 80 CE.⁴¹ Therefore, Yaśovarman flourished around 30-91 CE and not in the 8th century CE as concluded by the eminent historians.

According to the *Chacha-Nāmā*,⁴² Rai Harachandra, the son of Jahtal, was ruling at Kanauj during the time of Muhammad bin Kasim (695-715 CE). Kasim sent his emissary to Kanauj and coerced Harachandra to acknowledge his suzerainty and embrace Islam. But Harachandra

replied, "This country (of Kanauj) for about one thousand and six hundred years has been under our rule. During our sovereignty no enemy has ever dared to encroach on our boundary. Now go back to your master and tell him that we are ready for war." The generals of Kasim urged him to declare war but Kasim died before any such war could take place. According to the Chacha-Nāmā, Kasim killed the Hindu king Dāhir and annexed Sindh and Multan. He sent the daughters of King Dāhir as presents to the Khalifa. The daughters of king Dāhir tricked the Khalifa into believing that Kasim had already violated them. The furious Khalifa ordered Kasim to be stitched in ox hides which resulted in his death.

The Chacha-Nāmā clearly tells us that it was King Harachandra who was ruling at Kanauj around 715 CE and not Yaśovarman. Therefore, the Vikrama era used in Jaina sources must be the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and not the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE). Thus, Yaśovarman flourished in the 1st century CE and cannot be a contemporary of Mohammad bin Kasim. King Harachandra was a contemporary of Kasim in the 8th century. Chacha-Nāmā also tells us that a king named Siharasa, the son of Rasal, was ruling in Kanauj in the 7th century during the reign of Chandara, the king of Sind. The Rai dynasty was supplanted by a Brāhmaṇa minister Chacha in Sind. Chandara, the brother of Chacha, succeeded him. King Dāhir was the son of the Brāhmaṇa king Chacha.

Western historians and their blind followers either distorted the facts or ignored them to justify their distorted chronology as there is no reference of Yaśovarman in Chacha-Nāmā. Some historians even distorted Siharasa to be the famous Sri Harsha but Sri Harsha was the son of Prabhākaravardhana not Rasal. It is also believed by historians that Yaśovarman was the contemporary of the so-called Later Guptas. Actually, the Later Guptas ought to be called the 'Early Guptas' because they flourished prior to the rise of the Imperial Guptas. Therefore, Yaśovarman cannot be a contemporary of the so-called Later Guptas.

According to the Early Chalukya (Malayur and Nerur) grants⁴³ dated in Śaka 622 (39 CE), Vinayāditya (19-35 CE) defeated the king of the whole of North India (*Śakalottarāpatha-nātha-mathanopārjjitorjjita-*

pālidhvajādi-samsta-paramaiśvarya-cihṇasya). Vijayāditya (36-72 CE) also defeated the king of North India and despite being captured by the retreating enemies, he managed to re-establish his authority (*Gaṅgā-Yamunā-Pālidhvaja-pada-dhakka-mahāśabda-cihṇaka-manikya-mataṅgajādin pitrisat kurvan paraiḥ palāyamānairāśadya kathamapi vidhivaśādapanitopi pratāpād....*). The ruler of North India defeated by Vinayāditya was either Yaśovarman or his immediate predecessor and Vijayāditya was a contemporary of Yaśovarman.

The Pratīhāras

The Pratīhāras trace their origin from Lakṣmaṇa who acted as the “Pratīhāra” (Door-keeper) of his elder brother Rāma during his fight with Meghanāda. According to Puranic tradition, Kāmadhenu of Rishi Vasiṣṭha was forcibly taken away by Viśvāmitra. Rishi Vasiṣṭha performed a Yajña in “Agnikunda” at Mount Arbuda (Abu). Four Agnivamśas or Brāhmaṇa-Kṣatriya dynasties i.e. Pratīhāra, Paramāra, Chaulukya and Chāhamāna were born out of the Agnikunda.

The Pratīhāras occupied Avanti and established their kingdom at Ujjain in the 1st century CE. Pratīhāras used the Kārittikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) in their inscriptions. Nāgabhaṭa I established his kingdom by defeating Valacha, the Mlecchā king and became the first Pratīhāra king of Ujjain. He also conquered the invincible Gurjaras. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga probably defeated Nāgabhaṭa I around 87-92 CE.

*Hiran̄yagarbham rājanyair Ujjayinyām yadāsthitam ।
Pratīhārī-kṛtam yena Gurjareśādi-rājakam ॥⁴⁴*

According to the Gwalior praśasti⁴⁵ of Mihira-Bhoja, Kākustha or Kakkuka succeeded Nāgabhaṭa I. He was the son of the brother of Nāgabhaṭa I. Kākustha’s younger brother Devarāja succeeded him. Devarāja’s son Vatsarāja was the famous Pratīhāra king who forcibly wrested the empire from the Bhāndī clan. Udyotana Sūri, the author of *Kuvalayamālā*, mentions that King Vatsarāja was ruling Avanti in Śaka 700 (117 CE). According to a Jaina Purāṇa “*Harivamśa*” written by Jinasena, Vatsarāja was ruling in Avanti, Indrāyudha in the North and Srivallabha in the South around Śaka 705 elapsed (122-123 BCE). An inscription of Vatsarāja⁴⁶ is dated in Śaka 717 elapsed (134-135 BCE).

Vatsarāja's son Nāgabhaṭa II was the most successful Pratihāra king. He defeated the Āndhra, Saindhava, Vidarbha and Kaliṅga kings. He also defeated Chakrāyudha and the king of Vaṅga. He took away the hill forts of the Ānarta, Mālava, Kirāta, Turūṣaka, Vatsa, Matsya and other kings. The Pathari pillar inscription⁴⁷ of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Parabala mentions that Parabala's father Karkarāja fought with the king Nāgāvaloka. Nāgabhaṭa II was probably referred to as Nāgāvaloka. The Buchkala inscription⁴⁸ of Nāgabhaṭa II is dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama era 872 (153-154 CE).

The Pratihāras took control over Kānyakubja or Kanauj during the reign of Nāgabhaṭa II. Rāmabhadra succeeded Nāgabhaṭa II. Rāmabhadra's son Bhoja I or Mihira-Bhoja expanded the Pratihāra kingdom from Sind in the West to Vaṅga in the East and Narmadā in the South. The earliest inscription of Bhoja I⁴⁹ was dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama era 893 (174 CE). The Deogarh pillar inscription⁵⁰ of Bhoja I is dated in Śaka era 784 (200-201 CE) and also in Kārttikādi Vikrama era 919 (200-201 CE). Interestingly, the Ahar inscription⁵¹ of the time of Bhoja I consists of 10 documents with 10 different dates. One date is given in the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and other nine dates are given in the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE). The fourth document is dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama era 943 (224 CE) while the third, eighth & tenth documents are dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama era 298 (241 CE). The earliest inscription of Bhoja I's son Mahendrapāla is dated in 955 (236 CE). Thus, Bhoja I may have ruled for at least 60 years from 174 CE to 234 CE and died in 241 CE. The Ahar inscription is the earliest epigraphic evidence that the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE) came into use in the beginning of the 3rd century CE. Historians speculated that the nine documents of the Ahar Inscription are dated in the Sri Harsha era considering the fictitious epoch of the Sri Harsha era in 606 CE. In reality, the Sri Harsha era commenced in 457 BCE. We will discuss the epoch of the Sri Harsha era in Chapter 6.

It appears that the Pratihāra Empire declined after Bhoja I or Mihira-Bhoja. Mahendrapāla succeeded Bhoja I. It is very likely that the rise of the Chedi kingdom at Tripuri near Jabalpur in 3rd century may have been the reason behind the decline of the Pratihāras. The Sudi plates⁵² of Ganga king Butuga II and the Kudlur plates⁵³ of Mārasimha tell us about

the Chedi king Vandyaga or Baddiga and his younger brother Krishna who established a kingdom by defeating the Magadha, Kaliṅga, Pāṇḍya and Chola kings. After Mahendrapāla, Bhoja II and his half-brother Vināyakapāla ascended the throne.

The chronology of the Pratīhāras:

	<i>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Nāgabhaṭa I	794-814	75-95 CE
Kakkuka or Kākustha	814-824	95-105 CE
Devarāja or Devaśakti	824-830	105-111 CE
Vatsarāja	830-859	111-140 CE
Nāgabhaṭa II	859-889	140-170 CE
Rāmabhadra	889-893	170-174 CE
Bhoja I or Mihira-Bhoja	893-953	174-234 CE
Mahendrapāla I	953-973	234-254 CE
Bhoja II	973-983	254-264 CE
Vināyakapāla	983-993	264-274 CE
Mahendrapāla II	993-1004	274-285 CE
Vijayapāla	1005-1040	286-321 CE
Rajyapāla	1040-1080	321-361 CE
Trilochanapāla	1080-1093	361-374 CE
Yaśahpāla	1093-1100	374-381 CE

The Paramāras of Mālava

According to Puranic tradition, the Paramāra dynasty was one of the four dynasties born out of the Agnikunḍa of Rishi Vasiṣṭha. The Dongargaon inscription⁵⁴ of Jagaddeva also mentions this mythological origin of the Paramāras (*Kāmadhenu-hṛtavate Viśvāmitrāya kupyataḥ | Vasiṣṭhāttatra homāgnau Paramāro vyajāyata ||*). It appears that Paramāra or Pramāra was the progenitor of this dynasty. According to the Udaypur Praśasti⁵⁵ and the *Navasāhasrāñkacarita* of Padmagupta, Upendarāja was the founder of the Paramāra kingdom of Mālava. While the Harsola Grant⁵⁶ of Siyaka mentions Bappaiyarāja as the earliest Paramāra king, the Dharmapuri grant⁵⁷ of Vākpati mentions Krishnarāja as the earliest

Paramāra king leading to the surmise that Bappaiyarāja and Krishnarāja were the same person; it is also probable that Vākpatirāja I of the Udayapur Praśasti and the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* was referred to as Bappaiyarāja and Krishnarāja. Upendrarāja was the great grandfather of Vākpatirāja I. The Paramāras also used Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) in their inscriptions.

Some historians have speculated that the Paramāras were initially either feudatories or members of the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty. This speculation is based purely on the Harsola grant that refers to “Amoghavarṣa” and “Akālavarṣa”. It may be noted that the Paramāra kings also patronised Jainism in their kingdom. The Paramāra king Siyaka explicitly mentions in his Harsola grant that “Amoghavarṣa” and “Akālavarṣa” were his ancestors and that his father Bappaiyarāja was born in their dynasty (*tasmin kule*). Thus, it is absurd to link the Paramāras with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

Though Upendrarājā was the founder, it was Krishnarāja or Bappaiyarāja or Vākpatirāja I who was the first independent ruler of the Paramāra dynasty. Dhārā city in Madhya Pradesh was the capital of the Paramāra dynasty. Siyaka II succeeded Vākpatirāja I. The Udaypur Praśasti refers to Siyaka II as Sri Harshadeva who defeated Khoṭṭigadeva and annexed his kingdom (*Khoṭṭigadeva-lakṣmīm jagrāha yo yudhi....*). Eminent historians assumed that the Khoṭṭiga mentioned in the Udaypur Praśasti was a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king. The inscriptions of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Khoṭṭiga are dated in the Śālivāhana era and the period of his reign was around 968-972 CE whereas Siyaka II flourished around 285-308 CE because his inscriptions are dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama era 1005-1026. The Khoṭṭigadeva mentioned in Paramāra inscriptions was probably a Chedi king.

Vākpatirāja II succeeded Siyaka II. He was also referred to as Muñja in the Nagpur Praśasti.⁵⁸ According to the Udaypur Praśasti, Vākpatirāja II established his authority in Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Kerala and Chola (*Karṇāṭa-Lāṭa-Kerala-Chola-sīroratna-rāgi-pāda-kamalah*). It seems that the Chedi king Yuvarāja challenged Vākpatirāja II whom he successfully defeated in Tripuri, the capital of Chedi kingdom (*Yuvarājam vijityājau hatvā tadvāhinīpatin | Khadgamūrdhvīkṛtam yena Tripuryām vijigīṣuṇā ||*). Sindhurāja, the younger brother of Vākpatirāja II, succeeded him. His

major achievement was his victory over the Hūṇas (*tasyānujo nirjita-Hūṇa-rājaḥ*). Padmagupta, the author of *Navasāhasāṅkacaritam* was in the court of Sindhurāja and according to him, Sindhurāja conquered Kuntala, Vāgada, Murala, Lāṭa, Aparānta, Kosala and Hūṇas.

Bhojadeva, the son of Sindhurāja, was one of the most celebrated kings of Indian history. The Kalvan grant⁵⁹ of the time of Bhojadeva tells us that he ruled over Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Gurjara, Chedi and Koṅkaṇa (*Karṇāṭa-Lāṭa-Gurjara-Chedyāḍhipa-Koṅkaṇeśa-prabṛti-ripi-varga-nirdhārita-janita-trāṣa-yaśo-dhavalita-bhuvana-trayaḥ*). Bhojadeva issued the Betma grant⁶⁰ on the occasion of his victory over Koṅkaṇa. According to Udaipur Praśasti,⁶¹ Bhojadeva subjugated the kings of Chedi, Indraratha, Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Gurjara and Turuṣka (*Chediśvarendraratha..... Karṇāṭa-Lāṭapati-Gurjararāt-Turuṣkān*). Historians wrongly identified Turuṣkas with Arabs. Kalhaṇa mentions that Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka were born in the dynasty of Turuṣka (*Te Turuṣkānvayodbhūtāḥ*).⁶² Thus, the Turuṣkas existed since ancient times in what is today modern North-western Pakistan. The Udaipur Praśasti also tells us that Bhojadeva ruled from Kailāśa in the North to Malayagiri in the South and from the Western ghats to the Eastern Ghats (*Akailāśān-Malaya-girito'stodayādridvayādābhukta-pṛthvīm pṛthu*). His kingdom was protected by Kedāraṇāth in the North, Rāmeśvara in the South, Somanātha in the West and Śuṇdīra-Kālānala-Rudra in the East (*Kedāra-Rāmeśvara-Somanātha-Śuṇdīra-Kālānala-Rudra-satkaiḥ Surāśrayairvyāpya ca yāḥ samantādyathārtasamījñām jagatīm cakāra*). According to the Pattana Manuscript Catalogue,⁶³ Bhojadeva subjugated the kings of Draviḍa, Lāṭa, Vaṅga, Gauḍa, Gurjara, Kīra and Kāmboja and also terrorised the kings of Choda, Āndhra, Karṇāṭa, Gurjara, Chedi and Kānyakubja.

It is evident from the Paramāra inscriptions that Bhojadeva ruled over the whole of North India and Karṇāṭaka in South India. Bhojadeva's inscriptions are dated in the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) from 1067 (348 CE) to 1103 (384 CE). The *Rājamṛgāṅkakaranya* mentions that Bhoja was ruling in Śaka 964 (381 CE). Bhoja was still on the throne when the "*Cintāmaṇi-Sāraṇika*" was composed by his court-poet Daśabala in Śaka 977 (394 CE). According to Merutunga and Bhojaprabandha of Ballaladeva, Bhoja ruled for fifty-five years, seven months and three

days (*Pañcāśat-pañca-varṣāṇi saptamāsā dinatrayam | Bhojarājena bhoktavyaḥ sagauḍo dakṣiṇāpathaḥ* ||) Therefore, the time of Bhojadeva can be fixed around 338-394 CE.

Colonial historians knew only one epoch of Vikrama era (57 BCE) and believed that Bhoja ruled around 1010-1060 CE. Since it is not possible to prove the overlordship of the Paramāras over Karṇāṭaka during the 10th and 11th centuries, historians rejected the claims of the Udaipur Praśasti as poetry and not historical facts. They also doubted the defeat of the Chedi kings because there is no definite evidence to prove it in the 10th and 11th centuries. In fact, Bhojadeva flourished in the 4th century CE and not in the 11th century CE. As recorded in the Sudi plates of the Gaṅga king Butuga II, a powerful kingdom of Chedis was established in the 3rd century CE. The Paramāras defeated the Chedi kings to expand their kingdom. There are numerous references in the Paramāra inscriptions about the subjugation of the Chedi kings. It is also recorded in the Udaipur Praśasti that Bhojadeva's successor Udayāditya killed the ruler of Dāhala deśa or Chedi kingdom (*Dāhalādhīśa-saṁhāra-vajra-danda ivāparaḥ*).

Thus, in the 4th century CE, the Paramāra dynasty established a powerful empire in North India and in Karnataka & Bengal as well. Bhojadeva, who ruled around 338-394 CE, was the most illustrious king of the Paramāras and he may well have been the most successful king of India after Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. The Vādnagar Praśasti of Kumārapāla⁶⁴ refers to Bhoja as "Mālava Chakravartin". Bhoja was a learned king and a great Sanskrit poet who wrote the "*Sarasvatikāṇṭhābharaṇa*" on poetics, the "*Samarāṅgajāṭasūtradhāra*" on architecture and the "*Rājamārtāṇḍa*" on Yogaśāstra etc. He authored a *Karaṇa* treatise "*Rājamrgāṇka*" in KV 1100 (381 CE). He was a great patron of learning and according to the Patna inscription,⁶⁵ Bhaskaracharya's great grandfather Bhāskarabhaṭṭa received the title of *Vidyāpati* from him. He rebuilt the city of Dhārā and also constructed a Sanskrit Mahāvidyālaya (college) in Dhārā, now occupied by a mosque.

It is well known that Mahmud Gazni invaded and plundered India seventeen times between 1008 CE to 1025 CE. It was the second terrorist invasion on India after Kasim's invasion in 712 CE. He defeated the

confederacy of the Indian kings of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kālinjar, Kanauj, Delhi and Ajmer in 1008 CE. He plundered Mathura, Thanesar, Kanauj, Meerut etc. many times around 1017-1021 CE. He invaded Gwalior in 1023 CE and Ajmer, Kathiawar in 1024 CE. Mahmud Gazni plundered the Somanāth temple in 1024 CE and massacred over 50,000 people and personally hammered the divine “*Sivalīngam*” into pieces. This terrorist invader carried back the *Sivalīngam* stone fragments to his capital Gazni where they were used in the construction of the steps of a new Jama Masjid. None of the Persian sources of this period mention the Indian king Bhojadeva who was the most powerful king of North India. It is unbelievable that the Great Bhojadeva was flourishing in Mālava while Mahmud Gazni was plundering an entire section of North-western India. Evidently, the Mālava Chakravarti Bhojadeva flourished in the 4th century and not in 11th century.

The Sanskrit poet Soḍḍhala authored his famous work *Udayasundarīkathā* during the reign of Vatsarāja, the Chaulukya king of Lāṭa (Gujarat) and Mummuṇirāja, the Silāhāra king of North Konkan.⁶⁶ King Trilochanapāla was the son of Vatsarāja and his copper plate inscription is dated in Śālivāhana 972 (1050 CE).⁶⁷ The inscriptions of Mummuṇirāja are dated in Śālivāhana 970 (1048 CE), 971 (1049 CE), 975 (1053 CE), 982 (1060 CE).⁶⁸ King Nāgārjuna, the brother of Mummuṇirāja was ruling prior to him and his Thana plates are dated in Śālivāhana 961 (1039 CE).⁶⁹ It is evident that the Silāhāra King Mummuṇirāja reigned around 1040-1061 CE. The reign of the Chaulukya King Vatsarāja ended by 1049 CE because his son Trilochanapāla started ruling from 1049 CE. Thus, it can be concluded that Soḍḍhala wrote the *Udayasundarīkathā* between 1040 CE to 1049 CE. If the Paramāra King Bhojadeva was ruling around 1010-1060 CE as arrived at by the eminent historians, Soḍḍhala was not only a contemporary of Bhojadeva but also the latter was certainly alive when the *Udayasundarīkathā* was written. Soḍḍhala has mentioned Vikramāditya, Harsha, Muñja, Bhoja as the great learned kings of past. It is evident that Paramāra Bhoja was a king of the past and that he flourished in the 4th century CE and not in the 11th century CE. The Kalachuri king Sodhadeva’s grant dated in Chaitradi Vikrama era 1135 (1078 CE) also tells us that Bhojaraja was king before many generations. We will discuss Sodhadeva’s grant in Chapter 6.

The Mandhata grant⁷⁰ tells us that Jayasimha succeeded Bhojadeva but his rule lasted only for a very short period. According to the Udaipur Praśasti, the Dhārā kingdom was filled with dense darkness after the death of Bhojadeva. Emboldened by his death, the Chedi king invaded Dhārā and various other enemy kings also tried to regain their lost territories until Udayāditya, the *bandhu* or a relative of Bhojadeva (as mentioned in the Nagpur Museum stone inscription of Naravarman⁷¹), killed the Chedi king and re-established the authority of the Paramāras. Udayāditya's son Naravarman succeeded him. The Mandhata grant⁷² of Jayavarman II dated in KV 1331 (612 CE) gives the complete genealogy of the Paramāra dynasty.

The chronology of Paramāra dynasty:

	<i>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Upendra	—	—
Vairisiṁha I	—	—
Siyaka I	—	—
Vākpati I or Krishnarāja	950-975	231-256 CE
Vairisiṁha II or Vajrata	975-1000	256-281 CE
Siyaka II or ŚriHarshadeva	1000-1027	281-308 CE
Vākpati II or Muñja	1027-1043	308 -324 CE
Sindhurāja	1043-1057	324-338 CE
Bhojarāja	1057-1113	338-394 CE
Jayasimha	1113-1118	394-399 CE
Udayāditya	1118-1151	399-432 CE
Naravarman	1143-1190	432-471 CE
Yaśovarman	1190-1214	471-495 CE
Jayavarman I or Ajayavarman	1214-1255	495-536 CE
Vindhavarman	1255-1262	536-543 CE
Subhaṭavavarman	1262-1266	543-547 CE
Arjunavarman	1266-1274	547-555 CE
Devapāla (son of Hariśchandra)	1274-1290	555-571 CE

Jaitugideva (Elder Son of Devapāla)	1290-1312	571-592 CE
Jayasimha?	1312-1314	592-594 CE
Jayavarman II (Younger son of Devapāla)	1314-1331	594-612 CE

Interestingly, an inscription⁷³ of the Later Paramāras found at Sagar in Madhya Pradesh is dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama 1116 (1058-59 CE), Śālivāhana era 981 (1058-59 CE) and Kaliyuga era 4160 (1058-59 CE) and informs us that the Later Paramāra descendant king Udayāditya II (Aribalamathana), the son of Gāndala or Gondala or Gondila and (the grandson of Sūrvirā?), went to Mālava and recovered Madhyadeśa which had been formerly governed by his ancestors and usurped by enemy kings. It is evident that king Udayāditya II (Aribalamathana) re-established the Paramāra kingdom in 1059 CE. As a matter of fact, the Sanskrit used in this inscription appears to have been misinterpreted by historians resulting in a distorted translation where Aribalamathana is identified as the father of Udayāditya whereas it was only an honorific or term of praise for Udayāditya meaning the destroyer of enemy forces. Similarly, Sūrvirā was also used as a term of praise for Gāndaladeva. Interestingly, this inscription explicitly tells us that Udayāditya II re-established the Paramāra kingdom after 446 years (*gata-pada-veda-satādhika-catvāriṁśayad-gateyasairgya 446 pūrva-nṛpa-gata-samīhyatakana-prabhṛti....*).

The last inscription of the early Paramāras i.e. the Mandhata Grant of Jayavarman II is dated in KV 1331 (612 CE) and seems to suggest that the Paramāras lost their kingdom in the year 612-613 CE. Udayāditya II, the son of Gāndaladeva, re-established the Paramāra kingdom in 1058-59 CE exactly after the completion of 446 years. It is the strongest epigraphic evidence that the Paramāra dynasty ruled around the 4th to 7th centuries CE and not around the 10th to 13th centuries CE and also clearly substantiates that the epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era cannot be fixed in 57 BCE. Thus, the epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era is different from the epoch of the Chaitrādi Vikrama era and it commenced in 719-718 BCE. Interestingly, historians could not understand the reference to 446 years in the inscription of Udayāditya II.

HT Prinsep thought it was a new era established by Udayāditya II with the epoch around 618 CE. Some historians ridiculously added 446 years to 1116 years to establish the rule of Udayāditya II around 1506 CE which is nothing but a forgery.⁷⁴

Three inscriptions⁷⁵ found at Kolanupaka, Bhuvanagiri, Nalgonda District in Telangana tell us that Jagaddeva, the son of Udayāditya II and the grandson of Gondala, was ruling as the feudatory of the Kalyāṇī Chalukya king Tribhuvanamalla around 1104 CE (the 29th year of Chalukya Vikrama era). The third inscription at Kolanupaka clearly mentions that when important Paramāra kings like Śri Harsha, Muñja, Sindhala, Bhoja, etc. and many other descendant kings of the same dynasty flourished and thereafter King Gondila was born (*Śri Harsha-Muñjanrpa-Sindhala-Bhojadeva-mukhyeṣu rāja-kamalāmanubhūtavatsu | tadvarīśajeṣu bahuṣu kṣitipālakesu jātastatas-tadanu Gondila-bhūmipālah ||*) and his son Udayāditya II ruled the city of Dhārā (*Rājyam cakāra Dhārāyāmudayādityadevalah*). Jagaddeva was the son of Udayāditya II and became a feudatory of the Kalyāṇī Chalukya king Tribhuvanamalla.

The Dongargaon stone inscription⁷⁶ of the time of Jagaddeva dated in Śālivāhana 1034 (1112 CE) tells us Bhojadeva II of the Paramāra dynasty became the king who was like Rāma (*tadvāriśe.... babhūva Bhojadevākhyo rājā Rāmasamo guṇaiḥ*). After him, the Mālava kingdom was subjugated by three enemies (*tato riputrayaskande magnām Mālava-medinīm*). Bhojadeva II's cousin Udayāditya II re-established the rule of the Paramāra dynasty (*uddharan Udayādityyah tasya bhrātā oyavarḍdhata*). This is stated in the inscription found at Sagar as well. According to Inscription-I found at Kolanupaka,⁷⁷ Gondala was the father of Udayāditya II and the uncle (*tasya pitṛvyah*) of Bhojadeva II. The Jainad inscription⁷⁸ also mentions that Bhojarāja II was the uncle of Jagaddeva (*pitṛvyah sa ca Bhojarājah*).

It is absurd to conclude that Udayāditya I was the brother of Bhojarāja I. Bhojarāja I ruled for 55 years, 7 months & 3 days and possibly died at the age of 80. His son Jayasimha also ruled for a few years (around 5 years). Thus, Udayāditya I ascended the throne 60 years after the date of the coronation of Bhojarāja I and reigned for at least 23 years. Therefore, it is highly unlikely that Udayāditya I was the brother or

cousin of Bhojarāja I. This is the reason why the Nagpur Museum inscription simply mentions that Udayāditya I was the *bandhu* (meaning a relative) of Bhojarāja I. Moreover, the inscriptions of the Paramāra dynasty do not mention Jagaddeva and his grandfather Gondala clearly indicating that Gondala, Bhojarāja II, Udayāditya II and Jagaddeva were the later Paramāra kings who flourished in the 11th and 12th centuries CE. Thus, it is evident that Udayāditya I was the *bandhu* or just a relative of Bhojadeva I whereas Udayāditya II was the cousin of Bhojadeva II. Historians claim that Alberuni mentions Bhoja, the ruling king of Dhārā when he visited India during 1017-1030 CE.⁷⁹ In reality, Bhojadeva II was ruling in Dhārā around 1025 CE and therefore, the Bhoja referred to by Alberuni was Bhojadeva II and not the great Mālava king Bhojadeva I who flourished in the 4th century CE.

Udayāditya II had many sons. Though Jagaddeva had the opportunity to become the king after the death of his father, he relinquished his claim in favour of his elder brother (*divam prayāte pitari svayam praptāmapi śriyam, parivittibhayam tyaktvā yo'grajāya nyavedayat* |) and became a close associate of the Kuntala king i.e. the Kalyāṇī Chalukya king Tribhuvanamalla. The earliest inscription of Jagaddeva is dated in year 29 of the Chalukya Vikrama era (1104 CE) and the Kamagiri inscription of Jagaddeva⁸⁰ is dated in Śālivāhana 1051 (1129 CE). Historians wrongly identified the elder brother of Jagaddeva to be Naravarman and Lakṣmadeva. In fact, Lakṣmadeva and Naravarman were the sons of Udayāditya I whereas Jagaddeva was the son of Udayāditya II.

The chronology of Later Paramāra kings:

	<i>In Śālivāhana era</i>		<i>In CE</i>
	(78 CE)		
Gondala or Gandala	—		—
Bhojarāja II	—		1025-1050 CE
Udayāditya II	981-1120		1058-1098 CE
Jagaddeva	1026-1051		1104-1129 CE

There is a serious need to re-write the entire tract of ancient and early mediaeval history of India and the chronology must be

reconstructed considering the epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE). According to Abul Fazl of *Ain-e-Akbari*, Jitpal Chauhan conquered North-western Mālava by defeating Kamaluddin in 1069 CE⁸¹ which clearly indicates that the Paramāra dynasty was not ruling over North-western Mālava in the 11th century CE. It is quite likely that Udayāditya II could recover only some territories of Madhyadeśa including the city of Dhārā around 1058-59 CE. Thus, the great Paramāra dynasty ruled around the 4th to 7th centuries CE and the later Paramāra king Udayāditya II re-established himself around 1058-59 CE for a short period. It seems that the Paramāras finally lost their kingdom by the end of the 11th century CE and Udayāditya II was the last known independent ruler of this dyanasty.

The Chaulukyas (Solankis) of Gujarat

The Chaulukya dynasty was also one of the four dynasties born out of the Agnikunda of Rishi Vasiṣṭha. The Chaulukya kingdom was in Northern Gujarat and Anhilapātan or Anhilwad was its capital city. The Chaulukyas were the successors of the Chāvaḍa kings. According to *Vicāraśreṇi* of Merutunga (644 CE),⁸² Vanarāja, the founder of the Somachauda or Chāvaḍa dyanasty, built the city of Anhilapura on the 2nd tithi of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha month in KV 821 i.e. 7th April 102 CE but the *Tapagaccha Paṭṭāvali* mentions that Vanarāja founded Anhilapura in KV 802 (83 CE). The Chāvaḍa dynasty ruled for 196 years from KV 821 to 1018 (102-299 CE).

The chronology of the Chāvaḍa dynasty:

	<i>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Vanarāja	821-881	102-162 CE
Yogarāja	881-890	162-171 CE
Ratnāditya	891-893	172-174 CE
Vairasimha	893-903	174-184 CE
Kśemarāja	903-944	184-225 CE
Chamundarāja	944-981	225-262 CE
Ghaghada	981-991	262 -272 CE
Sāmantasiṁha	991-1018	272-299 CE

According to Jain sources, Sāmantasimha had no successors; however his sister Līlādevi was given in marriage to the Chaulukya prince Rāja or Rāji, the son of Bhuvanāditya and their son Mūlarāja born around KV 998 (279 CE) succeeded Sāmantasimha and founded the rule of the Chaulukya dynasty in Anhilapātan in KV 1018 (299 CE) and reigned for 35 years. His son Chāmuṇḍarāja who succeeded him and reigned for 14 years, had two sons, Vallabharāja and Durlabharāja, of whom Vallabharāja died within six months of his accession and was succeeded by his brother Durlabharāja who reigned for 12 years until KV 1079 (360 CE). He was succeeded by Bhimadeva I, the son of Nāgarāja, the younger brother of Durlabharāja. Bhimadeva I and his son Karṇadeva ruled between KV 1079 and 1152 (360-433 CE).

Siddharāja Jayasimha ascended the throne in 433 CE and reigned for 47 years. Jaina scholar Hemachandra Sūri was in the court of Siddharāja and authored the "*Siddha-Haima-Śabdānuśāsana*" on grammar. According to Jaina sources, Siddharāja wanted to kill his nephew Kumārapāla but Hemachandra saved him by hiding him under a pile of manuscripts. Meruttunga tells us that Siddharāja Jayasimha died on the 3rd tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika month in KV 1199 i.e. 22nd October 480 CE and Kumārapāla ascended the throne on the 4th tithi of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa month i.e. 21st November 480 CE. Hemachandra also tells us that Kumārapāla was coronated in Mahavira-nirvāṇa sāṁvat 1669 (480 CE). As discussed above, Mahavira attained nirvāṇa in 1189 BCE. The Vādnagar Praśasti⁸³ was composed by the poet Śripāla on the ramparts of Nagara-Ānandapura built in KV 1208 (489 CE) by king Kumārapāla. Two additional verses were written in the same inscription on the renovation of the ramparts in KV 1689 (970 CE). Hemachandra influenced King Kumārapāla to declare Jainism as the official religion of Gujarat at the end of the 5th century CE. According to *Vicāraśreṇi*, Kumārapāla died on the 12th tithi of the bright fortnight of Pauṣa month in KV 1229 i.e. 28th December 510 CE. His successors Ajayapāla and Mūlarāja II died on the 12th tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna month in KV 1232 i.e. 22nd February 514 CE and the 4th tithi of the bright fortnight of Chaitra month in KV 1234 i.e. 22nd February 516 CE respectively. Bhimadeva II ascended the throne in KV 1235 (517 CE) who according to Meruttunga, reigned for 63 years.

The Chronology of the Chaulukya dynasty:

	Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)	In CE
Mūlarāja	1018-1053	299-334 CE
Chāmuṇḍarāja	1053-1067	334-348 CE
Vallabharāja	1067-1067	348-348 CE
Durlabharāja	1068-1079	349-360 CE
Bhimadeva I	1079-1128	360-409 CE
Karṇadeva	1128-1152	409-433 CE
Siddharāja Jayasirīha	1152-1199	433-480 CE
Kumārapāla	1199-1229	480 -510 CE
Ajayapāla	1230-1232	511-514 CE
Mūlarāja II	1232-1234	514-516 CE
Bhimadeva II	1235-1298	517-579 CE
Tribhuvanapāla	1298-1300	579-581 CE

According to the *Vicāraśreṇi* of Merutunga, Vīsaladeva, the son of Vīradhavala and the grandson of Raṇaka Lavaṇaprasāda, ascended the throne of Anhilwad in KV 1300 (581 CE). Dhavala, the grandfather of Lavaṇaprasāda was married to the sister of Kumārapāla's mother. Thus, Vīsaladeva belonged to another branch of the Chaulukyas.

The chronology of Vīsaladeva family as given by Meruttunga:

	Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)	In CE
Dhavala	—	—
Arṇorāja	—	—
Lavaṇaprasāda	—	—
Vīradhavala	—	—
Vīsaladeva	1300-1318	581-599 CE
Arjunadeva	1318-1331	599-612 CE
Sāraṅgadeva	1331-1353	612-634 CE
Karṇadeva	1353-1360	634-641 CE

Interestingly, the oldest manuscripts of Jaina literature available today, were written during the reign of the Chaulukya king Vīsaladeva. The manuscript of Hemachandra's *Deśināmamālā* and *Dhātupārāyaṇavṛtti* were written in KV 1298 (586 CE) [*Saṁvat 1298 varṣe Āśvina śudi 10 ravau adyeha Bhṛgukacche Mahāraṇaka Śri-Vīsaladeva..*] and KV 1307 (588 CE) [*Saṁvat 1307 varṣe Chaitra vadi 13 bhaume Śri-Vīsaladeva-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājye*] respectively and the manuscript of *Uttarādhyayanavṛtti* was written in KV 1310 (591 CE) [*Saṁvat 1310 varṣe Māgha śudi 13 ravau Puṣyarkśe Mahārājādhirāja-Śri-Vīsaladeva-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājye*].⁸⁴

The chronology of the Chaulukyas given by Merutunga and other Jaina sources is amazingly accurate and is in full agreement with the epigraphic evidence. The Chaulukya kings used the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) in their inscriptions and ruled from the 4th to 7th centuries CE. Ancient Jaina sources also refer to the Kārttikādi Vikrama era. Unfortunately, historians considered only the epoch of the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE) and fixed the rule of the Chaulukyas around the 11th to 13th centuries CE that led to the distortion of numerous facts.

1. It is well known fact that Mahmud Gazni invaded Anhilwad and looted the Somanāth temple in 1024 CE but the Jaina sources and the inscriptions of the Chaulukyas have no direct or indirect reference of the invasion of Mahmud Gazni and the destruction of Somanāth temple.
2. *Vicāraśreṇi* of Merutunga mentions that the Gajjanakas ruled after the fall of the Chaulukyas (*tato Gajjanakarājyam*). Historians concocted the myth that Gajjanakas meant Muslims but there is no credible evidence to prove it.
3. The genealogy given in the grant⁸⁵ of the later Chaulukya Trilochanapāla dated in Śā�ivāhana 972 (1050 CE) is completely different from the genealogy of the Chaulukyas of Anhilwad. According to this grant, a Chaulukya king married the daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of Kanauj. Bārapparāja, a descendant of this Chaulukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭa lineage, established his kingdom in the Lāṭadeśa of Gujarat in 10th century CE. The genealogy of Trilochanapāla:

	<i>Śālivāhana era</i> (78 CE)	<i>In CE</i>
Bārapparāja	880-900	958-978 CE
Gongirāja	900-930	978-1008 CE
Kīrtirāja	930-950	1008-1028 CE
Vatsarāja	950-971	1028-1049 CE
Trilochanapāla	971-990	1049-1068 CE

This grant also tells us that King Vatsarāja presented the “*Hemaratnaprabham chātram*” (an umbrella resplendent with gold and jewels) to Somanāth temple. The *Udayasundari Kathā* of Soḍḍhala also refers to king Gongirāja (Yogirāja), king Kīrtirāja and king Vatsarāja. In fact, Soḍḍhala wrote his work during the reign of Vatsarāja and it is entirely probable that Kīrtirāja was the ruler of Lāṭadeśa during the invasion of Mahmud Gazni. Historians wrongly concluded that Vatsarāja and Trilochanapāla were contemporary kings of the Chaulukya Mūlarāja. All Jaina literary sources unanimously tell us that Mūlarāja was the first Chaulukya king in Gujarat; he flourished in the 4th century CE whereas the Chaulukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings ruled in Lāṭadeśa around the 10th and 11th centuries CE.

- According to later Muslim historians and the *Ain-e-Akbari*, Mahmud Gazni invaded during the reign of Jamund (probably, Chāmunda) and placed the descendant of the Dabishlim on the throne of Anhilwad. Some historians tried to identify the Dabishlim with Durlabhasena (Durlabharāja).⁸⁶ If Chāmundaraja and Durlabharāja are placed around 1024 CE, the entire chronology of the Chaulukyas given by Jaina sources gets disarranged. Moreover, the chronology given by Jain sources is perfectly proven by epigraphic evidence. Therefore, historians conveniently ignored the later Muslim sources and accepted the dates of Chaulukya kings recorded in Jaina sources. Actually, both the Jaina and Muslim sources are correct because the Jaina sources recorded the history of the 4th to 7th centuries CE whereas Muslim sources recorded the history of the 11th

century CE. This is precisely why Jaina sources and inscriptions of the Chaulukyas were oblivious of Mahmud's invasion. It is one of the strongest pieces of evidence that the epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era commenced in 719-718 BCE and not in 57 BCE.

5. According to some historians, the oldest account of the Somanāth expedition is given by Ibn Asir. He stated that the chief of Anhilwad, called Bhim, fled to the fort of Kandahat. Historians identified the Bhim with Chaulukya king Bhimadeva I. There is no literary or epigraphic evidence available to prove that Mahmud invaded during the reign of Bhimadeva I. First of all, there is no authentic information from Muslim sources to establish the fact that either Jamund or Bhim was ruling Anhilwād in 1024 CE or Bhim. But, all Muslim sources unanimously tell us that Mahmud placed a descendant of Dabishlims on the throne of Anhilwād.
6. Bhimadeva I ruled around KV 1079-1128 (360-409 CE) and therefore, cannot be dated in the 11th century CE. This entire confusion was created by historians because they were ignorant of the two different epochs of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era and the Chaitrādi Vikrama era. If the chronology of the Chaulukyas is established in the Kārttikādi Vikrama era then the history recorded by Muslim sources can be easily explained. It is likely that Chāmunda or Bhim was an official or a feudatory of the later Chaulukya king Kirtirāja ruling in Lāṭadeśa in 1024 CE.
7. According to Historians, the Veraval inscription⁸⁷ of Chaulukya Arjunadeva is dated in Mohammad era 662, Vikrama era 1320 and Simha samvat 151. They have erroneously identified the Arjunadeva of Veraval inscription with Vīsaladeva's successor Arjunadeva. A copper plate grant of Vīsaladeva is dated in KV 1317 (598 CE). Jaina scholar Merutunga tells us that Vīradhavala had two sons, Vīramadeva and Vīsaladeva. Vīsaladeva ruled up to KV 1318 (599 CE). Arjunadeva succeeded him and ruled till KV 1331 (612 CE). Sāraṅgadeva and Karṇadeva were the successors of Arjunadeva. In my opinion, Arjunadeva of

Merutunga and Arjunadeva of the Veraval inscription were two different persons. Similarly, Sāraṅgadeva of Merutunga and Sāraṅgadeva of the Cintra Praśasti⁸⁸ were also two different persons. It appears that one later branch of the Chaulukyas led by Viśvamalla established their rule in Anhilwad in the beginning of the 13th century CE. Interestingly, this Kathiawar inscription of the time of Sāraṅgadeva is now placed in the Cintra city of Portugal. According to this Cintra Praśasti, Viśvamalla was the founder of this branch. Pratāpamalla was his younger brother. Viśvamalla selected Pratāpamalla's son Arjunadeva to be his successor. Arjunadeva's son Sāraṅgadeva succeeded him. It is evident that the genealogy given by Merutunga is entirely different from the genealogy given in the Cintra Praśasti. Historians concocted that Viśvamalla and Vīsaladeva were the same personage. Actually, the Arjunadeva of the Vīsaladeva family ruled around 599-612 CE whereas the Arjunadeva of Viśvamalla ruled around 1263 CE.

8. The Vikrama era referred to in the Veraval and Cintra inscriptions is the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE); the expression “Śri-nṛpa-Vikrama Saṁvat” was never used for the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 CE).
9. Historians also argue that the Veraval inscription refers to Simha Saṁvat 151. Simha Saṁvat was founded by the Chaulukya king Siddharāja Jayasimha. Therefore, the Arjunadeva of the Veraval inscription and the Arjunadeva of Merutunga were the same. A grant⁸⁹ of Bhimadeva II is dated in KV 1266 (547 CE) and Simha Saṁvat 96. The calendar used in the grant of Bhimadeva II for Simha Saṁvat was Kārttikādi. Therefore, it can be construed that the Chaulukya king Siddharāja Jayasimha founded the Kārttikādi Simha Saṁvat or Simha era in 450-451 CE. If Vikrama 1266 is Simha 96 than Vikrama 1320 should be Simha 150. It is absurd to accept Vikrama 1320 as Simha 151. Moreover, Veraval inscription probably used the Chaitrādi calendar for Simha Saṁvat. Therefore, the Chaitrādi Simha era used in the Veraval inscription is different from the Kārttikādi

Sīṁha era used in the inscriptions of Bhimadeva II. The Sīṁha era referred to in the Veraval inscription is probably the Śiva-Sīṁha era which was established by the Gohils in the island of Div. We will discuss the epoch of Sīṁha Saṁvat in Chapter 7.

10. One grant⁹⁰ of Bhimadeva II was issued on the 11th tithi of the bright fortnight of Chaitra month in Sīṁha Saṁvat 93, on the occasion of Saṁkrānti i.e. Sāyana Meṣa Saṁkrānti. This date is irregular with reference to the epoch of Sīṁha Saṁvat in 1112 CE. It corresponds regularly to 21st March 544 CE considering the epoch of the Kārttikādi Sīṁha saṁvat in 450 CE.
11. According to the Vadnagar Praśasti, Chāmundaṛāja waged a successful war against the king of Sindh (*Śri-Sindhurājastathā naṣṭah...*). It is impossible because Sindh was under Muslim rule since 841 CE. Therefore, Chāmundaṛāja ruled around Kārttikādi Vikrama 1053-1067 (334-348 CE) and defeated a Hindu king of Sindh.

Thus, it can be concluded that the inscriptions of the Chaulukyas and the Vīsaladeva branch of the Chaulukyas used the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 CE) and reigned around the 4th to 7th centuries CE whereas the inscriptions of the Chaulukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings and the Vīsvamalla branch of the Chaulukyas used the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE) and reigned in the 13th century CE.

The Chāhamānas of Sapādalakśa or Śakambhari

According to Puranic tradition, the Chāhamāna dynasty was also one of the four dynasties born out of Agnikunda of Rishi Vasiṣṭha and Chāhamāna was the likely progenitor of this dynasty. Interestingly, the Chāhamāna dynasty has many branches. The earliest branch of the Chāhamānas was reigning at Bhrgukaccha or Bharuch in Gujarat. The Hansot plates⁹¹ tell us that Chāhamāna king Bhartrvaddha was reigning in KV 813 (94-95 CE) as a feudatory of the Pratīhāra king Nāgāvaloka or Nāgabhaṭa I. Later, the Chāhamāna king Sindhurāja who was reigning in Bharuch in the 6th century who was a contemporary of Dholka Lavaṇaprasada, the grandfather of the Chaulukya king Vīsaladeva and the Yādava king Singhaṇa (560-585 CE).

According to the Harsha stone inscription,⁹² the Chāhamāna king Vigraharāja was reigning in the region known as Ananta around KV 1030 (311 CE). The Bijolia rock inscription⁹³ dated in KV 1226 (507 CE) also gives the genealogy of the Chāhamāna kings. The Menalgarh inscription⁹⁴ dated in Saṃvat 1226 (507 CE) refers to the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (*Mālaveśa-gata-vatsara-śataih dvādaśaiśca ṣadviṁśa-pūrvakaiḥ*). Ahicchatrapura was their first capital. According to the Bijolia inscription, Chāhamāna kings belonged to the Vatsa gotra and their ancestors were Brāhmaṇas (*Viprah Śri-Vatsagotre'bhūd Ahicchatrapure purā*).

The genealogy of the Chāhamāna kings as given in Bijolia inscription:

	<i>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
1. Sāmantarāja I	—	—
2. Purṇatalla	—	—
3. Jayarāja	—	—
4. Vigraharāja I	—	—
5. Chandrarāja I	—	—
6. Gopendrarāja	—	—
7. Durlabharāja I	—	—
8. Gūvaka I	850-875	131-156 CE
9. Chandrarāja II	875-900	156-181 CE
10. Gūvaka II	900-925	181-206 CE
11. Chandana	925-950	206-231CE
12. Vākpatirāja I or Bappayarāja	950-970	231-251 CE
13. Vindhyanarāja	970-990	251-271 CE
14. Simharāja I	990-1010	271-291 CE
15. Vigraharāja II	1010-1030	291-311 CE

16. Durlabharāja II		
17. Gundurāja or Govindarāja I		
18. Vākpatirāja II		
19. Viryarāma		
20. Chāmundaśarāja I		
21. Singhata		
22. Dūsala	1031-1209	312-490 CE
23. Vīsalarāja (wife Rajadevi)		
24. Prithvirāja I (wife Rāsalladevi)		
25. Ajayarāja I (wife Somalladevi)		
26. Arñorāja		
27. Vigraharāja III		
28. Prithvirāja II or Pṛthvibhata		
29. Someśvara I	1209-1226	490-507 CE
30. Prithvirāja III	1226-1275	507-556 CE

Prithvirāja III is considered based on the genealogy given in the *Prithvirāja Vijaya* of Jayānaka where he says that Someśvara was the father of Prithvirāja III and Arñorāja was the grandfather.

It appears that Śakambhari (Sambhar) and Ajayameru (Ajmer) in Rājasthāna became the capital of the Chāhamānas in the 5th century CE. Ajayarāja I, the father of Arñorāja, built the city of Ajayameru and their state 'Ananta' later became known as Sapādalakṣa. According to the second Pariśiṣṭa or Appendix II of the *Prabandhakośa* written by Rajaśekhara Sūri, Vasudeva was the earliest king of Chāhamānas and flourished in KV 608 (111 BCE). The *Prithvirāja-Vijaya* mentions that Vāsudeva received the gift of the Salt Lake of Sambhar from Vidyādhara.

The genealogy of the Śakamībhari Chāhamānas given in *Prabandhakośa*:

	<i>Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
1. Sāmantarāja II		
2. Naradeva		
3. Ajayarāja II		
4. Vigraharāja IV		
5. Vijayarāja I		
6. Chandrarāja III		
7. Govindarāja II		
8. Durlabharāja III	757-1045	738-988 CE
9. Vatsarāja		
10. Simharāja II		
11. Duryojana		
12. Vijayarāja II		
13. Bappāyirāja II		
14. Durlabharāja IV		
15. Gandu		
16. Balapadeva		
17. Vijayarāja III	1045-1145	988-1088 CE
18. Chāmunḍarāja II		
19. Dūsaladeva		
20. Vīsaladeva I		
21. (Bṛhat) Prithvirāja IV	1145-1165	1088-1108 CE
22. Alhanadeva		
23. Analadeva		
24. Jagaddeva		
25. Vīsaladeva II	1165-1236	1108-1179 CE
26. Amaragāṅgeya		
27. Panthadadeva		
28. Someśvaraadeva II		
29. Prithvirāja V	1236-1248	1179-1191 CE

30. Harirājadeva	—————	1249-1341	1192-1284 CE
31. Rājadeva			
32. Balanadeva			
33. Vīranārāyana			
34. Bahadadeva			
35. Jaitrasimhadeva			
36. Śri-Hammīradeva		1342-1358	1285-1301 CE

The genealogy of the Chāhamānas given in the *Hammīra-Mahākāvya* of Nayachandra Sūri closely agrees with that given in the *Prabandhakośa*. It is evident from the above that the Bijolia inscription and Jain sources (*Prabandhakośa* and *Hammīra-Mahākāvya*) give two different genealogies of the Chāhamānas. Historians ignorant of the epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE) synthesised these two different genealogies from different eras into one genealogy leading to many inconsistencies in the history of the Chāhamānas of Śakambhari. Actually, the Bijolia inscription gives the genealogy of the Chāhamānas of Ahicchatrapura from the 1st to 6th centuries CE whereas Jain sources (*Prabandhakośa* and *Hammīra-Mahākāvya*) give the genealogy of the Chāhamānas of Śakambhari from the 8th to 13 centuries CE. Raṇasthāmbha or Raṇathambor became the capital of the Chāhamānas after the 12th century CE.

Many Indian literary sources like *Prithvirāja-Vijaya*, *Prithvirāja Rāso*, *Hammīra-Mahākāvya*, *Dvyāśrayakāvya*, *Prabandhakośa*, *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi*, *Viruddha Vidhi Viddhvānsa*, *Praśasti Kāvyas* and other Jaina sources provide substantial historical information about the Chāhamāna kings. Since Indians forgot the epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE), Western historians followed only one epoch that of the Vikrama era (57 BCE) to reckon the dates mentioned in literary and epigraphic sources. Later Jaina authors of the 14th and 15th centuries also followed only one epoch that of the Vikrama era (57 BCE). This flawed, inaccurate approach of Jaina scholars and Western historians has created many complications in the comprehension of historical facts recorded in Indian literary sources. For instance, Western historians wrongly assumed that the *Prithvirāja-Vijaya* of Jayānaka is all about the Chauhan king Prithvirāja V who fought Mohammad Ghori in 1191 CE.

The manuscript of the *Prithvirāja-Vijaya*, written in the ancient Śāradā script on birch bark leaves, was found in 1875 and was probably written by the Kashmiri Pandit Jayānaka who was also in court of the Chāhamāna king Prithvirāja III at Ajayameru (Ajmer). There were five Prithvirājas in the genealogy of the Chāhamānas of Śakambhari. According to the Bijolia inscription and the *Prithvirāja-Vijaya*, three Prithvirājas flourished around the 5th and 6th centuries CE whereas two other Prithvirājas mentioned in the *Prabandhakośa* and the *Hammīra-Mahākāvya* reigned in the 11th and 12th centuries CE. Actually, the *Prithvirāja-Vijaya* was written about the Prithvirāja III who flourished around 507-556 CE. Historians mistakenly identified Prithvirāja V (1179-1191 CE) to be the hero of the *Prithvirāja-Vijaya*.

1. According to the *Prithvirāja-Vijaya*, Karpūradevi was the mother of Prithvirāja III and the daughter of King Achala of the Haihaya dynasty who ruled at Tripuri. We also learn from Col. James Tod that Rukadevi, the daughter of Anaṅgapāla of Delhi, was the mother of a Prithvirāja. The *Hammīra-Mahākāvya* also mentions that Karpūradevi was the mother of Prithvirāja. Probably, Prithvirāja III (507-556 CE) was the son of Karpūradevi, the daughter of the Chedi king Achala of Tripuri whereas Prithvirāja V (1179-1191 CE) was the son of Rukadevi (or Kamalāvati), the daughter of the Tomara king Anaṅgapāla of Delhi.
2. The Bijolia inscription tells us that the Chāhamāna king Vigraharāja III conquered Delhi (*Dhillikā*). But Prithvirāja Rāso mentions that Someśvara led his army to help Anaṅgapāla of Delhi because he was the son-in-law of the Tomara king Anaṅgapāla. It is quite absurd to believe that Vigraharāja III defeated the father-in-law of his elder brother.
3. Actually, the Bijolia inscription is dated in KV 1226 (507 CE). Therefore, the Bijolia inscription and the *Prithvirāja-Vijaya* undoubtedly refer only to Prithvirāja III and not Prithvirāja V.
4. The Prithvirāja Rāso of Chandra Bardai tells us of the story of Prithvirāja having eloped with Saṁyuktā or Saṁyogitā, the daughter of the Kanauj king Jayachandra. Abul Fazl of *Ain-e-*

Akbari and Chandraśekhara of *Surjanacharita* also narrate this story. According to the Prithvirāja Rāso, Vijayapāla was the father of Jayachandra. We learn from the Basahi plates⁹⁵ of Rājaputra Govindachandra that his father Madanapāla was ruling in KV 1161(443 CE) and his grandfather was Chandradeva. Madanapāla was referred to as Madanachandra in the Sāranāth inscription⁹⁶ of Kumāradevi. Jayachandra was the son of Vijayachandra or Vijayapāla and the grandson of Govindachandra. The Chandrāvati plates⁹⁷ of Chandradeva dated in KV 1148 (430-431 CE), 1150 (432-433 CE), 1156 (443-444 CE) tell us that Chandradeva established the Gāhadwāla kingdom in Kanauj around 430 CE.

The chronology of Gāhadwāla Kings:

	<i>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
1. Yaśovigraha	—	—
2. Mahichandra	—	—
3. Chandradeva	1145-1158	427-440 CE
4. Madanachandra or Madanapāla	1158-1164	440-446 CE
5. Govindachandra	1164-1211	446-493 CE
Three sons of Govindachandra		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Asphotachandra (KV 1193) • Rājyapāla (KV 1199). • Vijayachandra 		
6. Vijayachandra or Vijayapāla	1211-1224	493-506 CE
7. Jayachandra	1224-1245	506-527 CE
8. Hariśchandra	1245-1277	527-558 CE

The Machlisahar grant⁹⁸ dated in KV 1253 (534 CE) refers to the Gāhadwāla king Harśchandra, the son of Jayachandra, as a sovereign victorious ruler (*Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhīrāja-Parama-māheśvara.....Śrimad-Hariśchandradevo Vijayī*). Had Mohammad Ghori defeated Jayachandra in the battle of Chandawar in 1193 CE, then Hariśchandra cannot claim to be a victorious sovereign ruler. Interestingly, Hariśchandra does not mention the war with Muslim invaders in which his father was

killed. In reality, the Gāhadwāla kings ruled Kanauj and Vārāṇasi in 5th and 6th centuries CE and not in the 11th and 12th centuries CE. Alberuni records that Kanauj city was in ruins and found desolate around 1031 CE and that the capital had been transferred thence to the city of Bari, east of the Ganges and there was a distance of three or four days' marches between the two towns i.e. Kanauj and Bari.⁹⁹ Kanauj completely lost its glory during the invasions of Mahmud Gazni and therefore, it is unbelievable that a powerful Gāhadwāla kingdom existed in North India around the 11th and 12th centuries CE. Undoubtedly, Mohammad Ghori defeated a petty king of Kanauj in 1193 CE and not the famous Gāhadwāla king Jayachandra. Therefore, the story of Samyogitā and Prithvirāja and the conflict between Chāhamānas and Gāhadwālas was probably all about Prithvirāja III of the 6th century CE and not Prithvirāja V of the 12th century CE.

5. According to Muslim chroniclers, Moinuddin Chishti came to Ajmer and got engaged in a conflict with the ruler and people of Ajmer prior to the Turk conquest. Jayānaka of *Prithvirāja-Vijaya*, the court poet of Prithvirāja III, had no knowledge of this conflict.
6. The *Prithvirāja-Vijaya* mentions that Durlabharāja lost his life in a battle with the Mātaṅgas and Ajayarāja defeated the Garjana Mātaṅgas. It is also stated in the 6th Sarga of *Prithvirāja-Vijaya* that Arñorāja, the grandfather of Prithvirāja III, defeated and killed the large number of Turuṣkas in heavy armour near Ajmer who had come through the desert, where for want of water they had to drink the blood of horses. Arñorāja constructed a lake named Ana Sagar in celebration of this great victory. According to the fragmentary Chauhan Praśasti of Ajmer Museum, Arñorāja killed Turuṣkas near Ajmer and defeated Naravarman of Mālava and led his army up to the Sindhu and the Sarasvati.¹⁰⁰ Historians concocted the fallacy that the Mātaṅgas and Turuṣkas means Muslims and that Garjana means Ghazni. The Mātaṅgas and Turuṣkas were referred to as Mlecchas in ancient Indian literature. Kalhaṇa of Rājatarāṅgiṇī

mentions that Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka were Turuṣkas. The Turuṣkas and Mātaṅgas were in existence in the Western borders of ancient India much before the birth of Islam.

7. According to the *Prithvirāja-Vijaya*, Someśvara died when Prithvirāja III was a minor. His mother Karpūradevi had to take over the reins as regent and ruled with the help of the minister Kadambavasa and the general Bhuvanaikamalla. During the reign of Prithvirāja III, a king of the Mlecchas captured Garjani in the North-west border; on hearing that Prithvirāja had vowed to exterminate the Mlecchas, the Mleccha king sent a messenger to Ajayameru and we learn from the 11th Sarga that the minister Kadambavasa played an intelligent move in this regard and ultimately, the king of Gujarat completely routs the army of the Mlecchas. Historians mistakenly identified the Mleccha king with Mohammad Ghori.
8. There is a story of Samarasimha of Mewar having been killed in a battle fought in KV 1249 (530 CE) while helping Prithvirāja III. Samarasimha of Mewar was the brother-in-law of Prithvirāja III. The Jalor stone inscriptions¹⁰¹ of Samarasimha are dated in KV 1239 (520 CE) and KV 1242 (523 CE).
9. The manuscript of *Prithvirāja-Vijaya* is found written in the ancient Śāradā script. There is no evidence to prove that the use of the ancient Śāradā script was in vogue in the 12th century CE.

Thus, *Prithvirāja-Vijaya* of Jayānaka is all about the great victories of Prithvirāja III who flourished as “Bharateśvara” (the emperor of India) in the 6th century CE. Historians mistakenly identified the hero of the *Prithvirāja-Vijaya* with Prithvirāja V of the 12th century CE. There is a serious need for further research to classify the historical information of the Chāhamānas given in various sources with reference to the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE).

The Chāhamānas of Marwar

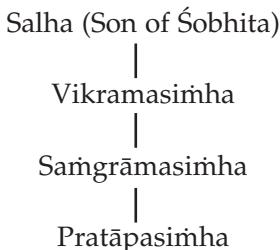
Inscriptions of the Chāhamānas of Marwar are also dated from KV 1147 (428 CE) to KV 1353 (634 CE).¹⁰² This branch of the Chāhamānas ruled over Naḍqula (Nadol) and Jābālipura (Jalor) in Rajasthan.

The chronology of the Chāhamānas of Marwar:

	<i>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
1. Jojaladeva	1147	428 CE
2. Aśvarāja	1167	448 CE
3. Katukarāja (He was a feudatory of Chaulukya Siddharāja Jayasimha. Sevadi inscription of Katukarāja is dated in Kārttikādi Śimha Saṁvat 31. This era was founded by Siddharāja Jayasimha in 450-451 CE.)	1172-1201	453-482 CE
4. Rāyapāla (He established an independent state of Chāhamānas in Nadlai and declared himself as Mahārājādhirāja. He had two sons, Rudrapāla and Amṛtapāla.)	1189-1202	470-483 CE
5. Alhaṇadeva (He was a feudatory of Chaulukya king Kumārapāla)	1209	490 CE
6. Kelhanadeva (Initially, he was also a feudatory of the Chaulukya king Kumārapāla but later declared himself Mahārājādhirāja.)	1221-1236	502-517 CE
7. Samarasimha (Probably, the brother-in-law of Prithvirāja III.)	1236-1249	517-530 CE
8. Udayasimha	1306	587 CE
9. Sāmantasimha	1345-1353	626-634 CE

It appears that another branch of the Chāhamānas was ruling in Satyapura or Sanchor. A stone inscription¹⁰³ of Pratāpasimhadeva is dated in KV 1444 (725 CE).

The genealogy of the Satyapura branch of Chāhamānas:



Interestingly, the Kot Solankian inscription¹⁰⁴ of Vanavira is dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama 1394 (1337 CE) and the Nadlai inscription¹⁰⁵ of Raṇavira is dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama 1443 (1386 CE). These inscriptions express the era as “Śri-nṛpa-Vikrama-kālātīta-saṁvat” or “Śri-nṛpa-Vikrama-samayātīta-saṁvat” which was probably used to distinguish the Chaitrādi Vikrama era from the Kārttikādi Vikrama era. Thus, the Chāhamāna King Vanavira ruled around 1337 CE and King Raṇavira ruled around 1386 CE.

The Chandrātreyas or Chandellas

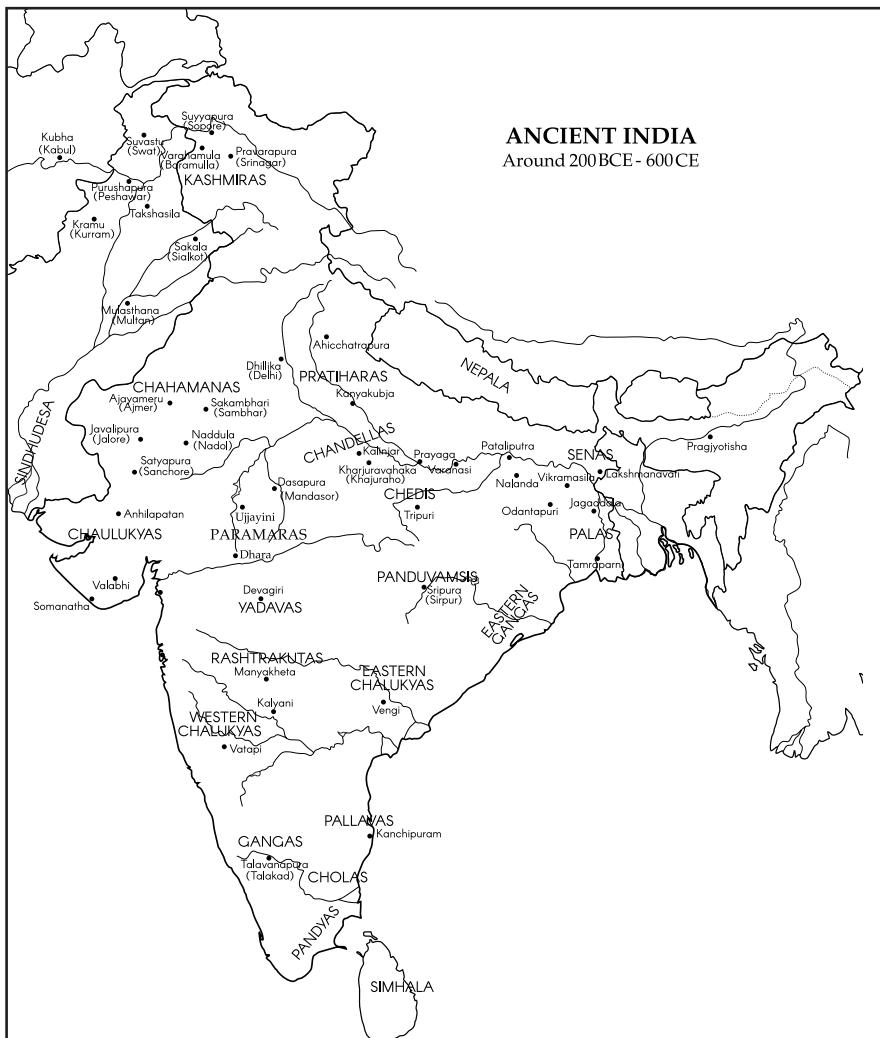
The Chandella dynasty was one of the glorious royal dynasties of North India. They claimed to be descendants of Rishi Chandrātreya and belonged to Chandravarīśa. The territory occupied by Chandella kings was called Jejābhukti or Jejākabhukti (*Ā-Kālañjaramā ca Mālavanadī-tīrasthite bhāsvataḥ, Kālindisaritaḥ tatādita ito'pyā-Chedideśāvadheḥ* |) which is now modern Bundelkhand. Probably, Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti were the first independent rulers of the Chandella dynasty and they were called Jejjāka and Vijjāka. The word Jejjākabhukti means the kingdom of Jayaśakti. Their earliest capital was Kharjūrvāhaka or Khajuraho and sometime later the capital was shifted to Mahotsavanagara or Mahoba. The earliest king of the Chandellas mentioned in their genealogy is Nannuka. It appears that the Chandellas were initially the feudatories of the Pratīhāra kings but later they established their independent kingdom. The inscriptions of the Chandellas are dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE). The Khajuraho inscription¹⁰⁶ of the 8th Chandella king Dhāṅga gives the earliest recorded date as KV 1011 (292 CE) and the latest date known from the Charkhari grant of last the Chandella king Hammīrvarmadeva is KV 1346 (627 CE). Hammīrvarma ruled at least till KV 1368 (649 CE).¹⁰⁷

The chronology of the Chandella kings:

	<i>Kārttikādi Vikrama era(719-718 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
1. Nannuka	810-835	91-116 CE
2. Vākpati	835-860	116-141 CE
3. Jayaśakti	860-890	141-171 CE

4. Vijayaśakti	860-890	141-171 CE
5. Rāhila	890-930	171-211 CE
6. Sri Harsha	930-970	211-251 CE
7. Yaśovarman I	970-1003	251-284 CE
8. Dhāngadeva	1003-1059	284-340 CE
9. Gaṇḍadeva	1059-1060	340-341 CE
10. Vidyādhara	1060-1095	341-376 CE
11. Vijayapāla	1095-1106	376-387 CE
12. Devavarman	1106-1115	387-396 CE
13. Kīrtivarman	1115-1155	396-436 CE
14. Sallakṣaṇavarman	1155-1165	436-446 CE
15. Jayavarman	1165-1168	446-449 CE
16. Prithvivarman	1168-1175	449-456 CE
17. Madanavarman	1175-1220	456-501 CE
18. Yaśovarman II	—	—
19. Paramardideva	1220-1260	501-541 CE
20. Trailokyavarman	1260-1300	541-581 CE
21. Vīravarman	1300-1338	581-619 CE
22. Bhojavarman	1338-1346	619-627 CE
23. Hammīravarman	1346-1368	627-649 CE
24. Vīravarman II	1368	649 CE

Kokalladeva I, the founder of the Kalachuri dynasty, married a Chandella princess Nattadevi as recorded in the Banaras grant of Karṇa (*Chandellavarinśa-prabhavām suśīlām Nattākhyadevīm sa tu pryaṇaiśit ।*).¹⁰⁸ Nattadevi was probably the daughter of the Chandella King Vijayaśakti or Rāhila. It is also stated in the Banaras grant that Kokalla I gave protection to Sri Harsha, the king of Chitrakūṭa who was none other than the Chandella King Rāhila's son Sri Harsha. Thus, Sri Harsha was a contemporary of the Kalachuri king Kokalla I. The Chandella Sri Harsha was married to a princess of the Chāhamāna dynasty. His son Yaśovarman probably married a Gāndhāra princess.



Dhāṅga, the son of Yaśovarman, was the illustrious king of the Chandellas. He ruled for at least 50 years. According to one Mahoba inscription, Dhāṅga defeated Hamvira. Historians distorted that Hamvira is a sanskritised form of Amir and that Amir was the same as to Gazani ruler Subuktigin (977-997 CE). Actually, Dhāṅga was ruling at the beginning of the 4th century and Hamvira was a contemporary Indian king. The Mau inscription of Madanavarman tells us that Dhāṅga defeated the king of Kānyakubja and established his empire (*Yah Kānyakubjam narendram samarabhuvi vijitya prāpa sāmrājyamuccaih!*).¹⁰⁹ He

quite likely defeated the Pratīhāra king Mahendrapāla II whose only inscription is dated in KV 1003(284 CE). Dhāṅga's son Gandadeva and grandson Vidyādhara succeeded him.

Vidhyādhara was one of the illustrious kings of the Chandellas. He was a contemporary of the Paramāra king Bhoja. The Chandella inscription tells us that he had caused the destruction of the king of Kānyakubja, and that Bhojadeva and the Kalachuri king were like pupils in front of Vidyādhara.¹¹⁰ It is recorded in the Dubkund inscription¹¹¹ of the Kacchhapaghāta prince Vikramasimha that Arjuna, the great-grandfather of Vikramasimha, as a military official of Vidyādhara, killed the Pratīhāra king Rājyapāla in a fierce battle (*Śri-Vidyādharadevakaṇṭhāsthicchid-anekabāṇanivahair-hatvā mahatyāhave....*). According to Muslim historians, when Mahmud Gazani invaded Kanauj in A.H. 409 (1018 CE), the ruler of Kanauj named Rajbal or Rajpal fled away. Then the Chandella ruler marched against him and punished him for his cowardly conduct. The name of the Chandella ruler has been variously given as Nanda or Bida. Historians identified Nanda as Gandadeva and Rajpal as Pratīhāra Rājyapāla. Some historians identified Bida as Vidyādhara.

It may be noted that Vidyādhara's army defeated and killed Pratīhāra Rājyapāla in a war whereas Nanda or Bida punished the petty ruler of Kanauj Rajpal. Moreover, Mahmud attacked Nanda in the month of Tir (June-July) in A.H. 410 (1019 CE) and completely routed him. Historians mistakenly identified Gandadeva or Vidyādhara as Nanda or Bida. Probably, the later Chandella king Vidhuvarman was a contemporary of Mahmud. According to Firishta, a Chandella ruler joined the confederacy of Indian kings organised by Ānandapāla and fought against Mahmud in 1008 CE. Historians concluded that the Chandella ruler mentioned by Firishta must be either Gandadeva or Vidyādhara but there is no such reference to it in the Chandella inscriptions.

Gandadeva and Vidhyādhara flourished in the 4th century and cannot be contemporaries of Mahmud Gazani. Vijayapāla succeeded his father Vidyādhara and probably was the contemporary of the Chedi king Gāngeyadeva. He had two sons, Devavarman and Kīrtivarman.

Initially, Kirtivarman suffered defeat but later with the help of his feudatory or minister Gopala, he defeated the Chedi king Karṇa and restored the authority of the Chandellas.

Madanavarman was the son of Prithvivarman and the grandson of Kirtivarman. According to the *Kumārapālacharita*, the Chaulukya king Jayasirinha defeated Madanavarman. Paramardideva, the grandson of Madanavarman succeeded him. According to Paramāla Rāso, Paramāla was the Chandella king and ruled around 1165-1203 CE. Historians wrongly identified Paramāla to be Paramardi. In reality, Paramardi ruled in the beginning of the 6th century CE whereas Paramāla ruled in the second half of the 12th century CE. The Mahobākhanda of Paramāla Rāso gives the genealogy of Chandellas.¹¹²

1. Chandravarman
2. Balavarman
3. Paravarman
4. Rūpavarman I
5. Belavarman
6. Gajavarman
7. Jñanavarman
8. Jānavarman
9. Śaktivarman
10. Pṛthuvarman
11. Bhaktavarman
12. Jagatvarman
13. Kilavarman
14. Kalyāṇavarman
15. Surajavarman
16. Rūpavarman II
17. Vidhuvarman (Muslim historians referred him as Bida)
18. Rāhilavarman
19. Madanavarman
20. Kirtivarman
21. Paramāla
22. Brahmajit, Kāmajit, Raṇajit, Sabhajit or Samarajit.

As quoted by RK Dikshit in his book “Candellas of Jejjakabhukti”, Crooks refers to another tradition which states that there were 49 rulers between Chandravarman and Paramāla. Evidently, the genealogy of the Chandellas given by Paramāla Rāso is completely different from the genealogy given in the inscriptions. According to the Batesvar inscription¹¹³ dated in KV 1252 (533 CE), Paramardi was the son of Yaśovarman whereas Paramāla was the son of Kirtivarman. The Madanpur inscription and Jinapāla’s Kharatagaccha Paṭṭavali state that the Chāhamāna king Prithvirāja III (507-556 CE) defeated Paramardi of Jejākabhukti in KV 1239 (520 CE) whereas Prithvirāja Rāso informs us that Prithviraj Chauhan (Prithvirāja V) defeated Paramāla in CV 1241(1182 CE). The Garra grant tells us that Trailokyavarman, the son of Paramardi, was ruling in KV 1261(542 CE) whereas Paramāla Rāso records that Brahmajit, Kāmajit, Raṇajit, Sabhajit or Samarajit were the sons of Paramala. It is evident that the inscriptions dated in the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) tell us the history of the Chandellas from the

2nd century CE to the middle of the 7th century CE whereas Paramāla Rāso records the history of the Chandellas from the 8th century CE to the 12th century CE.

According to the Duhreti grant¹¹⁴ and two Rewa grants,¹¹⁵ the Kalachuri King Trailokyamalla ruled over the kingdom of Kānyakubja and Trikaliṅga from Kalachuri year 963 (560 CE) to KV 1298 (579 CE). It may be noted that the Kalachuri-Chedi era commenced in 403 BCE. Since historians knew only one epoch of the Vikrama era that commenced in 57 BCE, they have to fix the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chedi era in 248 or 249 CE. Interestingly, historians concocted the myth that Kalachuri Trailokyamalla of the Duhreti grant was identical to the Chandella Trailokyavarman of the Garra grant. Cunningham speculated that the titles of Chedi princes, including the reference to Vāmadeva, were simply transferred to a Chandella prince. There is not an iota of evidence to prove the Kalachuri Trailokyamalla was the same as Chandella Trailokyavarman. In fact, both were contemporary kings and the Kalachuri king Trailokyamalla was ruling in Kānyakubja around 560-578 CE whereas the Chandella king Trailokyavarman was ruling in Kālinjar around 542-575 CE.

Vīravarman, the son of Trailokyavarman succeeded him. An unpublished Mathura museum plate¹¹⁶ dated in KV 1334 (615 CE) was issued by Pratīhāra Ajayapāla, a feudatory of Vīravarman. Fifteen inscriptions found in the Bangla village of Shivapuri Dist., Madhya Pradesh inform us about a fierce battle fought between the Yajvapāla king Gopāla and Vīravarman.¹¹⁷ It seems that Vīravarman, along with four other kings attacked Gopāla in KV 1337 (618 CE). The Narwar inscription¹¹⁸ dated in KV 1339 (620 CE) records that Gopāla defeated Vīravarman. Vīravarman has two sons, Bhojavarman and Hammīravarman. Bhojavarman ruled for a short period. According to some inscriptions, Hammīravarman was ruling around KV 1368 (649 CE). A damaged stone inscription¹¹⁹ tells us that Vīravarman II was ruling in KV 1368 (649 CE).

It is well known that Qutbuddin Aibak comprehensively defeated the Chandellas and conquered the fort of Kālinjar in 1203 CE. He appointed Hasan Arnal as governor of Kālinjar. A Persian historian

Minhaj-us-Siraj mentions in his *Tabqat-e-Nasiri* that Malik Nusratuddin Tayasi led an army from Gwalior towards Kālinjar in the year A.H. 631 (1233 CE) but the king of Kālinjar fled away. *Tabqat-e-Nasiri* also tells us that a Rāñā named Dalaki wa Malaki was ruling in a mountainous region not far from Kada (Allahabad Dist.) which was raided by Ulugh Khan (Balban) in A.H. 645 (1247 CE). Firishta also records that Dalaki wa Malaki (early Baghel kings Dalakesvar and Malakesvar) resided at Kālinjar. It is also recorded in the Muslim accounts that the Delhi Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud (1246-1266 CE) subjugated Bundelkhand and appointed his governor around 1250 CE. He was also controlling the regions of Gwalior, Chanderi and Mālava. Alauddin Khilji was the most powerful ruler of entire North India during 1296-1316 CE.

If one were to accept that the Chandella inscriptions were dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 CE) as believed by eminent historians, it would be impossible for Trailokyavarman, Vīravarman, Bhojavarman and Hammīravarman to have proclaimed themselves as Mahārājādhirāja and Kāliñjārādhipati from 1204 CE to 1311 CE. If Trailokyavarman had defeated the Muslim governor and re-established the Chandella kingdom in 1204 CE, it must have been the greatest achievement of the Chandellas. Paramāla Raso tells us that Paramala's eldest son Brahmajit died fighting the army of Prithviraj Chauhan but does not provide any information about the great achievements of Trailokyavarman. It would also have been impossible for Vīravarman to have a Pratihāra Ajayapāla as feudatory. In fact, the Chandella kings Trailokyavarman to Hammīravarman flourished from 542 CE to 649 CE and their inscriptions are dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE). Therefore, a later king Paramāla was ruling at Kālinjar during the reign of Qutbuddin who lost his fort in 1203 CE. It is likely that one son of Paramala may have agreed to pay tribute to Delhi and continued to hold the fort of Kālinjar. It appears that he may have revolted or failed to pay tribute in 1233 CE and had to face the invasion of Malik Nusratuddin Tayasi. Ultimately, he had to leave the fort of Kālinjar and the glorious Chandella dynasty ended in 1233 CE. Probably the Baghel kings Dalakesvar and Malakesvar annexed Kālinjar fort after 1233 CE but lost to Ulugh Khan in 1247 CE.

The Kacchāpaghātas

The Dubkund inscription¹²⁰ of Vikramasimha dated in KV 1145 (426 CE) is the earliest available source of information about the dynasty of Kacchāpaghāta. It seems that the Kacchāpaghātas were the military officials of the Chandellas and Arjuna was likely the commander-in-chief of the Chandella king Vidyādhara. Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna, became the feudatory of Paramāra Bhoja. They were ruling in the region of Gwalior.

The genealogy of Kacchāpaghātas:

	<i>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
1. Yuvarāja	—	—
2. Arjuna	1060-1090	341-371 CE
3. Abhimanyu	1090-1100	371-381 CE
4. Vijayapāla	1100-1130	381-411 CE
5. Vikramasimha	1130-1145	411-426 CE

Interestingly, two Gwalior stone inscriptions¹²¹ of Mahipāla dated in CV 1150 (1093 CE) and CV 1161(1104 CE) indicate that the Kacchāpaghātas were independent rulers of the Gwalior region in the 10th and 11th centuries CE. Historians wrongly concluded that Mahipāla and Vikramasimha were contemporaries and belonged to two different families. Evidently, Vikramasimha of the Dubkund inscription was the descendant of a feudatory family of the Kacchāpaghātas whereas Mahipāla was the descendant of a family of sovereign kings of Kacchāpaghātas. According to Mahipāla's inscriptions, his ancestor Vajradāman put down the valour of the ruler of Gādhinagara and his great-grandfather Kīrtirāja defeated the king of Mālava. Historians mistakenly identified the king of Mālava with the Paramāra king Bhoja. Vikramasimha proudly tells us that his grandfather Abhimanyu's valour and skill were highly eulogised by the Mālava king Bhoja. In fact, the inscription of Vikramasimha is dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 CE) whereas the inscriptions of Mahipāla are dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE).Therefore, Vikramasimha and Mahipāla cannot be contemporaries. Mahipāla was ruling at Gopādri (Gwalior) in the 11th century whereas Vikramasimha flourished in the 5th century CE.

The Kacchaphaghāta king Kīrtirāja may have defeated a Mālava king of the 10th century CE.

The genealogy of Gopādri (Gwalior) family of Kacchaphaghātas:

	<i>Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
1. Lakṣmaṇa	960-980	903-923 CE
2. Vajradāman	980-1000	923-943 CE
3. Maṅgalarāja	1000-1020	943-963 CE
4. Kīrtirāja	1020-1050	963-993 CE
5. Mūladeva also known as Bhuvanapāla (Trailokyamalla)	1050-1080	993-1023 CE
6. Devapāla	1080-1110	1023-1053 CE
7. Padmapāla	1110-1140	1053-1083 CE
8. Mahipāla (Bhuvanaikamalla)	1140-1161	1083-1104 CE

Another inscription¹²² of the Kacchaphaghātas dated in CV 1177 (1120 CE) is found in Narwar, Shivapuri district, Madhya Pradesh. Evidently, another branch of the Kacchaphaghāta dynasty was ruling at Nalapura (Narwar) in the 11th century and they bore the titles of Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara and Paramabhaṭṭāraka.

The genealogy of the Nalapura family of the Kacchaphaghātas:

	<i>Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
1. Gaganasimha	1100-1130	1043-1073 CE
2. Śaradasimha	1130-1160	1073-1103 CE
3. Vīrasimha	1160-1177	1103-1120 CE

The Yajvapālas

Some inscriptions found in Narwar in the Shivpuri District of Madhya Pradesh tell us that the Yajvapāla or Jejjapella dynasty was ruling in the 6th and 7th centuries CE. They also used the Kārttikādi Vikrama era in their inscriptions. The earliest inscription¹²³ of this dynasty is dated in KV 1319 (600 CE) which was engraved on stone during the reign of Āsalladeva. One inscription at Narwar mentions that the Yajvapāla king Nrivarman forced the king of Dhārā to pay tribute to

him (*paribhūya yena Dhārādhipādapi karo jagrhe'tidrptāt*).¹²⁴ It is probable that Jayavarman II of the Paramāra dynasty was the king of Dhārā who paid tribute to Yajvapāla king Nrivarman. Gopāla was an illustrious king of this dynasty who claimed his victory over the Chandella King Vīravarman I around KV 1337-1338 (618-619 CE).¹²⁵ Gopāla's son Gaṇapati conquered the Kīrtidurga (*ādāya Kīrtidurgam*) around KV 1351 (632 CE).¹²⁶

	<i>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
1. Yaramādi or Paramādi	—	—
2. Chāhada	1290-1311	571-592 CE
3. Nrivarman	1311-1319	592-600 CE
4. Āsalladeva	1319-1335	600-616 CE
5. Gopāla	1335-1350	616-631 CE
6. Gaṇapati	1350-1360	631-641 CE

One inscription of the Yajvapāla king Gaṇapati is dated in KV 1351(632-633 CE) and Śaka 1216 (633 CE) which is also evidence that Yajvapālas used the Kārttikādi Vikrama era.¹²⁷ If indeed the Yajvapālas had reigned in the 13th century CE, it would have been impossible for Nrivarman to extract the tribute from the king of Dhārā. Qutubuddin Aibak conquered the Gwalior region in 1196 CE and compelled the king to pay tribute. The Gwalior region was firmly under the control of the Delhi Sultanate in the 13th and 14th centuries CE. There was absolutely no scope for the Yajvapālas in the 13th century to be Mahārājādhirājas and to collect tribute from neighbouring states. The Yajvapālas, in fact, flourished in the 6th and 7th century CE and not in 13th century CE as believed by historians.

The epigraphic evidence of Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)

Solar eclipses mentioned in the inscriptions are the strongest epigraphic evidence to calculate the exact epoch of a particular era. Let us calculate the dates of the solar eclipses given in the inscriptions of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era considering the latitude (23.2) and longitude (75.8) of Ujjain.

	<i>The Epoch: 719-718 BCE(Kārttikādi Vikrama era)</i>	<i>The epoch: 57 BCE (Chaitrādi Vikrama era)</i>	
1.	Solar eclipse in the year 813. KV: 93-94 CE is current and 94-95 CE is elapsed. CV: 755-756 CE is current and 756-757 CE is elapsed. (Hansot grant of Chāhamāna Bhartrvaddha)¹²⁸	Solar eclipse was visible on 22 nd May 95 CE from 5:40 hrs to 7:36 hrs.	Solar eclipse was visible on 28 th Oct 756 CE from 13:48 hrs to 16:20 hrs.
2.	Solar eclipse in the year 1005 on the new moon day of Māgha month. KV: 285-286 CE is current and 286-287 CE is elapsed. CV: 947-948 CE is current and 948-949 CE is elapsed. (Harsola grant of Paramāra Siyaka II)¹²⁹	Solar eclipse was visible on 31 st Jan 287 CE from 13:03 hrs to 16:01 hrs.	Irregular.
	<p>Annular Saros 74 0287 Jan 31 08:03 TD Alt. = 72° Dur. = 01m18s Gam. = 0.3164</p>		
	<p style="text-align: center;">Five Millennium Canon of Solar Eclipses (Espenak & Meeus)</p>		
3.	Solar eclipse in the year 1040. KV: 320-321 CE is current and 321-322 CE is elapsed. CV: 982-983 CE is current and 983-984 CE is elapsed. (Bharat Kala Bhavan plates of Harirāja)¹³⁰	Solar eclipse was visible on 18 th Oct 320 CE from 12:06 hrs to 14:26 hrs.	Solar eclipse was visible on 20 th Sep 982 CE from 6:16 hrs to 8:14 hrs.
4.	Solar eclipse in the year 1043 on the new moon day of Mārga or Māgha month. KV: 323-324 CE is current and 324-325 CE is elapsed. CV: 985-986 CE is current and 986-987 CE is elapsed. (A grant of Chaulukya Mūlarāja I)¹³¹	Solar eclipse was visible on 11 th Dec 326 CE from 13:03 hrs to 16:01 hrs.	Irregular.

5. Solar eclipse in the year 1060 on the new moon day of Phālguna (wrongly read as Śrāvaṇa) month.

KV: 340-341 CE is current and 341-342 CE is elapsed.

CV: 1002-1003 CE is current and 1003-1004 CE is elapsed.

(**Kundesvara grant of Chandella Vidyādhara**)¹³²

6. Solar eclipse in the year 1148 on the new moon day of Pauṣa month.

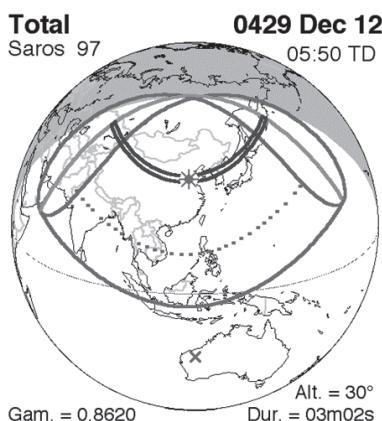
KV: 428-429 CE is current and 429-430 CE is elapsed.

CV: 1090-1091 CE is current and 1091-1092 CE is elapsed.

(**Rajpur grant of Paramāra feudatory Rañadhavala**)¹³³

Solar eclipse was Irregular. visible on **4th Mar 341 CE** from 11:01 hrs to 12:35 hrs.

Solar eclipse was Irregular. visible on **12th Dec 429 CE** from 7:25 hrs to 9:10 hrs.



Five Millennium Canon of Solar Eclipses (Espanak & Meeus)

7. Solar eclipse in the year 1150 on the new moon day of Āśvina month.

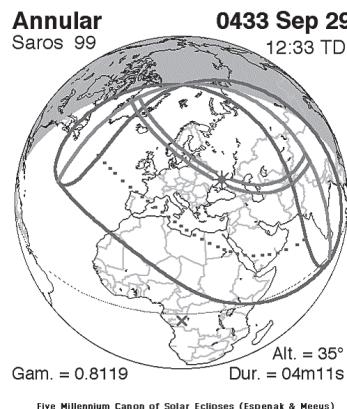
KV: 430-431 CE is current and 431-432 CE is elapsed.

CV: 1092-1093 CE is current and 1093-1094 CE is elapsed.

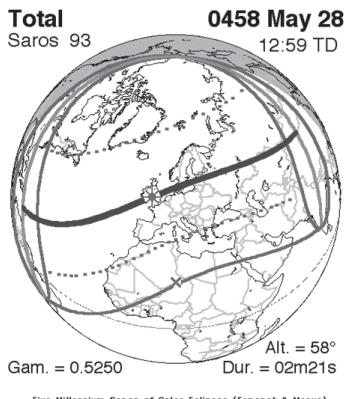
(**Chandravati grant of Gāhadwāla Chandraadeva**)¹³⁴

Solar eclipse was visible on **29th Sep 433 CE** from 16:31 hrs to 18:16 hrs.

Irregular.



8. Solar eclipse in the year 1163 on the new moon day of Pauṣa month. Irregular. Irregular.
 KV: 443-444 CE is current and 444-445 CE is elapsed.
 CV: 1105-1106 CE is current and 1106-1107 CE is elapsed.
(Bahuvara grant of Gāhadwāla Madanapāla)¹³⁵
9. Solar eclipse in the year 1166 on the new moon day of Pauṣa month. Irregular. Irregular.
 KV: 446-447 CE is current and 447-448 CE is elapsed.
 CV: 1108-1109 CE is current and 1109-1110 CE is elapsed.
(Rahan grant of Gāhadwāla Govindachandra)¹³⁶
10. Solar eclipse in the year 1176 on the new moon day of Jyeṣṭha month. Solar eclipse was visible on 28th May 458 CE from 17:49 hrs to 18:49 hrs.
 KV: 456-457 CE is current and 457-458 CE is elapsed.
 CV: 1118-1119 CE is current and 1119-1120 CE is elapsed.
(Kamauli grant of Gāhadwāla Govindachandra)¹³⁷

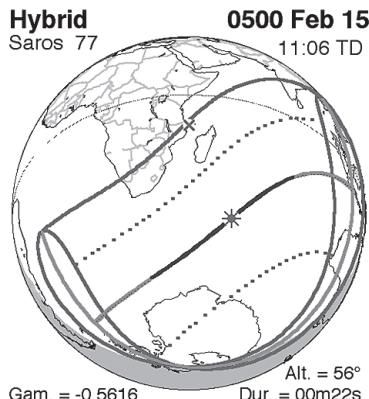


11. Solar eclipse in the year 1219 on the new moon day of Māgha month.
KV: 499-500 CE is current and 500-501 CE is elapsed.
CV: 1161-1162 CE is current and 1162-1163 CE is elapsed.

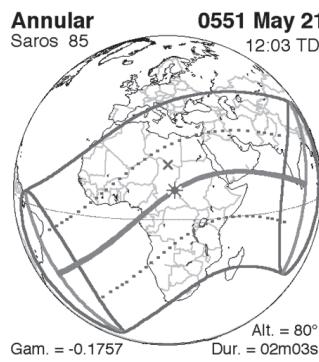
(A grant of Chandrātreya [Chandella]
Madanavarmadeva)¹³⁸

Solar eclipse was visible on 15th Feb 500 CE from 16:52 hrs to 16:59 hrs.
(Lat. 19.0 and Long. 79.6)

Irregular.



12. Solar eclipse in the year 1220 on the Irregular. Irregular.
 new moon day of Śrāvaṇa month.
 KV: 500-501 CE is current and 501-502
 CE is elapsed.
 CV: 1162-1163 CE is current and 1163-
 1164 CE is elapsed.
**(Bamnera grant of Chāhamāna
 Kelhaṇa)¹³⁹**
13. Solar eclipse in the year 1235 on the Irregular. Irregular.
 new moon day of Pauṣa month.
 KV: 515-516 CE is current and 516-517
 CE is elapsed.
 CV: 1177-1178 CE is current and 1178-
 1179 CE is elapsed.
**(Piplianagar grant of Mahākumara
 Hariśchandra)¹⁴⁰**
14. Solar eclipse in the year 1270 on the
 new moon day of Vaiśākha month. Solar eclipse was
 KV: 550-551 CE is current and 551-552
 CE is elapsed. Solar eclipse visible on 21st May
 from 16:44 hrs to 18:54 hrs.
- CV: 1212-1213 CE is current and 1213-
 1214 CE is elapsed. Solar eclipse visible on
 22nd Apr 1213
 hrs to 18:52 hrs.
- (Sehore grant of Arjunavarman)¹⁴¹**



15. Solar eclipse in the year 1299 on the Irregular. Irregular.
 new moon day of Phālguna month.
 KV: 579-580 CE is current and 580-581
 CE is elapsed.
 CV: 1241-1242 CE is current and 1242-
 1243 CE is elapsed.
**(Kadi grant of Chaulukya
 Tribhuvanapāla)¹⁴²**

It is evident from the above that ten solar eclipses out of a total of fifteen epigraphic references work out satisfactorily considering the epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era in 719-718 BCE whereas only three eclipses work out satisfactorily in the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE). Thus, it can be construed that these inscriptions are dated in the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE). Interestingly, the Pindiwara grant¹⁴³ of Paramāra Dhārāvarṣa dated in the year 1274 elapsed (556-557 CE) refers to the occurrence of a lunar eclipse between Māgha and Phālguni nakśatras which corresponds regularly to 30th January 557 CE. This lunar eclipse cannot be explained in the epoch of 57 BCE. Therefore, the chronology of various dynasties as discussed above must be reworked with reference to the epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE). We may also have to reconstruct the calendar of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era to work out the exact dates mentioned in these inscriptions.

The epoch of the Chaitrādi Vikrama era

It is established that the Chaitrādi Vikrama era commenced in 57 BCE but there is a divergence of opinion about the originator of this era. According to Indian tradition, King Vikramāditya of Ujjain was the originator of the Vikrama era. Modern historians are almost convinced that the Scythian king Azes I or the Parthian king Vonones initiated this era in North-Western India which was brought to Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh by the Mālava people. Interestingly, these eminent historians completely reject the existence of a king named Vikramāditya.

As a matter of fact, there were two Vikramādityas who became the kings of Ujjain in ancient times. According to Jaina sources, the Jaina monk Kālakācārya brought 96 Śaka Kśatrapas to Ujjain to defeat king Gardabhilla in 723 BCE. Śakas established their rule for the first time in India around 723 BCE and ruled for four years. Vikramāditya I defeated the Śakas in 719-718 BCE and founded the Kārttikādi Vikrama era. Gardabhilla was likely a feudatory king of the Śātavāhanas. Vikramāditya I established an independent Mālava-gāṇa empire and ruled for 60 years from 719-718 BCE to 659-658 BCE. An inscription at Udayagiri (Cave No. 9) dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama 1093 (345 CE) tells us that Chandragupta II (278-242 BCE) constructed this cave temple after

the reign of Vikramāditya.¹⁴⁴ Vikramāditya became one of the most celebrated kings of ancient India and his era came into use in North India. This Kārttikādi era was initially referred as “Kṛta” or “Mālava-gaṇa” but later it was referred as “Saṁvat” or “Sri-Vikramādityotpādita-saṁvatsara”, etc.

According to the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, another Vikramāditya was born in the Kaliyuga era 3000 elapsed (101 BCE) and his father was Gandharvasena. When he was five years old, Vikramāditya went to the Aśramas of Rishis in the forest to be educated and studied there for 12 years. Thereafter, Vikramāditya returned to the city of Ambāvati and he was anointed king on a golden throne decorated with 32 golden idols.

“Pūrṇe trimiśatccīlate varṣe Kalau prāpte bhayaṅkare ||
 Śakānām ca vināśārtham ārya-dharma-vivṛddhaye |
 Jātaśivājñayā so’pi Kailāsāt Guhyakālayāt ||
 Vikramāditya-nāmānam Pitā kṛtvā mumoda ha |
 Sa bālo’pi mahāprājñāḥ pitṛ-matr-priyanikarāḥ ||
 Pañcha-varṣe vayaḥ prāpte tapasārthe vanam gataḥ |
 Dvādaśābdam prayatnena Vikrameṇa Kṛtam tapaḥ ||
 Paścād-ambāvātīm divyam purīm yātaḥ śriyānvitāḥ |
 divyam siṁhāsanam ramyam dvātriṁśan mūrti-samyutam || ”¹⁴⁵

Vikramāditya II was probably coronated at Ambāvati around 82 BCE. According to the Purāṇas, he belonged to the Paramāra dynasty. Pramara, the progenitor of the Paramāra dynasty, established a kingdom in Avanti around Kaliyuga era 2710 (392 BCE) and also founded his capital in the city named Ambāvati (Amarāvati in Vidarbha, Maharashtra). The famous Ambādevi temple is situated in this city.). He ruled for 6 years.

“Āvante Pramāro bhūpaścāturyo janavistṛtam |
 Amabāvātī nāma purīmadhyāsyā sukhito’bhavat || ”¹⁴⁶
 “Saptaviṁśatiśate varṣe daśābde cādhike kalau |
 Pramāro nāma bhūpālāḥ kṛtam rājyam ca ṣatsamāḥ || ”¹⁴⁷

After Pramāra, Mahāmāra, Devāpi and Devadūta ruled for 9 years (3 years each). Then the Paramāras migrated to Śriśailam probably due to the invasion of the Śakas. After a lapse of two centuries, Gandharvasena I, Śaṅkha Mahārāja and Gandharvasena II became kings

of a smaller kingdom. Vikramāditya was the second son of Gandharvasena II. It seems that Vikramāditya successfully established a powerful empire between 80 BCE and 60 BCE and made Ujjayini as his capital. Kalhaṇa of *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* refers to him as “*Ekacchatra Chakravarti*” and mentions that he was also known as Harsha.

“*Tatrānehasyujjayinyām Śrimān Harshaparābhidhah | Ekacchatraśchchakravarti Vikramāditya ityabhūt ||*¹⁴⁸

Sāgaranandin of *Natakaratnakośa* also referred him as King Sri-Harshavikrama.

“*Sri-Harshavikrama-narādhipa-Māṭṛgupta
Gargāśmakutta-Nakhakuttaka-Bādarāṇām |*¹⁴⁹

We learn from Kalhana’s *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* that when the king of Kashmir Hiraṇya died issueless, the ministers reported the matter to their emperor Vikramāditya of Ujjain also known as Harsha that a successor may be nominated. Vikramāditya contemplated a whole night as to who should be a proper person to sit on the throne of Kashmir and pitched his mind upon Māṭṛgupta, the learned poet and administrator as the right candidate. The next day, he dispatched messengers to the minister of Kashmir and at the same time gave a sealed order to Māṭṛgupta addressed to the ministers of Kashmir enjoining him to deliver it to the ministers without breaking open the sealed order. Māṭṛgupta fulfilled the emperor’s injunction. The ministers opened the order and questioned Māṭṛgupta if the person named in the order was him, to which Māṭṛgupta replied in the affirmative and was thus proclaimed as the king of Kashmir.¹⁵⁰

But there are serious errors in the chronology of Vikramāditya and Māṭṛgupta as given by Kalhaṇa. Actually, this incident appears to have taken place either in the last or penultimate decade of the 1st century BCE. According to the Purāṇas, Vikramāditya lived for 100 years (probably, 101 BCE to 1 BCE). Kalhaṇa tells us that when the news of Vikramāditya’s death reached him, Māṭṛgupta took it to heart and renounced the world.

Hariswāmi, who wrote a commentary named “*Śrutyarthavivṛti*” on Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa mentions the king of Ujjain, Vikramāditya

(Śrimato'vantināthasya Vikramārkasya bhūpateḥ)¹⁵¹ held the offices of “Dharmādhyakṣa” and “Dānādhyakṣa” in the court of Vikramāditya, the king of Avanti and was the son of Nāgaswāmi and a resident of Pushkar in Rajasthan.

The famous Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa was in the court of Vikramāditya. He wrote *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* on astronomy in Kaliyuga era 3068 (33 BCE) and dedicated it to King Vikramāditya. He called himself as “nṛpasakhā” which indicates that he belonged to the same age group of king Vikramāditya.

“Śāṅkvādi-panditavarāḥ kavayastvaneke
jyotirvidaśca prabhavañśca Varāhapūrvāḥ |
Śri-Vikramārka-nṛpa-saṁsadi mānyabuddhiḥ
tairapyaham nṛpasakhā kila Kālidāsah || ”¹⁵²

Vikramāditya fought the Śakas in the North-western region and killed a Śaka king of the province “Rummakeśa” as recorded in Kālidāsa’s *Jyotirvidābharaṇa*.

“Yo Rummakesādhipatim Śakeśvaram
jitvā grhito’jjayinīm mahāhave |
Ānīya saṁbhramya mumoca tam tvaho
Śri-Vikramārka-samasahyavikramah || ”¹⁵³

Alberuni also mentions that Vikramāditya marched against a Śaka king and killed him in the region of Karur, between Multan and the castle of Loni.¹⁵⁴ This incident ought to have taken place around 57 BCE. Interestingly, Kālidāsa compares the outstanding irresistible valour of his friend, the king Vikramāditya with that of another king, Śri-Vikramārka (Śri-Vikramārka-sama-sahya-vikramah) who existed before king Vikramāditya of the 1st century BCE. Therefore, two Vikramādityas became kings of Ujjain. Vikramāditya I flourished in the city of Ujjain of Mālava around 719-659 BCE and was referred to as “Mālaveśa” means the king of Mālava Gaṇarājya whereas Vikramāditya II flourished in the city of Ujjain of Avanti around 82-10 BCE and was referred to as “Avantinātha” means the lord of Avanti.

Interestingly, both Vikramādityas successfully fought against the Śakas. Vikramāditya I became the sovereign ruler of Mālava by defeating

96 Śaka Kśatrapas brought by the Jaina monk Kālakācārya in 719-718 BCE when the Śātavāhanas were ruling in Magadha and Dakṣināpatha. It appears that Vikramāditya I's empire was limited to Mālava and North western India while Vikramāditya II established a greater kingdom in Central and Northern India. According to Kālidāsa's *Jyotirvidābharaṇa*, Vikramāditya conquered Draviḍa, Lāṭa, Vaṅga, Gauda, Gurjara, Dhārā and Kāmboja. Undoubtedly, Vikramāditya II was a contemporary of the early Chalukya Pulakeśin II. Vikramāditya II lost control over Draviḍa (Āndhra and Chola kingdom) during the conflict between him and Pulakeśin II. It seems that Harsha was the original name of Vikramāditya II as referred to by Kalhaṇa of *Rājataranīgiṇī* and Sāgaranandin of *Nāṭakaratnakośa*. Vikramāditya was either his regnal name or the title attained after he killed a Śaka king of Rummakaśa. Pulakeśin II claimed victory over Harsha, the lord of Uttarāpatha, in his copper plate grants. Undoubtedly, the "Harsha", "Sri Harsha", "Harshavardhana", etc. mentioned in the early Chalukya grants were none other than Vikramāditya II and the war between Harsha (Vikramāditya II) and Pulakeśin II occurred prior to 53 BCE.¹⁵⁵ Vikramāditya II sent Kālidāsa as his emissary to the court of Kuntaleśvara i.e. Pulakeśin II after his defeat. Kālidāsa beautifully narrates his experience as emissary in his work "*Kuntaleśvaradauttyam*" which is unfortunately now lost. Historians concocted the fable that Pulakeśin II was a contemporary of Harshavardhana of Kanauj but Harshavardhana flourished around 457 BCE. As discussed in Chapter 2, Pulakeśin II ruled around 52-22 BCE considering the epoch of Śaka era in 583 BCE.

It can be concluded that two Vikramādityas flourished as kings of Ujjain, one in the 8th century BCE and the other in the 1st century BCE. Vikramāditya I founded a Kārttikādi era in 719-718 BCE which was referred to as "Kr̄ta", "Mālava-gāṇa", "Vikrama" or "Saṁvat" in the inscriptions and this era became popular in North India. The earliest inscription¹⁵⁶ referring to the Kārttikādi Vikrama era is dated in 282 (437 BCE) and the last inscription¹⁵⁷ is dated in 1689 (970 CE). Another epoch of the Vikrama era commenced in 57 BCE and it followed the Chaitrādi calendar. It is logical to infer that this Chaitrādi era was not introduced by Vikramāditya II. It appears that Indian astronomers introduced this

era with an objective to switch over from the Kārttikādi calendar to the Chaitrādi calendar around the 2nd century CE and later, linked it to the historical event of the killing of the Śaka king of Rummakeśa by Vikramāditya II.

Another group of Indian astronomers wanted to reset the epoch of Śaka era for accurate astronomical calculations. Accordingly, Indian astronomers had reset the epoch of the Śaka era in 78 CE around the 2nd century CE and linked this epoch to the death of a Śaka king around 78 CE. Thus, the epoch of the Vikrama era was reset from 719-718 BCE to 57 BCE and the epoch of the Śaka era was reset from 583 BCE to 78 CE. Interestingly, the epoch of both eras were brought forward by 661 years. The new Śaka era (later known as Śālivāhana era), which was linked to the commemoration of the death of a Śaka king, followed the same Chaitrādi calendar whereas the new Vikrama era of 57 BCE replaced the Kārttikādi calendar with Chaitrādi calendar. This resetting of the epoch happened most likely around 100-200 CE.

The earliest inscription¹⁵⁸ referring to the Śālivāhana era is dated in 310 (388 CE). Interestingly, both eras, Śaka (583 BCE) and Śālivāhana (78 CE) were in vogue and gradually, the epoch of the Śaka era became extinct by the 10th century CE. Though the earliest use of the Chaitrādi Vikrama era is recorded in the year 258 (201 CE), it came into popular use only from the 8th century CE. Nine documents out of the ten recorded in the Ahar inscription¹⁵⁹ are dated around 258-298 (201-241 CE) in Chaitrādi Vikrama era but the next available inscription referring to the Chaitrādi Vikrama era is dated in 794 (737 CE).¹⁶⁰ It is evident that though the Chaitrādi Vikrama era was introduced in the 2nd century CE, it came into the popular use only from the 8th century CE and by the 10th century CE, the epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era was forgotten. The Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and the Śaka era (583 BCE) were generally not in use by the 9th century CE and Indians completely forgot the epoch of these old eras by the 10th century CE. Thus, Alberuni of the 11th century CE could record only the epoch of Śālivāhana era (78 CE) and Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE).



Chapter 6

The Epoch of the Sri Harsha era and Kalachuri-Chedi era

Sri Harsha was one of the most celebrated kings of India and belonged to the Puṣpabhūti dynasty, one of the ancient dynasties of North India. According to Indian tradition, Sri Harsha founded an era in 457 BCE. Three grants¹ of Sri Harsha are dated in Samvat 22 (435 BCE), 23 (434 BCE) and 25 (432 BCE). Alberuni, who came to India around 1017-1031 CE, states that the Sri Harsha era was founded 400 years before the Vikrama era (57 BCE):

“The Hindus believe regarding Sri Harsha..... His era is used in Mathura and the country of Kanauj. Between Sri Harsha and Vikramāditya there is an interval of 400 years, as I have been told by some of the inhabitants of that region. However, in the Kashmirian calendar I have read that Sri Harsha was 664 years later than Vikramāditya. In face of this discrepancy I am in perfect uncertainty, which to the present moment has not yet been cleared up by any trustworthy information.”

“Now, the year 400 of Yazdajird, which we have chosen as a gauge, corresponds to the following years of the Indian eras:

1. To the year 1488 of the era of Sri Harsha
2. To the year 1088 of the era of Vikramāditya^{2”}

It is evident from Alberuni’s account that the Sri Harsha era commenced in 457 BCE. He also calculated that the year 1031 CE corresponds to the year 1488 in the Sri Harsha era. He simply stated that according to some Kashmirian sources, one Sri Harsha was ruling 664 years after Vikramāditya. Therefore, Alberuni expressed his inability to explain why the people of Mathura and Kanauj believed the existence of the rule of King Sri Harsha in 457 BCE whereas some Kashmirian sources tell us that Sri Harsha ruled 664 years after Vikramāditya i.e. 606 CE.

It is clear that some Kashmirian sources simply mention that a king Sri Harsha flourished 664 years after Vikramāditya. There is no mention of Sri Harsha having started an era in 606 CE but Western historians concocted the myth that Sri Harsha was supposed to have started an era from about 606 CE. Thus, historians fixed the time of Sri Harsha around 606-647 CE.

Actually, Sri Harsha, the son of Prabhākaravardhana flourished around 457 BCE whereas a later king Sri Harsha, the son of Rasal ruled in the 7th century CE. According to *Chacha-Nāma*, a king named Siharasa, the son of Rasal, was ruling in Kanauj in the 7th century CE during the reign of Chandara, the king of Sindh. Therefore, some Kashmirian sources say that Sri Harsha (the son of Rasal) ruled 664 years after Vikramāditya.

Historians, by distorting and misinterpreting these facts, erroneously concluded that Sri Harsha, the son of Prabhākaravardhana and Sri Harsha, the son of Rasal were one and the same and created a non-existent era having the epoch of 606 CE.

The rulers of Puṣpabhbūti dynasty flourished in the 6th and 5th centuries BCE and Sri Harsha was the most illustrious king of this dynasty. Probably, Puṣpabhbūti was the progenitor of this dynasty as mentioned in the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa. According to the genealogy given in the grants of Sri Harsha, Naravardhana was the earliest known king of the Puṣpabhbūti dynasty who was succeeded by his son Rājyavardhana I and subsequently by his grandson Ādityavardhana. Prabhākaravardhana, the son of Ādityavardhana had two sons, Rājyavardhana II & Sri Harsha and one daughter, Rājyaśri.

The chronology of the Puṣpabhbūti dynasty:

	<i>In CE</i>
1. Naravardhana	580-550 BCE
2. Rājyavardhana I	550-520 BCE
3. Ādityavardhana	520-500 BCE
4. Prabhākaravardhana	500-465 BCE
5. Rājyavardhana II	465-458 BCE
6. Sri Harsha or Harshavardhana	457-420 BCE

Prabhākaravardhana was the first sovereign king of the Puṣpabhūti dynasty as he was referred as “Mahārājādhirāja” in the inscriptions. He defeated the Hūṇas, the kings of Sindh, Gāndhāra, Gurjara, Lāṭa and Mālava as mentioned in *Harshacharita*. His capital was Sthāṇvīśvara or Thanesar located in Kurukshetra district of Haryana. It seems that the Puṣpabhūtis had family relations with the Mālava Guptas. Mahāsenaguptadevi, the mother of Prabhākaravardhana, was the daughter of Mālava Gupta king Mahāsenagupta (*Mahāsenaguptadevyāmutpannah*).³ Later, Mahāsenagupta also sent his sons Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta to live as companions to the Puṣpabhūti princes. Historians wrongly called the Mālava Guptas as the Later Guptas; in reality, their period was prior to the rise of the Imperial Guptas. Therefore, the Mālava Guptas must be referred to as the Early Guptas. The Aphysad inscription of the Mālava Gupta king Ādityasena, the son of Mādhavagupta is dated in Sri Harsha era 66 (391 CE).⁴

The chronology of the Early Guptas (Later Guptas?):

In CE

Krishnagupta	630-610 BCE
Harshagupta	610-590 BCE
Jīvitagupta I	590-570 BCE
Kumāragupta	570-550 BCE
Dāmodaragupta	550-530 BCE
Mahāsenagupta	530-480 BCE
Mādhavagupta	480-440 BCE
Ādityasena	440-390 BCE
Devagupta	390-360 BCE
Vishṇugupta	360-330 BCE
Jīvitagupta II	330-300 BCE

According to the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Prabhākaravardhana married off his daughter Rājyaśri to Grahavarman, the son of Avantivarman of Maukhari family of Kānyakubja. Thus, Maukhari kings became the allies of Puṣpabhūti dynasty. The Mālava king had slain

Grahavarman and imprisoned Rājyaśri in Kanauj. His elder brother Rājyavardhana succeeded in defeating the Mālava king named Devagupta but was probably killed by the king of Gauḍa. It appears that he was treacherously killed in the camp of enemies as recorded in the inscriptions of Sri Harsha (*rājāno yudhi duṣṭavājina iva Śri-Devaguptādayah.....Prāṇānujjhitavānrāti-bhavane satyānurodhena yaḥ*). Certainly, Devagupta cannot be linked to the Mahāsenagupta and Ādityasena family of the Mālava Guptas because they and Maukhariis had family relations with Puṣpabhūtis.

Historians mistakenly identified the Gauḍa king to be King Śaśāṅka. The Ganjam plates⁵ of Śaśāṅka are dated in 35-34 BCE (Gupta era 300) considering the epoch of Gupta era in 335 BCE. Therefore, King Śaśāṅka of the 1st century BCE cannot be the contemporary of Rājyavardhana. Some sources even pointed out that there is no record of a battle between Rājyavardhana and Śaśāṅka and that the latter took care to avoid a fight with the Puṣpabhūti king after the defeat of the Mālava ruler at his hands.⁶ Harshacharita tells us that the Mālava king and the Gauḍa king joined hands to fight against Rājyavardhana. The Mālava king is named as Devagupta in inscriptions. One manuscript of the *Harshacharita* names the Gauḍa king as Narendragupta.⁷ The Mahāyāna Buddhist text *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa* mentions that a certain king “*Rakārādyotayuktātmā*” ruled the “*Madhyadeśa*” and his younger brother “*Hakārākhyā*” also became the king who defeated “*Somākhyā*.⁸ Historians speculated that Rakārādyotayuktātmā means Rājyavardhana, Hakārākhyā means Harsha and Somākhyā means Śaśāṅka. Actually, *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa* clearly tells us that Rakārādyotayuktātmā became the king of Madhyadeśa meaning Mālava kingdom. Rājyavardhana became the king of Sthānvīśvara and Madhyadeśa was not part of his kingdom. In fact, he was in conflict with the Mālava king Devagupta. Thus, Śaśāṅka of the Ganjam grant cannot be the Gauḍa king mentioned in *Harshacharita*. Most probably the Gauḍa king was Narendragupta as recorded in one manuscript of *Harshacharita*.

Sri Harsha marched with a strong army to avenge the death of Rājyavardhana and destroyed the Gauḍa king. Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa also became the ally of Sri Harsha. Bhāskaravarman was the most illustrious king of Assam and belonged to the Bhagadatta and

Puṣyavarman dynasty. The Aphysad inscription of Ādityasena tells us that Mahāsenagupta defeated Susthitavarman, the father of Bhāskaravarman. According to the Nidhanpur copper plates,⁹ it is said that the kings of the dynasty of Naraka, Bhagadatta and Vajradatta and their descendants ruled for 3000 years. Thereafter, Puṣyavarman ascended the throne around 7th century BCE. It must be noted that the Kāmarūpa (Assam) has an account of its history since 3700 BCE.

The genealogy of the Kāmarūpa kings as given in the Nidhanpur plates:

In CE

Naraka, Bhagadatta, Vajradatta and their descendants	3700-700 BCE
Puṣyavarman	700-690 BCE
Samudravarman	690-670 BCE
Balavarman	670-660 BCE
Kalyāṇavarman	660-480 BCE
Gaṇapati	640-440 BCE
Mahendravarman	620-600 BCE
Nārāyaṇavarman	600-580 BCE
Mahābhūtavarman	580-560 BCE
Chandramukhavarman	560-540 BCE
Sthitavarman	540-520 BCE
Susthitavarman (also known as Mrigāṅka)	520-480 BCE
Supratīṣṭhitavarman	480-465 BCE
Bhāskaravarman	465-420 BCE

It seems that Sri Harsha also conquered Nepal. We learn from the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa that Sri Harsha collected tax from a land of snowy mountains (*atra parameśvareṇa tuṣāraśailabhuvo durgāyā grhītaḥ karah*).¹⁰ Some inscriptions of the Licchavi dynasty of ancient Nepal are dated in the Sri Harsha era. Sri Harsha conquered Nepal during the reign of Śivadeva I and introduced his era in Nepal. The earliest kings of the Licchavi dynasty used an unknown era having the epoch in the 10th century BCE (around 966 BCE?). Historians assumed this unknown era

to be the Śaka era. It is evident that the Licchavi kings followed the Kārttikādi calendar in their inscriptions whereas only the Chaitrādi calendar is used in the Śaka era. The inscriptions of Licchavis indicate the practice of intercalation of only two months i.e. Pauṣa and Āṣāḍha. The Pauṣa-Āṣāḍha intercalation was first adopted in Lagadha's *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* (1400 BCE). There is no evidence to prove such intercalation in the calendar of the Śaka era.

According to the Paśupati stele inscription¹¹ of Jayadeva II dated in Sri Harsha era 157 (300 BCE), Jayadeva I was the founder of the Licchavi dynasty and 11 kings ruled after him. Thereafter, Vṛṣadeva, his son Śankaradeva and his grandson Dharmadeva ascended the throne. Mānadeva was the 16th king and his earliest inscription¹² is dated in an unknown (Licchavi) era 386 (580 BCE) and the date corresponds regularly to 16th April 580 BCE (*Sarivat 300 80 6 Jyeṣṭhamāse śuklapakṣe pratipadi Rohiṇī-nakṣatre candraṃśi muhūrte praśaste'bhijiti.....*). Jayadeva I may have founded this unknown era or Licchavi era in 966 BCE.

The Paśupati inscription of Jayadeva II tells us that Śivadeva II married Vatsadevi, the daughter of Maukhari king Bhogavarma and the maternal granddaughter of Magadha king Ādityasena (*Sri Bhogavarmodbhavā | Dauhitrī Magadhādhipasya mahatalīśryādityasenasya yā vyūdhā.....*). Ādityasena belonged to Mālava Gupta family and his Aphysad inscription is dated in Sri Harsha era 66 (391 BCE). Śivadeva II's son Jayadeva II married Rājyamatī, the daughter of Sri Harshadeva, the king of Gauda, Oudra, Kaliṅga and Kosala and the descendant of the Bhagadatta royal dynasty (*Gauḍodrādi-Kaliṅga-Kosala-pati Śri-Harshadevātmajā | Devi Rājyamati kulocitaguṇair yuktā prabhūtā kulair yenodhā Bhagadattarājakulajā lakṣmīriva kṣmābhujā |*). Harshadeva was the descendant of the same lineage of Bhāskaravarman and probably was the grandson of Bhāskaravarman. The genealogy and chronology of the Licchavi dynasty can be reconstructed thus:

	<i>Licchavi era</i> (966 BCE)	<i>Sri Harsha era</i> (457 BCE)	<i>In CE</i>
Jayadeva I	—	—	966 BCE?
11 unnamed kings	—	—	
Vrishadeva	—	—	
Śankaradeva	—	—	
Dharmadeva	—	—	
Mānadeva	386-427	—	580-539 BCE
Mahideva	427-434	—	539-532 BCE
Vasantadeva	434-454	—	532-512 BCE
Manudeva?	455-459	—	511-507 BCE
Vāmanadeva	460-466	—	506-500 BCE
Rāmadeva	467-477	—	499-489 BCE
Gaṇadeva	478-510	—	488-456 BCE
Śivadeva I	510-535	—	456-431 BCE
Mahāśāmanta			
Añśuvarman I			
(Feudatory of Śivadeva I and Udayadeva)	—	29-47	428-410 BCE
Udayadeva	—	42-47	415-410 BCE
Dhruvadeva (Samanta Jīṣṇugupta)	—	48-55	409-402 BCE
Bhimārjunadeva (Samanta Viṣṇugupta)	—	55-66	402-391 BCE
Narendradeva	—	66-118	391-351 BCE
Śivadeva II	—	119-136	350-321 BCE
Jayadeva II	—	137-157	320-300 BCE

It is also widely believed by historians that the famous Sanskrit poet Bāṇabhaṭṭa was the court poet of Sri Harsha and that the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang visited India during the reign of Sri Harsha. Interestingly, Bāṇabhaṭṭa mentions *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya, *Gāthāsaptaśatī* of Hāla Śātavāhana, *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu, *Setubandha* of Pravarasena, Harichandra, Bhāsa and Kālidāsa.¹³ Kālidāsa flourished in the 1st century BCE as discussed in Chapter 3 whereas other poets were anterior to

Kālidāsa. Thus, the date of Bāṇabhaṭṭa cannot be fixed prior to the 1st century BCE and he cannot be a contemporary of King Sri Harsha of the 5th century BCE. Historians misunderstood the second chapter “Rājadarśana” of *Harshacharita* in which Bāṇabhaṭṭa narrates his meeting with the King Sri Harsha. Bāṇabhaṭṭa tells us that he was invited by Krishna, the brother of King Sri Harsha (*Mahārājādhirāja-Śri-Harshasya bhrātrā Kṛṣṇanāmna.....*).¹⁴ He crossed the Gaṅgā River and reached the capital city named Upamaṇipura where the royal palace was situated (*anyasmin dine skandhāvāramupamaṇipuram anvajiravati kṛtasanniveśam samāsasāda | [Upamaṇipuram nagara nāma]*).¹⁵ But Sri Harsha’s brother was Rājyavardhana, not Krishna and his capital was Sthāṇvīśvara or Kānyakubja, not Upamaṇipura. It is evident that Bāṇabhaṭṭa met a later king Sri Harsha of Upamaṇipura and not the Sri Harsha of Sthāṇvīśvara or Kānyakubja.

In all likelihood, Bāṇabhaṭṭa was the court poet of Sri Harsha of the 1st century CE who was defeated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga (*Kāñchiśa-Kerala-narādhipa-Chola-Pāṇḍya Sri Harsha-Vajraṭa-vibheda-vidhāna-dakṣam*).¹⁶ Bāṇabhaṭṭa narrates the entire story of *Harshacharita* as it happened in the remote past. Thus, he cannot be a contemporary of Sri Harsha of Sthāṇvīśvara.

According to Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Sri Harsha annexed the kingdom of Sindh (*atra puruṣottamena Sindhurājam pramathyā lakṣmīrātmīyā kṛtā*). Sindh was an independent kingdom in the 7th century CE and there is no evidence to prove the Sri Harsha’s victory over Sindh. The *Chacha Nāmā* is completely ignorant of this victory of Sri Harsha over Sindh. This supports the argument that Sri Harsha flourished in the 5th century BCE and founded an era in 457 BCE. He established a vast empire that included Nepal and Kāmarūpa in the east to Sindh in the west.

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang visited India between 629 CE and 645 CE whereas Sri Harsha ruled in the 5th century BCE, more than 1000 years before him. Thus, Hiuen Tsang cannot be a contemporary of Sri Harsha. Western historians and their followers completely distorted the historical account given by Hiuen Tsang because they believed that Sri Harsha flourished in the 7th century CE. Probably, Hiuen Tsang visited the court of King Siharasa, the son of Rasal mentioned in the *Chacha-*

Nāmā and the same king Siharasa (Sri Harsha) was mentioned in some Kashmirian sources who ruled 664 years after Vikramāditya (57 BCE).

The inscriptions of the Early Chalukyas claim that Pulakeśin II defeated Harsha or Harshavardhana and acquired the title of Parameśvara. The Kurtaketi grant dated in Saka 530 (53 BCE) has the earliest reference to the defeat of Harshavardhana, the king of Uttarāpatha (*Sakalottarāpatheśvara-Śri-Harshavardhana-parājayopalabdhaparameśvarara-parama-nāmadheyasya*).¹⁷ Western historians assumed the epoch of the Śaka era and the Śālivāhana era as the same in 78 CE but the Śaka era started in 583 BCE whereas the Śālivāhana era started in 78 CE as discussed in detail in Chapter 2. Historians wrongly fixed the date of Pulakeśin II and Sri Harsha in the 7th century and believed that Pulakeśin II defeated Sri Harsha. Pulakeśin II flourished in the 1st century BCE whereas Sri Harsha flourished in the 5th century BCE. Thus, both cannot be contemporaries.

If, for argument's sake, we assume that Pulakeśin II was ruling in the 7th century CE, he must have defeated Sri Harsha at a date earlier than that of Śālivāhana 530 (608 CE). According to JF Fleet, Hiuen Tsang visited the court of Ho-li-sha-fa-t'an-ha or Harshavardhana, otherwise called Shi-lo-o'-t'ie-to or Sīlāditya and apparently visited a capital of the kingdom of Mo-ho-la-ch'a or Maharashtra, the king of which was named Pu-lo-ki-she or Pulakeśin II.¹⁸ Since Hiuen Tsang sojourned in India from 629 CE to 645 CE, JF Fleet argued that the date of the defeat of Harshavardhana cannot be earlier than 630 CE. Fleet was so obsessed with his distorted chronology of India that he even declared the Kurtaketi grant as spurious to promote his concocted theory. Since historians believed that Hiuen Tsang was a contemporary of Pulakeśin II and Sri Harsha, they made wild speculations from the historical account of Hiuen Tsang. Hiuen Tsang tells us that the king lived in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon which is absolutely incorrect with reference to Sri Harsha. The so-called king Śīlāditya referred by Hiuen Tsang cannot be the Sri Harsha of Puṣpabhūti dynasty.

Now the question is who was Harsha or Harshavardhana, the contemporary of Pulakeśin II? In all likelihood, he was Harsha Vikramāditya of Ujjain who flourished in the 1st century BCE.

Vikramāditya, the so-called founder of the Vikrama era in 57 BCE, was also known as Harsha as mentioned by Kalhaṇa of *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (*Tatrāneḥasyujayinā Śrīmān Harṣaparābhidhāḥ | Ekacchātraścchakravarti Vikramāditya ityabhūt ||*).¹⁹ Sāgaranandin of *Nāṭakaratnakośa* also referred to him as Sri Harsha Vikrama.²⁰ In my view, the Harsha Vikramāditya referred to in various sources must be identified as Vikramāditya of Ujjain (1st century BCE) and not the Puṣpabhbūti king Sri Harsha (5th century BCE).

Sri Harsha of Puṣpabhbūti dynasty never had the title ‘Vikramāditya’. Kalhaṇa also refers to Harsha Vikramāditya as “*Ekacchātraścchakravarti*” meaning the most powerful emperor. Harsha Vikramāditya was referred to in the Kurtaketi grant of the early Chalukyas as the king of Uttarāpatha. According to Kālidāsa’s *Jyotiṛvidābharaṇa*, Vikramāditya conquered Draviḍa, Lāṭa, Vaṅga, Gauḍa, Gurjara, Dhārā and Kāmbhoja. Undoubtedly, Harsha Vikramāditya was a contemporary of the early Chalukya Pulakeśin II. Harsha Vikramāditya lost control over Draviḍa (Āndhra and Chola kingdoms) during his conflict with Pulakeśin II. Undoubtedly, the Harsha or Harshavardhana mentioned in the early Chalukya grants was none other than Harsha Vikramāditya and the war between Harsha Vikramāditya and Pulakeśin II occurred at a date earlier than 53 BCE. Harsha Vikramāditya sent Kālidāsa as his emissary to the court of Kuntaleśvara i.e. Pulakeśin II after his defeat; Kālidāsa beautifully narrates his experience as an emissary in his work “*Kuntaleśvaradautryam*” which is unfortunately now lost.

The Navasari grant of Gurjara king Jayabhaṭa II dated in Kalachuri-Chedi era 456 (53 CE) tells us that Dadda I had protected the Valabhi ruler who had been overpowered by the king Harshadeva (*Sri-Harshadevābhībhūta-Valabhipati-trāṇopārjjita.....*).²¹ It may be noted that while the Kalachuri-Chedi era commenced in 403 BCE, historians wrongly concluded that the Kalachuri-Chedi era commenced around 249 CE. The only inscription of Jayabhaṭa I, the son of Dadda I is dated in Kalachuri-Chedi era 355 (48 BCE)²² and the earliest inscription of Dadda II, the son of Jayabhaṭa I is dated in Kalachuri-Chedi era 380 (23 BCE).²³ Harshadeva or Harsha Vikramāditya must have defeated the Valabhi ruler at a date prior to 48 BCE. Probably, the Valabhi ruler was

either the Maitraka king Dharasena II who ruled around 83-60 BCE or the Maitraka king Silāditya I who ruled around 60-40 BCE. If the Kalachuri-Chedi era had commenced in 249 CE, the date of the inscription of Jayabhata I works out to be 604 CE (355) which means Harshadeva defeated the Valabhi ruler at a date earlier than 604 CE. Colonial historians distorted these facts and concocted that it was Dadda II and not Dadda I who protected the Valabhi ruler. The inscription of Jayabhaṭa II unambiguously tells us that it was Dadda I not Dadda II who protected the Valabhi ruler. Historians again concocted that Jayabhaṭa II of the Navasāri grant was actually Jayabhaṭa III and that he had not mentioned the names of Dadda I and Jayabhaṭa I (the names of these two fictitious kings were concocted by eminent historians) in his genealogy. Thus, eminent historians converted Dadda I to Dadda II, Dadda II to Dadda III, Jayabhaṭa II to Jayabhaṭa III and Jayabhaṭa III to Jayabhaṭa IV by creating two more fictitious kings in their genealogy as these concoctions were absolutely necessary to prove that Sri Harsha flourished after 606 CE.

Sri Harsha of Puṣpabhūti dynasty lived in the 5th century BCE and he cannot be a contemporary of the Gurjara king Dadda I and the early Chalukya king Pulakeśin II. It appears probable enough that it was Harsha Vikramāditya who defeated the Valabhi king at a date earlier than 48 BCE. Seemingly, Dadda I could provide protection to the Valabhi king Dharasena II or Silāditya I because Harsha Vikramāditya immediately engaged in the conflict with Pulakeśin II and suffered defeat. More precisely, these events occurred at a date earlier than 53 BCE because the Kurtaketi grant of 53 BCE records the victory of Pulakeśin II over Harshavardhana. Thus, Harsha Vikramāditya of Ujjain was the contemporary of Pulakeśin II and not Sri Harsha of Puṣpabhūti dynasty.

Historians also claimed that the Ahar²⁴ and Peheva inscriptions²⁵ of Pratihāra Bhojadeva are dated in the Sri Harsha era. The calendar used in these inscriptions is Chaitrādi whereas Sri Harsha era followed Kārttikādi calendar. The Anantalingēśvara inscription²⁶ of the Licchavi king Narendradeva dated in the Sri Harsha era clearly indicates that the calendar of the Sri Harsha era was Kārttikādi. Therefore, it is incorrect

to say that the Pratihāra king Bhojadeva used the Sri Harsha era in his inscriptions. Actually, Bhojadeva used two eras i.e. the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE). Thus, the Ahar and Peheva inscriptions are dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama era and not in the Sri Harsha era.

In view of the above, it can be concluded that the Sri Harsha era commenced in 457 BCE as correctly recorded by Alberuni.

The epoch of Kalachuri-Chedi era

It is well known from the literature and epigraphic evidence that Māhiśmatī (near Khandwa in Madhya Pradesh) was the capital of the Kalachuri dynasty (*Māhiśmatīm Kalachureḥ kula-rājadhānīm*)²⁷ and Tripuri in Dāhala deśa (near Jabalpur) was the capital of the Chedi dynasty. Probably, the Kalachuris and Chedis were the descendants of the ancient Haihaya dynasty. The era used in the inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Māhiśmatī and the Chedis of Tripuri is referred to as the Kalachuri-Chedi era. This era was also found in the inscriptions of the Mahārājas of Valkhā, the Gurjaras, the Sendrakas and the early Chalukyas of Gujarat, etc.

There is no direct evidence to prove the exact epoch of the Kalachuri-Chedi era. The calendar of the Kalachuri-Chedi era was Kārttikādi and generally followed the Amānta scheme. The epoch of Kalachuri-Chedi era can be calculated based on the verifiable details of dates given in epigraphs and the other references.

Historians calculated various epochs of the Kalachuri era ranging from 244 CE to 250 CE. Dr. VV Mirashi argued that the earliest inscriptions from Gujarat and Maharashtra dated up to the year 490 followed the era which commenced on the Amānta Kārttika śukla pratipadā i.e. 25th September 249 CE whereas later inscriptions dated from the year 722 to the year 969 which come from Vindhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh followed the era which commenced on the Pūrnimānta Kārttika śukla pratipadā i.e. 6th October 248 CE.²⁸ Thus, the Kalachuri-Chedi era originally commenced in 249 CE but consequently it became antedated by one year i.e. 248 CE and while the calendar originally followed the Amānta scheme,

subsequently its months became Pūrṇimānta. Eminent historians agreed with Mirashi because this unusual approach not only gives them a convenient platform to explain the dates mentioned in the inscriptions but also facilitates the justification of their distorted chronology.

It is nothing but ridiculous to accept that Indians followed two different epochs of the same era. There is nothing to support this unusual and speculative theory of historians. Ancient Indians being well advanced in astronomy, the calendar or Pañchāṅga adopted by them was highly scientific and based on accurate calculations. It can be somehow reconciled that the calendar of the Kalachuri-Chedi era was originally based on the Amānta scheme and later its months became pūrṇimānta but there is no logical justification for antedating the era by one year.

The method of antedating the era by one year will be highly unscientific and Indian astronomers would have never accepted such an unscientific approach because it would have changed the scheme of intercalary months, ahargaṇa, etc. Every Indian era has only one epoch and Kalachuri-Chedi era would have also commenced from only one epoch. There were many siddhāntas of astronomy in vogue in ancient India. Therefore, it is always difficult to prove all the dates of inscriptions with reference to modern Surya Siddhānta or other available siddhāntas. It would be more appropriate to reconstruct the calendar of a particular era based on the dates and other details given in the inscriptions for finding the correct siddhānta applicable. We need to focus on verifiable data like solar eclipses and lunar eclipses that, irrespective of the siddhānta followed by the calendar of an era, can be traced in history.

The inscriptions of the Gurjara kings and the early Chalukyas of Gujarat were dated in the Kalachuri-Chedi era and some of them were also dated in the Śaka era (583 BCE). These inscriptions roughly indicate the starting point of the Kalachuri-Chedi era. Based on the study of the solar eclipses and lunar eclipses mentioned in the inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi era, it is easy to conclude that the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chedi era commenced in 403-402 BCE.

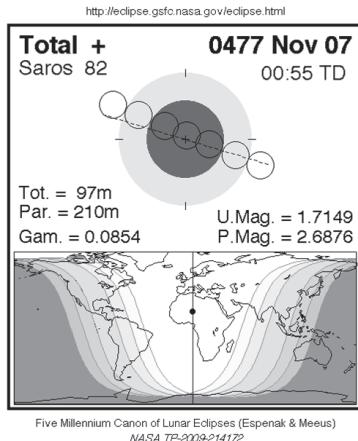
The Sarkho grant of Ratnadeva II, issued in Kalachuri year 880 on the occasion of a total lunar eclipse, provides the strongest evidence of

the starting point of Kalachuri-Chedi era.²⁹ King Ratnadeva II belonged to the family of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur and the great astronomer Padmanābha, respected as the Varāhamihira of his era (*Vārāhamihiropanamahī*) was a member of his court. Padmanābha was plausibly the senior contemporary of Bhaskaracharya of Siddhānta Śiromāṇi as Bhaskaracharya had quoted a rule from Padmanābha's treatise on algebra to establish the theory that a quadratic equation has generally two roots.³⁰ Unfortunately, all of Padmanābha's works are now lost.

Once, in the court of Ratnadeva II and in the presence of astronomers, Padmanābha predicted that when the day of Gīhpati or Vāchaspati i.e. Thursday ends in the year 880 and the full moon occurs in Kṛttikā nakṣatra, a total lunar eclipse will commence during the third quarter of the night i.e. 0:00 AM to 3:00 AM and the time when moon enters into the asterism Rohinī.

*Tenāśityadhihikūṣṭa-vatsara-śate jāte dine Gīhpatēḥ,
Kārttikyāmatha Rohinībha-samaye ratreśca yāma-trayē |
Śrimad-Ratnanareśvarasya sadasi jyotirvidāmagrataḥ,
Sarvagrāsamanuṣṇagah pravadatā tīrṇṇa pratijñānādī ||³¹*

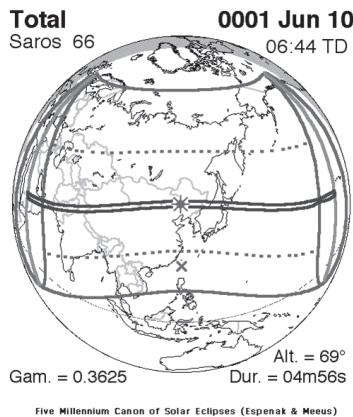
Considering the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chedi era in 403-402 BCE, 476-477 CE would be the current year and 477-478 CE would be the elapsed year of the Sarkho grant. The verifiable details given in the Sarkho grant correspond regularly with the date 7th Nov 477 CE. We can ignore the weekday because it can only be verified with reference to the Siddhānta followed by Padmanābha. But Padmanābha clearly tells us about the end of a weekday before the end of Kṛttikā nakṣatra, the starting of Rohinī nakṣatra and the beginning of total lunar eclipse in Rohinī nakṣatra. The weekday of 6th Nov 477 CE i.e. Thursday (according to Padmanābha) ended at 12:00 AM and Friday started at 0:00 hrs on 7th Nov 477 CE. Kṛttikā nakṣatra ended at 00:23 AM on 7th Nov 477 CE and Rohinī nakṣatra started at the same time. Total lunar eclipse started at 2:06 hrs and ended at 7:27 hrs on 7th Nov 477 CE. Thus, the end of Kṛttikā nakṣatra, the starting of Rohinī nakṣatra and the beginning of total lunar eclipse in Rohinī nakṣatra occurred in the third quarter of the night i.e. 0:00 hrs to 3:00 hrs and after the end of a weekday.



Interestingly, when the eclipse occurred at the time predicted by Padmanābha, king Ratnadeva became pleased and donated the village Chinchātalāi situated in the mandala of Anarghavalli to the great astronomer Padmanābha by issuing Sarkho copper plates.

Dr. VV Mirashi stated that Sarkho grant was issued on 8th Nov 1128 CE considering the epoch in 248 CE but the eclipse started in the second quarter of the night. The total lunar eclipse started at 23:27 hrs on 8th Nov and ended at 5:36 hrs on 9th Nov 1128 CE. This total lunar eclipse cannot qualify the details i.e. the end of Thursday (*Jāte dine Gīhpateḥ*) and the third quarter of the night (*ratreśca yāmatraye*) given by Padmanābha. Thus, the epoch of Kalachuri-Chedi era fixed by the historians is not tenable. Mischievously, historians replaced the word “*Jāte*” with “*Yāte*” by distorting the statement of Padmanābha and propagated that “*Yāte dine Gīhpateḥ*” means the arrival of Thursday not the end of Thursday.

The Sendraka kings also used the Kalachuri era. The Kasare grant of Nikumbhällaśakti is dated in the year 404 (0-1 CE) on the occasion of solar eclipse on new moon day of Āśādha month.³² The verifiable details given in the Kasare grant correspond regularly with the date 10th June 1 CE. The solar eclipse was visible between 6:45 hrs to 8:44 hrs on 10th June 1 CE.



Therefore, it can be concluded that the Kalachuri-Chedi era commenced from 3rd Oct 403 BCE and the calendar was Kārtikādi. Dr. VV Mirashi calculated the date of the Kasare grant as 1st June 653 CE considering the epoch in 249 CE. Thus, historians calculated the date of the Sarkho grant considering the epoch in 248 CE whereas they calculated the date of the Kasare grant considering the epoch in 249 CE.

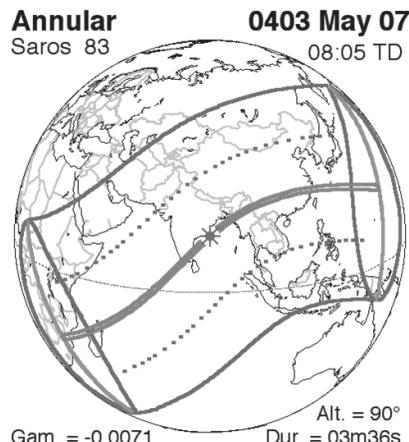
There is no evidence to support that Indians followed two different epochs while using the Kalachuri-Chedi era. Every Indian era has only one epoch and Kalachuri-Chedi era commenced from 3rd Oct 403 BCE. In the event it commenced in 248-249 CE, the Kalachuri era was in vogue till the beginning of the 13th century CE. Alberuni refers to the kingdom of Dāhala but did not mention the Kalachuri-Chedi era. According to the epoch of 248-249 CE, the Kalachuri era was commonly used in the 11th century CE and that begs the question as to how Alberuni was completely ignorant of this era. In fact, the Kalachuri era commenced in 403 BCE and became extinct by the 7th century CE. Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE) became popular from the 9th century CE onwards over the whole of North India and memories of the Kalachuri era in the public mind completely faded away by the 11th century CE and hence, Alberuni could not get any information about Kalachuri-Chedi era.

Let us calculate the dates of the inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi era based on the epoch from 403-402 BCE.

	<i>The epoch: 403-402 BCE</i>	<i>The epoch: 248-249 CE</i>	<i>The epoch: 249-250 CE</i>
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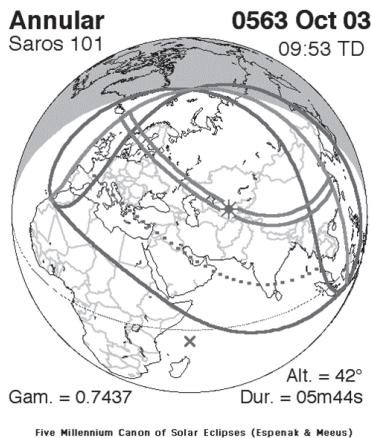
Solar eclipses

1. Solar eclipse in the year 404 on new moon day of Āśādha month. 0 - 1 BCE is current and 1 - 2 BCE is elapsed.
(Kasare grant of Allaśakti)
2. Solar eclipse in the year 805 (2nd year was 805 with reference to 812 was 9th year) on new moon day of Jyeṣṭha month. 401-402 CE is current and 402-403 CE is elapsed.
(Karwi grant of Karṇa)³³



3. Solar eclipse in the year 885 on new moon day of Kārttika month. 481-482 CE is current and 482-483 CE is elapsed.
(Paragaon grant of Ratnadeva II)³³
4. Solar eclipse in the year 896. 492-493 CE is current and 493-494 CE is elapsed.
(Bhilaigarh plates of Prithvideva II)³⁴

5. Solar eclipse in the year 900. Solar eclipse was visible on 22nd Oct 1147 CE Irregular
 496-497 CE is current and 497-498 CE is elapsed.
- (Koni stone inscription of Prithvideva II)³⁵
6. Solar eclipse in the year 926. Solar eclipse was visible on 23rd Nov 1174 CE 11th Apr 1176 CE
 522-523 CE is current and 523-524 CE is elapsed.
- (Jabalpur stone inscription of Jayasimha)³⁶
7. Solar eclipse in the year 966 on new moon day of Kārttika month and Chitrā nakṣatra. Solar eclipse was visible on 3rd October 563 CE from 12:58 hrs to 16:11 hrs and nakṣatra was Chitrā when the eclipse has commenced.
- 562-563 CE is current and 563-564 CE is elapsed.
- (Tahankapar plates of Pamparājadeva)³⁷



Lunar eclipses

1. Lunar eclipse in the year 456 on full moon day of Māgha month. 11th Feb 54 CE Irregular 13th Feb 705 CE
 52-53 CE is current and 53-54 CE is elapsed.
- (Navasari grant of Jayabhaṭa II)³⁸

2. Lunar eclipse in the year 878 (at 4th July 475 CE or 11th Jan 27th May an earlier date than Bhādrapada 24th May 476 CE 1126 CE 1127 CE śudi 5).

474-475 CE is current and 475-476 CE is elapsed.

(Sheorinarayan grant of Ratnadeva II)³⁹

3. Total Lunar eclipse in the year 880 on full moon in Kārttika naksatra, during the rise of Rohiṇī nakṣatra and in 3rd quarter of the night.

476-477 CE is current and 477-478 CE is elapsed.

(Sarkho grant of Ratnadeva II)⁴⁰

4. Lunar eclipse in the year 890 on full moon day of Kārttika month.

486-487 CE is current and 487-488 CE is elapsed.

(Daikoni grant of Prithvideva II)⁴¹

5. Lunar eclipse in the year 900 on full moon day of Chaitra month.

496-497 CE is current and 497-498 CE is elapsed.

(Amoda grant of Prithvideva II)⁴²

6. Lunar eclipse in the year 918 on full moon day of Āśvina month.

514-515 CE is current and 515-516 CE is elapsed.

(Jabalpur grant of Jayasimha)⁴³

7. Lunar eclipse in the year 969 on full moon day of Āṣāḍha month.

565-566 CE is current and 566-567 CE is elapsed.

(Bilaigarh grant of Pratāpamalla)⁴⁴

Irregular

1126 CE

1127 CE

7th Nov 477 CE

8th Nov 1128 CE

Irregular

18th Oct 487 CE

20th Oct 1138 CE

Irregular

23rd Mar 498 CE

6th April 1148 CE

26th Mar

1149 CE

26th Sep 516 CE

Irregular

30th Sep 1167 CE

Irregular.

Irregular

Irregular

Nakṣatra References

1. Moon in Hasta nakṣatra on 6thtithi of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa month in the year 928.
524-525 CE is current and 525-526 CE is expired.
(Tewar stone inscription of Jayasimha)⁴⁵

Saṁkrānti References

1. Mina Saṁkrānti on 10th tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna in the year Śaka 602 (Kalachuri 422).
18-19 CE is current and 19-20 CE is expired.
(Mundakhede plates of Jayaśakti)⁴⁶
2. Viṣuva (Sāyana Meṣa Saṁkrānti) on 10thtithi of the bright fortnight of Chaitra month in the year 436.
32-33 CE is current and 33-34 CE is expired.
(Nasik plates of Dharāśraya Jayasimha)⁴⁷
3. Tulā Saṁkrānti on 11th tithi of the dark fortnight of Āsvayuja month in the year 460.
56-57 CE is current and 57-58 CE is expired.
(Anjaneri grant of Jayabhaṭa II)⁴⁸
4. Karkaṭaka Saṁkrānti on 12th tithi of bright half of Āṣāḍha month in the year 486.
82-83 CE is current and 83-84 CE is expired.
(Kavi plates of Jayabhaṭa III)⁴⁹
5. Uttarāyaṇa Saṁkrānti on 8thtithi of the dark fortnight of Māgha month in the year 821.417-418 CE is current and 418-419 CE is expired.
(Raipur plate of Prithvidēva I)⁵⁰
6. Mina Saṁkrānti on 14thtithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna Month in the year 823.419-420 CE is current and 420-421 CE is expired.
(Khairha plates of Yaśahkarna)⁵¹

7. Makara Saṁkrānti on 10th tithi of Irregular. Irregular. Irregular.
 the bright fortnight of Māgha month in the year 965.
- 561-562 CE is current and 562-563 CE is expired.
- (Pendrabandh plates of Pratāpamalla)⁵²

Except the solar eclipse in Kalachuri year 885 and the lunar eclipse in Kalachuri year 969, all solar and lunar eclipses were visible in India and correspond regularly with the dates mentioned in the inscriptions which bear reference to the epoch of Kalachuri-Chedi era that commenced in 403 BCE. Saṁkrānti dates need further research to reconcile the details recorded in the inscriptions. However, 3rd Oct 403 BCE can be fixed as the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chedi era with reference to certain dates of inscriptions mentioned in the Śaka era (583 BCE) and the strongly verifiable details of the Kasare and Sarkho grants.

Who was the originator of the Kalachuri-Chedi era? Dr. Mirashi opined that the Ābhīra king Iśvarasena, the founder of the Ābhīra dynasty, may have started this era. According to the Purāṇas, Ābhīra kings succeeded the Śātavāhanas and ruled for 67 years. The Nasik cave inscription⁵³ of Iśvarasena is dated in his 9th regnal year. But the inscriptions of the Kalachuri and Chedi kings referred to the era as “Kalachuri Saṁvat” or “Chedi Saṁvat”. Therefore, it is not logical to assume that the Kalachuris adopted the regnal years of the Ābhīra kings and later transformed it into an era.

The Kalachuris and Chedis were the descendants of the ancient Haihaya dynasty that belongs to the Mahābhārata era. Seemingly, the Kalachuris established a powerful kingdom in Māhiṣmatī around 403 BCE and founded an era as the earliest inscriptions issued from the city of Māhiṣmatī are dated around Kalachuri year 167(236 BCE).⁵⁴ Assumably, Mahārāja Subandhu and his ancestors belonged to the Kalachuri dynasty and founded the Kalachuri-Chedi era.

The Maharajas of Valkhā

According to Dr. Mirashi, the Mahārājas of Valkhā, who were probably the earliest feudatories of the Kalachuris, used Kalachuri era in their inscriptions. More than 35 inscriptions of the Mahārājas of Valkhā

have been discovered so far and found to be dated from the year 29 to 117.⁵⁵ Some historians opined that these inscriptions were dated in the Gupta era. It is difficult to establish whether these inscriptions were dated in the Kalachuri era or the Gupta era. Since the kingdom of Valkhā was very close to the Kalachuri kingdom, it is deducible that the Mahārājas of Valkhā used Kalachuri era in their inscriptions. Valkhā is undoubtedly the present village Bāgh in Dhār district of Madhya Pradesh, close to the Narmadā River. The genealogy and chronology of the Mahārājas of Valkhā:

	<i>Kalachuri-Chedi era(403-402 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Bhaṭṭāraka	29-36	374-367 BCE
Bhulunda I	37-59	366-344 BCE
Svāmidāsa	60-68	343-335 BCE
Rudradāsa I	66-85	337-318 BCE
Bhulunda II	86-107	317-296 BCE
Rudradāsa II	108-117	295-286 BCE
Nāgabhaṭa	—	—

Some historians opined that Mahārāja Subandhu belonged to the family of the Mahārājas of Valkhā. The inscriptions of Subandhu were issued from the city of Māhiṣmatī and not from the city of Valkhā and do not mention “*Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādānudhyāta*”. Therefore, it may be confidently stated that Subandhu did not belong to the family of Valkhā.

The Traikūṭakas

Trikūṭa or a three-peaked mountain is situated in Aparānta or North Konkan. A royal family ruled around Trikūṭa was called as Traikūṭaka. It seems that Kalachuri era was popular in Konkan. The inscriptions of Traikūṭaka kings were dated from the Kalachuri years 207 to 284.

	<i>Kalachuri-Chedi era (403-402 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Dāhrasena	207-240	196-163 BCE
Vyāghrasena	240-250	163-153 BCE
Madhyamasena	250-270	153-133 BCE
Vikramasena	270-284	133-119 BCE

The Kaṭachchuris

We learn from the Abhona grant dated in the year 347 that Śaṅkaragaṇa, the king of the Kaṭachchuri dynasty, conquered Ujjayini and established his kingdom.⁵⁶ Some historians conclude, without any evidence, that the Kaṭachchuris were the early Kalachuris and used the Kalachuri era in their inscriptions. Actually, Kaṭachchuri was a different royal dynasty which presumably used the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and not the Kalachuri era.

Historians also mistakenly identified Maṅgalarāja of the Nerur grant⁵⁷ with the early Chalukya king Maṅgalīśvara and concluded that Maṅgalīśvara defeated the Kaṭachchuri king Buddharāja, the son of Śaṅkaragaṇa. The Kurtaketi grant⁵⁸ of Chalukya Vikramāditya is dated in Śaka 530 and in his 16th regnal year. Therefore, the rule of Maṅgalīśvara must have ended by Saka 515. Thus, Maṅgalīśvara's rule ended at least 3 years before the Kaṭachchuri king Śaṅkaragaṇa could establish his kingdom in Ujjayini. Moreover, the Vadner and Sarsavni grants of Buddharāja⁵⁹ are dated in the year 360 and 361 respectively which means Buddharāja was defeated after the year 361. It is therefore totally absurd to conclude that Maṅgalarāja of the Nerur grant was Maṅgalīśvara who defeated Buddharāja.

The genealogy given in the Nerur grant tells us that Maṅgalarāja was the son of Vallabha. There is no mention of the names of Pulakeśin I and Kīrtivarman I. Therefore, Maṅgalarāja of the Nerur grant, the son of Vallabha, was the anterior Chalukya king and not Mangalīśvara, the son of Kīrtivarman I. It is also clear from the above that the dates of the Kaṭachchuri inscriptions cannot be explained in the chronology of the Kalachuri era. The Kaṭachchuris probably used the Kārttikādi Vikrama era.

The chronology of the Kaṭachchuri dynasty:

	<i>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Krishnarāja	—	—
Śaṅkaragaṇa	347-355	372-364 BCE
Buddharāja	355-361	364-358 BCE

The Marruturu grant of Satyaśraya,⁶⁰ the Mudhol grant of Pugavarman,⁶¹ the Kaira grant of Vijayarāja⁶² and the Godchi grant of Kaṭṭi Arasa⁶³ mention the existence of Chalukya kings prior to the establishment of the early Chalukya dynasty by Jayasimha I. Two grants issued by Chalukya king Vishnuvardhana from Rājamahendravaram are dated in Kaliyuga era 2625 (477 BCE) and 2628 (474 BCE).⁶⁴ Maṅgalarāja of the Nerur grant was reigning in the 4th century BCE and defeated Buddharāja around 359 BCE. It appears that the Kaira grant of Vijayarāja was also dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama era and was issued in the year 394 (325 BCE).

The Mankani grant of the Kaṭachchuri king Taralasvāmi is dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama 346 (373 BCE)⁶⁵ thereby indicating that one more family of the Kaṭachchuris existed around 373 BCE. The genealogy of the king Taralasvāmi:

	<i>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Maharāja Nanna	—	—
Sūrya-Bhāvuka	—	—
Taralasvāmi	346	373 BCE

Historians unduly rejected the Mankani grant because the date was expressed in decimal notation; however, it is well-established that Indians were conversant with decimal notation since ancient times as Aryabhata (as discussed in Chapter 3) authored his work as early as 2719-2718 BCE. The Yajurveda gives the specific names for the powers of 10 up to 10^{12} and the highest number 10^{12} is named as Parārdha. Piṅgala's *Chandaśāstra* and Sarvanandī's *Lokavibhāga* explicitly mention zero and decimal place notation. An inscription of the early Chalukya king Vishnuvardhana dated in Kaliyuga era 2628 (474 BCE) expressed the year in positional notation as "Kalyādyabda-gaṇe'ṣṭa-netra-rasa-dossaṅkhye gate vatsare" (aṣṭa = 8, netra = 2, rasa = 6 and doḥ = 2). Therefore, it can be clearly seen that the Mankani grant is absolutely genuine.

The Early Gurjas

The Gurjara kings reigned in Southern Gujarat and Northern Maharashtra. They were the descendants of Mahārāja Karṇa of the

Mahābhārata era. The inscriptions of the early Gurjara kings were dated in the Kalachuri era from the year 355 to 486. Dadda I, the first known king of the early Gurjaras protected the Maitraka king of Valabhi when he was attacked by Harshadeva or Harsha Vikramāditya. The earliest inscription of Jayabhaṭa I was dated in the year 355⁶⁶ and the last inscription of Jayabhaṭa III was dated in the year 486.⁶⁷

The chronology of the early Gurjaras:

	<i>Kalachuri-Chedi era (403-402 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Dadda I	330-354	73-49 BCE
Jayabhaṭa I	355-380	48-23 BCE
Dadda II	380-427	23 BCE-24 CE
Jayabhaṭa II	428-460	25-57 CE
Ahirola	461-480	58-77 CE
Jayabhaṭa III	480-486	77-83 CE

The inscriptions of the Gurjaras tell us that it was Dadda I and not Dadda II who protected the Valabhi ruler from Harshadeva or Harsha Vikramāditya (*Parameśvara-Śri-Harshadevābhībhūta-valabhi-pati-paritrāṇopajāta-bhramadabhra-subhra-vibhrama-yaśovitānāḥ Śri-Daddah*). Historians concocted the fable that Jayabhaṭa II of the Navasari grant was actually Jayabhaṭa III and that he had not mentioned the names of Dadda I and Jayabhaṭa I in his genealogy. Thus, eminent historians converted Dadda I to Dadda II, Dadda II to Dadda III, Jayabhata II to Jayabhata III and Jayabhata III to Jayabhata IV by creating two more fictitious kings in their genealogy. Thus, historians proved, by distorting the facts, that the Harshadeva mentioned by Gurjaras was Sri Harsha of Puṣpabhūti dynasty who flourished after 606 CE. Actually, the Harshadeva mentioned by the Gurjaras was Harsha Vikramāditya of Avanti not Sri Harsha of Sthāṇvīśvara.

Some inscriptions of the Later Gurjaras were dated in the Śālivāhana era from the year 400 to 417. The Umota grant of Dadda IV was dated in Śālivāhana 400 (478 CE),⁶⁸ the Bagumra grant in Śālivāhana 415 (493 CE) and the Ilao grant of Dadda IV in Śālivāhana 417 (495 CE).⁶⁹

The chronology of the Later Gurjaras:

	<i>Śālivāhana era (78 CE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Dadda III	350-375	428-453 CE
Jayabhaṭa IV	375-400	453-478 CE
Dadda IV	400-417	478-495 CE

Historians rejected all the three inscriptions of the Later Gurjaras as spurious because they could not explain the dates of these inscriptions in their distorted chronology. In fact, they were ignorant of the difference between Śaka era (583 BCE) and Śālivāhana era (78 CE).

The Sendrakas

The Sendrakas were the feudatories of the Kadarnba kings and the early Chalukyas of Gujarat. The earliest known king of the Sendrakas was Bhānuśakti and the Halsi grant of Harivarman was issued in his 5th regnal year at the request of the Sendraka king Bhānuśakti.⁷⁰ Interestingly, the inscriptions of the Sendrakas used the Kalachuri era and the Śaka era and provide invaluable information about the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chedi era. The Kasare grant⁷¹ and Bagumra grant⁷² of Āllaśakti, the grandson of Bhānuśakti, were dated in Kalachuri year 404 (0-1 CE) and 406 (2-3 CE) respectively. The Nagad grant of Āllaśakti⁷³ is dated in Śaka 577 (6 BCE) and the Mundakhede grant⁷⁴ of Jayaśakti in Śaka 602 (19 CE).

The chronology of the Sendrakas:

	<i>In CE</i>
Bhānuśakti or Nikumbha	145-90 BCE
Ādityaśakti	90-40 BCE
Āllaśakti or Nikumbhāllaśakti	40 BCE-4 CE
Jayaśakti	4-19 CE

The Early Chalukyas of Gujarat also used the Kalachuri era and their inscriptions dated from the year 421 (18 CE) to 461 (58 CE). The chronology of the early Chalukyas of Gujarat has already been discussed in Chapter 2.

The Kalachuris and Chedis of Tripuri

The Kalachuri and Chedi kings traced their origin from the legendary king Kārtavīryārjuna of the Rāmāyaṇa era who successfully subjugated Rāvaṇa (*Rāvaṇam yo babandha*). According to some inscriptions, Purūravā, Nahuṣa and Haihaya were their ancestors. Kārtavīryārjuna, the son of Kṛtavīrya was the descendant of the Haihaya dynasty. The Kalachuri and Chedi kings proudly proclaimed themselves as “Haihayas” meaning the descendants of the Haihaya dynasty. Originally, Māhiśmatī was the capital of the kingdom of Kalachuris and Chedis but later, Tripuri in Dāhala deśa (Tiwār near Jabalpur) became their capital around the 3rd century CE. We learn from the inscriptions that Kokalladeva I was the founder of the Tripuri branch of the Kalachuri dynasty.

VV Mirashi opined that Vāmarājadeva of the Saugor inscription⁷⁵ ought to be the founder of the Tripuri branch of the Chedi dynasty and the Vāmadeva mentioned in the inscriptions of the Chedi king Karṇa and later kings is identical to Vāmarājadeva. None of the inscriptions mention the name of Vāmarājadeva or Vāmadeva in the genealogy of the Kalachuri kings but the inscriptions of king Karṇa and his successors mention “*Parama-bhaṭṭaraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-Śri-Vāmādeva-Pādānudhyāta.....*”. In all likelihood, Vāmadeva may be another name of Kokalladeva I, the founder of the Tripuri branch of the Kalachuri dynasty or the illustrious Kalachuri king Gāṅgeyadeva, the father of King Karṇa. Historians wrongly identified the Saugor inscription as the inscription of Kalachuris. King Śaṅkaragaṇa referred to in the Saugor and Chhoti Deori inscriptions⁷⁶ may be the one who was protected by Kokalladeva I (*Śaṅkaragāṇe ca rājani yasyaśidabhayadah pāṇih*).⁷⁷

According to the Kāritalāi inscription, King Lakṣmaṇarāja was ruling in Kalachuri year 593 (190 CE).⁷⁸ It mentions the rout of the Pratīhāra king Nāgabhaṭa (140-170 CE) and praises the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa I (157-213 CE) [*Bhagne Nāgabhaṭe..... Śrimadamoghavarṣa-nṛpatih pādau.....*]. Undoubtedly, king Lakṣmaṇarājadeva was a contemporary of the early Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa I and the Kalachuri king Kokalladeva. We have no information about the relationship between Lakṣmaṇarāja of Kāritalāi inscription and

Kokalladeva. In all probability, Lakṣmaṇarāja was the younger brother of Kokalladeva as mentioned in the Kahla grant of Sodhadeva.

All the Kalachuri inscriptions unanimously refer to Kokalladeva I as the founder of the Tripuri branch of the Kalachuri dynasty. The Amoda plates of Prithvideva I refer to Kokalla as “*Chedyadi-Kśitīśa*” meaning the earliest king of the Chedis.⁷⁹ The Bilhari stone inscription also mentions that, having conquered the whole earth, Kokalla set up two pillars of victory, the Krishnarāja in the South and Bhojadeva in the North. The Banaras grant of Karṇa tells us that Kokalla gave protection to Bhoja, Vallabharāja, Sri-Harsha (the king of Chitrakūta) and Śaṅkaragaṇa. The Bhoja mentioned here is the Pratīhāra king Bhojadeva or Mihira Bhoja. Thus, Kokalla was a contemporary of Pratīhāra Bhojadeva (174-234 CE) and the time of Kokalla can be fixed around 180-210 CE.

The Amoda grant tells us that Kokalla had eighteen sons. The eldest son of Kokalla became the king of Tripuri and he made his brothers kings of various mandalas (*Aṣṭādaśāri-karikunibha-vibhaṅga-simhāḥ putrā babhūvuratiśauryaparāśca tasya | Tatrāgraḥ nṛpavaras-Tripurīśa āśit pārśve ca mandalapatiḥ sa cakrā bandhūn* ||). According to the Bilhari inscription, Kokalla was followed by his son Mugdhatuṅga who, also known as Prasiddhadhvavala, was likely the eldest son of Kokalla. It appears that Mugdhatuṅga was also called Baddega as the Sudi grant of the Gaṅga king Butuga II dated in Saka 860 (277 CE) mentions Tripuri kings Baddega and Krishna.⁸⁰ When the Gaṅga kingdom was in trouble, Butuga II approached the Chedi King Baddega at Tripuri and impressed upon him that he could be instrumental in strengthening the Chedi rule in Southern region. Baddega married off his daughter to Butuga II to ensure his loyalty to Chedi kings.

*“Tasyānujo nijabhujārjjita-sampadārthī
Bhūvallabham samupagatya Dahāla-deśe,
Śri-Baddegam tadanu tasya sutām sahaiva
vakkanyayā vyavahaduktavidhis-Tripuryām ||”*

Dr. Mirashi quotes the following extract from an ancient manuscript in possession of Dr. SN Sen, Keeper of the Nepal Museum.

*Gatavati Śaka-kāle maṅgaleśvaṣṭa-saṅkhiye,
 Śaradi viśadapakṣe cāśvīneśukravāre |
 Uḍuni Surapatiśe yoga Āyuṣmatīyam,
 Tithirapi ca gatānām Pañchamī yatra śuddhā ||
 Chedikularājadhānyām gatavati Śri Vandyage nihatyārīn |
 Tacchāsanena vasudhām pariraksati Krishnarāje’pi ||⁸¹*

“When Saka year 858 elapsed, on the 5thtithi of the bright fortnight of Aśvina Month, Friday, Āyuṣmatī Yoga, King Śri Vandyaga or Baddega went back to Tripuri, the capital city of the Chedi Dynasty after defeating all his enemies while Krishnarāja was governing the country in the South”. The date corresponds regularly with 12th Sep 275 CE (or 22nd Sep 274 CE).

It is very likely that the Chedi king Baddega or Vandyaga was the eldest son of Kokalla who became the king of Tripuri and Krishnarāja was the younger brother of Baddega who became king in the Southern region of the Chedi kingdom. The Gaṅga king Butuga II strengthened the rule of Chedi Krishna after the death of his elder brother Baddega. In fact, Butuga II became the patron of Krishnarāja, the Chedi king of the Southern region and seized the kingdom from the possession of Lalleya (*Lakṣmīm Indrasya harttum gatavati divi yad Baddegañke mahīśe, hṛtvā Lalleya hastād..... Prādāt Krishnāya rājñe....*). Butuga II’s son Puṇuseya Gaṅga married the daughter of the Chedi King Krishnarāja. Butuga II also defeated Kakkarāja of Achalapura, Bijja Dantivarman of Vanavāsi, Rājavarman or Ajavarman, Dāmari the king of Nulugugiri, the Nāgavarmas and extended the Chedi kingdom up to Tañjāpuri. Thus, the Chedi king Krishnarāja established the Chedi Empire that included Magadha, Kaliṅga, Pāṇḍya and Chola. Historians mistakenly identified Baddiga and Krishna mentioned in the Sudi grant as Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas never conquered Magadha and Kaliṅga in their entire history. This issue has been discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

The Bilhari stone inscription of Yuvarājadeva II gives the genealogy of the Tripuri branch of the Chedi kings. Kokalla’s eldest son Mugdhatuṅga was succeeded by his son Yuvarājadeva I also known as Keyūravarṣa. The Banaras grant of Karṇa tells us that Prasiddhadhavala or Mugdhatuṅga’s elder son Bālahaṁsa reigned before his younger

brother Yuvarājadeva I came to power. Nohala, daughter of the Chaulukya king Avanivarman, was the wife of Yuvarājadeva I. The Bilhari inscription indicates that Yuvarājadeva I established his authority over Gauda, Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Kaśmīra and Kaliṅga. The Paramāra king Vākpatirāja II claimed victory over the Tripura king Yuvarāja.⁸² Rājaśekhara, the famous poet who finds mention in the Bilhari inscription (*Vismita-kavi-Rājaśekhara-stutya....*), flourished in the court of Yuvarājadeva. The hero of Rājaśekhara's Sanskrit drama "*Viddhaśālabhañjikā*" was a Chedi king Vidyādharamalla alias Karpūravarṣa. The story of *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, as summarised by Dr. VV Mirashi,⁸³ is as follows:

King Vidyādharamalla alias Karpūravarṣa of Tripuri receives at his court Vīrapāla alias Chandamahāsena, the lord of Kuntala, who had been deprived of his kingdom by his relatives, and falls in love with his daughter Kuvalayamālā. His minister Bhāgurāyaṇa, however, comes to know from astrologers that the king who marries Mṛgāṅkavallī, the daughter of king Chandravarman of Lāṭa will be the sovereign of the whole world. He, therefore, contrives to bring about the marriage of his lord Karpūravarṣa with Mṛgāṅkavallī. Interestingly, Karpūravarṣa's queen Madanasundarī, who was also the niece of Chandravarman, unknowingly induces the king to marry Mṛgāṅkavallī. The queen realises her mistake when it is too late. Then, a messenger of the king's General Śri Vatsa comes with the following letter:

"Through the power of Your Majesty, who is an ornament of the Kalachuris, and the policy of the Minister Bhāgurāyaṇa, all the mighty kings of the east, west and north have already been subdued. Only those of the south did not submit. Vīrapāla, the lord of Kuntala sought Your Majesty's protection. We placed Vīrapāla at our head and encamped on the bank of the Payoṣṇī River."

The general then describes how his forces fought with a confederacy of several kings, viz. those of Karṇāṭa, Sirnhalā, Pāṇḍya, Murala, Āndhra, Kuntala, Koṅkaṇa and others, defeated them and placed Vīrapāla on the throne. Bhāgurāyaṇa then declares that the Kalachuri king reigns supreme over the whole country.

Undoubtedly, poet Rajaśekhara's *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* is based on historical fiction and clearly indicates that the Kalachuris established the mightiest empire in North India in the second half of the 3rd century CE. Some historians opined that the hero of the drama may be Rājaśekhara's contemporary Chedi king Yuvarājadeva I alias Keyūravarṣa.

Lakṣmaṇarāja succeeded his father Yuvarājadeva I and subjugated the kings of Odra and Kosala. His elder son Śaṅkaragāna and younger son Yuvarājadeva II succeeded him. The Bilhari stone inscription was engraved during the reign of Yuvarājadeva II. Kokalladeva II ascended the throne after his father Yuvarājadeva II. The Mukundpur inscription⁸⁴ tells us that Gāṅgeyadeva was ruling in Kalachuri year 772 (369 CE). Gāṅgeyadeva was the son of Kokalladeva II. It appears that the Kalachuris lost Tripuri to the Paramāras. Bhoja established a powerful Paramāra kingdom in the 4th century. Therefore, the Kalachuris migrated to Prayāga and Vārāṇasi region during the reign of Kokalladeva II. King Karṇa, the son of Gāṅgeyadeva, issued the Banaras grant⁸⁵ from Prayāga in Kalachuri year 793 on the occasion of the first annual Śrāddha of his father which means Gāṅgeyadeva died on the 2ndtithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna month in the year 792 i.e. 28th Feb 389 CE and Karṇa ascended the throne on 1st March 389 CE.

Karṇa established a settlement of the Brāhmaṇas called Karṇāvatī or Karṇapratkāśa. The Rewa stone inscription⁸⁶ is dated in Kalachuri year 812 (409 CE) and in the 9th year from the establishment of Karṇapratkāśa, clearly indicating that Karṇa established Karṇapratkāśa or Karṇāvatī in Kalachuri year 803 (400 CE). Some historians wrongly calculated the Kalachuri year of the Goharwa grant⁸⁷ of Karna as 799 considering the regnal years. The Goharwa grant was issued in the 7th year from the establishment of Karṇapratkāśa. Thus, the Goharwa grant must be dated in Kalachuri year 810 (407 CE).

Karṇa married the Hūṇa princess named Āvalladevi and his son was Yaśahkarṇa. The Khairha grant⁸⁸ of Yaśahkarṇa is dated in Kalachuri year 823 (420 CE). Yaśahkarṇa defeated the Āndhra king and worshipped the god Bhīmeśvara near the Godāvarī. Probably, Yaśahkarṇa defeated the eastern Chalukya king Kulottunga Chōḍadeva I (401-450 CE). It

appears that the Kalachuris recaptured Tripuri and Dāhala deśa during the reign of Yaśahkarṇa. The Jabalpur grant of Yaśahkarṇa⁸⁹ was dated in the year 529. Eminent historians could not explain the era used in this grant. Undoubtedly, the Jabalpur grant used the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE) and the grant was issued on the 10th tithi of the dark fortnight of Māgha month in the year 529 i.e. 21st Jan 472 CE.

Yaśahkarṇa's son Gayākarṇa succeeded him. The Tiwar inscription of Gayākarṇa⁹⁰ was dated in Kalachuri year 902 (499 CE). We learn from the Bhera-Ghat inscription of Narasiṁha⁹¹ dated in Kalachuri year 907 (504 CE) that Gayākarṇa married Alhaṇadevi, the daughter of King Vijayasiṁha and Śyāmaladevi. King Vijayasiṁha belonged to the gotra of Gobhilaputra. He was the son of king Vairisiṁha and the grandson of king Haṁsapāla. Śyāmaladevi was the daughter of Mālava king Udayāditya of Paramāra dynasty (399-432 CE). Thus, Alhaṇadevi was the maternal granddaughter of Paramāra king Udayāditya I. Gayākarṇa had two sons, Narasiṁha and Jayasiṁha. The Tewar inscription of Jayasiṁha⁹² is dated in Kalachuri year 928 (525 CE). It appears that the rule of the lineage of Kokalladeva I ended with Jayasiṁha. The Rewa stone inscription⁹³ tells us that the Kalachuri king Vijayadeva or Vijayasiṁha who was reigning in Kalachuri year 944 (541 CE) was born in the family of Karṇa. One Rewa grant of Vijayadeva⁹⁴ is dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama era 1253 (534 CE).

The chronology of the Kalachuri kings of Tripuri:

	<i>Kalachuri-Chedi era (403-402 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Kokalladeva I	583-623	180-220 CE
Mugdhaturaṅga or Vandyaga or Baddega or Prasiddhadhavala	623-679	220-276 CE
Bālaharsha	680-683	277-280 CE
Yuvarājadeva I or Keyūravarṣa	683-718	280-315 CE
Lakṣmaṇarājadeva	718-743	315-340 CE
Śaṅkaragaṇa	743-753	340-350 CE
Yuvarājadeva II	753-763	350-360 CE
Kokalladeva II	763-770	360-367 CE

Gāngeyadeva	770-792	367-389 CE
Karṇadeva	792-822	389-419 CE
Yaśahkarṇa	822-875	419-472 CE
Gayākarṇa	876-905	473-502 CE
Narasimha	906-917	503-514 CE
Jayasimha	917-935	514-532 CE
Vijayasimha	936-963	533-560 CE
Trailokyamalla	963-983	560-580 CE

We learn from the Dhureti plates⁹⁵ that the Kalachuri king Trailokyamalla was reigning in Kānyakubja in Kalachuri year 963 (560 CE). Apparently, the Kalachuri king Trailokyamalla defeated Gāhadwāla king Hariśchandra, the son of Jayachandra and became the king of Kānyakubja (*Kānyakubjādhipati*). The Rewa grant of Mahāraṇaka Kumārapāladeva⁹⁶ dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama year 1297 (578 CE) mentions the glorious reign of Trailokyavarmmadeva. The grant of Mahāraṇaka Harirājadeva⁹⁷ dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama year 1298 (579 CE) also mentions the victorious reign of Trailokyamalla. It is evident that these inscriptions refer to the Kalachuri king Trailokyamalla who was ruling from Kānyakubja. The titles like “Śrimad-Vāmadeva-pādānudhyāta” “Trikaliṅgādhipati”, etc. were exclusively used for Kalachuri kings in their inscriptions.

The Garra grant⁹⁸ and Sagar grant⁹⁹ of the Chandella king Trailokyavarman were dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama year 1261 (542 CE) and 1264 (545 CE) respectively. This indicates that Chandella Trailokyavarman was a contemporary of Kalachuri Trailokyamalla. Some historians believed that the so-called Kalachuri Trailokyamalla was the same as the Chandella king Trailokyavarman. Cunningham speculated that the titles of Chedi princes, including the reference to Vāmadeva, have been simply transferred to a Chandella prince. There is not an iota of evidence to prove that Kalachuri Trailokyamalla was the same as Chandella Trailokyavarman. In fact, both were contemporary kings and the Kalachuri king Trailokyamalla was ruling in Kānyakubja around 560-578 CE whereas the Chandella king Trailokyavarman was ruling in Kālinjar around 542-575 CE.

The Duhreti grant and the grants of Mahāraṇaka Kumārapāladeva

& Harirājadeva provide the strongest evidence that the epoch of Kārttikādi Vikrama era and Kalachuri era cannot be fixed in 57 BCE and 248-249 CE respectively. According to eminent historians, Kalachuri Trailokyamalla or Chandella Trailokyavarman were the same and ruled around 1204-1241 CE. The Duhreti grant referred to Trailokyamalla as Mahārajādhirāja, Kānyakubjādhipati and Trikaliṅgādhipati in 1212 CE. The Gāhadwāla king Harśchandra also proclaimed himself Mahārajādhirāja in 1197 CE.

It is well known that Mohammad Ghori conquered Delhi, Kanauj and Vārāṇasi by 1194 CE. According to Tajul Masir and Firishta's account, the terrorist invader Ghori destroyed more than 1000 temples and erected mosques on their foundations. He appointed his slave, the Turkish general Qutbuddin Aibak as Viceroy of Delhi in 1194 CE and returned to Ghazani. The army of Ghori controlled the area from Ranathambore, Ajmer, Delhi and the entire Ganga-Yamuna doab. The barbaric invader Bakhtiar Khilji, who was also a slave general of Ghori, completely destroyed the Universities of Nalanda and Vikramasila in 1193 CE and invaded Bengal. Qutbuddin suppressed the revolt of the Rājā of Ajmer, conquered Gwalior and compelled the Rājā to pay tribute in 1196 CE. He also conquered Anhilwad of Gujarat in 1197 CE.

When Mohammad Ghori was assassinated by a fanatic of the Mulhida sect in A.H. 602 or 1205-06 CE, Qutbuddin, along with his lieutenant Iltutmish, declared himself a sovereign ruler and founded the Slave dynasty in 1206 CE. After the death of Qutbuddin in 1210 CE, Iltutmish founded the Delhi Sultanate and ruled from 1211 CE to 1236 CE. Based on a coin of that time, it is also established that the land revenue of Kanauj went to the imperial coffers of Delhi during the reign of Iltutmish. It is evident that Muslim invaders had established full control over North India by the end of the 12th century CE. Therefore, to assume that the wicked and barbaric Muslim invaders allowed North Indian kings to continue as Mahārajādhirājas would be quite misplaced. It is quite unbelievable that the Kalachuri king Trailokyamalla of the Duhreti grant could establish his kingdom in Kanauj and proclaim himself Mahārajādhirāja, Trikaliṅgādhipati and Kānyakubjādhipati in 1212 CE and Mahāraṇaka Kumārapāladeva could claim Kalachuri king

Trailokyavarmadeva to be Trikaliṅgādhipati in 1241 CE when a powerful Sultanate was ruling in Delhi. Some historians thought Trikaliṅga means Kosala, Utkala and Kaliṅga but the Sonpur grant tells us that the king Mahāśivagupta was the lord of Kaliṅga, Kongāda, Utkala, Kosala and Trikaliṅga which clearly indicates that the geography of Trikaliṅga was different from Kaliṅga.¹⁰⁰ It is quite likely that Trikaliṅga was the area of Rewa, Baghelkhand, Prayāg, Vārāṇasi, etc.

Qutbuddin has conquered the fort of Kālinjar in 1203 CE and appointed Hasan Arnal as its governor. A Persian historian Minhaj-us-Siraj mentions in his *Tabqat-e-Nasiri* that Malik Nusratuddin Tayasi led an army from Gwalior towards Kālinjar in the year A.H. 631 (1233 CE) but the king of Kālinjar fled away. The Garra grant of Trailokyavarman is dated in 1204 CE and the grant of Mahāraṇaka Harirājadeva in 1242 CE. Therefore, historians concocted the fiction that the Chandellas defeated the Muslim governor and recaptured their kingdom extending to Kakadadaha in Jhansi District within two years. . They simply ignored the statement of the *Tabqat-e-Nasiri*. In fact, Kālinjar was in full control of Hasan Arnal and the king had been paying tribute to Qutbuddin since 1203 CE. It appears that the king of Kālinjar stopped paying tribute during the reign of Iltutmish. Malik Nusratuddin led an army in 1233 CE and the king of Kālinjar had no other option but to surrender his fort. Historians distorted the meaning of “*Turuṣka-Yuddha*” mentioned in the grant of Trailokyavarman as an explicit reference to the encounter with Turks or the Muslim governor.

It may be noted that the Turuṣkas had existed in the North-Western border areas since ancient times. Kalhaṇa of Rājatarāṅginī mentions that Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka were Turuṣkas. Interestingly, Alberuni recorded that Hindus had Turk kings who ruled in the region of Kabul for sixty generations.

“The Hindus have kings residing in Kabul, Turks who were said to be of Tibetan origin. The first of them, Barhatakin came into the country..... He wore Turkish dress..... People honoured him as a being of miraculous origin, who had been destined to be king, and in fact he brought those countries under his sway and ruled them under the title of a Shahiya of Kabul. The rule remained among his descendants for

generations, the number of which is said to be about sixty.”¹⁰¹

Actually, the so-called Kuṣāṇas (as referred to by modern historians) were Turuṣkas. Thus, the Turuṣkas had existed for over 2500 years before the birth of Islam. Trailokyavarman may have fought the Turuṣka king of the 6th century CE. If indeed Trailokyavarman was the king who fled away from the fort of Kalinjar in 1233 CE, how was he referred to as Mahārājādhirāja in the grants dated around 1241-1242 CE and how could Trailokyavarman’s sons Viravarman and Hammīrvavarman rule from 1243 CE to 1311 CE and claim to be Kālinjarādhipati and Mahārājādhirāja.

According to the *Tabqat-e-Nasiri*, a Rāṇā named Dalaki wa Malaki was ruling in a mountainous region not far from Kāḍa (Allahabad Dist.) which was raided by Ulugh Khan (Balban) in A.H. 645 (1247 CE). Firishta also recorded that Dalaki wa Malaki (early Baghel kings Dalakesvar and Malakesvar) resided at Kālinjar. It is also recorded in the Muslim accounts that the Delhi Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud (1246-1266 CE) subjugated Bundelkhand and appointed his governor around 1250 CE. He was also controlling the regions of Gwalior, Chanderi and Mālava. For the sake of argument, even if we accept the re-establishment of Chandella rule by Trailokyavarman around 1204-1242 CE, there was absolutely no scope for Trailokyavarman’s son Viravarman and his grandsons, Bhojavarman and Hammīrvavarman to be Kālinjarādhipati and Mahārājādhirāja till 1289 CE or 1311 CE.

Actually, eminent historians are ignorant of the difference between the epochs of Kārttikādi Vikrama era and Chaitrādi Vikrama era. They believed that both eras commenced in 57 BCE. As discussed in detail in Chapter 5, the Kārttikādi Vikrama era commenced in 719-718 BCE and the Chaitrādi Vikrama era in 57 BCE. The epoch of Kalachuri-Chedi era can only be fixed in 403-402 BCE and not in 248-249 CE. All inscriptions of the Chandellas of Jejākabhukti are dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama era. Thus, the Kalachuri king Trailokyamalla and the Chandella king Trailokyavarman flourished in the 6th century CE and not in the 13th century CE.

According to Paramāla Raso, Paramāla was the Chandella king around 1165-1203 CE. Historians wrongly identified Paramāla to be Paramardi. Actually Paramardi ruled in the beginning of the 6th century

CE whereas Paramala ruled in the second half of the 12th century CE. Unfortunately, historians incorrectly questioned the historicity of Paramāla Rāso and Prithvirāja Rāso. Paramāla Rāso tells us that Paramāla's eldest son Brahmajit fell fighting against Prithvirāj Chauhan. Samarajit was the second son of Paramāla. There is no reference of Trailokyavarman in Paramāla Rāso. Thus, the Chandella kingdom ended in 1203 CE and their last king was Paramāla. Probably, the Baghel kings Dalakesvar and Malakesvar annexed Kālinjar fort from the Muslim governor after 1233 CE but lost to Ulugh Khan in 1247 CE.

The Kalachuris of Kalyāṇa

The Bilhari inscription tells us that Kokalladeva I appointed his son Krishnarāja in the South. He got invaluable support from the Gaṅga king Butuga II in establishing a powerful kingdom as recorded in the Sudi plates. Thus, Krishnarāja founded his lineage, the Kalachuri dynasty in the southern region. Three inscriptions i.e. the Nimbal grant,¹⁰² the Kukkanur grant¹⁰³ dated in Śaka 1096 (513-514 CE) and the Behatti grant¹⁰⁴ dated in Śaka 1105(522-523 CE), provide valuable information about this branch. Krishna was succeeded by his son Jogama and his grandson Paramardi. King Bijjaṇa, the son of Paramardi, was an illustrious king of this branch. It is very likely that he subjugated the kings of the Pāṇḍya, Chola, Vaṅga and Mālava kingdoms (*Jāḍyam Pāṇḍyastyjati bhajate Cholabhūpaścalatvam, bhaṅgam Vaṅgah sarati bharate Mālavah kālaśaṅkām | Bhūpāścānye Jayati jagatīm Bijjaṇa-kṣoṇipāle....*).

It appears that the Kalachuris of Kalyāṇa lost their kingdom after Bijjaṇa because the inscriptions simply mention the rise of king Soma (*Rājā Soma udait kalānidhi...*). Historians wrongly concluded that king Soma was the son of Bijjaṇa but there is no such information in the inscriptions. Probably, the Kalachuri king Soma re-established his kingdom with the help of his three brothers i.e. Saṅkhamadeva, Āḥavamalla and Siṅghaṇadeva. The Kukkanur grant tells us that Saṅkhamā was ruling in 513-514 CE. According to the Behatti grant, Siṅghaṇadeva was ruling in 522-523 CE. The rise of the Yādava dynasty probably ended the rule of the Kalachuris in the South.

The chronology of the Kalachuris of Kalyāṇa:

	<i>Śaka era</i> (583 BCE)	<i>In CE</i>
Krishnarāja	—	270-300 CE
Jogama	—	300-325 CE
Paramardi	—	325-370 CE
Bijjanā	—	370-395 CE
.....
Soma	1075-1090	492-507 CE
Saṅkhamadeva	1090-1105	507-522 CE
Āhavamalla	1105	522 CE
Singhaṇadeva	1105	522 CE

The Kalachuris of Ratanpur or South Kosala

According to many Kalachuri inscriptions found in South Kosala i.e. Chattisgarh, Kokalladeva I's grandson Kalingarāja established the Kalachuri kingdom near Ratanpur. His son Kamalarāja was a contemporary of Gāṅgeyadeva, the Kalachuri king of Tripuri whom he helped in his campaign against the king of Utkala. Kamalarāja was succeeded by his son Ratnarāja or Ratnadeva I who, in turn, was succeeded by his son Prithvideva I whose earliest grant is dated in Kalachuri year 821 (418 CE).¹⁰⁵ The Ratanpur inscription tells us that Prithvideva's son Jājalladeva I was reigning in Kalachuri year 866 (463 CE). Jājalladeva was succeeded by his son Ratnadeva II in whose court the famous astronomer Padmanābha accurately predicted the time of the total lunar eclipse that occurred on 7th Nov 477 CE. Ratnadeva II defeated the Kalinga king Anantavarman Chodagaṅga and his feudatory Gokarṇa (*Yaśchodagaṅga-Gokarṇau yudhi cakre paraṅgmukhau*).¹⁰⁶ It may be noted that the inscriptions of Anantavarman Chodagaṅga are dated in the Śaka era (583 BCE) and he ruled around 417-489 CE. Prithvideva II was the son of Ratnadeva II and his earliest grant is dated in Kalachuri year 890 (487 CE).¹⁰⁷ Interestingly, his Ratanpur stone inscription is dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama year 1207 (488 CE).¹⁰⁸

Jājalladeva II, the son of Prithvideva II ascended the throne around Kalachuri year 916 (513 CE) and on his untimely demise, was succeeded by his elder brother Jagaddeva and he, in turn, was succeeded by his son Ratnadeva III whose son Pratāpamalla ascended the throne after

him. Pratāpamalla's Pendrabandh grant is dated in Kalachuri year 965(562 CE)¹⁰⁹ and Bilaigarh grant in Kalachuri year 969 (566 CE).¹¹⁰

The chronology of the Kalachuris of South Kosala:

	<i>Kalachuri-Chedi era (403-402 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Kalinagarāja	725-750	322-347 CE
Kamalarāja	750-795	347-392 CE
Ratnadeva I	795-820	392-417 CE
Prithvideva I	820-840	417-437 CE
Jājalladeva I	840-866	437-463 CE
Ratnadeva II	866-889	463-486 CE
Prithvideva II	889-915	486-512 CE
Jājalladeva II	916-920	513-517 CE
Jagaddeva	920-930	517-527 CE
Ratnadeva III	930-950	527-547 CE
Pratāpamalla	950-970	547-567 CE

We have no information about the immediate successors of Pratāpamalla. It is quite likely that the rule of this family of the Kalachuris ended with Pratāpamalla due to the rise of the Yādava dynasty. The Bilaigarh grant of Pratāpamalla is the last grant dated in Kalachuri era thereby suggesting that the use of the Kalachuri era ended with the downfall of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. There is no instance of the use of the Kalachuri-Chedi era after the 6th century CE. The knowledge of the epoch of Kalachuri-Chedi era faded away from public memory by the 11th century CE and therefore, Alberuni had no knowledge of it.

It appears that the descendants of this Kalachuri family of Ratanpur re-established themselves in the beginning of the 8th century CE. The Ratanpur stone inscription¹¹¹ of the Kalachuri king Vāhara is dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama year in 1552 (833 CE) and the Kosgain stone inscription No. 2¹¹² is dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama year 1570 (851 CE). According to Kosgain inscription No. 2, Ghatama was the feudatory of the Kalachuri king Vāhara. Kosgain inscription No. 1 tells us that Kalachuri king Vāhara's minister Mādhava completely destroyed all enemies, snatched away the royal fortune of the enemies, defeated the Pathāṇas in the battle, wrested away the territory of Pathāṇas and brought away camels, gold, other metals, elephants, horses, innumerable

cows and female buffaloes. Seemingly, Mādhava also defeated the ruler of Sindh (*Ādau jitvā Sindhu_li_maulim...*). Such victories of Mādhava cannot be explained if the inscriptions of Vāhara are dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE). Therefore, the inscriptions of the Kalachuri king Vāhara are dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and he flourished in 9th century CE.

The Raipur inscription¹¹³ of Rāya-Brahmadeva is dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama 1458 (1400-1401 CE) and Śālivāhana 1322 elapsed (1400-1401 CE). This inscription was engraved on the 8thtithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna month. King Rāya-Brahmadeva was referred to as Mahārājādhirāja and Rayapur was his capital. Most probably, Rāya-Brahmadeva was not a Kalachuri king.

The Khallari temple inscription¹¹⁴ of Hari-Brahmadeva, dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama 1470 (1412-1413 CE) and Śālivāhana 1334 elapsed (1412-1413 CE), states that the Kalachuri king Siṅghaṇa conquered 18 of his enemies' forts (*Nija-Bhuja-guru-darpādyo'ri-durgānyajaiśit-raṇa-bhuvi daśa cāṣṭau Siṅghaṇa-kṣoniपālah....*). King Siṅghaṇa's son was Ramadeva and the grandson Haribrahmadeva whose capital was Khalvāṭikā known as Khallāri in modern times. Evidently, Hari-Brahmadeva was a Kalachuri king and cannot be the same as Rāya-Brahmadeva.

The Kalachuris of Kuśinagara

The branch of the Kalachuris of Kuśinagara is known from the Kasia stone inscription which is not dated but possibly belonged to the 5th century CE.¹¹⁵ King Śaṅkaragaṇa was the earliest known king of this family and is quite likely one of the eighteen sons of Kokalladeva I. The genealogy of Kalachuris of Kuśinagara:

1. Śaṅkaragaṇa
2. Nannarāja
3. Lakṣmaṇa I
4. Śivarāja I
5. Bhimaṭa I
6. Lakṣmaṇa II
7. Śivarāja II
8. (Name lost)
9. Lakṣmaṇa III
10. Bhīmaṭa II (5th century)

The Kalachuris of Sarayūpāra

The Kahla grant¹¹⁶ of Soḍhadēva, dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama 1135 (1078 CE), is the only source of information about the Kalachuri family of Sarayūpāra and it is evident from the grant that the Kalachuri king Vyāsa, the son of Guṇasāgara, re-established his kingdom and made the city of Gokulaghaṭṭa his capital on the 8th tithi of the bright fortnight of the second Jyeṣṭha month in Chaitrādi Vikrama 1087 i.e. 31st May 1031 CE. King Vyāsa's son Soḍhadēva issued the Kahla grant on the 7th tithi of the bright fortnight of Pauṣa month on the occasion of Uttarāyaṇa Saṁkrānti i.e. 24th Dec 1077 CE.

Kahla grant tells us that the earliest king of the Kalachuri family of Sarayūpāra was Lakśmaṇarāja who was the younger brother of Kalachuritilaka (the ornament of Kalachuris). It is probable that, the epithet "Kalachuritilaka" was applied to Kokalladeva I as he appears to have conquered the country of "Śvetapāda" and given it to his brother Lakśmaṇarāja. Lakśmaṇarāja was succeeded by his son King Rājaputra; he, in turn, by his son Śivarāja, and he, in turn, was succeeded by his son Śaṅkaragaṇa whose son Guṇāmbhodhīdeva was a contemporary of Paramāra Bhojadeva and received some territory from Bhojadeva. Ullābha succeeded his father Guṇāmbhodhīdeva and Ullābha's half-brother Bhāmaṇadeva ascended the throne after him. Bhāmaṇadeva, who was probably a contemporary of the Dhārā king Paramāra Naravarman, defeated the forces of the king of Dhārā.

Soḍhadēva's grant dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama era 1135 (1078 CE) is strong evidence in itself that the great Paramāra king Bhojadeva cannot be dated around 1010-1060 CE. According to this grant, Guṇāmbhodhīdeva was a contemporary of Bhoja. After Guṇāmbhodhīdeva, seven kings from Ullābha to Bhima flourished. After the reign of Bhima, the Kalachuris of Sarayūpāra lost their kingdom. Later, Guṇasāgara II re-established the kingdom of the Kalachuris and Soḍhadēva was his grandson. Soḍhadēva's father Vyasa made the city of Gokulaghaṭṭa as his capital in 1031 CE. It is impossible to explain the history of the Kalachuris of Sarayūpāra from Guṇāmbhodhīdeva to Soḍhadēva between 1060 CE to 1078 CE. Therefore, Paramāra Bhoja and

Kalachuri Guṇāmbodhadeva flourished in the 4th century CE whereas Soḍhadeva ruled in the 11th century CE.

Some historians argued that Guṇāmbodhadeva was a contemporary of Pratihara Bhoja not Paramara Bhoja. It may be noted that the Kalachuri king Kokalladeva gave protection to Pratihara Bhoja. Therefore, it is highly improbable that a king of Kalachuris became a feudatory of Pratiharas. Undoubtedly, Guṇāmbodhadeva was a contemporary of Paramara Bhoja. Moreover, Soḍhadeva, the sovereign Kalachuri king, preferred to use Vikrama era instead of Kalachuri-Chedi era which also indicates that the Kalachuri-Chedi era was not in use by the time of Soḍhadeva.

The chronology of the Kalachuri family of Sarayūpāras:

	<i>In CE</i>
Lakshmanarāja	190-240 CE
Rājaputra	240-290 CE
Śivarāja I	290-330 CE
Śaṅkaragaṇa I	330-370 CE
Guṇāmbodhadeva	370-410 CE
Ullābha	410-430 CE
Bhāmaṇa I	430-450 CE
Śaṅkaragaṇa II	450-475 CE
Guṇasāgara I	475-500 CE
Śivarāja II or Bhāmaṇa II	500-525 CE
Śaṅkaragaṇa III	525-550 CE
Bhīma (lost their kingdom)	550-570 CE
Guṇasāgara II	1000-1030 CE
Vyāsa	1031-1076 CE
Soḍhadeva	1077-1100 CE

Dr. Mirashi opined that the Kuśinagara family and the Sarayūpāra family belong to only one lineage but the genealogies given in the inscriptions tell a different story altogether, thereby establishing that the Kuśinagara and Sarayūpāra are two different families of the Kalachuris.



Chapter 7

An overview of Indian eras

Indian contribution to the world of astronomy has been remarkable since the very beginning. Their immense passion to solve astronomical problems led to numerous discoveries in Mathematics and Astronomy. Ancient Indians developed mathematical astronomy by meticulous and painstaking multi-generational record-keeping of astronomical observations and finding solutions for astronomical problems through mathematical manipulations. Truly speaking, India was the birth place of astronomy and mathematics and taught the basics of these sciences to the rest of the world. Indian astronomy is much older than Babylonian, Egyptian and Hellenistic astronomy. John Playfair (1748-1819 CE), a Scottish mathematician, demonstrated that the epoch of the astronomical observations recorded in the tables by Hindu astrologers had to be 4300 BCE. Evidently, ancient Indians knew the importance of using the epoch for astronomical calculations which evolved the concept of eras. Some intellectually challenged historians claimed that ancient Indians were not accustomed to the use of eras and only foreigners introduced eras in India. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

Indians used eras since ancient times. The Greek historians Pliny and Arrian (95-175 CE) mention that Indians used the Saptarsi calendar that commenced in 6676 BCE. Alberuni records that Hindus had an era called Kālayavana with the epoch at the end of last Dvāparayuga.¹ Most probably, the epoch of Kālayavana era may have commenced at a date earlier than the epoch of the Kaliyuga era and the Mahābhārata war but unfortunately no literary or archaeological evidence is available today. Let us discuss the epoch of various Indian eras that unravel the mysteries of the chronology of ancient Indian history

The era of the Mahābhārata war (Between 3169 BCE and 3128 BCE)

Purāṇas recorded the chronology of various dynasties which ruled Magadha from the epoch of the Mahābhārata war. Some scholars concluded that the Mahābhārata war occurred 36 years before the epoch of Kaliyuga i.e. 3102 BCE. Thus, the year of the Mahābhārata war can be fixed at 3138 BCE.

The Aihole inscription² of the early Chalukya Pulakeśin II dated in Śaka 556 elapsed (27-26 BCE) explicitly mentions that $30+3000+100+5 = 3135$ years elapsed up to 28-27 BCE from the year of Mahābhārata war; that means $3135+27 = 3162$ BCE was the year of the Mahābhārata war. Western historians distorted the statement of the Aihole inscription “*Sahābda-śata-yukteṣu*” into “*Saptābda-śata-yukteṣu*” and calculated that $30+3000+700+5 = 3735$ years elapsed and not 3135 years. Considering the Śālivāhana era (78 CE) as Śaka era (583 BCE), they calculated the year 3102 BCE [$3735-(556+78) = 3102$] and concluded that Ravikīrti, the author of the Aihole inscription, referred to the epoch of the Kaliyuga era as the epoch of the Mahābhārata war.

None of the Indian literary sources refer to the epochal year of Kaliyuga as the year of the Mahābhārata war. If we consider the reading “*Saptābda-śata-yukteṣu*” as the correct version, it must be interpreted as $7+100 = 107$ and not as $7 \times 100 = 700$. Therefore, the Aihole inscription tells us that 3135 or 3142 years elapsed from “*Bhāratat āhavāt*” meaning the war of Bhāratas i.e. Mahābhārata war. Thus, the year of the Mahābhārata war was 3162 or 3169 BCE according to the Aihole inscription.

Interestingly, Bhishma Parva (3.29) of Mahabharata mentions the rare occurrence of two eclipses (solar & lunar) within thirteen days (less than 14 days) in Kurukshtera before the Mahabharata war.

“Caturdaśīm pañcadaśīm bhutapūrvām ca śodaśīm,
Imām tu nābhijānāmi amāvāsyām trayodaśīm ||
Candraśūryāvubhau grastāvekamāse trayodaśīm,
Aparvaṇi grahāvetau prajāḥ sāṅkṣapayisyataḥ ||
Rajovṛtā diśāḥ sarvāḥ pāñsuvarṣaiḥ samantataḥ,
Utpātameghāḥ raudrāśca rāṭrau varṣanti śoṇitam ||”

It is stated, “I knew about the occurrence of Amavasya i.e. New Moon day on the 14th, 15th or 16th day but I don’t know about that occurring on the 13th day. Both Solar and lunar eclipses occurred back to back on 13th day in a single lunar month”.

Dr. S Balakrishna of NASA calculated the eclipses considering the location of Kurukshetra and concluded that a pair of eclipses occurred in August 3128 BCE (Julian year 3129 BC). An Annular solar eclipse occurred on 11th Aug 3128 BCE and a partial lunar eclipse occurred on 25th Aug 3128 BCE. Thus, both eclipses occurred within 13 days, 20 hours and 20 minutes.

Mausala Parva (2.19 to 2.20) of the Mahabharata also mentions the occurrence of a solar eclipse at the city of Dwaraka in the 36th year (elapsed) of the Mahabharata war. An annular solar eclipse occurred on 22nd Aug 3091 BCE and was visible from the city of Dwaraka.

In view of the above, the date of the Mahābhārata war cannot be fixed later than 3128 BCE. Since the Aihole inscription indicates the year of the Mahābhārata war to be 3162 or 3169 BCE with reference to the epoch of the Saka era in 583 BCE, undoubtedly, the Mahabharata war must have occurred between 3169 BCE and 3128 BCE.

The Yudhiṣṭhīra era (3128 BCE or 3109 BCE)

Varāhamihira states in the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* that Saptarśis (Great Bear) were in the constellation of Maghā during the reign of Yudhiṣṭhīra.³ Varāhamihira refers to the following verse from *Garga Saṁhitā* of Vṛddha Garga:

“Āsan Maghāsu munayahśāsati pṛthvīm Yudhiṣṭhire nṛpatau |
Ṣad-dvika-pañcha-dvi-yutaś-śakakālalāḥ tasya rājñāśca ||”⁴

“The Great Bear (munayah = Saptarśis) was in the constellation of Maghā, when king Yudhiṣṭhīra ruled the Earth; the interval between the Yudhiṣṭhīra kāla and the Śaka kāla was 2526 years.”

Śaka era (the coronation of Śaka king) commenced in 583 BCE as explained in detail in Chapter 2. According to Varāhamihira, 2526 years are to be added to Śaka-kala i.e. 583 BCE. We arrive at 3109 BCE by addition of 2526 years to 583 BCE. Therefore, it is evident that Yudhiṣṭhīra was ruling around 3109 BCE and the Great Bear was in Maghā

constellation. Most probably, 3109 BCE was the epoch of Yudhiṣṭhira era. It appears that the siddhānta followed by Vṛddha Garga used the epoch of Yudhiṣṭhira era for astronomical calculations.

Interestingly, the date of Vṛddha Garga can also be fixed between the beginning year of Śaka era i.e. 583 BCE and before the birth of Varāhamihira i.e. Śaka 427 (156 BCE). Most probably, Vṛddha Garga flourished around 500 BCE. According to KD Abhyankar and GM Ballabh,⁵ Vṛddha Garga lived around 500 BCE and had the knowledge of the rate of precession of 1° per 100 years. In 500 BCE, the summer solstice used to occur at nirayana longitude $\ddot{\text{e}} (285) = 100^\circ$ according to *Chitrā-pakṣa*. Then, using Vṛddha Garga's rate of precession of 1° per century, we find that in 3100 BCE the summer solstice would have been at the nirayana longitude 126°, which corresponds with Maghā constellation. This explains how Vṛddha Garga came to the conclusion that the Saptarśis were in Maghā during the reign of Yudhiṣṭhira. The Greeks evidently borrowed the knowledge of the rate of precession of 1° per 100 years from Indian sources.

Yudhiṣṭhira was coronated in Indraprastha immediately after the Mahābhārata war. Since the Mahābhārata war occurred around 3128 BCE, the same year must be the epoch of the Yudhiṣṭhira era. There is no direct or indirect evidence to prove that Yudhiṣṭhira founded an era. It is very likely that Yudhiṣṭhira's grandson Janamejaya started this era in commemoration of Yudhiṣṭhira's coronation or nirvāṇa. Interestingly, two grants⁶ of King Janamejaya dated in the year 89 of the Yudhiṣṭhira era were found.

The Jaisalmer Vaiṣṇava temple inscription⁷ of Mūlarāja refers to the year 4898 of Yudhiṣṭhira era but evidently this inscription uses the Kaliyuga era which is referred to as Yudhiṣṭhira era erroneously. Chitsukhāchārya, the author of *Bṛhat Śaṅkara Vijaya*, used the Yudhiṣṭhira era in his treatise. According to him, Ādi Śaṅkarāchārya attained nirvāṇa in the year 2646 of the Yudhiṣṭhira era.⁸ Jaina and Buddhist scholars also used the Yudhiṣṭhira era but there is no further information to fix the exact epoch of the Yudhiṣṭhira era as intended by these scholars.

However, it is evident that the Yudhiṣṭhira era was in use before the introduction of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and Śaka

era (583 BCE). According to Vṛddha Garga and Varāhamihira, the epoch of the Yudhiṣṭhīra era was 2526 years before the Śaka era (583 BCE) i.e. 3109 BCE.

The Kaliyuga era (3102 BCE)

Ancient Indian astronomers evolved the concept of Yugas or Mahāyugas to facilitate accurate astronomical calculations in integral numbers. Though they understood the basics of fractions, they preferred to deal with large numbers to avoid complications. Thus, the Mahāyuga concept became the essential feature of Indian astronomy. According to Āryabhaṭa, Kaliyuga started at midnight between 17th and 18th Feb 3102 BCE and it was a Friday. The two inscriptions of the early Chalukya Vishnuvardhana are the earliest inscriptions dated in the year of Kaliyuga 2625 (477 BCE) and 2628 (474 BCE).⁹

The Saptarṣi Saṁvat or Laukika era or Śāstra Kāla (6676 BCE or 3076 BCE)

Ancient Indians were the first to discover that Saptarṣis i.e. the Great Bear resided one hundred years in one nakṣatra constellation while completing one cycle of 27 nakṣatras in 2700 years. They used the cycle of Saptarṣi as a calendar. Greek historians mention that Indians used the Saptarṣi calendar with the epoch in 6676 BCE. The Saptarṣi era was also known as the Laukika era and sometimes the “Śāstra-Kāla”. This era was used in the Purāṇas, in the history of Nepal and in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa. Epigraphic evidence indicates that the Saptarṣi era was in use in Kashmir and its neighbourhood. At the time of Alberuni (1018-1030 CE), it was also in use in Multan. It appears that initially the epoch of the Saptarṣi era was in 6676 BCE as mentioned by Greek historians but later, Kashmiri astronomers appear to have reset the calendar of Saptarṣis from the year 3076 BCE.

Though, the Saptarṣi era consists of cycles of 2700 years, in practice the hundreds are omitted, and as soon as the reckoning reaches 100, a fresh hundred begins from 1. The earliest inscription dated in the Saptarṣi era was found at Baijnath, Himachal Pradesh written in the Śāradā script.¹⁰ This Baijnath Praśasti is dated in the 80th year of the Saptarṣi era and Śaka 7xx. The Śaka year mentioned must be 786 elapsed (203-204

CE) considering the epoch of the coronation of Śaka king (583 BCE). Western historians assumed the year of this inscription as 726 with reference to the epoch of the death of Śaka king (78 CE)

The era of Buddha Nirvāṇa (2134 BCE or 1658 BCE)

Ancient Buddhist literature refers to the epoch of the Mahāparinirvāṇa of Gautama Buddha for dating certain historical events but opinions differ as to the exact date of the nirvāṇa of Buddha. Let us first shortlist the essential data from various sources related to Buddha's nirvāṇa.

- It is well known fact that Buddha flourished before the rule of the Nandas and Mauryas in Magadha. The Purāṇas record that Mahāpadmananda ascended the throne after 1500 years from the birth of King Parīkṣit. Thus, the nirvāṇa of Buddha cannot be dated earlier than 17th century BCE. Kota Venkatachalam fixed the date of nirvāṇa in 1807 BCE whereas Dr. DS Triveda proved it in 1793 BCE.
- Many Buddhist sources (Sanskrit and Tibetan) including *Vinayapitaka* inform us that the difference between the date of Aśoka's coronation and the nirvāṇa of Buddha was 100 years.
- According to Buddhist chronicles like *Dīpavamīśa*, *Mahāvamīśa* and *Samantapāśādikā*, King Aśoka's consecration is dated 218 years after the nirvāṇa of Buddha and the council of Rājagṛha was held 18 years later i.e. 236 years after nirvāṇa of Buddha.¹¹
- The Khotanese chronicle, *Li yul gyi lo rgyus*, places the start of the reign of Aśoka 234 years after nirvāṇa of Buddha.¹²
- The northern Buddhist tradition places the nirvāṇa about 100 or 110 years before the coronation of Aśoka.
- Buddha was a contemporary of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru. According to Buddhist tradition, Buddha was 72 years old at the time of Ajātaśatru's coronation.
- Max Muller collected 14 dates referring to Buddha's nirvāṇa from Tibetan sources. They range from 2422 BCE to 546 BCE.¹³
- Chinese scholar Fahien, who visited India in the fifth century

(405–411 CE), recorded that 1497 years elapsed since the nirvāṇa of Buddha. Thus, the date of Nirvāṇa can be fixed around 1086 BCE.

- Hiuen Tsang stated that the Chinese were not able to attribute an exact date to the nirvāṇa of Buddha during his times (7th century CE). However, he referred to various dates from 860 BCE to 260 BCE.
- Tao Hsuan referred to the tradition of “dotted record” in his work *Ta t'ang nei tien lu* and claimed that when Upāli collated the Vinaya after the nirvāṇa of Buddha, he marked a dot in the manuscript. His successors like Dāsaka, Sonaka, Siggava, Moggaliputta, Tissa and Chandavajji marked a new dot each year. During a visit to Canton about 489 CE, Saṅghabhadra inscribed the 975th dot on the manuscript. Thus, Cantonese sources place the nirvāṇa in 486 BCE.¹⁴
- Some of the sources from Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand and Cambodia place the nirvāṇa around 543 BCE.
- Later Jain tradition claims that Mahavira was a contemporary of Buddha.
- Some of the sources from Sri Lanka and China place the nirvāṇa in 483 BCE.
- Apart from the above, *Saṃyutta Nikāya* gives certain verifiable astronomical details related to the year of nirvāṇa of Buddha. According to *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, Buddha was staying in Śrāvastī about three months before his death. During this time, three events were observed: the winter solstice and a lunar eclipse, followed by a solar eclipse.¹⁵

It is evident from the above that the date of Mahāparinirvāṇa of Buddha cannot be arrived at without fixing the date of king Aśoka's accession and consecration.

Modern historians generally agree that Buddha attained nirvāṇa in 486 BCE or 483 BCE and Aśoka ascended the throne in 268 BCE or 265 BCE. There is unanimity on the point that Buddha lived for eighty years. Thus, Buddha was born in 566 BCE or 563 BCE.

I discussed the mistaken identity of Sandrokottus in detail in Chapter 4 and proved that Sandrokottus was Samudragupta and not Chandragupta Maurya. The chronology of the Maurya dynasty given by eminent historians is highly distorted and hence not acceptable.

According to the Purāṇas, Mahāpadmananda ascended the throne 1500 years after the birth of Parīkṣit and the Great Bear (Saptarśis) was in Śravaṇa constellation during the reign of king Nanda.

*“Mahāpadmābhisekāttu yāvajjanma Parīkṣitah |
ekameva sahasram tu jñeyam pañca-śatottaram ||”¹⁶*
*“Saptarśayo Maghāyuktāḥ kāle Yaudhiṣṭhire śatam |
Śravaṇe te bhaviṣyanti kāle nandasya bhūpateḥ ||”¹⁷*

The Great Bear was in Śravaṇa constellation during the period 1676-1577 BCE and it is well known that king Parīkṣit, the son of Abhimanyu was born in the year of the Mahābhārata war. As discussed above, the date of the Mahābhārata war can be fixed around 3128 BCE. Mahāpadmananda ascended the throne approximately 1500 years after the birth of Parīkṣit and his Nanda dynasty ruled for 100 years. Since Parīkṣit was born around 3128 BCE, Mahāpadmananda's coronation must be dated after 1628 BCE. The Maurya dynasty succeeded the Nandas. According to Purāṇas and Buddhist sources, Chandragupta reigned for 34 years, Bindusāra for 28 years and Aśoka for 37 years. Buddhist sources tell us that Buddha attained nirvāṇa 100 years or 218 years before Aśoka's consecration.

Samyutta Nikāya tells us that Buddha was staying in Śrāvasti about three months before his death. During this time, there occurred the winter solstice and a lunar eclipse followed by a solar eclipse. It clearly indicates that the lunar and solar eclipses occurred within 15 days and were visible in India. Śrāvasti is situated 27.31 north latitude and 82.32 east longitude. Based on the astronomical details given in the Samyutta Nikāya, only 1807-06 BCE, 1694-03 BCE and 1659-58 BCE can qualify as the intended years but the solar eclipses that occurred on 10th Feb 1806 BCE, 2nd Feb 1694 BCE and 22nd Jan 1693 BCE were not visible in India. However, the penumbral lunar eclipse which occurred on 9th Feb 1658 BCE and the solar eclipse which occurred on 23rd Feb 1658 BCE were visible in Śrāvasti and elsewhere in India. The winter solstice also occurred in the first

week of January 1658 BCE. Therefore, Buddha attained Mahāparinirvāṇa in Kuśinagar on Vaiśākha Pūrṇimā i.e. 9th April 1658 BCE. Accordingly, Buddha was born on Vaiśākha Pūrṇimā i.e. 25th March 1738 BCE and lived for eighty years.

The Purāṇas tell us that Buddha was the son of Śuddhodana, a king of the Ikṣvāku dynasty. Ajātaśatru was coronated king when Buddha was seventy-two years old but it is difficult to establish the identity of Ajātaśatru as to whether he belonged to the Śiśunāga dynasty or some other dynasty.

Now the chronology can be arrived at considering the Maurya king Aśoka's consecration in the 218th year:

- Buddha was born in 1738 BCE and attained Mahāparinirvāṇa in 1658 BCE.
- Mahāpadmananda ascended the throne in 1616 BCE and founded the rule of the Nanda dynasty. Nine Nanda kings ruled for 100 years up to 1516 BCE.
- Chandragupta Maurya founded the Maurya dynasty in 1516 BCE and ruled for 34 years up to 1482 BCE.
- Bindusāra ruled for 28 years from 1482 BCE to 1454 BCE.
- Aśoka or Aśokavardhana ascended the throne in 1454 BCE. The Kalinga War occurred in his 13th regnal year i.e. 1441 BCE. Aśoka was consecrated 218 years after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha i.e. 1440 BCE.
- The Buddhist council at Rājagṛha was convened in 1422 BCE, 18 years after Aśoka's consecration.

According to Milinda-Panho, the Yavana king Milinda of Sākala (Sialkot?) flourished 500 years after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha. Thus, the lifetime of Milinda can be fixed in the 12th century BCE. Western historians held that Yavanas meant Greeks or Indianised Greeks and wrongly identified the Yavana king Milinda with Minander (165-130 BCE). Actually, Yavanas have existed in the Western and /or North-Western borders of India prior to the birth of ancient Greek civilisation. I have discussed this issue in detail in Chapter 3 with reference to *Yavanajātaka* of Sphujidhvaja.

One inscription found at Gayā is dated in the year 1813 of Buddha nirvāṇa era. This inscription mentions Aśokachalla, a king of the Sapādalakṣa mountains (*Prakhyātam hi sapādalakṣa-śikhari-kśmāpāla-cūḍamaṇīm śīlaiḥ Śrimad-Aśokachallamapi yo natvā vinīya svayam |*).¹⁸ A Bodh Gayā inscription dated in the year 74 of Lakṣmaṇasena Saṁvat refers to Daśaratha, the younger brother of the king Aśokachalla (*Sapādalakṣa-śikhari-kśmāpāla rājādhirāja-Śrimad-Aśokachalladeva-kaniṣṭha-bhrātr-Śri-Daśaratha-nāmadheya-kumāra-pādapadmopajīvī.....*).¹⁹ Undoubtedly, both inscriptions belonged to the time of king Aśokachalla. The Bisapi grant of the time of Śivasirīhadeva²⁰ is dated in the year 293 of Lakṣmaṇasena era, in Kārttikādi Vikrama year 1455 elapsed (10th Oct 736 CE to 28th Sep 737 CE) and in Śaka 1321 current (7th Mar 737 CE to 23rd Feb 738 CE). Considering the epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era in 719-718 BCE and the epoch of the coronation of Śaka king in 583 BCE, the Bisapi grant was issued on the 7th tithi of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa month i.e. 9th July 737 CE.

Now we can easily calculate the epoch of Lakṣmaṇasena Saṁvat which commenced 293 years before the year 737 CE i.e. 443-444 CE. Thus, the Bodh Gaya inscription of the time of king Aśokachalla dated in Lakṣmaṇasena era 74 was issued in 517-518 CE. Considering that the regnal year (517-518 CE) of king Aśokachalla and the year 1813 of Buddha nirvāṇa era mentioned in the Gaya inscription are the same, the year of Nirvāṇa of Buddha works out to be 1296 BCE.

The astronomical data given by the Saṁyutta Nikāya can only be verified with reference to the year 1250 BCE but it is contrary to the astronomical data provided by the Purāṇas (The great Bear was in Śrāvaṇa constellation during the reign of Nandas).

Historians identified the Aśoka mentioned in the Buddhist literary sources as the Maurya king Aśoka. Interestingly, there was a king of Kashmir named Aśoka who flourished in a period before the Maurya king Aśoka. According to *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, a Kashmir king Aśoka was a follower of the Buddha. Jaloka and Dāmodara II succeeded him, and thereafter, the Turuṣka kings Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka started ruling in Kashmir around 150 years elapsed from the nirvāṇa of Buddha. Thus, the Kashmir king Aśoka may have flourished around the 100th year from

the nirvāṇa of Buddha. Many Buddhist sources (Sanskrit and Tibetan) say the difference between the date of Aśoka's coronation and the date of nirvāṇa of Buddha is 100 years. *Vinayapiṭaka* tells us that the Buddhist council of Vaiśāli was held in the 100th year from the nirvāṇa of Buddha, just before the reign of Dharmāśoka.

We will discuss the chronology of Kashmir in detail in Chapter 8. Kalhaṇa wrote *Rājatarangiṇī* in Saka 1070 (487 CE) and provided the history of Kashmir up to the 25th year of Laukika era i.e. 449 CE. According to him, Gonanda III started ruling 2330 years before 449 CE i.e. around 1881 BCE. Kashmir Kings Aśoka, Jaloka, Dāmodara II, Huṣka, Juṣka, Kaniṣka and Abhimanyu ruled prior to Gonanda III. Undoubtedly, the Kashmir king Aśoka was coronated at least 150 years before Gonanda III.

Interestingly, Atiśa Dīpankar Śrijñāna (319-391 CE), an Indian Buddhist scholar from Bengal (during the Pāla Empire) who was instrumental in reviving Buddhism in Tibet, mentions that Buddha attained Mahāparinirvāṇa in 2136 BCE.

According to Tibetan Vajrayāna Buddhist Sa-skyapa scholars, there is a span of 2955 years from the date of nirvāṇa of Buddha up to 822 CE in which the peace treaty between Tibet and China was concluded; a span of 3300 years up to 1167 CE in which the work entitled “*Char-la-jug-pal-ngo*” was written and there is a span of 3349 years up to 1216 CE when *Grags-pa-rgynl-mtshan* passed away. Thus, the tradition of Sa-skyapa scholars tells us that Buddha attained Mahāparinirvāṇa around 2134-2133 BCE. They fix the date of the birth of Buddha around 2213 (Earth-Dragon year) and the date of nirvāṇa on the boundary of 2134 BCE (Fire-Pig year) & 2133 BCE (Earth-Mouse year). According to another Tibetan tradition, Buddha attained nirvāṇa around 2422-2421 BCE.

Most probably, the King Aśoka mentioned in Buddhist sources was a Kashmir King who flourished in a period prior to the Maurya King Aśoka. *Rājatarangiṇī* clearly informs us that the Kashmiri King Aśoka was a Buddhist whereas Purāṇas mention nothing about the Maurya King Aśoka as being a patron of Buddhism. In my opinion, the Kashmir king Aśoka and Maurya Aśoka were not only two different persons but also belonged to two different eras. The Kashmir King Aśoka was

coronated in the 100th year from the date of nirvāṇa of Buddha and Huṣka, Juṣka, Kaniṣka started ruling in Kashmir in 150th year from the date of nirvāṇa of Buddha. Most probably, Buddha attained nirvāṇa in 2134-2133 BCE as mentioned by Buddhist scholar Atīśa and Tibetan Sa-skya-pa tradition.

If the Aśoka of Buddhist literature was a Maurya king, Buddha ought to have attained Mahāparinirvāṇa in Kuśinagar on Vaiśākha Pūrṇimā of 1658 BCE i.e. 9th April 1658 BCE.

At least, it is now certain that the Mahāparinirvāṇa of Buddha cannot be dated later than 1658 BCE. In my opinion, the traditional account of Tibetan Sa-skya-pa scholars seems more authentic because the Asoka mentioned in ancient Buddhist literature was probably a king of Kashmir who flourished around 2034-2000 BCE as recorded in Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa. Therefore, Buddha attained Mahāparinirvāṇa in Kuśinagar on Vaiśākha Pūrṇimā of 2134 BCE i.e. 23rd Mar 2134 BCE.

The era of Mahavira Nirvāṇa (1189 BCE)

Jaina Paṭṭāvalīs and Jaina literary sources used the epoch of Mahavira nirvāṇa for recording the historical dates. The date of Mahavira nirvāṇa has been discussed in detail in Chapter 5. All Jaina sources unanimously tell us that Mahavira attained nirvāṇa 605 years and 5 months before the start of the Śaka era (583 BCE) and 470 years before the start of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE). According to Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa*, Mahavira attained nirvāṇa in the month of Kārttika, kṛṣṇa pakṣa chaturdaśī and Svāti nakṣatra. Thus, Mahavira attained nirvāṇa on 22nd October 1189-88 BCE.

Let us discuss the dates mentioned with reference to the epoch of Mahavira nirvāṇa in the Paṭṭāvalī of Kharataragaccha.²¹

1. Mahavira was born on the 13th tithi of the bright fortnight of Chaitra month and lived for 72 years and died on new moon day of Kārttika month. Thus, Mahavira was born on 28th Feb 1261 BCE and attained nirvāṇa on 22nd Oct 1189 BCE.
2. Indrabhūti also known as Gautama was the first disciple of Mahavira and died 12 years after Mahavira's nirvāṇa. Thus, Indrabhūti died in 1177-76 BCE.

3. The first Nihnava caused by Jāmāli took place 14 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 1175-74 BCE and second Nihnava by Tiṣyagupta took place 16 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 1173-72 BCE.
4. Sudharman, who became Kevalin for 8 years, died at the age of hundred, 20 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 1169-68 BCE.
5. Jambu, who became Kevalin for 44 years, died 64 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 1125-24 BCE.
6. Jaina Acharya Prabhava died 75 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 1114-13 BCE.
7. Jaina Acharya Sayyambhava died 98 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 1091-90 BCE.
8. Jaina Acharya Yaśobhadra died 148 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 1041-40 BCE.
9. Sambhūtivijaya, who became Yugapradhāna for 8 years, died 156 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 1033-32 BCE.
10. Bhadrabāhu, the last Śrutakevalin attained nirvāṇa 170 years after Mahavira nirvāṇa i.e. 1019-18 BCE at the age of 76. Thus, Bhadrabāhu was born in 1095-94 BCE. He composed Kalpasūtra and niryuktis on ten śāstras.
11. Sthūlabhadra died 219 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 970-69 BCE at the age of 99. It is erroneously stated that Śakadala, the father of Sthūlabhadra, worked as minister in the court of the 9th Nanda king.
12. The third Nihnava named Āryakta caused by Āśāḍhācārya took place 214 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 975-74 BCE, the fourth Nihnava named Samuccchedika took place 220 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 969-68 BCE and the fifth Nihnava named Gaṅga took place 228 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 961-60 BCE.
13. Ārya Mahāgiri died 249 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 940-39 BCE.
14. Suhastin gave *dīkṣā* of Jainism to king Sampāti who began to reign in the 235th year after nirvāṇa i.e. 954-53 BCE. Suhāsttin died 265 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 924-23 BCE.
15. Ārya Susthita died 313 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 876-75 BCE. He was the founder of Kotikagaccha.

16. Kālakācārya I lived around 376 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 813-812 BCE.
17. Gardabhilla became the king of Ujjain in 453rd year after nirvāṇa i.e. 736-35 BCE. He ruled for 13 years. Kālakācārya II uprooted him with the help of Śaka kṣatrapas in 723 BCE. The Śakas took control of Ujjain and ruled for four years.
18. King Vikramāditya defeated the Śakas in 719 BCE and founded the Kārttikādi Vikrama era which was initially known as Kṛta or Mālavagaṇa. This era was popular in North India till 8th century but was later replaced by the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE). Siddhasena Divākara gave *dīksā* of Jainism to Vikramāditya 470 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 719-718 BCE.
19. Vajra lived around 496-584 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 693-605 BCE. He was the last who knew the complete ten Pūrvas and he extended Jainism southward in the kingdom of Bauddhas. He was the founder of Vajrasākhā.
20. The sixth Nihnavā named Trairāśikā caused by Rohagupta 544 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 645-44 BCE.
21. Śatruñjayatīrtha was demolished 570 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 619-618 BCE.
22. The seventh Nihnavā took place 584 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 605-04 BCE.
23. Digambaras arose 609 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 580-79 BCE.
24. Devarddhī Kśamāśramaṇa lived around 980 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 209-08 BCE. During his time, only one Pūrva was available.
25. Vardhamāna Sūri died in KV 1088 (369-68 CE).

The Paṭṭāvalī of Tapagacchā also gives the chronology of early Jaina Acharyas similar to the Paṭṭāvalī of Kharataragacchā with some differences. Tapagacchā provides some more details after Mahaviranirvāṇa.²²

1. Bhadragupta died 553 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 636-35 BCE, Āryarakṣita Sūri died 557 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 632-31 BCE and Śrigupta Sūri died 584 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 605-04 BCE.

2. Valabhi (a branch of Jainas in Valabhi) was discontinued 845 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 344-43 BCE. According to Prabhāvakacharita, Valabhi-Bhaṅga occurred in 845th year elapsed from nirvāṇa due to the invasion of Turuṣkas (*bhaṅgas-Turuṣka-vihitāḥ*).
3. Kālakācārya III lived around 993 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 196-95 BCE.
4. Satyamitra died 1000 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 189-88 BCE and at the same time, the last Pūrva was also lost.
5. Haribhadra Sūri died 1055 year after nirvāṇa or in KV 585 i.e. 134-33 BCE.
6. Jinabhadragaṇī Kśamāśramaṇa lived 1115 or 1150 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 74-73 BCE or 39-38 BCE. According to Kharataragacchā, Śilāṅka was the disciple of Jinabhadragaṇī who composed vṛttis on the 1st and 2nd Āṅgas.
7. Raviprabha erected a temple to Neminātha at Naddulapura 1170 years after nirvāṇa or in KV 700 i.e. 19-18 BCE.
8. Umāsvāti, probably, the author of bhāṣya on the Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra, lived 1190 years after nirvāṇa i.e. 1-2 CE.
9. Vanarāja founded the city of Anahillapura (Anhilwād) 1272 years after nirvāṇa or in KV 802 i.e. 83-82 CE. According to *Vicāraśreṇi* of Merutuṅga (644 CE), Vanarāja built the city of Anhilapura on the 2ndtithi of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha month in KV 821 i.e. 7th April 102 CE.
10. Bappabhaṭṭī Sūri was born 1270 years after nirvāṇa or on the 3rd tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada month in KV 800 (15th Aug 82 CE) and died 1365 years after nirvāṇa or on 6th tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada month in KV 895 (17th Aug 177 CE).
11. Udyotana Sūri lived 1464 years after nirvāṇa or in KV 994 (275-76 CE). According to Kharataragacchā, Vardhamāna Sūri, the pupil of Udyotana, died in KV 1088 (369-68 CE).

The chronology of the later Jaina Acharyas is given in Vikrama Saṁvat in the Paṭṭāvalīs of Kharataragaccha and Tapagaccha. We have to segregate these dates with reference to the epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama and Chaitrādi Vikrama eras to arrive at the exact dates in Common Era.

According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, Bhadrabāhu III recompiled the Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu I and wrote the niryuktis on Āgamasūtras 980 or 993 years after nirvāṇa (209 or 196 BCE) during the reign of Maitraka king Dhruvasena. It is also believed that Bhadrabāhu was like an elder brother to Varāhamihira. King Dhruvasena ruled around 150-109 BCE and Varāhamihira flourished around 156-74 BCE. Most probably, the year 980 or 993 mentioned was the birth year of Bhadrabāhu III and he was the senior contemporary of king Dhruvasena and Varāhamihira.

All Jaina sources clearly tell us that Mahavira attained nirvāṇa 470 years before the time of Vikramāditya (719-718 BCE) and 605 years and 5 months before the start of the Śaka era (583 BCE). Therefore, the date of Mahavira nirvāṇa can be conclusively fixed on 22nd October 1189-88 BCE. Western historians concluded that Mahavira's nirvāṇa occurred in 467 BCE based on the mistaken identity of Chandragupta. Actually, Hemachandra (5th century CE) who flourished during the reign of the Chaulukya king Jayasimha (433-480 CE) and Kumārapāla (480-510 CE), mistakenly identified the King Chandragupta of Ujjain, the disciple of Bhadrabāhu I with the Maurya king Chandragupta of Pātaliputra. *Harivarīṣa* of Jinasenaśūri (122 CE) relates the chronology of various dynasties that ruled after Mahaviranirvāṇa but does not mention the name of the Maurya dynasty at all. It is evident that the Mauryas flourished before the Mahaviranirvāṇa. The Chandragupta of Ujjain became king 155 or 215 years after nirvāṇa (1034 BCE or 974 BCE). Hemachandra himself mentions that Siṁhasena was the son of Chandragupta whereas the Maurya Chandragupta's son was Bindusāra, not Siṁhasena. Therefore, the Maurya king Chandragupta cannot be identified as the disciple of Bhadrabāhu I. Maurya Chandragupta ascended the throne around 1516 BCE whereas Chandragupti or

Chandragupta became the king of Ujjain 155 or 215 years after nirvāṇa (1034 BCE or 974 BCE).

The Kṛta or Mālava-gaṇa or Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)

The era of Vikramāditya earlier known as “Kṛta” and “Mālava-gaṇa” commenced in Sep-Oct 719 BCE. The calendar of this era was Kārttikādi. Later, another Vikrama era, which followed the Chaitrādi calendar, was introduced with the epoch in 57 BCE. The epoch of Kārttikādi Vikrama era has already been discussed in Chapter 5. The Nāndśā (Udaypur, Rajasthan) Pillar inscription²³ of Śaktiguṇaguru is the earliest inscription dated in the year of Kṛta or KV 282 (437 BCE) whereas probably, the second part of Vadnagar Praśasti²⁴ is the last inscription dated in KV 1689 (970 BCE).

The Śaka era (583 BCE)

According to Jaina sources, Kālakāchārya II brought Śaka kṣatrapas to dethrone Gardabhilla, the king of Ujjain in 723 BCE. The Śakas uprooted Gardabhilla and ruled Ujjain for four years before King Vikramāditya defeated them in 719 BCE and founded the Kārttikādi Vikrama era. Vikramāditya and his four successors ruled for 135 years. The Śakas, waiting for an opportunity to settle scores with the kings of Ujjain, defeated them around 583 BCE. The Śaka king Caṣṭana was likely coronated in 583 BCE and he founded the Śaka era that commenced on 19th February 583 BCE and followed the Chaitrādi calendar. Thus, the epoch of the Śaka era was the coronation of the Śaka king Caṣṭana. The Badami cave inscription²⁵ of the early Chalukya king Maṅgalīśvara clearly mentions the epoch of the coronation of Śaka king (*Śaka-nṛpati-rājyābhiseka samvatsareśhu...*). The Kurtaketi grant²⁶ mentions a total solar eclipse that occurred in Śaka 530 i.e. 9th May 53 BCE which unambiguously leads to the epoch of Śaka era i.e. 19th Feb 583 BCE. This era has been elaborately discussed in Chapter 2. Two inscriptions of Caṣṭana found in Kutch district dated in Śaka 6 (577 BCE) and Śaka 11 (572 BCE) are the earliest inscriptions whereas the inscription²⁷ at the village of Bittaravalli, Belur taluka, Karnataka is the last inscription dated in Śaka 2027 (1444 CE).

The Sri Harsha era (458-457 BCE)

This era was founded by Puṣpabhūti king Sri Harsha of Sthāṇvīśvara. According to Alberuni, the Sri Harsha era was in vogue in Mathura and Kanauj. He also states that there was an interval of 400 years between Sri Harsha and Vikramāditya. The Vikramāditya mentioned here was the king of Ujjain linked to the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE). It is evident that the Sri Harsha era commenced in 458-457 BCE and followed the Kārttikādi calendar. Therefore, the epoch of the Sri Harsha era commenced on 11th Oct 458 BCE or 1st Oct 457 BCE. This era has already been discussed in Chapter 6. The Banskhera grant of Harsha²⁸ dated in the year 22 (435 BCE) is the earliest whereas in all likelihood, the Paśupati inscription of Jayadeva II²⁹ dated in 157 (300 BCE) is the last inscription.

The Kalachuri-Chedi era (403-402 BCE)

This era was founded by the kings of Kalachuri and Chedi dynasty and the calendar was Kārttikādi. The epoch of the Kalachuri-Chedi era commenced on 3rd October 403 BCE. This era has also been discussed in Chapter 6. The inscription of Mahārājas of Valkhā³⁰ dated in the year 29 (374 BCE) is the earliest whereas the Bilaigarh grant of Pratāpamalla³¹ dated in the year 969 (566 CE) is the last inscription.

The Gupta era (335 BCE)

The Imperial Gupta king Chandragupta I founded an era known as the Gupta era. According to the solar eclipses mentioned in four inscriptions, the epoch of the Gupta era probably commenced on 9th March 335 BCE and the calendar was Chaitrādi. This era has been elaborately discussed in Chapter 4. The Nālanda grant of Samudragupta³² dated in the year 5 (331 BCE) is the earliest whereas the Gokak grant of Sendraka king Indrananda³³ dated in the year 845 (510 CE) is the last inscription.

The Gāṅgeya era (657-656 BCE)

Many inscriptions found in Orissa and Andhra Pradesh are dated in the Gāṅgeya era. Actually, the kings of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty recorded the regnal year starting from the initial year of the establishment

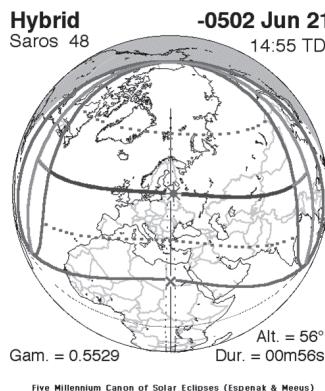
of their dynasty in their inscriptions which has been named as Gāṅgeya era by modern historians. The Eastern Gaṅgas ruled from the city of Kaliṅga. Kaliṅga deśa is well known from the Mahābhārata era. Khāravela's Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty was reigning in Kaliṅga around the 13th century BCE. Seventeen inscriptions of the Māṭharas of Piṣṭhāpura found till date indicate that the Māṭharas also ruled the Kaliṅga region and the Pitṛbhaktas were their contemporaries. Probably, the Māṭharas and Pitṛbhaktas ruled around the 8th and 7th centuries BCE. It is evident that the eastern Gaṅgas were the successors of the Māṭharas and Pitṛbhaktas.

Unfortunately, as there is no direct or indirect evidence available to fix the starting regnal year of the eastern Gaṅga dynasty, we have to do so based on the solar and lunar eclipses mentioned in the inscriptions. These inscriptions are dated between the year 39 and the year 526. Interestingly, the Sānta Bommali grant of the time of Devendravarman dated in Gāṅgeya era 520 refers to the victorious reign of the Gaṅga and Kadambā dynasties (*Gaṅga-Kadambā-vaiśa-pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁivatsare pañca-sate viṁśottare....*).³⁴ It appears that the eastern Gaṅgas and Kadambas united to fight the rise of the Chalukyas but Kīrtivarman I decisively defeated the Kadambas whereas probably the rise of the Maukhari king Iśānavarman ended the rule of the eastern Gaṅgas by the end of the 2nd century BCE. Thus, it can be concluded that the eastern Gaṅga dynasty flourished around the 7th century BCE till the 2nd century BCE.

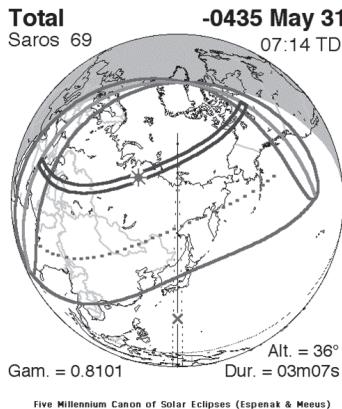
Eminent historians wrongly identified the Madhukāmārṇava of the Chicacole grant³⁵ dated in Gāṅgeya era 526 with the later Gaṅga king Madhukāmārṇava mentioned in the genealogy of Vajrahasta V and Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga. Evidently, historians concocted this identity to cut short the chronology of the eastern Gaṅgas and the later Gaṅgas. Madhukāmārṇava of the Chicacole grant and Devendravarman of the Sānta Bommali grant were the sons of Anantavarman whereas the later Gaṅga kings Kāmārṇava and Madhukāmārṇava were the sons of Vajrahasta IV. Therefore, Madhukāmārṇava of the Chicacole grant was the early Gaṅga king and cannot be identified with the later Gaṅga king Madhukāmārṇava.

Eight inscriptions of the eastern Gaṅgas mention solar eclipses and two inscriptions mention lunar eclipses. Based on verifiable details of these epigraphs and considering the end of the eastern Gaṅga and Kadamba dynasties in the 2nd century BCE, the starting regnal year of the eastern Gaṅga dynasty can be placed in 657-656 BCE. The calendar of Gāṅgeya era was Kārttikādi.

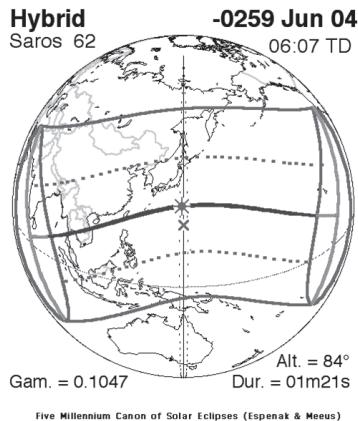
1. **Madras plates of Indravarman:**³⁶ Lunar eclipse occurred on full moon day of Mārgaśīrṣa month in the year 128 of Gāṅgeya era (529-528 BCE). The date corresponds to 29th Nov 529 BCE or 17th Nov 528 BCE.
2. **Tekkali grant of Indravarman:**³⁷ Solar eclipse occurred in the year 154 of Gāṅgeya era (503-502 BCE). The date corresponds to 21st June 502 BCE.



3. Lunar eclipse occurred in the year 192 of Gāṅgeya era (465-464 BCE) before Māgha month.³⁸ The date corresponds to 11th Dec 465 BCE.
4. **Santa Bommali plates of Nandavarman:**³⁹ Solar eclipse occurred before the 5th tithi of Āśāḍha (on new moon day of Jyeṣṭha month) in the year 221 of Gāṅgeya era (436-435 BCE). The date corresponds to 31st May 435 BCE.



5. **Chicacole plates of Devendravarman:**⁴⁰ Solar eclipse occurred in the year 251 of Gāṅgeya era (407-406 BCE). The date corresponds to 22nd May 407 BCE.
6. **Alamanda plates of Anantavarman II:**⁴¹ Solar eclipse occurred in the year 304 of Gāṅgeya era (354-353 BCE). The date corresponds to 24th June 353 BCE.
7. **Musunika plates of Devendravarman III:**⁴² Solar eclipse occurred in the year 306 of Gāṅgeya era (351-350 BCE). The date corresponds to 22nd Apr 350 BCE.
8. **Chicacole plates of Satyavarman:**⁴³ Solar eclipse occurred in the year 351 of Gāṅgeya era (307-306 BCE). The date corresponds to 14th June 306 BCE.
9. **Tekkali plates of Anantavarman:**⁴⁴ Solar eclipse occurred in the year 358 of Gāṅgeya era (300-299 BCE). The date corresponds to 26th July 299 BCE.
10. **Cheedivalasa plates of Devendravarman:**⁴⁵ Solar eclipse occurred in the year 397 of Gāṅgeya era (260-259 BCE). The date corresponds to 4th June 259 BCE.



Five Millennium Canon of Solar Eclipses (Espenak & Meeus)

The earliest inscription i.e. the Jirjingi grant of the eastern Gaṅga king Indravarman I⁴⁶ is dated in the year 39 (618 BCE). It is quite likely that the father of Indravarman I was the founder of this dynasty. He also founded an era that was referred to as Pravardhamāna Saṁvat (Gāṅgeya era). Indravarman proclaimed himself king of Trikaliṅga and ruled from Dantapura. Sāmantavarman I succeeded Indravarman I. His Ponnuturu grant⁴⁷ is dated in the year 64 (593 BCE). Hastivarman was the next king. His Urlam grant⁴⁸ is dated in the year 80 (577 BCE). It appears that the capital was shifted to Kaliṅganagara during the reign of Hastivarman. The Santa Bommali grant⁴⁹ dated in the year 87 (570 BCE) indicates that Indravarman II succeeded Hastivarman. Two grants⁵⁰ dated in the year 128 (529 BCE) and 146 (511 BCE) reveal that Indravarman III ruled from Kaliṅgapura and he was probably also known as Lokārṇava (*Sri-Lokārṇavadevasya*) as referred to in the Andhavaram grant⁵¹ dated in the year 133 (524 BCE).

According to the Tekkali grant,⁵² Indravarman IV, the son of Dānārṇava, was reigning in Kaliṅgapura and was also known as Gunārṇava. His son Devendravarman I was reigning in the year 183 (474 BCE).⁵³ A grant found in Andhavaram tells us that Anantavarman I was on the throne in the year 216 (441 BCE).⁵⁴ Anantavarman had two sons, Nandavarman and Devendravarman II. The Santa Bommali grant⁵⁵ dated in the year 221 (435 BCE) was issued during the reign of Nandavarman and Chicacole grant⁵⁶ dated in the year 251 was issued during the reign of Devendravarman II. The Alamanda grant⁵⁷ informs

us that Anantavarman II, the son of Rājendravarman I, was ruling in the year 304 (353 BCE). Rājendravarman II had two sons, Anantavarman II and Devendravarman III and probably both ruled at the same time from Kaliṅgapura because three grants⁵⁸ of Devendravarman III are dated in the year 306 (351 BCE), 308 (349 BCE) and 310 (347 BCE). Anantavarman II's son Rājendravarman II became Yuvarāja in the year 313 (344 BCE)⁵⁹ and ruled up to the year 342 (315 BCE). Chicacole plates tell us that Satyavarman, the son of Devendravarman III, ruled in the year 351 (306 BCE).⁶⁰ Anantavarman II, the second son of Devendravarman III, also became king around the year 358 (299 BCE).⁶¹

According to two grants found in Kalahandi⁶² and Ganjam,⁶³ Anantavarman IV, the son of Bhūpendravarman was ruling in the year 383 (274 BCE) and Devendravarman IV, the son of Bhūpendravarman, was ruling in the year 397 (259 BCE). A grant from Galavalli⁶⁴ was issued in the year 393 (264 BCE) by Manujendravarman, the son of Devendravarman IV. Unfortunately, no inscriptions are available between the years 397 (259 BCE) to 520 (137 BCE). The Santa Bommali grant⁶⁵ tells us that the eastern Gaṅga king Devendravarman V, the son of Anantavarman V was ruling in the year 520 (137 BCE). This grant was issued by Rāṇaka Dharmakhedi of the Kadarība dynasty, the son of Rāṇaka Bhīmakhedi and it refers to the unified victorious reign of the Gaṅga and Kadarība dynasties. Some historians distorted the date of the Madagrama grant issued by Rāṇaka Bhīmakhedi during the reign of Devendravarman V and the Mandasa grant of Anantavarman VI and concocted the myth that these grants refer to the Śālivāhana era.⁶⁶ They linked these grants to the later Gaṅga kings Vajrahasta and Rājarāja. Undoubtedly, these grants belonged to the early Gaṅga kings and cannot be linked to the later Gaṅga kings. Most probably, these grants referred to the Gāṅgeya era.

Madhukāmārṇava, the second son of Anantavarman V, was ruling in the year 526 (131 BCE).⁶⁷ Finally, Anantavarman VI, probably the son of Madhukāmārṇava, ruled in the year 550 (107 BCE).⁶⁸ As no further inscriptions were found after the year 550, it can be concluded that the Gāṅgeya era came to an end by 107 BCE.

The chronology of the Eastern Gaṅgas:

		<i>Gāṅgeya era</i> (657-656 BCE)	<i>In CE</i>
1.	Father of Indravarman I	1-25	657-632 BCE
2.	Indravarman I	25-55	632-602 BCE
3.	Sāmantavarman I	55-70	602-587 BCE
4.	Hastivarman	70-85	587-572 BCE
5.	Indravarman II Rājasimha	85-120	572-537 BCE
6.	Indravarman III (also known as Lokārṇava)	120-148	537-509 BCE
7.	Indravarman IV (The son of Dānārṇava)	148-180	509-477 BCE
8.	Devendravarman I (son of Guṇārṇava)	180-200	477-457 BCE
9.	Anantavarman I (son of Devendravarman I)	200-220	457-437BCE
10.	Nandavarman (son of Anantavarman I)	220-240	437-417 BCE
11.	Devendravarman II (son of Anantavarman I)	240-270	417-387 BCE
12.	Rājendravarman I	270-300	387-357BCE
13.	Anantavarman II (son of Rājendravarman I)	300-314	357-343BCE
14.	Devendravarman III (son of Rājendravarman I)	306-310	351-347BCE
15.	Rājendravarman II (son of Anantavarman II)	313-342	342-315BCE
16.	Satyavarman I (son of Devendravarman III)	343-357	314-300BCE
17.	Anantavarman III (son of Devendravarman III)	357-365	300-292 BCE
18.	Bhūpendravarman	365-375	292-282 BCE
19.	Anantavarman IV (son of Bhūpendravarman)	375-385	282-272 BCE
20.	Devendravarman IV (son of Bhūpendravarman)	385-398	272-259 BCE

21.	Manujedravarman (son of Devendravarman IV)	393-398	264-259 BCE
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No epigraphs available between the year 397 to 520 (259-137 BCE)

22.	Anantavarman V	—	—
23.	Devendravarman V (son of Anantavarman V)	520	137 BCE
24.	Madhukāmārṇava (son of Anantavarman V)	526-528	131-129 BCE
25.	Anantavarman VI	550	107 BCE

Evidently, the kingdom of the eastern Gaṅgas had weakened due to the rise of the Imperial Guptas. This is the reason why no eastern Gaṅgas epigraphs are available between the year 397 to 520 (259-137 BCE). They attempted to re-establish themselves along with the Kadambas but the rise of the Chalukyas in the south and the rise of the Maukharis in the north finally ended the rule of the eastern Gaṅgas by 107 BCE. The Imperial Guptas were ruling Kaliṅga indirectly through their feudatories and the Gupta era was introduced in Kaliṅga during the reign of Chandragupta II. Gradually, the Gupta era became popular and the Gāṅgeya era was forgotten by the 1st century BCE.

Some inscriptions dated in Gupta era 235(100 BCE), 260(75 BCE), 280 (55 BCE) and 283(52 BCE)⁶⁹ provide valuable information about the royal families ruling in Orissa in the 1st century BCE. The Sumandala plates dated in Gupta era 250 (85 BCE)⁷⁰ tell us that king Prithvi Vigraha was ruling the region of Kaliṅga. According to the Ganjam grant dated in Gupta era 300 (35 BCE),⁷¹ king Mādhavarāja of Śailodbhava dynasty who was ruling in Kaliṅga and he was the feudatory of the Gauda king Śaśāṅka. Historians wrongly identified the Gauda king Śaśāṅka to be a contemporary of the Puṣpabhbūti king Sri Harsha. The Gauda king Śaśāṅka was ruling around 35 BCE whereas Śri Harsha flourished around 457 BCE. The Vishamagiri grant of the Gaṅga king Indravarmadeva⁷² and a grant of the Gaṅga king Pṛthvīvarmadeva,⁷³ the son of Mahīndravarmadeva, issued from Śvetaka are not dated but it would not be wrong to infer that these grants were issued before the rise of the later Gaṅgas. These Gaṅga kings are referred to as the Śvetaka Gaṅgas by a section of historians.

The descendants of the eastern Gaṅga dynasty known as the later Gaṅgas re-established their kingdom in Kaliṅga in the 1st century CE. According to the grant of Anantavarman Chodagaṅga, Kāmārṇava I conquered Kaliṅga by defeating Bālāditya and ruled for 36 years at Jantavura or Dantapura. Two grants dated in Gupta era 500 (165 CE)⁷⁴ were issued during the reign of Vajrahasta II. The Nadagam grant⁷⁵ dated in Śaka 979 (396 CE) tells us that Vajrahasta V was coronated in Śaka 960(377 CE) on the 3rd tithi of the bright fortnight, the Sun being in Vṛśabha, Moon in Rohiṇī constellation, in the auspicious lagna of Dhanuṣ and on Sunday i.e. 25th April 377 CE. According to the Viśākhapatnam grant⁷⁶ dated in Śaka 1003 (420 CE), Anantavarman Chodagaṅga was coronated in Śaka 999 (416 CE) on the 3rd tithi of the bright fortnight, the Sun being in Kumbha, Moon in Revatī constellation, during Nṛyugma lagna and on Sunday i.e. 6th February 417 CE. The Kalachuri king of South Kosala, Ratnadeva II (463-486 CE) defeated Anantavarman Chodagaṅga and his feudatory Gokarṇa as claimed by Pendrabandh grant of Pratāpamalla.⁷⁷

Another Viśākhapatnam grant⁷⁸ of Anantavarman Chodagaṅga gives the complete genealogy of the later Gaṅgas which starts from the great Rishi Atri. Once a glorious king named Kolāhala, the son of Pragalbha, built a city called Kolāhalapura. Virochana was the son of Kolāhala and Kolāhalapura became the capital of 81 kings born after Virochana. Vīrasimha was the 82nd king and had five sons, Kāmārṇava I, Dānārṇava, Guṇārṇava I, Mārasimha and Vajrahasta I. Kāmārṇava I conquered the Kaliṅga region by defeating Bālāditya and founded the kingdom of the Gaṅgas.

The chronology of Later Gaṅgas:

	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Śaka era (583 BCE)</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Vīrasimha	—	—	—
Kāmārṇava I	—	—	—
Guṇārṇava I	36 years	—	21-57 CE
Mārasimha	—	—	—
Vajrahasta I	—	—	—
Dānārṇava	40 years	—	57-97 CE

Kāmārṇava II	50 years		97-147 CE
Raṇārṇava	5 years		147-152 CE
Vajrahasta II	15 years	500 (165 CE) (<i>Gupta era</i>)	152-167 CE
Kāmārṇava III	19 years		167-186 CE
Guṇārṇava II	27 years		186-213 CE
Vajrahasta III	44 years		213-257 CE
Jitāñkusa	15 years		257-272 CE
Kaliṅgalankusa	12 years		272-284 CE
Gundamarāja I	7 years		284-291 CE
Kāmārṇava IV	25 years		291-316 CE
Vinayāditya	3 years		316-319 CE
Vajrahasta IV	35 years		319-354 CE
Kāmārṇava V	6 months		354 CE
Gundamaraja II	3 years		355-358 CE
Madhukāmārṇava (Son of Vajrahasta IV)	19 years		358-377 CE
Vajrahasta V	33 years	960-992	377-409 CE
Rājarāja I	8 years	992-999	409-416 CE
Anantavarman Chodagaṅga	70 years	999-1069	417-486 CE

Kāmārṇava VI, the son of Anantavarman Chodagaṅga, was coronated in Śaka 1069 (486 CE)⁷⁹ or Śaka 1064 (481 CE).⁸⁰ The Kendupatana grant⁸¹ of Narasiṁha II dated in Śaka 1217 (634 CE) and in the 21st regnal year and the Puri grant⁸² of Narasiṁha IV dated in Śaka 1305 (722 CE) and in the 8th regnal year give the genealogy of the later Gaṅgas after Chodagaṅga. Generally, the successor was probably coronated during the lifetime of the reigning Gaṅga king.

	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Śaka era</i> (583 BCE)	<i>In CE</i>
Kāmārṇava VI (son of Chodagaṅga)	10 years	1069-1079	486-496 CE
Rāghava (son of Chodagaṅga)	15 years	1069-1084	486-501CE

Rājarāja II (son of Chodagaṅga)	25 years	1069-1094	486-511 CE
Aniyaṅkabhīma (son of Chodagaṅga)	10 years	1094-1104	511-521 CE
Rājarāja III	17 years	1104-1120	521-537 CE
Anaṅgabhīma	34 years	1116-1150	533-567 CE
Narasīmha I	33 years	1150-1183	567-600 CE
Bhanudeva I	18 years	1183-1200	600-617 CE
Narasīmha II	34 years	1196-1230	613-647 CE
Bhānudeva II	24 years	1230-1254	647-671 CE
Narasīmha III	24 years	1252-1275	669-692 CE
Bhānudeva III	26 years	1274-1300	691-717 CE
Narasīmha IV	22 years	1296- 1316	713- 733 CE

Narasīmha IV was the last known king from the available copper plate inscriptions. His last grant⁸³ is dated in Śaka 1316 (733 CE) and in his 22rd regnal year. The rise of the Gajapati dynasty was the likely reason behind the downfall of the later Gaṅgas. King Kapileśvara deva was the founder of the Gajapati dynasty. Two grants of Raghudeva,⁸⁴ the viceroy of Kapileśvara in Rājamahendravaram, are dated in Śaka 1376 (793 CE) and Śaka 1378 (795 CE). Veligalani grant⁸⁵ dated in Śaka 1380 (797 CE) was issued by Kapileśvara. Interestingly, this grant is trilingual as it was written in the Sanskrit, Telugu and Oriya languages. It appears that Kapileśvara was a great warrior. The Veligalani grant and Chiruvroli grant claim that Kapileśvara conquered Hampā, Dhārā, Kālubariga (Gulbarga) and Dhilli (Delhi).

*"Hampā kampamagāt tato'dhikadharā Dhārā ca dharātura-
DvārāKālubariga vimukta-turagā Dhilli ca Bhilli-vṛta |"*⁸⁶

Kapileśvara had two sons, Hamvira and Pratāpa Puruṣottamadeva. Hamvira's Chiruvroli grant is dated in Śaka 1383 (800 CE). The Potavaram grant dated in Śaka 1412 (829 CE)⁸⁷ and in the 30th regnal year tells us that the Gajapati King Pratāpa Puruṣottamadeva was *Gauḍeśvara* (the king of Gauḍa) and *Navakoṭi-Karṇāṭa-Kālubarigeśvara* (the king of nine crores of Karnāṭa and Kālubariga [Gulbarga]). The Velicherla

grant dated in Śaka 1432 (849-850 CE)⁸⁸ was issued by Pratāparudradeva, the son of Puruṣottamadeva. He was referred to as *Śrimad-Rājādhīrājendra-Pañca-Gauḍādhināyakāḥ* (king of the five regions of Gauḍa). Some historians wrongly identified Pratāparudra to be the contemporary king of the Vijayanagara king Śri Krishnadevarāya and concocted that the Velicherla grant was issued in the 17th regnal year of Pratāparudra. There is no reference to the regnal year in the Velicherla grant.

The chronology of the Gajapati dynasty:

	<i>Śaka era</i> (583 BCE)	<i>In CE</i>
Kapileśvaradeva	1360-1380	777-797 CE
Humvira	1380-1383	797-800 CE
Pratāpa Puruṣottamadeva	1383-1417	800-834 CE
Pratāparudradeva	1417-1432	834- 849 CE

Thus, Kaliṅga has a great history right from the Mauryan era. The Eastern Gaṅgas used the Gāṅgeya era in their inscriptions with the starting point being in 657 BCE. The Gupta era replaced the Gāṅgeya era during the period 1st century BCE to the 2nd century CE. The later Gaṅgas and the early Gajapati kings used the epoch of the coronation of Śaka king (583 BCE) in their inscriptions. Since historians were ignorant of the epoch of the Śaka era, they simply assumed the epoch of Śālivāhana era (78 CE) as the basis for dating the inscriptions of the later Gaṅgas and Gajapatis thereby giving birth to many contradictions.

According to eminent historians, Anantavarman Chodagaṅga reigned around 1077-1147 CE. The inscriptions claim that he was the most powerful king in the eastern region between the Godāvari and Gaṅga Rivers. The Polasara grant dated in Kaliyuga era 4248 (1145-1146 CE)⁸⁹ clearly tells us that a later Gaṅga king Arkkeśvara was ruling from the city of Hingula located on the banks of Rishikulya River in Ganjam District. This grant was issued in his 24th regnal year and on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on full moon day of Magha i.e. 11th January 1145 CE. It can therefore, easily be seen that the Gaṅga king Arkkeśvara reigned from 1122 CE. He was the son of Pramādideva and the grandson of

Guṇārṇavadeva. Interestingly, Jhādakhanḍa (modern Jharkhand) was also a part of Arkkeśvara's kingdom. It certainly would have been impossible for Arkkeśvara to establish a large kingdom at the same time when one of the mightiest kings, Anantavarman Chodagaṅga was ruling between the Godāvari and the Gaṅga Rivers. Moreover, Arkkeśvara established his capital in the Ganjam District which was also the capital of Chodagaṅga. The fact is that Chodagaṅga flourished around 416-486 CE whereas Arkkeśvara reigned around 1122-1145 CE. Therefore, it is clear that the inscriptions of the later Gaṅgas were dated in the Śaka era (583 BCE) and not in the Śālivāhana era (78 CE).

Two grants of Narasimha IV dated in Śaka 1305 and Śaka 1316 were issued from Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka making it evident that Vārāṇasī was under the control of Narasimha IV. If, as the dating suggests, Narasimha IV was reigning around 1383-1394 CE, we must remember that the Tughlaq dynasty was ruling over the Delhi Sultanate at that time and Vārāṇasī had always been under the control of Muslim rulers since the beginning of the 13th century CE. Again, according to the grant of Raghudeva dated in Śaka 1376, the Gajapati king Kapileśvara conquered Dhilli; this event might have occurred during the reign of the Sayyids or Lodhis but there is no such information available from Muslim chronicles. It is also claimed in the inscriptions that the Gajapati kings were the lords of nine crore Karṇāṭa and Gulburga. This is also quite impossible because a powerful Bahmani Sultanate was already in place in Northern Karnataka and Telangana. According to the Gonugunta rock inscription,⁹⁰ the Vijayanagara king Krishnadevarāya subdued Udayagiri in 1510 CE but the Gajapati king Pratāparudra claimed his victorious reign in the year 1432 (1510 CE?) and donated Velicherla village located in the eastern side of Udayagiri. Therefore, the above inconsistencies clearly establish that the later Gaṅga king Narasimha IV and the early Gajapatis flourished in the 8th and 9th centuries CE and their inscriptions were dated in the Śaka era (583 BCE) and not in the Śālivāhana era (78 CE).

The Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE) and the Śālivāhana era (78 CE)

Two major eras i.e. the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and the Śaka era (583 BCE) were widely in vogue in India by the 1st century

CE. The Kārttikādi Vikrama era was popular in North India whereas the Śaka era was popular in South India. The Kārttikādi Vikrama era commenced from the epoch of the coronation of Vikramāditya in 719-718 BCE and the Śaka era commenced from the epoch of the coronation of Śaka king in 583 BCE. Evidently, the Kārttikādi Vikrama era followed the Kārttikādi calendar whereas the Śaka era followed the Chaitrādi calendar. Though Indian astronomers adopted the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE), it appears that they were not entirely comfortable using this epoch for various astronomical calculations. Evidently, Indian astronomers not only wanted to do away with the epoch that started in commemoration of the coronation of a tyrant Mleccha king but also felt the necessity to fix a new epoch because the epoch of the Śaka era was not comfortably placed with reference to the epoch of the Kaliyuga era. Thus, Indian astronomers discovered the perfect epoch in the year 78 CE when 3179 years elapsed from the Kaliyuga era.

All astronomical treatises written after 78 CE have adopted this epoch for formulating various methods for accurate astronomical calculations. Indian astronomers referred to this epoch as “Śakanṛpasyāntे” meaning from the end of Śaka king or from the death of Śaka king. Though the epoch of 78 CE was introduced by the end of the 1st century CE, it was known only to learned astronomers. The common people and royal administrations used only the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE). Interestingly, the famous Indian astronomer Bhaskaracharya used the epoch of “Śakanṛpasyāntे” in his treatise Siddhānta Śiromāṇi for astronomical calculations but refers to the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) while mentioning the year of his birth. He states that he was born in the year 1036 from the epoch of Śaka king (*Rasa(6)-Guṇa(3)-Pūrṇa(0)-Mahī(1) sama-Śaka-nṛpa-samaye’bhavan-mamotpattiḥ*). Therefore, the date of birth of Bhaskaracharya must be fixed in the year 452-453 CE and not in 1114 CE.

Since the Kārttikādi Vikrama era followed the Kārttikādi calendar, a necessity was also felt to introduce the Chaitrādi calendar in this era during the 2nd century CE. It is well known that there is a gap of 135 years between the epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era and the Śaka era. During the process of introducing the Chaitrādi calendar, Indian

astronomers probably reset the epoch of the Vikrama era in 57 BCE with reference to the epoch of 78 CE ensuring a similar gap of 135 years. Thus, the epochs of 78 CE and 57 BCE were actually introduced by Indian astronomers.

The Pimpalner grant of Chalukya Satyāśrayadeva⁹¹ is the earliest inscription which is dated with reference to the epoch of 78 CE. The epoch is referred to as “*Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara*” meaning the years from the end of the era of Śaka king. The Pimpalner grant is dated in the year 310 (388 CE). Thus, the date of Chalukya Satyāśrayadeva must be fixed in 388 CE. Unfortunately, eminent historians rejected this grant as a forgery because they could not differentiate between the epoch of the coronation of Śaka king and the epoch of the end of Śaka king.

The Ahar inscription⁹² of the time of the Pratihāra king Bhojadeva is the earliest inscription which is dated with reference to the epoch of 57 BCE. One document of the Ahar inscription is dated in the year 258 (201 CE). The Peheva inscription⁹³ of Bhojadeva is also dated in the year 276 (219 CE). Though the epochs of 78 CE and 57 BCE were introduced by the 1st or 2nd century CE, these epochs came into popular use only from the 8th century onwards. The use of these epochs became so popular that Indians almost completely forgot the epoch of the Kārtikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and the Śaka era (583 BCE) by the 10th century. Interestingly, people started using the same expressions as “*Śāke*”, “*Śākābde*”, “*Śakavarṣa*”, etc. for the epoch of 78 CE which created confusion among the astronomers. To differentiate the epoch of 78 CE from the epoch of 583 BCE, Indian astronomers linked the name of Śālivāhana, the famous king of Pratiṣṭhāna in 9th century CE⁹⁴ but the use of the name of Śālivāhana became popular only from the 12th century onwards. Similarly, the epoch of 57 BCE was also linked to Harsha Vikramāditya, the renowned king of Avanti who killed the Śaka king and the era was generally referred to as “*Śri-nṛpa-Vikrama-saṁvat*”.

Thus, the Śālivāhana era (78 CE) and the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE) were actually introduced by Indian astronomers to improve the methods for accurate astronomical calculations. Later, people assumed that King Vikramāditya founded an era in 57 BCE and Śālivāhana introduced his era in 78 BCE. Though, the epoch of Vikrama era was

reset in 57 BCE to introduce Chaitrādi calendar, the use of the Kārttikādi calendar continued along with the Chaitrādi calendar. In due course of time, Indians completely forgot the epochs of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and the Śaka era (583 BCE) and started using only the epochs of the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE) and the Śālivāhana era (78 CE) by the 11th century CE.

The Valabhi era (319 CE)

This era was in use in Kathiawad and the neighbourhood of Gujarat and commenced in 319 CE. Alberuni mentions that the epoch of the Valabhi era falls 241 years after the epoch of the Śālivāhana era (78 CE). He also elaborated the method of calculating this era as used by Indians. According to him, first put down the year of Śālivāhana era and then subtract from it the cube of 6 and the square of 5 ($216 + 25 = 241$) and the remainder is the year of the Valabhi era.⁹⁵ Alberuni also states that “people say that the Guptas were very powerful people and that when they ceased to exist, this date (319 CE) was used as the epoch of an era (Valabhi era)”.

Western historians and their followers distorted the statement of Alberuni and concocted the fiction that the Valabhi and Gupta eras commenced from the same epoch i.e. 319 CE. In reality, the Gupta era commenced in 335 BCE whereas the Valabhi era commenced in 319 CE. The Gupta era has been discussed elaborately in Chapter 4. The Devli grant⁹⁶ of Prabhūtavarṣa Govindarāja is the earliest inscription dated in the year 500 (819 CE) of the Valabhi era and the Veraval inscription⁹⁷ of the time of Arjunadeva is the last inscription dated in the year 945 (1264 CE) of the Valabhi era. The calendar of the Valabhi era was Kārttikādi. Though, the epoch of the Valabhi era commenced in 319 CE, it appears that the Valabhi era came into use only from the 8th century onwards.

The Lakśmaṇasena Sarīvat (443-444 CE)

Lakśmaṇasena was the most illustrious king of the Sena dynasty, the dynasty which ruled Bengal and Bihar during the 5th century CE. The Edilpur grant of the time of Ballālasena is probably dated in the Kārttikādi Vikrama era 1136? (417 CE?) as claimed by some sources.⁹⁸

Ballālasena was the father of Lakśmaṇasena and evidently, Lakśmaṇasena must have ascended the throne after 417 CE. Interestingly, the Bisapi grant of Śivasimhadeva⁹⁹ is dated in the year 293 of Lakśmaṇasena era, in the year 1455 elapsed of Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and in the year 1321 current of Śaka era (583 BCE). This grant was issued in favour of the poet Vidyāpati Śarma on the 7th tithi of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa month i.e. 9th July 737 CE. Thus, the epoch of the Lakśmaṇasena era commenced on 10th October 443 CE considering 293 years before 737 CE and the calendar was Kārttikādi.

Eminent Historians simply dubbed the Bisapi grant spurious because it ran contrary to their distorted chronology. It is well known that the Sena dynasty succeeded the Pāla dynasty. Let us discuss the chronology of the Pāla and Sena dynasties to arrive at the exact epoch of the Lakśmaṇasena era. When the rule of the imperial Guptas ended in the beginning of the 1st century BCE, a King named Śāśāṅka was ruling in Bengal around 35 BCE. According to the *Gaudavaho* of Vākpati, Yaśovarman of Kanauj (30-91 CE) killed a Gauḍa king in battle resulting in a state of anarchy in the Gauda region; taking advantage of the political turmoil in Gauḍa, Gopāla founded the rule of the Pāla dynasty around 80 CE. The Khalimpur inscription¹⁰⁰ tells us that Gopāla, a patron of Buddhism and founder of the Odantapuri Mahāvihāra, was selected by the people to put an end to anarchy.

Gopāla was succeeded by his son Dharmapāla, the most illustrious king of the Pāla dynasty. Soddhala, the author of “*Udayasundarīkathā*”, refers to Dharmapāla as “*Uttarāpathasvāmi*” meaning the lord of north India. The Khalimpur inscription, dated in his 32nd regnal year clearly mentions that Dharmapāla was the master of Kanauj and his authority was accepted by the kings of Pāñchāla, Bhoja, Matsya, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gāndhāra and the Kira kings (*Bhojair-Matsyaiḥ sa-Madraiḥ Kuru-Yadu-Yavanāvanti-Gāndhāra-Kiraiḥ, Bhūpair-vyālola-mauli-praṇati-pariṇataiḥ.....*). The king of Avanti was the Pratihāra king Vatsarāja who may have also accepted the authority of Dharmapāla for a short period. According to the Bhagalpur inscription¹⁰¹ of Nārāyaṇapāla, Dharmapāla dethroned Indrāyudha and coronated his younger brother Chakrāyudha on the throne of Kanauj (*Jitvendrarāja-*

prabhṛtīn-arātīnupārjita yena mahodayaśrīḥ, dattā punaḥ sā balinārthayitre Chakrāyudhāyānativāmanāya ।). Jinasena's *Harivamśa* tells us that Indrāyudha ruled in Śaka 705 (122 CE). Evidently, Dharmapāla defeated Indrāyudha after 122 CE. His wife Rannadevi was the daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Parabala. Dharmapāla, who ruled for at least 32 years, founded the Vikramaśilā and Sonapura Mahāvihāras.

Eminent historians dated the rule of Dharmapāla around 770-812 CE. Dharmapāla himself claimed that the king of Gāndhāra also accepted his supremacy. Gāndhāra or Kandahar was under political turmoil due to regular invasions by Arab Muslims during the 8th century CE. There is no evidence to prove that Dharmapāla could expand his influence up to Kandahar at the end of the 8th century. Therefore, historians concocted the myth that Gāndhāra meant Western Punjab. Actually, Dharmapāla flourished around 110-160 CE and subjugated the king of Gāndhāra. It is nothing less than a fraud to identify Western Punjab as Gāndhāra.

The Bhagalpur inscription tells us that Dharmapāla's brother Vākpāla played a crucial role in establishing the powerful Pāla kingdom and Vākpāla's son Jayapāla also conquered certain regions. Devapāla, the son of Dharmapāla, succeeded him. He conquered Prāgjyotiṣa (Assam) and Utkala (Orissa) but the rise of the Pratīhāras, followed by the Chedis and the Paramāras in the north gradually weakened the Pāla kingdom. Probably, the poet Abhinanda, the author of *Rāmacharita* was in the court of Yuvarāja Hāravarṣa (Devapāla or his brother) who was the son of Vikramaśila i.e. Dharmapāla. Vigrahapāla was the son of Devapāla. He married the daughter of a king of the Haihaya (Chedi) dynasty (quite likely Kokalladeva, the founder of the Chedi dynasty). Nārāyanapāla, the son of Vigrahapāla, succeeded him. According to the Bangarh grant,¹⁰² Nārāyanapāla's son was Rājyapāla, Rajyapāla's son was Gopāla II, Gopāla II's son was Vigrahapāla II and Vigrahapāla II's son was Mahipāla I. Nayapāla succeeded Mahipāla I. Vigrahapāla III was the son of Nayapāla. According to Sandhyākar Nandi's *Rāmacaritam*, Vigrahapāla III married Yauvanaśrī, the daughter of the Chedi king Karṇa (389-419 CE). The Manahali grant¹⁰³ informs us that Vigrahapāla III had three sons named Mahipāla II, Śūrapāla and Rāmapāla. The poet Sandhyākar Nandi composed his work *Rāmacaritam* during the reign of

Madanapāla, the son of Rāmapāla. Sandhyākar Nandi's father Prajāpati was the Sāndhi-vigrahika (the minister of peace and war) of the Pāla king Rāmapāla. Jagaddala, a Buddhist education centre was founded by Rāmapāla. He also founded a city named Rāmavati. Rāmapāla also had three sons named Kumārapāla, Gopāla III and Madanapāla. Sandhyākar Nandi mentions the names of two more sons, Vittapāla and Rājyapāla.

An inscription of Madanapāla is dated in KV 1201 (482 CE)¹⁰⁴ and his Valgudar inscription¹⁰⁵ is dated in Śaka 1083 (500 CE) [*Śaka-nṛpateḥ 1083*] and in the 18th regnal year. Sandhyākar Nandi states that Madanapāla had to preserve the prestige of the Pāla Empire by a close alliance with Chandra. Most probably, Chandra was the Gāhadwāla king Govindachandra. Madanapāla's successor, Govindapāla ruled for at least 39 years because some manuscripts of Nepal are dated in his 37th, 38th and 39th regnal year (*Srimad-Govindapālapādānām Saṁ 39 bhādradine 14*).¹⁰⁶

The chronology of the Pāla dynasty:

	<i>In CE</i>
Gopāla I	80-110 CE
Dharmapāla	110-160 CE
Devapāla	161-212 CE
Vigrahapāla I	212-220 CE
Nārāyaṇapāla	220-274 CE
Rājyapāla	274-298 CE
Gopāla II	298-300 CE
Vigrahapāla II	300-310 CE
Mahīpāla I	310-360 CE
Nayapāla	360-400CE
Vigrahapāla III	400-420 CE
Mahīpāla II	420-436 CE
Śūrapāla	—
Rāmapāla	436-478 CE
Kumārapāla	478-481 CE
Gopāla III	481-482 CE

Madanapāla	482-500 CE
Govindapāla	500-540 CE

An Arab merchant called Suleiman visited Bengal in 951 CE and refers to the kings of Bengal as *Ruhmi* or *Rahma* in his book “*Silsiltut-Tauarikh*”. Historians distorted the statements of Suleiman and concocted the story that *Ruhmi* or *Rahma* meant the Pāla kingdom. Actually, the Pāla kings flourished from around the 1st century CE till the 6th century CE. Therefore, Suleiman, who visited Bengal in the 10th century CE, refers to the ruling kingdom of that time as *Ruhmi* or *Rahma* not as Pālas.

Sāmantasena, the earliest known king of the Sena dynasty, was likely a feudatory of the Pāla kings. His son Hemantasena and grandson Vijayasena laid the foundations for the sovereign kingdom of the Sena dynasty. It was Ballālasena, the son of Vijayasena, who conquered Gauḍa from the Pālas and made Navadvīpa his capital. In general, the Sena kings ruled over the Mithilā region or the Bihar-Bengal region. The Edilpur grant¹⁰⁷ tells us that Ballālasena defeated his enemies and that his son, Lakśmaṇasena erected pillars of victory at Vārāṇasī, Prayāga and Purī. Probably, Ballālasena ascended the throne around 400 CE. Yuvarāja Lakśmaṇasena successfully led the army and established a strong kingdom. According to the *Samaya Prakāśa*, Ballālasena authored the treatise titled *Dānasāgara* in Śaka 1011 (428 CE) and lived for three years more, thereby indicating that he died in 431 CE.¹⁰⁸

Though Lakśmaṇasena came to the throne in 431 CE, controlled the administration even during the lifetime of his father. Interestingly, Halāyudha, the author of *Brāhmaṇa Sarvasva*, tells us that Lakśmaṇasena made him the court Pandit when he was a boy, that when he became a youth he was made prime minister and that when he ceased to be a youth he was made Dharmādhikārī (Chief Justice).¹⁰⁹ Lakśmaṇasena founded a city named Lakśmaṇavatī (known as Lakhnauti) in Malda district of West Bengal on the India-Bangladesh border. A slab found inscribed in the doorway of the Lakśmaṇasena Palace tells us that there were five gems in the court of Lakśmaṇasena named Govardhana, Śaraṇa, Jayadeva, Umāpati and Kavirāja.

“Govardhanaśca Śaraṇo Jayadeva Umāpatilī |
Kavirājaśca ratnāni samitau Lakṣmaṇasya ca ||”¹¹⁰

The famous poem “*Gīta-Govindam*” was composed by Jayadeva during the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena. Some scholars identified Kavirāja with the poet Dhoyi who wrote “*Pavanadūtam*” that was inspired by Kālidāsa’s *Meghadūtam*. Kavirāja was the author of “*Rāghava-Pāndavīyam*”. Sandhyākar Nandi mentions that there were only three poets who were experts in writing of Vakrokti (*vakrokti-mārga-nipuṇīḥ*), namely Subandhu, Bāṇabhaṭṭa and Kavirāja. Lakṣmaṇasena himself was a great author who completed the treatise “*Adbhutasāgara*” started by his father Ballālasena. Probably, Lakṣmaṇasena died in 443 CE. Viśvarūpasena was the son of Lakṣmaṇasena and his Madanapāda grant¹¹¹ is dated in his 14th regnal year. The Edilpur grant was issued by Keśavasena, the second son of Lakṣmaṇasena. Viśvarūpasena had two sons, named Sūryasena and Puruṣottamasena.

Lakṣmaṇasena was the most illustrious and the most popular king of the Sena dynasty and the Lakṣmaṇasena era (LS) was undoubtedly founded to pay homage to him. The reference to “*Lakṣmaṇasenasya atītarājye*” in the inscriptions clearly indicates that the era has the epoch of the end of the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena. Two inscriptions of the time of king Aśokachalla are dated in LS 51 (494 CE) and LS 74 (517 CE).¹¹² The Janibigha grant of king Jayasena is dated in LS 83 (526 CE).¹¹³ Interestingly, the Janibigha grant was issued to Vajrasena for the residence of a Simhalese monk Maugalasvāmi. The Khojpur Durga image inscription of Suryakara is dated in LS 147 (590 CE).¹¹⁴

The Bisapi grant dated in LS 293 (737 CE)¹¹⁵ clearly informs us that the Lakṣmaṇasena era commenced in 443 CE. The author of *Samaya Prakāśa* states that Ballālasena wrote the book “*Dānasāgara*” in Śaka 1011 (428 CE) and as he lived for three years more, it proves Lakṣmaṇasena ruled around 431-443 CE. According to Nagendranath Vasu, *Dānasāgara* was written in Śaka 1091 (*śaśi-nava-daśa-mite Śaka-varṣe Dānasāgaro rachitaḥ*).¹¹⁶ The text of *Dānasāgara* may have been edited from “*Śaśi-dvaya-daśa-mite*” (Śaka 1011) to “*Śaśi-nava-daśa-mite*” (Śaka 1091). In the beginning of *Adbutasāgara*, it is mentioned that Ballālasena started writing it in Śaka 1089 (506 CE) [*Śāke navāṣṭakhendvākhye ārebhe’dbhutasāgaram*].¹¹⁷

We need to verify this from the original manuscripts.

Moreover, the dates of the Bisapi grant and *Samaya Prakāśa* cannot be explained if the date of *Dānasāgara* is accepted as Śaka 1091 (508 CE) and the date of *Adbhutasāgara* as Śaka 1089 (506 CE). There is also inconsistency in these dates because Ballālasena started writing *Adbhutasāgara* after completing the *Dānasāgara*. Considering the dates of the Bisapi grant and *Samaya Prakāśa*, Ballālasena ought to have started writing *Adbhutasāgara* in Śaka 1013 (430 CE) or 1014 (431 CE).

The chronology of the Sena dynasty:

	<i>In CE</i>
Sāmantasena	300-330 CE
Hemantasena	330-350 CE
Vijayasena (Arirāja-Vṛṣabha-Śankara)	350-410 CE
Ballālasena (Arirāja-Niśśāṅka-Śankara)	404-431 CE
Lakśmaṇasena (Arirāja-Madana-Śankara)	431-443 CE
Keśavasena	—
Viśvarūpasena (Arirāja-Vṛṣbhāṅka-Śankara)	444-460 CE

The rule of the Sena dynasty ended due to the rise of the Gāhadwālas in Kanauj and the re-emergence of the Pālas under the leadership of Rāmapāla. The Bisapi grant tells us that King Śivasimhadeva ruled in Bengal in KV 1455 elapsed (737 CE). Vidyāpati wrote *Puruṣa-Parīkṣā* during the reign of Śivasimhadeva. He also wrote *Durgābhakti-Taraṅgiṇī* during the reign of Narasimhadeva, the son of Śivasimhadeva. Vidyāpati refers to Śivasimhadeva and his son Dhīrasirinha as Pañca-Gauḍeśvara i.e. lords of five regions of Gauḍa (*Śauryāvarjita-Pañca-Gauḍa-dharaṇī-nāthopanamrīkṛtān*). Interestingly, Vidyāpati copied the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa in the year of Lakśmaṇasena era 349 (792 CE) with his own hand and this copy was in possession of his descendants around 1885 CE. It is evident from the Bisapi grant and the works of the poet Vidyāpati Śarma that the family of Śivasimhadeva ruled Mithilā and Gauda in the 8th century CE. The rise of the Gajapati dynasty at the end of the 8th century CE ended the rule of the family of Śivasimhadeva.

The genealogy of Śivasimhadeva:

	<i>In CE</i>
Bhavasimhadeva	690-710 CE
Devasimha	710-730 CE
Śivasimhadeva	720-750 CE
Narasimhadeva	750-775 CE
Dhīrasimhadeva	775-795 CE
Bhairavasimhadeva	—

Western historians rejected the Bisapi grant and relied instead on the edited date of the *Dānasāgara* (Śaka 1091) and the historical account given by Muslim historians. Minhajuddin, the Muslim historian and the author of *Tabaqat-e-Nasiri*, records that Bakhtiar Khilji conquered Bengal in 1203 CE and at that time a king named "Lakhmaniya" was on the throne of Navadvipa and he was eighty years old.¹¹⁸ According to the *Ain-e-Akbari*:

"When the cup of life of Rāja Naujah overflowed, the sovereignty fell to Lakhmaniya, the son of Rai Lakhman. Nadia was at that time the capital of Bengal and the seat of various learning. Bahktiar Khilji took possession of Bihar by force of arms, and when he marched upon Bengal, the Rāja escaped in a boat. Muhammad Bakhtiyar entered Bengal and having amassed enormous plunder, he destroyed the city of Nadia and transferred the capital to Lakhnauti."¹¹⁹

Eminent historians identified the so-called "Lakhmaniya" as Lakṣmaṇasena, distorted the entire chronology of the Sena dynasty and arbitrarily fixed the date of Lakṣmaṇasena around 1179-1203 CE. As discussed above, the Sena kings flourished in the 5th century CE and not in the 12th century CE. The list of seven kings given by Abul Fazal belongs to the later kings of Bengal. According to the *Ain-e-Akbari*, the following seven kings ruled for 106 years:¹²⁰

	<i>Duration in years</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Sukh Sen	3	1095-1097 CE
Balal Sen	50	1097-1147 CE
Lakhan Sen	7	1147-1154 CE

Madhu Sen	10	1154-1164 CE
Kesu Sen	15	1164-1179 CE
Sada Sen	18	1179-1197 CE
Raja Naujah	3	1197-1200 CE

Evidently, Abul Fazal stated that the ruling dynasty ended with the death of Raja Naujah and Lakhmaniya, the son of Lakhman, who ruled around 1200-1203 CE. Lakhmaniya apparently was not from the ruling family and was eighty years old when Bakhtiar Khilji invaded Nadia. Moreover, the genealogy of the Sena kings is completely different from the list of kings given by Abul Fazal. As discussed above, the Sena dynasty ruled Mithilā and Gauda in the 5th century and not in the 12th century. If the Sena kings had indeed ruled in the 12th century, how could Viśvarūpasena, the son of Lakṣmaṇasena, proclaim himself as Mahārājādhirāja and Gauḍeśvara when Bakhtiar Khilji, followed by Ali Merdan and Ghiyasuddin had established their supremacy in Bengal and Bihar? How could Vidyāpati refer to Śivasimhadeva and his son Dhīrasimha as Pañca-Gauḍeśvara in the 15th century CE?

The Madanapada grant refers to Viśvarūpasena as “*Garga-Yavanānvaya-pralaya-kāla-rudra*” meaning the terrible destroyer of the Garga and Yavana dynasties. It is well known that the Kāmboja kings were ruling in Gauḍa. Evidently, Viśvarūpasena might have defeated the Yavanas i.e. Kāmbojas. Historians identified Yavanas as Muslims. There is no evidence to prove that a Gauḍa king defeated Muslim invaders around 1210-1230 CE.

Eminent historians have not been able to explain the exact epoch of the Lakṣmaṇasena era till date. Kielhorn opined that the epoch commenced in 1118-19 CE and that 1119-20 CE was the first year, but his conclusion is completely based on a vague equation “Laksh : Sam: 505 = Śaka Sam: 1546” from a manuscript of the *Smṛtitattvāmrīta*.

The reckoning of the Lakṣmaṇasena era was calculated differently in different places in later times but the earliest reference is found in the Bisapi Grant that clearly tells us that the epoch commenced in 443-444 CE considering the epoch of Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 CE) and the epoch of the coronation of the Śaka king (583 BCE).

The Bisapi grant is the strongest epigraphic evidence for calculating the epoch of the Lakṣmaṇasena era. None of the grants of the Sena kings used this era which indicates that the reckoning of the Lakṣmaṇasena era apparently commenced after the end of the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena and also that of Viśvarūpasena. The reference “*Lakṣmaṇasenasya atītarājye*” also clearly informs us that the epoch undoubtedly commenced from the end of the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena. Historians ridiculously fixed the epoch as the birth of Lakṣmaṇasena.

The Simha Samvat (450-451 CE)

The Chaulukya king Jayasimha Siddharāja (433-480 CE) founded this era in 450-451 CE and the calendar was probably Kārttikādi. Thus, the epoch of Simha Samvat commenced on 22nd September 450 CE. The Mangrol inscription¹²¹ of the time of the Chaulukya king Kumārapāla is dated on the 13th tithi of the dark fortnight of Āśvina month in KV 1202 and Simha era 32 i.e. 15th Oct 483 CE. A grant of Bhīmadeva II¹²² is dated on the 11th tithi of the bright fortnight of Chaitra month in Simha era 93 and on the occasion of Meṣa saṃkrānti i.e. 21st Mar 544 CE. Another grant of Bhīmadeva II¹²³ is dated on the 14th tithi of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa month in KV 1266 and Simha era 96 i.e. 22nd Nov 546 CE. It is, therefore, evident that the reckoning of the Simha era started from 450-451 CE.

Two later inscriptions also refer to Simha Samvat which indicates that another Simha era was founded in 1109 CE or 1113 CE. The Junagarh inscription is dated in the year 850 of the Valabhi era and in the year 60 of the Simha era.¹²⁴ The Veraval inscription is dated in the year 1320 of the Chaitrādi Vikrama era, in the year 945 of the Valabhi era and in the year 151 of the Simha era.¹²⁵ Evidently, the Junagarh inscription indicates the epoch of 1109 CE whereas the Veraval inscription considered the epoch of 1113 CE. As discussed in Chapter 5, the inscriptions of the Chaulukya kings used only the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE). The Valabhi era came into use much later. Therefore, the Junagarh and Veraval inscriptions belong to later kings of Anhilwad and the Simha Samvat used in these inscriptions is different from the Simha Samvat used in the Mangrol inscription and the two grants of Bhīmadeva II.

The old Simha era was founded in 450-451 CE by the Chaulukya king Jayasimha Siddharāja whereas another Simha era commenced in 1109 CE or 1113 CE. Probably, the Simha era referred to in the Junagarh and Veraval inscriptions is the Śiva-Simha era which was established by the Gohils in the island of Div as opined by Col James Tod.¹²⁶

The Chalukya Vikrama Samvat

Bilhaṇa, a Kashmiri Sanskrit poet, was in the court of the Chalukya Vikramāditya of Kalyāṇa in Karnataka. He wrote a Mahākāvya named “*Vikramāñkadevacaritam*”. He elaborated the life-account of Chalukya Vikrama in 17 cantos. Interestingly, Bilhaṇa chronicles his autobiography in the 18th canto: he was born in the village Khonmusha in Kashmir which is today called Khonmuh. This village is situated four kilometres from Jaivan (Jayavana). Bilhaṇa also mentions the city of Pravarapura which is situated near modern Srinagar. He tells us that a king of Kashmir named Gopāditya had brought his ancestors to Kashmir from Central India. Bilhaṇa mentions the Kashmir kings Anantadeva, Kalaśa and Harshadeva. We learn from Kalhaṇa’s *Rājataranīgīti* that Bilhaṇa left Kashmir during the reign of King Kalaśa and reached Karnataka. King Vikrama (Parmādi) appointed him as Vidyāpati in his court.

According to Bilhaṇa, he left Kashmir and first went to Mathura and Vrindavan, and then travelled to Kānyakubja (Kanauj) and Vārāṇasī where he met the Chedi king Karṇa (389-419 CE). Interestingly, Bilhaṇa defeated Gaṅgādhara, a famous scholar in a debate (*Sāstrārtha*) at the court of the Chedi king Karṇa. Thereafter, he reached the city of Dhārā in Mālava. When he reached Dhārā, he was shocked to hear of the death of the great king Bhoja. Bilhaṇa expressed his pain in a poetic way, that the pigeons living in the holes of the gate of Dhārā city questioned him; “Oh Bilhaṇa, why did you not come to Dhārā while Rājā Bhoja was alive?

*“Bhojaḥ kshmābhṛtsa khalu na khalaistasya sāmyam narendraiḥ,
tatpratyakṣam kimiti bhavatānāgatam hā hatāsmi |
yasya dvāroḍḍamaraśikharakroda-pārāvatānām,
nādavyājāditi sakaruṇam vyājahāreva Dhārā ||”¹²⁷*

Bilhaṇa immediately left Dhārā and reached Somanāth in Gujarat but not being too happy with the people of Gujarat and driven by the ambition to be patronised by a magnificent king such as Bhoja, he directed his steps towards the south (*Sāmānyorvīpatiṣu vimukhahśekharo'sau budhānām, yātastasyām kakubhi śanakaih kautuki daksīṇasyām |*)¹²⁸ and reached the court of Chalukya Vikramāditya also known as Tribhuvanamalla, where he was appointed as Vidyāpati.

It is evident that when Bilhaṇa reached the city of Dhārā, he came to know about the sad demise of King Bhoja. Based on the epigraphic evidence, king Bhoja died by Kārttikādi Vikrama 1112 elapsed (394 CE). The Mandhata grant¹²⁹ was issued in the year KV 1112 elapsed (393-394 BCE) by Jayasirinha, the son of Bhoja. The Chedi king Karṇa ascended the throne in 389 CE because his Vārāṇasī grant¹³⁰ was issued in the Kalachuri-Chedi year 793 (390 CE) on the occasion of the first death anniversary of his father Gāngeyadeva. Thus, Bilhaṇa, who probably wrote *Vikramāñikadevacaritam* by 400 CE, started his journey from Kashmir in the beginning of the year 389 CE and finally reached the kingdom of Chalukya Vikramāditya by the end of 394 CE. As discussed in Chapter 2, the chronology of the Western Chalukyas of Kalyāṇi (Phase II) has been roughly reconstructed as under.

<i>Genealogy given by Bilhaṇa</i>	<i>In CE</i>
Tailapa I	290-320 CE
Satyāśraya I	320-325 CE
Jayasiṁha	325-330 CE
Āhavamalla Trailokyamalla	330-345 CE
Someśvara	345-346 CE
Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla	346-405 CE

Interestingly, another Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla ascended the throne in 1076 CE. Many inscriptions of both the Tribhuvanamallas are dated in an era referred to as “Chalukya Vikrama varṣa”. Historians considered both the Tribhuvanamallas as one person and named the era Chalukya Vikrama Samvat. They concluded that the epoch of Chalukya Vikrama era commenced in 1076 CE. More than 100

inscriptions of the Chalukyas refer to Chalukya Vikrama Saṁvat starting from the year 2 to the year 80 out of which 17 inscriptions record verifiable details of solar eclipses. As shown in Appendix VI, only five eclipses out of 17 can be verified with reference to the epoch of 1076 CE. There is something seriously wrong in the epoch of the Chalukya Vikrama era considered by modern historians. In my opinion, we have to segregate the inscriptions of Tribhuvanamalla into two groups. One group of inscriptions may belong to the Tribhuvanamalla who was a contemporary of the Paramāra king Bhoja and another group of inscriptions may belong to the Tribhuvanamalla who became king in 1076 CE.

The ancient era of Nepal or Licchavi era (966 BCE)

The Chāngū pillar inscription of the Licchavi king Mānadeva¹³¹ is dated in the year 386 of an ancient era of Nepal. Interestingly, the later successors of Mānadeva used the Sri Harsha era (457 BCE) in their inscriptions. As discussed in detail in Chapter 6, the epoch of the era used in the inscriptions of Mānadeva may have commenced around 966 BCE. It would be appropriate to name this ancient era as “Licchavi era”. Evidently, an ancient system of intercalation i.e. Pauṣha-Āṣāḍha intercalation was followed by the Licchavi kings which was based on Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa. It may be noted that Mānadeva flourished before the Sri Harsha who founded an era in 457 BCE. Historians simply assumed, without any evidence whatsoever, that Mānadeva used the Śālivāhana era (78 CE).

The Mānadeva Saṁvat (85-84 BCE)

Sumatitantra (probably authored by a South Indian named Sumati), a popular treatise on astronomy in Nepal, is dated in the year 304 of Mānadevābda i.e. the era of Mānadeva (304 Śri-Mānadevābda....).¹³² The manuscript of *Sahottaratana* is also dated in the year 301 of Mānadeva era (*Rājñi Śri-Mānadeve varṣe caikottare'smin tritaya-śatagatae*).¹³³ The Lokeśvara pedestal inscription of Patan is also dated in the year 180 of Mānadeva era (*Rājye Śri-Mānadevasya varṣe'sītyuttareśate*).¹³⁴ Some

manuscripts of *Harivamśa* and *Jātakajyā* also mention a Mānadeva Saṁvat confirming that a Mānadeva era was in vogue in ancient Nepal.

Some scholars propounded that the Mānadeva Saṁvat started during the reign of King Mānadeva II who founded it in Śālivāhana 498 (576 CE). According to some Vāṁśāvalis, Mānadeva II ruled for 53 or 25 years between Udayadeva and Gaṇadeva. There is a controversy about the existence of Mānadeva II and quite possibly, the reference to Mānadeva II may be the result of scribal error which has been handed down to all the 19th century Vāṁśāvalis. Some historians even declared that the inclusion of the name of Mānadeva II is an historical fraud. Kamal P. Malla, a proud member of the Royal Society, London, made an investigation into this so-called historical fraud.¹³⁵

The main problem is that some historians assumed that the inscriptions of the Licchavi kings are dated in Śālivāhana era (78 CE). As discussed in detail in Chapter 6, the inscriptions of Mānadeva I are dated in an ancient era of Nepal and the earliest inscription of Mānadeva I is dated in the year 386 (580 BCE). Thus, it may be noted that the earliest inscriptions of Nepal used an ancient era (966 BCE) which was replaced by the Sri Harsha era (457 BCE) during the reign of Śivadeva and his feudatory Añśuvarman I. Undoubtedly, the Licchavi feudatory Añśuvarman I and the successors of the Licchavi king Śivadeva used the Sri Harsha era in their inscriptions. Most probably, Sri Harsha conquered Nepal around 430-429 BCE and introduced his era in Nepal. Therefore, the inscriptions of Añśuvarman I are dated from the year 29 of Sri Harsha era onwards.

Some historians ridiculously argued that Añśuvarman I just dropped the figure of hundreds since the year 529 and used only 29. A recently found Gokarṇa inscription of Añśuvarman I dated in 536 (430 BCE)¹³⁶ provides firm evidence that Añśuvarman I did not drop the figure of hundreds starting from the year 529. The Gokarṇa inscription was written in the intercalary Pauṣa month which also confirms that Añśuvarman I used the epoch of the ancient era that commenced around 966 BCE. Since Sri Harsha subjugated the Licchavis around 430 BCE and introduced his era (457 BCE) in Nepal, Añśuvarman I started using Sri Harsha era from the year 29 (429-428 BCE).

Undoubtedly, Mānadeva Saṁvat came into use in Nepal much later. According to *Sumatitantra*, Mānadeva era commenced when the 498th year of the Śaka era elapsed.

Jāto Duryodhano rājā kalisandhyām pravartate ।
 Yudhiṣṭhīro Mahārājo Duryodhanastayopi vā ।
 Ubhau rājau sahasre dve varṣantu sampravarttati ॥
 Nandarājyam śatāṣṭaṁ ca Chandraguptastatopare ।
 Rājyam karoti tenāpi dvātriṁśaccādhibhām śatam ॥
 Rājā Śūdrakadevaśca Varṣa-saptābdhi cāśvinau ।
 Śakarājā tato paścād Vasu-Randhra-kritān tatha ॥
 Śeṣā yutāśca kṛtāṁbarāgni 304 Śri Mānadevābda
 prayujyamānetāni pinda kali-varṣamāhuh ।¹³⁷

Historians misinterpreted the compound word “Śatāṣṭam” and declared that it meant 800. Actually, “Śatāṣṭam” is a Samāhāra Dvandva compound and derived as śatam ca aṣṭa ca = Śatāṣṭam. In case it is a Saṅkhyā tatpuruṣa compound and derived as Śatāṣṭam aṣṭa, then the compound word should be “aṣṭaśatam”. Thus, “Śatāṣṭam” means 108 and it cannot be interpreted as 800. It is totally absurd to accept the reign of the Nandas for 800 years. The author of *Sumatitantra* states in the above verses that the Nanda dynasty ascended the throne after the completion of 2000 years from the eve of Kaliyuga when Duryodhana and Yudhiṣṭhīra were ruling. The Nandas ruled for 108 years; thereafter, Chandragupta and his dynasty ruled for 132 years; King Śūdraka and his dynasty followed Chandragupta and ruled for 247 years; thereafter, the Śaka king ascended the throne and 498 years elapsed from the reign of the Śaka king. We need to add 304 years of the Mānadeva era to arrive at the current year of Kaliyuga i.e. 117 BCE. There is an error of 32 years because the Śaka king was coronated in 583 BCE as conclusively proven in Chapter 2.

Sumatitantra clearly tells us that the Mānadeva era commenced in Śaka 498 elapsed. Considering the epoch of the coronation of the Śaka king (583 BCE), the epoch of Mānadeva Saṁvat can be placed in 85-84 BCE. Probably, *Sumatitantra* was written in the year 304 of Mānadeva

Saṁvat i.e. 219 CE and *Sahottaratatantra* was written in the year 301 of Mānadeva Saṁvat i.e. 216 CE. It appears that the Mānadeva era was introduced during the reign of Añśuvarman II, the son-in-law of the last Licchavi king Viśvadeva. According to Varmśāvali, Añśuvarman II ascended the throne in the year 3000 (101 BCE) of the Kaliyuga era.¹³⁸ As of now, there is no evidence to prove the reign of King Mānadeva II around 85 BCE. Possibly, this era was named after Mānadeva I to immortalise the name of the greatest king of Licchavi dynasty.



Chapter 8

The Puranic Chronology of Ancient India

The Purāṇas are one of the most significant sources of the history of ancient India from the Mahābhārata war till the Gupta period. Though the currently available Purāṇas were compiled between 500 BCE and 200 CE, they have been updated, re-modelled and re-written many times over. The Purāṇas were chronicles in ancient times but evolved into veritable encyclopaedias by the post Gupta period. Some Purāṇas such as *Mārkandeya*, *Vāyu*, *Matsya* and *Viṣṇu* were updated not later than the 1st century BCE. The *Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta* was written much later, probably around the 9th or 10th century CE. The *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, *Brahmānda* and *Viṣṇu* Purāṇas and the *Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta* provide invaluable information of the history of the various royal dynasties which flourished in ancient India.

There has been a systematic attempt to distort Indian chronology by colonial historians and their blind followers in modern times. With the invention of the mischievous and fraudulent theory of the Aryan invasion, western historians led Indian historical research in a wrong direction. They not only sabotaged the Puranic chronology of ancient India but also systematically defamed and demonised the literary evidences of ancient Indian history.

Western historians deliberately identified the so-called “*Sandrokottus*” with Chandragupta Maurya and this major distortion in the chronology of ancient India led to many speculative theories later on. As irrefutably demonstrated in Chapter 4, the “*Sandrokottus*” referred to by Greek historians was Samudragupta and not Chandragupta Maurya. This mistaken identity robbed 1200 years of ancient Indian history. The Purāṇas tell us that the Maurya dynasty flourished around 1500-1200 BCE whereas the Gupta dynasty ruled from 335 BCE to 92 BCE. Many Indian scholars like TS Narayana Sastry and Kota

Venkatachalam have done extensive research on the Puranic chronology of ancient India.

According to Arrian (86-160 CE), "From the time of Dionysos to Sandrokottus, the Indians counted 153 kings and a period of 6042 years."¹ Pliny, the elder (23-79 CE) also states that "From the time of Father Liber [Dionysos] to Alexandrus, 153 kings of India are counted in a period of 6451 years and three months."² Thus, the chronological history of Indian royal dynasties is very ancient and goes back to 6776 BCE (6451+325). Interestingly, recent research based on the astronomical references in the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa, reveals that Rāma was probably born in 5114 BCE.³ We learn from the Vishnu Purāṇa, Bhāgavata Purāṇa and Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa that Rāma was the 64th king in the genealogy of Sūrya Varmśa. Considering an average reign of 27 years for each king, 63 kings of Sūrya Varmśa ruled for 1700 years approximately. The statement of Pliny the elder seems to be absolutely accurate and the chronological history of the Sūrya Varmśa kings started around 6776 BCE.

The Chronology of the Surya Varmśi Kings

Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaniśa* also gives the genealogy of the Sūrya Varmśa from King Dilipa to King Agnivarṇa. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* mentions the names of kings before Dilipa and also enumerates eight more kings after Agnivarṇa. King Iksvāku was the founder of the Sūrya Varmśa and King Brihadbala was the last ruler. Evidently, Kālidāsa (105-25 BCE) followed the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* with a slight difference because it mentions Raghu as the son of Dīrghabāhu and the grandson of Dilipa while Kālidāsa mentions Raghu as the son of Dilipa.

The chronology of the kings of Sūrya Varmśa:

		<i>In CE</i>
1-60	Iksvāku to Dīrghabāhu	6776-5177 BCE
61.	Raghu	
62.	Aja	
63.	Daśaratha	5176-5089 BCE

64.	Rāma		5075-4176 BCE
65.	Kuśa		
66.	Atithi		
67.	Niśādha		
68.	Nala		
69.	Nabhas		
70.	Pundarīka		
71.	Kśemadhanvan		
72.	Devānīka		
73.	Ahināgu		
74.	Pāriyātra		
75.	Sīla		
76.	Unnābha or Uktha		
77.	Vajranābha		
78.	Śaṅkhanābha		
79.	Vyuṣitāśva		
80.	Viśvasaha		
81.	Hiraṇyanābha		
82.	Kauśalya		
83.	Brahmiṣṭha		
84.	Putra		
85.	Puṣya		
86.	Dhruvasañdhi		
87.	Sudarśan		
88.	Agnivarṇa		

According to Kālidāsa, Agnivarṇa was a weak ruler and an addicted sensualist. When he died, his wife was pregnant. She ascended the throne as Queen-regent. It appears that the glorious dynasty of Raghu slipped into a dark period because Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamīśa* abruptly ends with Agnivarṇa. Probably, the kingdom of Ayodhyā was revived by later kings. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* enumerates eight more kings after Agnivarṇa and the last king Brihadbala participated in the Mahābhārata war and died.

1.	Śighra		3400-3128 BCE
2.	Maru		
3.	Prasuśruta		
4.	Sugavi		
5.	Amarṣa		
6.	Mahasvat		
7.	Viśrutavat		
8.	Brihadbala		

The kingdom of Ayodhyā had weakened by 4200 BCE. The *Matsya Purāṇa* tells us that Kuru founded the Kaurava dynasty and shifted his capital from Prayaga to Kurukṣetra roughly around 3900 BCE. Later, Bṛhadratha I founded his kingdom at Magadha around 3700 BCE. Jarāsandha was the 11th king of the Brihadratha dynasty and ruled over Magadha around 3175-3140 BCE. As discussed in Chapter 7, the Mahābhārata war probably took place around 3128 BCE. King Yudhiṣṭhīra ascended the throne in 3128 BCE and founded a powerful empire in Hastināpura. Kota Venkatachalam has provided the following list of 29 kings of Hastināpura after the Mahābhārata war.⁴

1.	Yudhiṣṭhīra		3128-2200 BCE
2.	Parīkṣit		
3.	Janamejaya		
4.	Śatānīka I		
5.	Aśvamedhadat		
6.	Adhisima Kṛṣṇa		
7.	Nichaknu		
8.	Uṣṇa		
9.	Chitraratha		
10.	Śuchiratha		
11.	Vṛṣṇimanta		
12.	Suṣeṇa		
13.	Suneetha		
14.	Nṛpegākṣu		

15. Sukhibala
16. Pariplava
17. Sunaya
18. Medhāvī
19. Ripuñjaya
20. Urva
21. Thigma
22. Bṛhadratha
23. Kasudana
24. Śatānīka II
25. Udayana
26. Kihinara
27. Daṇḍapāṇi
28. Nirāmitra
29. Kśemaka

The Chronology of the Magadha Empire

The Hastināpura Empire may have gradually weakened after the king Janamejaya and Magadha emerged as the most powerful kingdom of India. Jarāsandha's son Sahadeva died in the Mahābhārata war and his son Somapī became the king of Magadha. Thus, Somapī was the 1st king of the Bṛhadratha dynasty after the Mahābhārata war and Rājagṛha or Girivraja was his capital. According to the *Vāyu*, *Brahmānda*, *Matsya*, *Bhāgavata*, *Viṣṇu Purāṇas* and the *Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta*, 22 kings of Bṛhadratha dynasty ruled for 1000 years.⁵

The chronology of the Brihadratha dynasty (3128-2122 BCE):

	<i>Duration of Reign</i>	<i>In CE</i>
1. Somapī or Mārjālīya	58 years	3128-3070 BCE
2. Śrutaśravā	64 years	3070-3006 BCE
3. Apratipin	36 years	3006-2970 BCE
4. Nirāmitra	40 years	2970-2930 BCE
5. Sukritta	58 years	2930-2872 BCE
6. Bṛhatkarman	23 years	2872-2849 BCE

7.	Senajit	50 years	2849-2799 BCE
8.	Śrutañjaya	40 years	2799-2759 BCE
9.	Mahābala	35 years	2759-2724 BCE
10.	Śuchi	58 years	2724-2666 BCE
11.	Kṣema	28 years	2666-2638 BCE
12.	Anuvrata	64 years	2638-2574 BCE
13.	Dharmanetra	35 years	2574-2539 BCE
14.	Nirvṛti	58 years	2539-2481 BCE
15.	Suvrata	38 years	2481-2443 BCE
16.	Dṛḍhasena	58 years	2443-2385 BCE
17.	Sumati	33 years	2385-2352 BCE
18.	Suchala	22 years	2352-2330 BCE
19.	Sunetra	40 years	2330-2290 BCE
20.	Satyajit (His reign of 83 years was probably inclusive of the reign of his brother.)	83 years	2290-2207 BCE
21.	Vīrajit	35 years	2207-2172 BCE
22.	Ripuñjaya	50 years	2172-2122 BCE

Pulaka or Munika was the minister of the last king Ripuñjaya. He killed the king treacherously and placed his son Pradyota on the throne of Magadha. Thus, the Pradyota dynasty replaced the Brhadratha dynasty. According to the Purāṇas, five kings of the Pradyota dynasty ruled for 138 years.⁶

The chronology of the Pradyota dynasty (2122-1984 BCE):

		<i>Duration of Reign</i>	<i>In CE</i>
1.	Pradyota	23 years	2122-2099 BCE
2.	Pālaka	24 years	2099-2075 BCE
3.	Viśākhayūpa	50 years	2075-2025 BCE
4.	Janaka	21 years	2025-2004 BCE
5.	Nandivardhana	20 years	2004-1984 BCE

During the reign of Nandivardhana, Śiśunāga, the King of Kashi, conquered Magadha and founded the Śiśunāga dynasty. According to the Purāṇas, ten kings of the Śiśunāga dynasty ruled for 360 or 362 or 382 years.⁷

The chronology of the Śiśunāga dynasty (1984-1616 BCE):

		<i>Duration of Reign</i>	<i>In CE</i>
1.	Śiśunāga	40 years	1984-1944 BCE
2.	Kākavarna	36 years	1944-1908 BCE
3.	Kśemadharman	26 years	1908-1882 BCE
4.	Ajātaśatru	25 years	1882-1857 BCE
5.	Vidhisāra	38 years	1857-1819 BCE
6.	Kśatrapas	40 years	1819-1779 BCE
7.	Darbhaka or Darśaka	35 years	1779-1744 BCE
8.	Udayana or Udayin	33 years	1744-1711 BCE
9.	Nandivardhana	42 years	1711-1669 BCE
10.	Mahānandin	53 years	1669-1616 BCE

The last king of the Śiśunāga dynasty, Mahānandin had an illegitimate son named Mahāpadma Nanda who succeeded him and founded the rule of the Nanda dynasty. Mahāpadma Nanda had eight sons and Sumālyā was the eldest. In general, Mahāpadma Nanda and his eight sons were referred to as the nine Nandas. According to the Purāṇas, Mahapadma Nanda defeated all the kings of his time and established the mighty Magadha Empire. He was the first emperor who ruled almost over the whole of India after the Mahābhārata war. The Nanda dynasty ruled for 100 years.

The Matsya Purāṇa tells us that 1500 years elapsed from the birth of King Parīksit till the coronation of Mahāpadma Nanda and the *Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta* mentions that the Great Bear (*Saptarśis*) was in the Śravaṇa constellation during the reign of Nandas.

“Mahāpadmābhisekāttau yāvajjanma Parīksitah |
ekameva sahasrañtu jñeyam pañca-śatottaram |”⁸
“Śravaṇe te bhaviṣyanti kāle Nandasya bhūpateḥ ||”⁹

Considering the birth of king Parīksit in the same year of the Mahābhārata war i.e. 3128 BCE, 1500 years have elapsed as on 1628 BCE. The Great bear was in Maghā nakṣatra around 3176-3077 BCE and in Śravaṇa nakṣatra around 1676-1576 BCE. Only *Sumatitantra* tells us that the Nandas started ruling after 2000 years from the start of the Kaliyuga era (3102 BCE) but the Purāṇas completely differ from such chronology.

Considering the reign of 63 years, the last king of the Śiśunāga dynasty, Mahānandin died in 1616 BCE. Mahāpadma Nanda ascended the throne in 1616 BCE. Nine kings of the Nanda dynasty ruled for 100 years around 1616-1516 BCE. The legendary scholar Chanakya became the patron of Chandragupta, an illegitimate child of a Nanda king. He led Chandragupta to kill the last Nanda king and placed him on the throne of Magadha around 1516 BCE ending the tyranny of the Nanda dynasty; thus did Chandragupta come to found the rule of the Maurya dynasty.

According to one manuscript of the *Matsya Purāṇa* written in the Tamil grantha script and the *Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttanta*, 12 kings of the Maurya dynasty ruled for 300 years whereas the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* gives only 137 years. Actually, the Mauryan kingdom weakened after king Aśoka. Probably, the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* considered Mauryan rule only up to the Aśoka. Thus, the Maurya dynasty ruled for 300 years. As discussed in Chapter 7, Gautama Buddha possibly attained nirvāṇa in 1658 BCE considering the Aśoka mentioned in the Buddhist literature as a Maurya king. Buddhist chronicles like the *Dīpavamīśa*, *Mahāvamīśa* and *Samantapāsādikā* tell us that Aśoka was consecrated 218 years after the nirvāṇa of Buddha.

The chronology of the Maurya Dynasty (1516-1217 BCE):

	<i>Duration of Reign</i>	<i>In CE</i>
1. Chandragupta	34 years	1516-1482 BCE
2. Bindusāra or Bhadrasāra	28 years	1482-1454 BCE
3. Aśoka or Aśokavardhana	36 years	1454-1418 BCE
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aśoka's consecration in the 218th year after nirvāṇa of Buddha i.e. 1440 BCE. • The Third Buddhist Council was convened in the 18th year after Aśoka's consecration i.e. 1422 BCE. 	
4. Supārśva or Suyaśa	8 years	1418-1410 BCE
5. Daśaratha or Bandhupālita	8 years	1410-1402 BCE
6. Indrapālita	70 years	1402-1332 BCE
7. Harshavardhana	8 years	1332-1324 BCE

8.	Sangata	9 years	1324-1315 BCE
9.	Śāliśuka	13 years	1315-1302 BCE
10.	Soma Śarma or Deva Śarma	7 years	1302-1295 BCE
11.	Śatadhanvā	8 years	1295-1287 BCE
12.	Brihadratha or Brihadaśva	70 years	1287-1217 BCE

Puṣyamitra was probably the commander-in-chief of the last Maurya King Brihadratha. He forcibly took the reins of the Magadha Empire from Brihadratha and founded the rule of the Śuṅga dynasty around 1216 BCE. Patañjali authored the “*Mahābhāṣya*” a detailed commentary on Panini’s grammar during the reign of the Śuṅga king Puṣyamitra (*iha Puṣyamitram yājayāmaḥ*). According to the Purāṇas, ten kings of the Śuṅga dynasty ruled for 300 years.

The chronology of the Śuṅga dynasty (1216-916 BCE):

		<i>Duration of Reign</i>	<i>In CE</i>
1.	Puṣyamitra	60 years	1216-1156 BCE
2.	Agnimitra	50 years	1156-1106 BCE
3.	Vasumitra	36 years	1106-1070 BCE
4.	Sujyeṣṭha	17 years	1070-1053 BCE
5.	Bhadraka	30 years	1053-1023 BCE
6.	Pulindaka	33 years	1023-990 BCE
7.	Ghoṣāvasu	3 years	990-987 BCE
8.	Vajramitra	29 years	987-958 BCE
9.	Bhāgavata	32 years	958-926 BCE
10.	Devabhūti	10 years	926-916 BCE

Probably, a family of Mahāmeghavāhana belonging to the Cheti dynasty was reigning in Kalinga during the reign of the Śuṅga dynasty. The Hathigumpha inscription¹⁰ tells us that Khāravela, the descendant of Mahāmeghavāhana, was the lord of Kalinga. Thus, the date of Khāravela must be fixed around 1200 BCE. The last Śuṅga king Devabhūti was an incompetent ruler and addicted to unvirtuous ways from his childhood. His minister Vasudeva killed him and became the king of Magadha. Vasudeva was the descendant of the Kāṇvāyana gotra and founded the rule of the Kāṇva dynasty. According to the Purāṇas, four kings of the Kāṇva dynasty ruled for a period of 85 years.

The chronology of the Kāṇva dynasty (915-830 BCE):

		<i>Duration of Reign</i>	<i>In CE</i>
1.	Vasudeva	39 years	915-876 BCE
2.	Bhūmimitra	24 years	876-852 BCE
3.	Nārāyaṇa	12 years	852-840 BCE
4.	Suśarman	10 years	840-830 BCE

The Purāṇas tell us that Simuka or Siṁhaka ascended the throne of Magadha after overthrowing the last Kaṇva king Suśarman and founded the Śātavāhana dynasty. The early Śātavāhanas were feudatories of the Mauryan Empire as mentioned in a fragment of the 6th pillar edict of Aśoka. The Vāyu Purāṇa clearly states that the Great Bear was in Maghā constellation for a hundred years during the reign of king Parīkṣit around 3176-3077 BCE and will again be in the 24th nakṣatra constellation from Maghā (i.e. Chitrā nakṣatra) by the time of the start of the Āndhra (Śātavāhana) dynasty around 876-777 BCE.

*“Saptarṣayo Maghāyuktāḥ kāle Pārikṣite śatam ।
Āndhrāniśe sacaturvīṁśe bhavisyanti mate mama ||”¹¹*

Thus, Simuka founded the rule of the Śātavāhana dynasty around 830 BCE. One inscription at Naneghat mentions the king Simuka Śātavāhana and an inscription at the Nasik cave refers to the name of the 2nd king Kānha. Most probably, the inscriptions found in the cave of Naneghat¹² belong to the reign of the 5th Śātavāhana king Śri Śātakarṇi and the Nāgānikā mentioned in the inscriptions was his mother. Probably, Śri Śātakarṇi was also known as Vedi Śri Śātakarṇi. One coin found in the village Bālpur in Raipur District, Chattisgarh mentions the name of the 8th king Apīlaka or Apītaka. The name of the 13th king Kuntala Śātakarṇi was referred to in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* and Rājaśekhara's *Kātyayamīmāṃsa*. The 18th king Ariṣṭa Śātakarṇi and 19th king Hāla Śātakarṇi were contemporaries of the Śaka king Rudradāman.

Hāla was the most celebrated Śātavāhana king in literature. He was the author of *Gāthāsaptaśatī*. His name is mentioned in *Lilāvatī*, *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇī*, *Deśināmamālā*, etc. Guṇāḍhya, the famous author of *Vadda Kathā* (*Brhatkathā*), was in the court of king Hāla. Interestingly, Durvinīta, the king of the Gaṅga dynasty, translated the *Vadda Kathā* from the Paiśāchi dialect to Sanskrit in the 2nd century BCE. The 25th king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi was the last illustrious king of the Śātavāhana

dynasty. He defeated the Śaka kings and annexed their regions to his empire.

According to the *Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta*, there were 32 kings of the Śātavāhana dynasty and ruled for approximately 500 years. Interestingly, the *Vāyu Purāṇa* names only 19 kings but tells us that there were 30 kings. The *Matsya Purāṇa* also states that 19 kings ruled for 460 years but actually enumerates 31 kings and omits the name of the 9th King Meghaswāti and does not give the number of regnal years of Saumya Śātakarṇi. The individual reigns of 30 kings given by the *Matsya Purāṇa* adds up to a total of 493 years.¹³ It is likely that the people who were entrusted with the periodical updating of the Purāṇas committed these errors. It is clear that the *Matsya Purāṇa* and *Kaliyuga Rāja Vṛttānta* provide accurate and authentic information about the Śātavāhana dynasty and it can be concluded that 30 or 32 Śātavāhana kings ruled approximately for 493 years.

The chronology of the Śātavāhana dynasty (830-338 BCE):

		<i>Duration of Reign</i>	<i>In CE</i>
1.	Simuka or Simhaka	23 years	830-807 BCE
2.	Kṛṣṇa Śri Śātakarṇi or Kānha	18 years	807-789 BCE
3.	Śri Malla Śātakarṇi	10 years	789-779 BCE
4.	Pūrṇotsaṅga	18 years	779-761 BCE
5.	Śri Śātakarṇi	56 years	761-705 BCE
6.	Skandhastambhin	18 years	705-687 BCE
7.	Lambodara	18 years	687-669 BCE
8.	Apītaka or Apilaka	12 years	669-657 BCE
9.	Meghaswāti	18 years	657-639 BCE
10.	Śātaswāti	18 years	639-621 BCE
11.	Skanda Śātakarṇi	7 years	621-614 BCE
12.	Mṛgendra Śātakarṇi	11 years	614-603 BCE
13.	Kuntala Śātakarṇi	8 years	603-595 BCE
14.	Saumya Śātakarṇi	12 years	595-583 BCE
15.	Śāta Śātakarṇi	1 years	583-582 BCE
16.	Pulomān I	24 years	582-558 BCE
17.	Megha Śātakarṇi	38 years	558-520 BCE

18.	Ariṣṭa Śātakarṇi	25 years	520-495 BCE
19.	Hāla Śātavāhana	5 years	495-490 BCE
20.	Mandalaka	5 years	490-485 BCE
21.	Purīndrasena	12 years	485-473 BCE
22.	Sundara Śātakarṇi	1 year	472 BCE
23.	Chakora & Mahendra	1 year	471 BCE
24.	Śiva Śātakarṇi	28 years	470-442 BCE
25.	Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi	21 years	442-421 BCE
26.	Pulomān II	32 years	420-388 BCE
27.	Śivaśri Śātakarṇi	7 years	388-381 BCE
28.	Śivaskanda Śātakarṇi	7 years	381-374 BCE
29.	Yajñaśri Śātakarṇi	19 years	374-355 BCE
30.	Vijayaśri Śātakarṇi	6 years	354-348 BCE
31.	Chandraśri Śātakarṇi	3 years	348-346 BCE
32.	Pulomān III	7 years	345-338 BCE

As discussed in Chapter 4, Chandragupta I, the commander-in-chief (*Senādhyakṣa*) of the Śātavāhanas, killed the 31st Śātavāhana King Chandraśri Śātakarṇi and became the guardian of his minor son Pulomān III. Thus, Chandragupta I took control over the Magadha Empire, killed the minor king Pulomān III later on and founded the rule of the Gupta dynasty in 338 BCE. Chandragupta I shifted the capital of the Magadha Empire from Girivraja or Rajagṛha to Pātaliputra and anointed himself as “Mahārājādhirāja” and founded the Gupta era in 335 BCE.

The Chronology of Ancient Kashmir

Kashmir had a great tradition of recording history since ancient times. Presently, Kalhaṇa’s *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* is the most significant source for the history of ancient Kashmir. Kalhaṇa himself states that he studied the *Nilamata Purāṇa* and the records of eleven chroniclers. He refers to Suvrata’s *Rājakathā*, Kṣemendra’s *Nṛpāvalī*, Helārāja’s *Pārthivāvalī*, etc. and although he appears to have sincerely attempted to correct the errors in the records of the authentic history of Kashmir, he could not avoid a few inaccuracies in his presentation. Nevertheless, the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* is a goldmine of information about the history of ancient Kashmir.

Interestingly, we find the following two contradictory statements

in the first chapter of *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*.

1st Taraṅga - Verse 49-51¹⁴

“It is incorrect to say that the Mahābhārata war took place at the end of the Dvāpara Yuga. Actually, the Kurus and Pāndavas ruled after 653 years elapsed from the epoch of Kaliyuga (3102 BCE) i.e. 2448 BCE.”

1st Taraṅga - Verse 56¹⁵

“The Great Bear (Saptarsis) was in Maghā constellation during the reign of Yudhiṣṭhira i.e. 3176-3077 BCE and if we add 2526 years to the Śaka era we get the epoch of the Yudhiṣṭhira era.”

That the Mahābhārata war occurred around 2448 BCE is contrary to the evidence given that of the Great Bear being in Maghā constellation during the reign of Yudhiṣṭhira. The Great Bear was in Maghā constellation around 3176-3076 BCE and not around 2448 BCE. It seems that the statement of the occurrence of the Mahābhārata war around 2448 BCE was inserted in *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* during the 15th and 16th centuries when it was updated.

Indians almost forgot the epoch of the coronation of the Śaka king (583 BCE) and knew only the epoch of the death of the Śaka king (78 CE) by the 11th century CE. Some scholars also were confused with the statement of Vṛddha Garga i.e. “add 2526 years to the Śaka era (583 BCE) to get the epoch of the Yudhiṣṭhira era” and calculated back 2526 years from the Śālivāhana era (78 CE) to arrive at the date of Yudhiṣṭhira in 2448 BCE.

Indians forgot the different epochs of the Śaka era and the Śālivāhana era by the 11th century CE. As discussed in Chapter 2, the Śaka era commenced in 583 BCE whereas the Śālivāhana era commenced in 78 CE. Kalhaṇa mentions that 1070 years had elapsed in the Śaka era at the time of his writing. Historians mistakenly believed in the one epoch of 78 CE and concluded that Kalhaṇa flourished around 1148 CE. Actually, Kalhaṇa wrote *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* in Śaka 1070 elapsed (487-488 CE) and not in Śālivāhana 1070 (1148 CE). Thus, Kalhaṇa flourished in the 5th century CE and not in the 12th century CE.

Kalhaṇa covered the history of Kashmir from 3147 BCE to 449 CE, a total period of 3596 years. He ends the history of ancient Kashmir when king Simhadeva completes his 22nd regnal year in the 25th year of the

Laukika era i.e. 449 CE (*Samādvāvīṁśatī rajyāvāpteh prāgbhūbhujogatāḥ | Tavatyevāpta-rājasya pañcavīṁśati-vatsare ||*).¹⁶ He states that Gonanda III lived 2330 years before the reign of Siṁhadeva (449 CE) i.e. 1881 BCE (*Prāyastritīya-Gonandādārabhya śaradām tadā | dve sahasre gate triṁśadadhikam ca śatatravam ||*)¹⁷ and 52 kings reigned for 1266 years prior to Gonanda III i.e. starting from 3147 BCE (*Varṣāṇām dvādaśaśatī ṣaṣṭilī ṣaḍbhiśca sāniyatā | Bhūbhujām kālasaṅkhyāyām tadvāpañcāśato matā ||*).¹⁸

Kalhaṇa's chronology of 3596 years is only indicative in nature as he could not provide the duration of the reign of some kings. Kalhaṇa states that Jarāsandha, the king of Magadha requested help from Gonanda I during the conflict with Mathura and Gonanda I seized Matura with his massive forces.

“*Sāḥāyakārthamāhūto Jarāsandhena Bandhunā |
Sa samirurodhā kaṁsārer Mathurām pr̥thubhirbalaiḥ ||*”¹⁹

It is evident that Gonanda I was a contemporary of Jarāsandha of the Br̥hadhratha dynasty and Kaṇsa of the Mathura kingdom. According to the Purāṇas, Jarāsandha's son Sahadeva was the king of Magadha and died in the Mahābhārata war. As discussed earlier, the Mahābhārata war quite likely occurred around 3128 BCE and Jarāsandha's grandson Somapī became the king of Magadha after the Mahābhārata war. Thus, the time of Gonanda I and Jarāsandha can be fixed around 3175-3140 BCE.

It is difficult to reconstruct the chronology of ancient Kashmir prior to the reign of the Karkoṭa dynasty given by Kalhaṇa because there is no epigraphic or literary evidence available to fix certain dates. Undoubtedly the kings mentioned by Kalhaṇa were the real rulers of Kashmir but the chronology needs further research. However, we can fix certain historical events. Kalhaṇa states that three Turuṣka kings namely Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka ruled Kashmir and founded three cities named Huṣkapura, Juṣkapura and Kaniṣkapura. He also states that 150 years have elapsed from the Mahāparinirvāṇa of Buddha during the reign of these three kings.

“*Tadā Bhagavataḥ Śākyasimhasya parinirvṛteḥ |
asmin mahilokadhātāu sārdham varṣaśatam hyagāt ||*”²⁰

As discussed in Chapter 7, Buddha likely attained Mahāparinirvāṇa around 2134-2133 BCE considering the Aśoka mentioned in the Buddhist literature as a Kashmir king. According to ancient Buddhist sources, the Kashmir king Aśoka ascended the throne 100 years after the date of nirvāṇa of Buddha and Kalhaṇa tells us that Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka began their reign 150 years after the date of nirvāṇa of Buddha.

In CE

The birth of Buddha	2214-2213 BCE
The Mahāparinirvāṇa of Buddha	2134-2133 BCE
Aśoka	2034-2000 BCE
Jaloka	2000-1990 BCE
Dāmodara II	1990-1984 BCE
Huṣka	1984-1960 BCE
Juṣka	1960-1950 BCE
Kaniṣka	1950-1910 BCE
Abhimanyu	1910-1881 BCE
Gonanda III	1881 BCE

Modern historians refer to the king Kaniṣka as Kuṣāṇa but Kalhaṇa refers to them as the descendants of Turuṣka dynasty (*Te Turuṣkānvayodbhūtāḥ*).²¹ Interestingly, Alberuni records that Hindus had Turk kings residing in Kabul who were said to be of Tibetan origin. Barhatkin was the first king and more than sixty generations ruled under the title of Shahiya of Kabul.²² Most probably Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka were Turuṣka kings of Tibetan origin. According to Kalhaṇa, they patronised Buddhism and constructed Buddhist monasteries.

We also learn from Kalhaṇa that when Hiranya, the king of Kashmir died issueless, the ministers reported the matter to their emperor Vikramāditya of Ujjain., also known as Harsha,²³ with a plea to choose a fitting successor. Vikramāditya contemplated a whole night as to who would be the most appropriate person to sit on the throne of Kashmir and finally named Māṭṛgupta, the learned poet and administrator as the right candidate and thus did Māṭṛgupta become the king of Kashmir and went on to rule for five years. As it is an established fact that Vikramāditya, also known as Harsha flourished in the 1st century BCE

and appointed Māṭrgupta as king of Kashmir in the last decade of his life, the period of Māṭrgupta can be fixed at the end of 1st century BCE.

The chronology of the Karkota dynasty and the later Kashmir kings given by Kalhaṇa can be an authentic historical account because it covers only a period of 500 years before his lifetime. I have reconstructed the chronology of the Karkota dynasty and the later Kashmir kings based on the following historical facts.

- Lalitāditya Muktapīda was the contemporary (probably, senior contemporary) of Kānyakubja king of Yaśovarman (30-91 CE).
- Kalhaṇa mentions that Ajitapīda, the king of the Karkota dynasty reigned in the year 89 of the Laukika era (*Ekonanavate varṣe*).²⁴
- King Yaśaskara died on the 3rd tithi of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada month in the 24th year of the Laukika era i.e. 24th Aug 248 CE.²⁵
- Parvagupta ascended the throne on the 10th tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna month in the 24th year of the Laukika era i.e. 24th Feb 249 CE and died on the 13th tithi of the dark fortnight of Āṣāḍha month in the 26th year of the Laukika era i.e. 15th Jun 250 CE.²⁶
- Kśemagupta died on the 9th tithi of the bright fortnight of Pauṣa month in the 34th year of the Laukika era i.e. 21st Dec 258 CE.²⁷
- Tribhuvanagupta became king on the 12th tithi of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśirṣa month in the 49th year of the Laukika era i.e. 9th Nov 273 CE and died on the 5th tithi of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśirṣa month in the 51st year of the Laukika era i.e. 10th Nov 275 CE.²⁸
- Diddā ascended the throne in the 56th year of the Laukika era i.e. 280 CE and died on the 8th tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada month in the 79th year of the Laukika era i.e. 7th Aug 303 CE.²⁹
- Harirāja ascended the throne on the 1st tithi of the bright fortnight of Āṣāḍha month in the 4th year of the Laukika era i.e. 26th May 328 CE.³⁰

- Kśemendra writes in the colophon to the “*Samayamātrikā*” that he completed that work during the reign of Ananta in the 25th year of the Laukika era.
- Bilhaṇa, the author of *Vikramāñkadevacaritam*, mentions three Kashmir kings namely Anantadeva, Kalaśa and Harshadeva and that he left Kashmir in the reign of king Kalaśa. He was in Vārāṇasī where the Chedi king Karṇa was ruling (389-419 CE) and when he reached Dhārā, he was extremely distraught on learning of the demise of the great king Bhoja (around 394 CE).
- Harshadeva died on the 5th tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada month in the 77th year of the Laukika era i.e. 31st July 401 CE.³¹

The Chronology of Later Kashmir kings (99 BCE to 449 CE):

		Duration			In CE
		Y	M	D	
Karkoṭa Dynasty (4th Taraṅga)					
1.	Durlabhavardhana	36	0	0	15-10-99 BCE to 14-10-63 BCE
2.	Pratāpāditya	50	0	0	15-10-63 BCE to 14-10-13 BCE
3.	Vajrāditya I or Chandrāpīḍa	8	8	0	15-10-13 BCE to 14-5-4 BCE
4.	Tārāpīḍa	4	0	24	15-5-4 BCE to 7-6-00
5.	Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa	36	7	11	8-6-00 to 18-1-36
6.	Kuvalayāpīḍa	1	0	15	19-1-36 to 2-2-37
7.	Vajrāditya II or Vappiyaka or Lalitāditya II	7	0	0	3-2-37 to 2-2-44
8.	Pṛthivyāpīḍa I	4	1	0	3-2-44 to 2-3-48
9.	Saṅgrāmapīḍa I	0	0	7	3-3-48 to 9-3-48
10.	Jayāpīḍa (together with usurpation of Jajja)	31	0	0	10-3-52 to 9-3-83
11.	Lalitāpīḍa	12	0	0	10-3-83 to 9-3-95
12.	Saṅgrāmapīḍa II or Pṛthivyāpīḍa II	7	0	0	10-3-95 to 9-3-102
13.	Chippaṭa Jayāpīḍa or Br̥haspati	12	0	0	10-3-102 to 9-3-114
14.	Ajitaṭa	36	0	0	10-3-114 to 9-3-150
15.	Anaṅgapīḍa	3	0	0	10-3-150 to 9-3-153
16.	Utpalāpīḍa	3	0	0	10-3-153 to 9-3-156
Utpala Dynasty (5th Taraṅga)					
1.	Avantivarmā	28	0	0	10-3-156 to 9-3-184

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2.	Śāṅkaravarmā	18	8	4	10-3-184 to 14-11-202
3.	Gopālavarmā	2	0	0	15-11-202 to 14-11-204
4.	Saṅkaṭa	0	0	10	15-11-204 to 24-11-204
5.	Sugandha	2	0	0	25-11-204 to 24-11-206
6.	Pārtha	15	10	0	25-11-206 to 24-8-222
7.	Nirjītavarmā	1	1	0	25-8-222 to 24-9-223
8.	Chakravarmā	10	0	0	25-9-223 to 24-9-233
9.	Śūrvarmā	1	0	0	25-9-233 to 24-9-234
10.	Pārtha (2 nd time)	1	0	0	25-9-234 to 24-9-235
11.	Chakravarmā (2 nd time)	0	6	0	25-9-235 to 24-3-236
12.	Śambhuvardhana & Chakravarmā (3 rd time)	1	5	0	25-3-236 to 24-8-237
13.	Unmattavanti	2	0	0	25-8-237 to 24-8-239

Brāhmaṇa Dynasty (6th Taraṅga)

1.	Yaśaskara	9	0	0	25-8-239 to 24-8-248
2.	Varṇāṭa	0	1	0	25-8-248 to 24-9-248
3.	Saṅgrāma I	0	5	0	25-8-248 to 23-2-249

Parvagupta Dynasty (6th Taraṅga)

1.	Parvagupta	1	4	0	24-2-249 to 15-6-250
2.	Kśemagupta	8	6	0	16-6-250 to 21-12-258
3.	Abhimanyu	13	10	0	22-12-258 to 21-10-272
4.	Nandigupta	1	1	0	22-10-272 to 8-11-273
5.	Tribhuvanagupta	2	0	0	9-11-273 to 10-11-275
6.	Bhīmagupta	5	0	0	11-11-275 to 10-11-280
7.	Diddā	23	0	0	11-11-280 to 9-8-303

Udayarāja dynasty (7th Taraṅga)

1.	Saṅgrāmarāja	24	10	0	10-8-303 to 25-5-328
2.	Harirāja	0	0	22	26-5-328 to 16-6-328
3.	Anantadeva	35	1	5	17-6-328 to 21-7-363
4.	Kalaśa or Raṇāditya II	26	4	0	22-7-363 to 21-11-389
5.	Utkarṣa	0	0	22	22-11-389 to 13-12-389
6.	Harshadeva	11	7	18	14-12-389 to 31-7-401

Kāntirāja Dynasty (8th Taraṅga)

1.	Uchchala	-	-	-	401-411
2.	Śāṅkharāja	-	-	-	411 (for very short period)
3.	Sussala (1 st time)	-	-	-	
4.	Bhikṣāchara (Harshadeva's great grandson)	-	6	-	412-427
5.	Sussala (2 nd time)	-	-	-	
6.	Simhadeva (completed his 22 regnal years)	22	-	-	427-449

The Kashmir kings were great patrons of Sanskrit literature. The famous poets Dāmodaragupta, Udbhaṭa Bhaṭṭa, Manoratha, Śaṅkhadatta, Chataka and Sandhimat were in the court of Jayāpīda (52-83 CE). King Avantivarmā (156-184 CE) was the patron of Ānandavardhana and Ratnākara. The great engineer named Suyya was the minister of King Avantivarman. He founded the city of Suyyapura (Sopore). Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, the author of *Nyāyamañjari*, refers to the king Śaṅkaravarmā (184-202 CE). Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's son Abhinanda wrote the *Yogavāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa* that contains a laudatory reference to the king Yaśaskara of Kashmir (239-248 CE). Abhinanda versified Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Kādāmbībarī*, also known as *Kādāmbīkathāsāra*. The *Kathāsaritsāgara*, the largest collection of stories in the world and twice as long as the Iliad and Odyssey put together, was written by Somadeva for the edification of Rājñī Sūryamatī, the wife of King Anantadeva (328-363 CE). Kśemendra, the famous author of the *Bṛhatkathāmañjari*, was the senior contemporary of Somadeva. Kśemendra also wrote "Samayamātrikā" during the reign of Ananta in the 25th year of the Laukika era i.e. 349 CE.

Kalhaṇa, the son of Champakaprabhu, wrote *Rājatarangiṇī* in 8 Taraṅgas (chapters) containing 7783 verses in the year 1070 (487 CE) of the epoch of the coronation of the Śaka king. He covered approximately 3596 years of the history of Kashmir from 3147 BCE to 449 CE or from the time of King Gonanda I to the 22nd regnal year of king Simhadeva. He narrates the history of 3450 years from the Mahābhārata era to 303 CE in just 2645 verses whereas he covers the detailed history of 146 years from 303 CE to 449 CE in 5135 verses. According to Kalhaṇa, Rāni Diddā died on 9th Aug 303 CE. She had two brothers named Udayarāja and Kāntirāja. Kalhaṇa provided the history of the descendants of Udayarāja who ruled from 303 CE to 401 CE in the 7th Taraṅga containing 1732 verses whereas he covers the history of the descendants of Kāntirāja from 401 CE to 449 CE in the 8th Taraṅga containing 3406 verses. Evidently, he was an eyewitness to a majority of the historical events narrated in the 8th Taraṅga.

Almost a 1000 years after the time of Kalhaṇa, Jonarāja wrote "*Rājāvalī*" or the 2nd *Rājatarangiṇī* in 1334 verses covering the history of

Kashmir from 1154 CE to 1412 CE. Jonarāja died in the 35th year of the Laukika era i.e. 1459 CE and his pupil Śrivara Pandita wrote “*Jainarājatarāṅgiṇī*” or 3rd*Rājatarāṅgiṇī* in four Taraṅgas containing 2249 verses covering the history of the period 1412 CE to 1477 CE. Later, Prājyabhaṭṭa and Śuka authored “*Rājāvalipitaka*” or the 4th*Rājatarāṅgiṇī* in 950 verses covering the history of the period 1477 CE till the time of the conquest of Kashmir by the Mughal king Akbar. Prājyabhaṭṭa recorded the historical account up to the year 89 of the Laukika era i.e. 1513 CE and Śuka has completed it up to the conquest of Kashmir by Akbar.

The historical account given by Jonarāja, Śrivara, Prājyabhaṭṭa and Śuka is mostly about the Muslim rulers. Jonarāja describes the reign of the last Hindu kings from 1154 CE to 1338 CE and briefly touches fifteen Hindu Kings in only 348 verses out of a total of 1334 verses comprising his chronicle.

We learn that the Muslim ruler Zain-ul-Abdin asked Śriyyabhaṭṭa, his Chief of all the courts of Justice, to write the history of the Kashmir kings from where Kalhaṇa had left off. Śriyyabhaṭṭa, in turn, selected Jonarāja for this work. Jonarāja was an admirer of Zain-ul-Abdin because he got justice in his favour in a land dispute. Jonarāja’s main duty was to not only record the detailed historical account of the Muslim Rulers and King Zain-ul-abdin but also to justify the Muslim rulers as Kṣatriyas. He states that Shah Mir, the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir, was a Kṣatriya descended from Arjuna whose ancestors had taken up Islam.

Jonarāja was not a historian like Kalhaṇa who studied various chronicles to present the chronology of the kings of Kashmir. By his time, only the epoch of the death of Śaka king (78 CE) which is also known as the Śālivāhana era was known. Thus, Jonarāja ignorantly believed that Kalhaṇa lived in 1148 CE and picked up the thread from 1148 CE to ensure continuity in his chronicle. Kalhaṇa ends his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* with the statement that King Simhadeva was ruling in the 25th year of the Laukika era. Jonarāja mistakenly identified King Jayasimhadeva of the 12th century CE as Simhadeva of the 5th century CE. In fact, Jayasimhadeva ascended the throne in 1136 CE and died on the 12th tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna month in the year 30 of

the Laukika era i.e. 12th March 1154 CE.³² Thus, Jayasimhadeva completed only 18 or 19 regnal years whereas Simhadeva completed his 22nd regnal year in the 25th year of the Laukika era. Jonarāja presented the following chronology of the later kings of Kashmir.

	<i>In CE</i>
1. Jayasimha	1154 CE
2. Paramāñuka	1154-1164 CE
3. Varttideva	1164-1171 CE
4. Vopyadeva	1171-1180 CE
5. Jassaka	1180-1198 CE
6. Jagaddeva	1198-1213 CE
7. Rājadeva	1213-1236 CE
8. Saṅgrāmadeva	1236-1252 CE
9. Rāmadeva	1252-1273 CE
10. Lakśmaṇadeva	1273-1286 CE
11. Simhadeva	1286-1301 CE
12. Suhadeva or Rāmachandra	1301-1320 CE
13. Riñchana	1320-1323 CE
14. Udyānadeva	1323-1338 CE
15. Kotarāni	1338-1339 CE

The last Kashmir ruler, Queen Kotarāni fought against all odds but the wicked Shah Mir compelled her to marry him. Finally, she gave up her fight and committed suicide by consuming poison on the 10th tithi of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa month in the 15th year of the Laukika era i.e. 16th July 1339 CE.³³ Thus, Shah Mir became the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir in 1339 CE.

Kalhaṇa started his chronology of Kashmir from the Mahābhārata era (32nd century BCE) because none of the Kashmiri Hindu sources or other Hindu sources mentioned that the Mahābhārata war occurred in the 653rd year of Kaliyuga. It seems that either Jonarāja or later scholars might have inserted the verses 49, 50 & 51 into the 1st Taraṅga of *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. Verse 56 was originally written by Vriddha Garga as

referred by Varāhamihira. It is intriguing how Kalhaṇa incorporated verse 56 in his work without referring to the author and also quoted irrelevantly. It would have been more appropriate to place verse 56 at 53 of the 1st Taraṅga.

It is also evident that someone has edited verse 52 and replaced the phrase “*Laukikebde catusśaṣṭhe*” or “*Laukikebde catusśaṣṭhyām*” with “*Laukikebde caturvīṁśe*” because Śālivāhana 1070 (1148 CE) should be the 24th year in the Laukika era. Kalhaṇa clearly mentions that king Śimhadeva completed his 22nd regnal year in the 25th year of the Laukika era³⁴ which means he wrote *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* after the 25th year of the Laukika era. Thus, it is wrong to say that the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* was written in the 24th year of the Laukika era. In fact, Kalhaṇa completed his work in Saka 1070 (487 CE) and in the 64th year of the Laukika era. We need to refer to the original and unedited manuscripts to confirm the authenticity of the text.

It is also evident that a later scholar wrote the 44 verses at the end of the 8th Taraṅga summarising the list of the kings of Kashmir. It is likely that a South Indian scholar wrote these verses because he compares the Taraṅgas of *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* with the waves of the Godāvarī River. Certainly, a Kashmiri poet such as Kalhaṇa would not have compared them with the Godāvarī.

Now the question that arises is: if Kalhaṇa had written the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* in 487 CE what, then, was the history of Kashmir from 487 CE to 1154 CE? The most acceptable answer is that the 34 kings listed in *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* written in the Persian language by Mulla Ahmad Malik ruled during the early medieval period. Interestingly, Maulvi Hassan Shah (1832-1898 CE), the compiler of *Tarikh-i-Hassan Kashmir*, whose seventh ancestor was a Kashmiri Pandit named Ganesh Kaul, was a distinguished scholar in Persian and Arabic learning. He got a copy of *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* written by Mulla Ahmad of the 15th century CE during his visit to Rawalpindi.

Interestingly, during the reign of Zain-ul-Abdin (1418-1470 CE), a search for old Sanskrit works was launched so that an updated version of the history of Kashmir could be brought out in the Persian language and the job was entrusted to the court poet, Mulla Ahmad Malik. It was

a difficult job because the foolish and barbaric rulers of the Shah Mir dynasty had destroyed all the old books of the Hindus in 14th century CE. At that time, Mulla Ahmad had the names of 15 different *Rājatarāṅgiṇīs* but only those of Kalhaṇa, Kśemendra, Wachhulakar and Padmamihira could be traced. A few years later, some birch bark leaves of a *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* written by Pandit Ratnākar were found by Mulla Ahmad with the help of Prāja Pandit. The work of Ratnakara contained a list of 35 unknown kings and also 7 unknown kings who ruled over Kashmir. Mulla Ahmad had translated Ratnakara's work into Persian, a copy of which was found by Hassan Shah in Rawalpindi.³⁵

Hassan Shah claimed that he had borrowed the accounts of the 35 forgotten kings of Kashmir from the translation of Mulla Ahmad. It is surprising that the author of the *Nilamata Purāṇa* of ancient times and Kalhaṇa, who flourished at least 1000 years before Mulla Ahmad, could not unearth the names of the 35 forgotten kings who flourished between King Gonanda II and King Lava but Mulla Ahmed of the 15th century CE could discover them. Undoubtedly, Pandit Ratnakara lived much after Kalhaṇa.

It is very likely that Mulla Ahmad came by a list of the later kings who ruled in the early medieval period but could not accommodate them in the chronology because the date of Kalhaṇa was erroneously fixed in the 12th century CE. Therefore, Mulla Ahmad erroneously placed the following 22 names of the later kings of Kashmir between King Gonanda II and King Lava.³⁶

1. Harnadeva
2. Rāmadeva
3. Vyāsadeva
4. Darnadeva
5. Simhadeva
6. Gopāladeva
7. Vijayananda
8. Sukhadeva
9. Rāmānanda
10. Sandhiman

11. Marahandeva and his brother Kamandeva
12. Chandradeva
13. Ānandadeva
14. Dr̥ptadeva
15. Harnamdeva
16. Sulkandeva
17. Sanya Dut
18. Maṅgala Dut
19. Kśemendra
20. Bhīmasena
21. Indrasena
22. Sundarasena

Again, the following 12 names of later Kashmiri kings were placed between King Sachinara or Sapanji Nar and King Aśoka.

1. Galkander
2. Baladeva
3. Nalsena
4. Gokarṇa
5. Prahlada
6. Wazir Bambro
7. Pratapaśīla
8. Saṅgramachandra
9. Alarak Chandra
10. Beramchandra
11. Raja Bibikhan
12. Bhagavanta

Kashmiris say that kings belonging to the so-called Pāndava dynasty (the real name of the dynasty is not known) ruled over Kashmir for a long time and most of the historians are also in agreement with this. The proof of the kingdom of this dynasty is provided by archaeological finds which still exist in Kashmir. Most probably, the first 22 or 23 kings

belonged to the so-called Pāndava dynasty and ruled over Kashmir between 487 CE to 1154 CE. The ruins on the Martand Plateau are popularly called “Pandav-Lar” or the building of the Pāndavas which was built by Rāmadeva, one of the descendants of the Pāndava dynasty. Interestingly, Nalsena in the Kashmiri language is synonymous with a person of abominable character and fittingly enough, it appears that King Nalsena was a cruel and oppressive king. “Lolare Bambro” is a favourite love song among the Kashmiris because the King Bambro fell madly in love with a woman named “Lolare”. Himal Nagi-Arjuna is also a popular love story in Kashmir.³⁷

Mulla Ahmad also mentions seven more unknown kings of Kashmir named Tunjina, Sarabsena, Gandharvasena, Lachman, Surak, Vajrāditya and Vainyāditya or Vinayāditya and placed them along with Rāṇāditya who ruled for 300 years as stated by Kalhaṇa. It is evident that Mulla Ahmad collected the names of the later Kashmir kings of the early medieval period from Ratnākara’s work and erroneously filled the gaps in the chronology given by Kalhaṇa. The works of Ratnākara and Mulla Ahmad are now lost but undoubtedly, the 22 or 23 kings of the Pāndava dynasty, 12 kings starting from Galkander, Baldeva, Nalsena, Bambro etc. and 7 kings from Tunjina to Vinayaditya flourished during the period of 487 CE to 1154 CE. There is a need for serious research to determine the exact dates of these so-called unknown kings of Kashmir.

In fact, many Persian scholars wrote the history of Kashmir but a record of extant Persian histories preserved in the Research and Publication Department of Jammu & Kashmir State, Srinagar, lists only seventeen works in manuscript form. The earliest among these is *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* of Sayyid Ali (1579 CE) and the most recent is *Tarikh-i-Kabir* of Ghulam Mohiuddin (1900 CE). Recently, Kashi Nath Pandit translated a Persian manuscript “*Baharistan-i-Shāhi*” written by an anonymous author. *Baharistan-i-Shāhi* is a political history of medieval Kashmir and mentions some unknown kings like Vinayāditya and Rāmadeva and certain unknown historical events of early medieval Kashmir. The translation of Kashi Nath Pandit provides glimpses of the history of early mediaeval Kashmir thus:

King Vinayāditya and his successors:

"His grandson Vinayāditya proceeded to conquer foreign lands and captured many cities; at last he came to a city in the East whose king was made to fear Vinayāditya; he consulted his ministers and nobles to seek their opinion in this matter. His senior ministers submitted to him that Ratnatir was a mighty king and they could not stand against him in battle. His chief minister told him that it was difficult to repel his attack. But now that the king had asked for his counsel, he would advise him to surrender to Vinayāditya. This would enrage him and he would order that his nose be chopped off which would be followed by his expulsion from the city. After his nose would be chopped off and following his expulsion [from the city], he would join the enemy and devise some plan of destroying him.

When the enemy came to know of the minister's affairs and the news reached Vinayāditya, he made him his associate in conquering the neighbouring lands. The crafty minister, full of deceit and guile as he was, led Vinayāditya to a route where no water was available for ten to twelve days [of their journey], and a fairly large number of his men and beasts perished. Seeing through the deceit and craftiness of the minister, Vinayāditya asked him what his objective was in [doing this]. The minister told him that he wanted to get rid of him so that the country of his king was spared the scourge that he was. When Vinayāditya heard this, he gave him a robe of honour and other rewards and also extended favour to his king.

Vinayāditya then proceeded to the countries of Kesh and Bahrain where he met a disastrous defeat resulting in a heavy loss of men and material. Along with a handful of his followers, the king fell into the hands of the king of Bahrain who placed them all in the custody of his mother, so that she could keep an eye on them. One day Vinayāditya threatened her with dire consequences for her son. Completely bewildered, she asked him how his capacity for retaliation had grown during his captivity.

Meanwhile, there blew a strong gale and he, as well as the mother of the king, embarked for Mabar (Malabar). In that place there was a man-eater and the king found himself unable to kill it. Vinayāditya put

his left hand into the jaw of the lion and with his right hand rent it asunder, which surprised the king of Mabar. He summoned him to his presence and bestowed upon him robes of honour and other rewards and gave him his daughter in marriage. A large contingent of troops was despatched under his command to conquer the country of Pars. He brought those lands under his sway and totally subjugated their people. Then he went back to Kashmir to continue with his rule over that land..... Here the king reigned for seventy years. Then he handed over the reins of government to his son named Bardanatant. The kingship then passed on to Kashshil, and then to Rama Chand, and after his death to Onta Dev."

King Ram Dev and his successors:

"During his days, there lived a king in India named Shri — who had a giant-like physique. He attacked the king of Kashmir, killed him and occupied his country. He [Shri] ruled for a hundred years. Towards the end [of his reign], he was attacked by Shri [Shir?] Akramadit, who wrested the city of Kashmir from him. He (Shri) was killed, leaving behind his minor daughter and son, who fled to a foreign country. For many years they lived in the hollow of a tree. In due course of time their progeny increased numerically. When asked about their antecedents, they said that they were the offspring of the tree. They also said that formerly there lived a king in India by the name of Shri Harsha Dev, who had given Kashmir to their ancestors. They then attended to the task of developing Kashmir. He and his descendants reigned for three hundred years. They were followed by the aforesaid Shri Akramadit. Then came Rama, the paternal uncle of Shiv Dev. He was attacked by the Mongol army. Under the orders of Qaan (Predecessor of Changhis Khan?), the commander of the troops [of Qaan] besieged the city of Kashmir and plundered its people. Ram Dev fled away on horseback with the enemy in hot pursuit but managed to escape by jumping into a river and swimming across to safety.

The Mongols stayed on in Kashmir for six months, plundering and pillaging and finally, when they returned to their native land, Ram Dev re-entered Kashmir. He gained control over the kingdom, defeated the Mongols, and later on raised an army. When Miku Qaan (Predecessor

of Changhis Khan?) came to know of it, he sent his troops under the command of Salinuyan to deal with Ram Dev. The city of Kashmir was once again attacked and its elders put to the sword or taken prisoner. After Ram Dev's death, his brother, Laxma (Laxman) Dev, ascended the throne on the orders of Miku Qaan and Hulagu Qaan.

Laxman Dev died in A.H. 531 (A.D. 1136), and was succeeded by Zeyeh Sehm Dev (Jayasimha Deva) as the lord of Kashmir. During his reign in A. H. 535 (A.D. 1140), Malla Chand, Raja of Nagarkot, came to Kashmir and after aligning himself with Zeyeh Sehm Dev, requested him to make him the commander of his troops. Zeyeh Sehm Dev reigned for about twenty-seven years and died in A. H. 555 (A.D. 1160). He was succeeded by his son Parmat Dev who reigned for nine years and six months till he died in A. H. 568 (A.D. 1172) and was succeeded by his son Vanta Dev, who reigned for nine years and two days till his death in A.H. 577 (A.D. 1181) when his son Bupeh (Vupeh) Dev succeeded him and remained in power for nine years, four months and two days till his death in A.H. 586 (A.D. 1190) and was followed by his son Zaseh Dev, who reigned for eighteen years and thirteen days until his death in A.H. 604 (A.D. 1208) leaving his son Zageh Dev to ascend the throne and rule for fourteen years and two months till his death in A.H. 618 (A. D. 1221) when he was succeeded by his son Razeh Dev.

During the days of Razeh Dev, Gaga Chand, a descendant of the house of the Chandas became the commander of his troops. While the earlier rulers of Kashmir had confined themselves to the territories of Kashmir and did not venture out to annex adjoining lands, Razeh Dev, on the advice of Gaga Chand, the commander of his troops subjugated and annexed the areas adjoining the kingdom of Kashmir; Gaga Chand built the fort of Gagangir in the pargana of Lar. Razeh Dev's reign lasted twenty-three years, three months and twenty-nine days till his death in A.H. 641 (A.D. 1243), and was succeeded by his son Sangram Dev, during whose reign, Balad Chand, the son of Gaga Chand assumed command of his army and founded the locality of Bardi Mar in the city. When Sangram Dev constructed the town of Bejeh Belareh, Balad Chand founded Chandpuryar in that town.

Sangram Dev's reign lasted sixteen years till his death in A.H. 657 (A.D. 1258); his son Ram Dev succeeded him and ruled for twenty-one years, one month and twelve days till his death in A.H. 678 (A.D. 1279) and was succeeded by his son Lachman Dev who ruled for thirteen years, three months and twelve days. The command of his troops was in the hands of Balad Chand's son Sangram Chand. In A.H. 691 (A.D. 1293), Lachman Dev breathed his last and was succeeded by his son Simha Dev who reigned for fourteen years and six months and died in A.H. 705 (A.D. 1305). Then came his son Suh Dev who ruled for nineteen years, three months and twenty-five days. Their commander was Rama Chand the son of Sangram Chand.”³⁸

Let us compare the genealogy and chronology of the later kings of Kashmir (1100-1300 CE) given by the *Baharistan-i-Shāhi* and the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of Jonarāja.

	<i>Baharistan-i-Shāhi</i>	<i>In CE</i>	<i>Jonarāja</i>	<i>In CE</i>
1.	Ram Dev		—	—
2.	Laxman Dev (Brother of Ram Dev)	1136CE	—	—
3.	Zeyeh Sehm Dev	1136-1162 CE	Jayasimhadeva	1154 CE
4.	Parmat Dev	1162-1172 CE	Paramāṇuka Deva	1154-1164 CE
5.	Vanta Dev	1172-1181 CE	Varttideva	1164-1171 CE
6.	Bupeh (Vupeh) Dev	1181-1190 CE	Vopyadeva	1171-1180 CE
7.	Zaseh Dev	1190-1208 CE	Jassaka	1180-1198 CE
8.	Zageh Dev	1208-1221 CE	Jagaddeva	1198-1213 CE
9.	Razeh Dev	1221-1243 CE	Rājadeva	1213-1236 CE
10.	Sangram Dev	1243-1258 CE	Saṅgrāmadeva	1236-1252 CE
11.	Ram Dev	1258-1279 CE	Rāmadeva	1252-1273 CE
12.	Lachman Dev	1279-1293 CE	Lakṣmaṇadeva	1273-1286 CE
11.	Simha Dev	1293-1305 CE	Simhadeva	1286-1301 CE
12.	Suh Dev	1305 CE	Suhadeva or Rāmachandra	1301-1320 CE

It is evident that Jayasimhadeva was the successor of Laxman Dev and ruled around 1136 to 1162 CE (or 1154 CE). The Mongol ruler Miku Khan invaded Kashmir and plundered the land for six months in the beginning of the 12th century CE, during the reign of Ram Dev. It is probable that Laxman Dev sought the help of Miku Khan to dethrone

his brother Ram Dev. After the death of Ram Dev, Miku Khan interfered in the succession and coronated Laxman dev as the King of Kashmir. Laxman Dev died around 1136 CE and Jayasirnhadeva succeeded him. Jonarāja was ignorant of the epoch of the coronation of Śaka era (583 BCE) and ignorantly assumed that Kalhaṇa wrote the history of Kashmir up to 1148 CE. He incorrectly identified Simhadeva of the 5th century CE as Jayasimhadeva of the 12th century CE and stated that Jayasirnhadeva was the successor of Sussala.

According to the *Baharistan-i-Shāhi*, Jayasimhadeva was Laxman Dev's successor and ascended the throne in 1136 CE whereas Kalhaṇa tells us that Simhadeva was the successor of Sussala, and completed his 22nd regnal year in the year 25 of the Laukika era i.e. 449 CE. Kalhaṇa wrote his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* in Śaka 1070 (487 CE) but Jonarāja ignorantly assumed that Kalhaṇa wrote it in Śālivāhana 1070 (1148 CE). Actually, Kalhaṇa had no knowledge about the invasion of Miku Khan, the Mongol ruler, the plundering of Kashmir by the Mongols for six months during the reign of Ram Dev and the coronation of Laxman Dev by the orders of Miku Khan. Kalhaṇa narrates the history of the last 48 years in the 8th Taranga comprising 3403 verses but he mentions nothing about the historical events narrated by the *Baharistan-i-Shāhi*. It is evident that Kalhaṇa did not belong to Śālivāhana 1070 (1148 CE) but lived in Śaka 1070 (487 CE). There is a serious need for research to write the forgotten history of Kashmir from 487 CE to 1100 CE.

The Chronology of Ancient Nepal

The Paśupati inscription of Jayadeva II claims that King Licchavi, the progenitor of the Licchavi dynasty, was born after eight other kings who came after King Daśaratha passed on. (*Śrimattuṅgarathstato Daśarathāḥ putraiācha paustraissamam, rājñoṣṭāvaparan vihāya parataḥśrimānbhūllicchāvihī*).³⁹) Thus, the history of ancient Nepal is as old as that of ancient India. We learn from the Vamśāvalis of the kings of Nepal that the chronology of the kings of ancient Nepal starts from 3800-3700 BCE. Undoubtedly, these vamśāvalis contain many elements of historical truth but the chronology needs to be reconstructed based on archaeological, epigraphic and other literary evidences. In 1884 CE,

Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji presented the chronology of ancient Nepal based on the Parvatīya Rājavarmśāvali, composed by a Buddhist monk of Lalitapattana in the 17th century.⁴⁰

According to the first date recorded in the Parvatīya Rājavarmśāvali, the 4th Somavarmśī king Paśuprekṣadeva restored the Paśupati temple and brought settlers from India in the year 1234 of Kaliyuga era i.e. 1868 BCE. The Kirāta dynasty ruled over Nepal for 1118 years (before the kings of Somavarmśa) and the Gopāla dynasty for 521 years before the Kirāta dynasty. Thus, the rule of the Gopāla dynasty commenced by 3700 BCE and that of the Kirāta dynasty around 3200 BCE. The Somavarmśī kings succeeded the Kirātas around 1900 BCE.

According to the Parvatīya Varmśāvali, the Kirāta dynasty was ruling in Nepal during the Mahābhārata war. Jitedasti, the 7th king of Kirātas, supported the Pāndavas in the Mahābhārata war but lost his life.

Interestingly, the Buddhist author claimed that Buddha came to Nepal during the reign of Jitedasti. He also stated that Aśoka married off his daughter Chārumati to a Kshatriya Devapāla during the reign of Sthunko, the 14th king of the Kiratas. Apparently, the Buddhist author concocted these claims to prove that Buddha flourished during the Mahābhārata era; hence, we can ignore these claims.

Somavarmśa was succeeded by Sūryavarmśa in 1713 BCE. Bhāskaravarman, the 5th king of the Somavarmśis, was childless and adopted Bhūmivarman who founded the rule of Sūryavarmśa in the year 1389 of the Kaliyuga era i.e. 1713 BCE. Bhūmivarman's son Chandravarman and subsequently his grandson Jayavarman succeeded him. In 1992, some workers who were digging a trench for the foundation of a house in Maligoan village in Eastern Kathmandu, discovered a life size standing male figure carved in sandstone. This sculpture is the earliest archaeological discovery in the history of Nepal. This sculpture was actually the donation of a king named Jayavarman as written in an inscription on its pedestal. According to historians, the inscription is written in Kuṣāṇa Brāhma script and can be read as follows:

*"Sam*vat a7 gri- pa 7 d(i)va pka mahā-rā-jasya jaya
varm(m)a(n*ah*)"*

[In] the year 107, (on) the 4th (lunar) day of the 7th fortnight of the summer (season), of the great King Jaya Varman.⁴¹

This inscription is dated in the year 107 of unknown era. Two dubious scholars from Italy named Angelo Andrea Di Castro and Riccardo Garbini attempted to put the reading of the date as 207 so that the antiquity of the sculpture can be brought down by a hundred years but fortunately nobody agreed with them. Though historians accepted the year to be 107, they wrongly concluded that the inscription was dated in Śālivāhana 107 (185 CE). There is no evidence to prove that the Śaka era or the Śālivāhana era was in vogue in ancient Nepal.

As discussed in Chapters 6 & 7, the Licchavi inscriptions were dated in an ancient era or the Licchavi era that commenced around 966 BCE. Evidently, Jayavarman was a pre-Licchavi king. It seems that the Buddhist author of Parvatīya Varnśāvali clubbed the list of Suryavamśi kings and the list of Licchavi kings into one and erroneously attached the surname “Varman” to the names of the Licchavi kings. None of the Licchavi inscriptions used the surname “Varman” for Licchavi kings. Therefore, Jayavarman cannot be identified as an early Licchavi king. Evidently, the lineage of Suryavamśa kings was different from the lineage of Licchavi kings.

As recorded in the Varnśāvali, Bhūmivarman, the grandfather of Jayavarman, ascended the throne in the year 1389 (1713 BCE) of the Kaliyuga era. It appears that Bhūmivarman founded a “Suryavamśa era” in commemoration of his coronation. Thus, Jayavarman was ruling in the year 107 of Suryavamśa era i.e. 1606 BCE and was a contemporary of the Nanda kings of Magadha. Most probably, the Suryavamśa kings ruled over Nepal from 1713 BCE to 966 BCE whereas the Licchavi kings ruled over Nepal starting from 966 BCE.

The chronology of the Licchavi kings as discussed in Chapter 6:

	<i>Licchavi era</i> (966 BCE)	<i>Harsha era</i> (457 BCE)	<i>In CE</i>
Jayadeva I	—	—	966 BCE?
11 unnamed kings	—	—	—
Vṛṣadeva	—	—	—
Śankaradeva	—	—	—
Dharmadeva	—	—	—
Mānadeva	386-427	—	580-539 BCE
Mahideva	427-434	—	539-532 BCE
Vasantadeva	434-454	—	532-512 BCE
Manudeva?	455-459	—	511-507 BCE
Vāmanadeva	460-466	—	506-500 BCE
Rāmadeva	467-477	—	499-489 BCE
Gaṇadeva	478-510	—	488-456 BCE
Śivadeva I	510-535	—	456-431 BCE
Mahāsāmanta			
Añśuvarman I			
(Feudatory of Śivadeva I and Udayadeva)	—	29-47	428-410 BCE
Udayadeva	—	42-47	415-410 BCE
Dhruvadeva (Samanta Jiṣṇugupta)	—	48-55	409-402 BCE
Bhimārjunadeva (Samanta Viṣṇugupta)	—	55-66	402-391 BCE
Narendradeva	—	66-118	391-351 BCE
Śivadeva II	—	119-136	350-321 BCE
Jayadeva II	—	137-157	320-300 BCE

The inscriptions of Jayadeva II inform us that Vijayadeva was the Yuvarāja. According to the Parvatīya Varmśāvali, Vasantadeva (Vasantadeva II?) ascended the throne around Kaliyuga 2800 (301 BCE). It is difficult to say anything conclusively about the successor of Jayadeva II because no epigraphic evidence is available to reconstruct the further chronology of the Licchavi dynasty. Probably, the Licchavis became feudatories of the Gupta Kings after Jayadeva II as mentioned in the Allahabad stone inscription of Samudragupta. Parvatīya Varmśāvali tells

us that Viśvadeva was the last Licchavi king who married off his daughter to Añśuvarman II of Thākuri dynasty. Añśuvarman II ascended the throne in Kaliyuga 3000 (101 BCE) and transferred the seat of Government from Kailāśakūṭa to Madhyalakhu.⁴² According to *Sumatitantra*, Mānadeva Samvat commenced in Śaka 498 elapsed (85-84 BCE) but at present, there is no evidence to prove that a Licchavi King Mānadeva II ruled around 85 BCE. Probably, this era was named after Mānadeva I to immortalise the name of the greatest king of the Licchavi dynasty.

According to the Parvatīya Vamśāvali, Vīradeva of the Thākuri dynasty became king in Kaliyuga 3400 (298 CE) and Varadeva was ruling around Kaliyuga 3623 (521 CE). Guṇakāmadeva built Kāntipura, the modern Kathmandu at the junction of the rivers Vagmati and Viṣṇumati in Kaliyuga 3824 (722 CE). Sadāśivadeva built Kīrtipura on a hill southwest of Kathmandu and a new golden roof for the Paśupati temple in Kaliyuga 3851 (749 CE). Jayadevamalla founded a new era named as the Newari era. There is a serious need for research to reconstruct the chronology of the later kings of Nepal who flourished after 85 BCE.

Some historians concluded that the Newari era and Nepala Samvat are identical and that both commenced in 880 CE. The Parvatīya Vamśāvali tells us that Nanyadeva of the Karnataka dynasty conquered Nepal in the year 811 or Nepali Samvat 9. According to another Vamśāvali, Nanyadeva came to Nepal with a big army in the year 948 and in Nepali Samvat 230-231 (*varṣe mite Nāga-samudra-nandaiḥ 948 Nepali samvat Kha-guṇākṣimāne 230, Śri Nanyadevo bahu-sainya-yuktaḥ Karṇāṭakādatra samāyayau saḥ ।*).⁴³ There is a need for further research to establish whether Nepali Samvat and the Newari era are identical or two different eras and also the exact epoch of these eras.



Chapter 9

The Antiquity of Vedic Civilization

Vedic civilization is the only ancient civilization with extant literature. The early works such as the hymns of the Rigveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda and Atharva Veda were composed by Vedic seers during the early and mid-Vedic periods. It appears that minor ideological differences, as in the performance of Vedic rituals, recitation of Vedic Mantras and the like led to the evolution of 1131 (or more) branches of the Vedas but unfortunately, only 13 branches of that great body of literature is available today.

Available Branches of Vedas

Rigveda	Yajurveda	Sāmaveda	Atharva Veda
Sukla	Krishna		
1. Śākala	1. Kāṇva	1. Taittiriya	1. Kauthuma
2. Bāṣkala	2. Mādhyandina	2. Kaṭha	2. Rāṇāyanīya
		3. Kapiṣṭhala	3. Jaiminīya
		4. Maitrāyaṇīya	

The Vedas and Vedic literature provide invaluable information and insights into the antiquity and characteristics of Vedic civilisation and are the most valid sources for the study of this momentous, brilliant period in the intellectual and philosophical history of mankind.

A Eurocentric approach and the resultant bias marked the Vedic studies undertaken by amateur colonial scholars and western historians, who, lacking the traditional wisdom and knowledge of the Sanskrit language, deliberately introduced distorted views and concocted a number of inaccurate and confounding theories about Vedic civilization; as no other motive can be established, one must surmise that this was done only with the objective of establishing the Eurocentric history of civilization. As the first of the means to achieve this end, they used artifice and artful deceit to propound the ‘theory’, the myth of the Aryan invasion

and on that ‘basis’, arbitrarily fixed the date of the Vedas around 1500 BCE. Eminent Indian historians of the post-independence era, schooled in the Western methods, unquestioningly accepted and internalised these false bases and went further on to introduce more misinterpretations that led to greater divergence from the truth.

Surprisingly, a majority of Indian historians seldom pursued the independent study of original sources, presumably owing to the lack of in-depth knowledge of Sanskrit. Consequently, Indian historical research continued to progress on the basis of secondary sources and furthermore, was vastly influenced by political patronage of certain selected ideologies.

A few Western Indologists like Hermann Jacobi (1850-1937 CE) and a few Indian scholars like Balagangadhar Tilak presented certain astronomical references found in the Vedas to prove that the antiquity of Vedic literature lay well before 1500 BCE but colonial historians suppressed these facts without any logical explanation. In 1908, Hermann Jacobi, the German scholar, established that certain hymns of the Rigveda were definitely datable around 4500 BCE.¹ Balagangadhar Tilak published a book entitled “*The Orion; or, Researches into the Antiquity of the Vedas*” in 1893 and established that the Rigveda was composed around 4500 BCE. John Playfair, the Scottish mathematician demonstrated in 1789 CE that the epoch of the astronomical observations recorded in the tables still in use among Hindu astrologers had to be 4300 BCE.

Eurocentric and intellectually dishonest Western scholars and their followers simply brushed aside these facts and fraudulently propounded the fanciful, unreal ‘theory’ of Aryan invasion in order to establish the historical supremacy of Europe.

It is a well-known fact that the Rigveda is the oldest text in the world but its antiquity has been grossly underestimated. Vedic civilisation was the most ancient civilisation and there is compelling evidence to claim that the region of Sapta Sindhu (Seven rivers i.e. Saraswati, five rivers of Punjab and Sindhu) was indeed the cradle of human civilisation. I cite the following details from various research works which validate the fact that the antiquity of Vedic civilisation goes back to 10,000 BCE.

Archaeological, Epigraphic and Literary evidence

1. Dr. BG Siddhartha, the Director of the BM Birla Science Centre, Hyderabad, was the first to establish hard archaeological evidence² in this regard. According to him, recent archaeological findings in the South-eastern Anatolian region (part of modern Turkey) have completely stumped historians who believed that the earliest civilisation with Megalithic elements was from around 4000 BCE that is Sumer and Egypt. According to history textbooks, earlier civilizations ought to belong to the Neolithic time. However the excavations at Nevali Cori and Gobekli Tepe (both within a few kilometres of each other) near Sanlurfa (in Turkey, on the Syrian border) have turned sacrosanct facts of history books on their head. Among the many sculpted artefacts that were unearthed here, there are, amazingly, the head of a Vedic priest, complete with the Šikha as well as several pillars and structures embellished with all the astronomical motifs that find mention in the Rigveda and are indicative of a high degree of artistry.



A Vedic priest,
with the Šikha



Relief of Garuda with Sun
and Scorpion

According to Wikipedia, "The tell of Gobekli Tepe includes two phases of ritual use dating back to the 10th-8th millennium BCE. During the first phase, circles of massive T-shaped stone pillars were erected. More than 200 pillars in about 20 circles are currently known through geophysical surveys. Each pillar has a height of up to 6 m (20 ft.) and a weight of up to 20 tons. They are fitted into sockets that were hewn out of the bedrock. In the

second phase, the erected pillars are smaller and stood in rectangular rooms with floors of polished lime. Topographic scans have revealed that other structures next to the hill, awaiting excavation, probably date to 14-15 thousand years ago".

It is evident that the archaeological findings at Gobekli Tepe and Nevali Cori clearly indicate that early Vedic civilisation extended up to South-eastern Anatolian region and its antiquity goes beyond 10,000 BCE.

2. In 2001, the National Institute of Ocean Technology (NIOT) discovered a submerged city in the Gulf of Khambhat. This site is located 20 km from the Gujarat coast, spread over 9 km and at a depth of 20-40 metres. It was an urban settlement containing spaced dwellings, a granary, a bath, a citadel and a drainage system. Among the artefacts recovered were a piece of wood, pottery shards, weathered stones initially described as hand tools, fossilized bones and a tooth. The piece of wood was carbon-dated and found to be 9,500 years old. This site is said to have been submerged 7500 years ago or around 5500 BCE but was quite likely inhabited since 9500 BCE.
3. According to the latest Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) report, the mounds at Bhirrana village, on the banks of the Ghaggar River, in Fatehabad (near Hisar) district of Haryana date back to 7570 BCE. On the basis of radio-metric dating from Bhirrana, the cultural remains go back to the time bracket of 7300 BCE. Thus, the site of Bhirrana was the oldest city in the Indus-Saraswati civilisation, older than the site of Mehargarh (in Pakistan) dated around 7000 BCE.
4. The traces of wheat-based and barley-based cultivation found at Mehargarh indicates that the agrarian revolution had started before 7000 BCE. Some samples of rice from the archaeological sites Lahiradeva and Jhusi have been found to be dated around 7000-6000 BCE. The archaeological study of sites like Mehargarh, Kot Diji, Nausharo, Dholavira, Lothal etc. clearly indicates the development of civilization since 7000 BCE.

5. The Indus-Sarasvati civilisation (4000-3000 BCE) was also inherited from Vedic civilisation; fire-altars were discovered at Harappa, Lothal, Kalibangan, etc. It is a proven fact that the cities of the Indus-Sarasvati civilisation gradually declined (not suddenly collapsed) due to the drying up of the Sarasvati River around 4000-3000 BCE.

Western scholars mischievously concocted the theory that Dravidians were the original inhabitants of the cities of Indus-Sarasvati civilisation and that these cities were plundered and destroyed by the invading Aryans. They also argued that the people of the Indus-Sarasvati civilisation were completely ignorant of the domestication of horses and that the Aryans introduced it but this argument has fallen flat by the discovery of horse remains at Surkotada, a site located 160 km north-east of Bhuj in the district of Kutch, Gujarat. Interestingly, I had an opportunity to meet the legendary archaeologist Shri AK Sharma who discovered the horse remains at Surkotada. I was on election duty as Expenditure Observer in Mahasamand district, Chattisgarh in April 2014 and Shri AK Sharma was supervising the excavations at Rajim. He told me that when he found the horse remains in the 1970s, his seniors could not believe it. They recommended that the government ought to permit European archaeologists to carry out the study of the excavations at Surkotada. Shri Sharma opposed the decision tooth and nail. Consequently, the team of European archaeologists had to pack up and leave. After ten years, one French scholar visited the office of Shri AK Sharma in the 1980s and verified or rather certified that those were indeed horse remains. Finally, the ASI felicitated Shri AK Sharma ten years after the date of his discovery of horse remains. This shows how some senior officers (intellectual slaves of the West) of the ASI conspired to brush aside this invaluable archaeological find of horse remains to protect the fraudulent theory of Aryan invasion.

6. The “Zend Avesta”, the sacred text of Zoroastrianism has extremely close cultural and linguistic similarities with Rigveda; the word “Zend” itself derived from the Sanskrit word “Chandas”.
7. Vedic deities such as Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and Nāsatya (Aśvins) were invoked in a treaty between the Hittites and the Mitanni dated around 1380 BCE. The kingdom of the Mitanni dynasty that ruled in the land of the Hurrians was located in the upper Euphrates-Tigris basin that is now part of northern Iraq, Syria and south-eastern Turkey. The Mitanni’s north-western border with the Hattian kingdom of the Hittites was fluid and constantly subject to aggression. Two rival kings, Suppiluliuma and Shattiwaza, concluded a peace treaty invoking Vedic deities. It is probable that the Mittanis and the Hittites were descendants of the Göbekli Tepe and Nevalı Çori civilisation. A chariot horse training text authored by Kikkuli and written in the Hittite language dated around 1400 BCE includes Sanskrit numeral compounds such as *aiga* (*eka*), *terā* (*tri*), *panza* (*pañca*), *satta* (*sapta*), *nawa* (*nava*), *vartana* etc.

Genome studies

The recent genome studies of Indians have provided vital clues about how the Indian population has come to resemble today's complex milieu. Shri Sanjeev Sanyal has logically presented the outcome of these studies in his book *“Land of the Seven Rivers”*. In his words, India has been a traditional home for many populations that have lived in the country for a very long time and there has been a great deal of internal migration over thousands of years. So, where a group is found today may be very different from where it originated. It is proven in the genome studies in 2006 that India's population mix has been broadly stable for a very long time and that there has been no major injection of Central Asian genes for over 10,000 years. This means that even if there had been a large-scale influx of so-called Aryans or Indo-Europeans, it would have taken place more than 10,000 years ago.

A study led by David Reich of the Harvard Medical School published in *Nature* in 2009 suggests that the bulk of the Indian population can be

explained by the mixture of two ancestral groups – the Ancestral South Indian (ASI) and the Ancestral North Indian (ANI). Undoubtedly, ANI genes have a larger share in North India and account for over 70 percent of the genes of Kashmiri Pandits and Sindhis. However, it is interesting to note that ANI genes have a large, about 40-50 per cent, share even in South India and among tribal groups of central India. As a matter of fact, there is no pure population of Ancestral South Indian. Incidentally, there are also no pure Ancestral North Indians. It is evident that David Reich mischievously attempted to distort the findings of genome studies to re-establish the old Aryan-Dravidian racial theory. Indians are dealing with genetic mingling that started well over 10,000 years ago and are closely related to each other. It is totally absurd splitting hair over who is more ANI (so-called Aryan) and who is more ASI (so-called Dravidian).

Interestingly, most of the evidence is centred on a gene mutation called R1a1 or a sub-group R1a1a. This gene is common in North India and among East Europeans such as the Czechs, Poles and Lithuanians. There are smaller concentrations in South Siberia, Tajikistan, north-eastern Iran and in Kurdistan of Iraq. However, the gene is rare among Western Europeans, Western Iranians and through many parts of Central Asia. A study by Peter Underhill in 2010 found that the oldest strain of the R1a1a branch was concentrated in the Gujarat-Sindh-Western Rajasthan area, suggesting that this was close to the origin of this genetic group.

European carriers of R1a1a also carried a further mutation, M458, which is not found at all in their Asian cousins. Since the M458 mutation is estimated to be at least 8000 years old, the two population groups appear to have separated much earlier. Thus, the genetic linkages between North Indians and East Europeans are best explained by the sharing of a distant common ancestor, perhaps from 12,000 BCE when the last Ice Age ended.

The most common lineage in Western Europe is R1b. This is related to R1a1 and possibly also originated in the Persian Gulf area but the two lineages separated a long time ago, probably during or before the last Ice Age. Compared to R1a1, India has relatively low concentrations of R1b. The genetic and cultural links between North Indians and eastern

Iranians are due to a continued migration of some lineages north-westward from India, probably from 10,000 BCE. The archaeological findings at Gobekli Tepe and Nevali Cori (in Turkey on the Syrian border) also clearly indicate this. Undoubtedly, some lineages of early Vedic civilisation moved westward to Iran and beyond from the end of the last Ice Age. There is absolutely no genetic evidence to prove that some tribes moved from the west to east.

Astronomical References in Vedic literature

(Collected from research articles of Dr. KD Abhyankar, Dr. BG Sidharth, Dr. RN Iyengar, Dr. Subhash Kak and many other scholars)

1. *The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (3.1.2) mentions that Aja ekapād (or the asterism Pūrvabhādrapada [Pegasus]) is exactly at the East point; this must have occurred around 10,000 BCE.
2. *The Sūrya Siddhānta* and *Bṛihat Saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira (156-74 BCE) mention the astronomical event “*Rohiṇī-śakaṭa-bheda*” which means the cutting of the Taurus constellation by Saturn or Mars or a comet, etc. Such events occurred several times during the period 9860 BCE to 9339 BCE and also occurred once in 5284 BCE. The next occurrence of *Rohiṇī-śakaṭa-bheda* will be only after 10,000 CE.
3. *Taittirīya Saṃhita* (6.5.3) mentions that the asterism Kṛittikā (Pleiades) was the North Star and that is at Winter Solstice; this occurred around 8530 BCE.
4. According to BG Sidharth, the Tripura legend of the Vedas refers to a date around 7300 BCE.

The reference of Puṣya nakṣatra (Beta Arietes) at Vernal equinox in Rigveda leads also to 7300 BCE.

5. KD Abhyankar (1993) has shown that the sacrificial year started near the winter solstice marked by the heliacal rising of the Aśvinī (Aries) nakṣatra during the earliest Vedic astronomy dating back to 7000 BCE noting that the winter solstice occurs now in Mūla nakṣatra with nirayana longitude of 247°.
6. The Rigveda also refers to Punarvasu (Pollax) at Vernal equinox which leads to 6100 BCE. The reference of Revatī (Pisces) at

winter solstice also indicates 6000 BCE.

7. *The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* refers to Aditi or Punarvasu (Castor and Pollax) being exactly at the East point which leads to 6000 BCE.
8. Rigveda (1.117.22 & 1.84.10) refers to the winter solstice in Aśvinī that occurred around 6000 BCE.
9. The star Agastya was known to Indians since the Rig Vedic period. According to KD Abhyankar, the star Agastya (Canopus) became visible for the first time in India at Kanyakumari around 10,000 BCE, at Chennai around 8500 BCE, at Hyderabad around 7200 BCE, in the Vindhya region around 5200 BCE and at Delhi around 3100 BCE. The epoch of the Puranic story about Agastya who crossed the Vindhya Mountains cannot be later than 5000 BCE. Ancient Tamil literature tells us that the first Saṅgam was supposedly started by Agastya. A total of three Saṅgams were patronised by 89, 59 and 49 Pandya kings respectively. Thus, the history of 197 Pandya kings of the Saṅgam period ought to have started around 5000 BCE. Recently, an ancient royal silver ring with an inscription in the ancient Tamil Brahmi script has been found from the Amaravathi riverbed at Karur in Tamilnadu. The inscription reads "Peruvazhuthi". Peruvazhuthi is the name of a Pandyan King. The full name of the Pandyan King was Palyagasalai Mutukutumi Peruvazhuthi who finds mention in the ancient Tamil Sangam literature.
10. Balagangadhar Tilak dated the composition of the Rigveda around 4500 BCE based on the position of the vernal equinox in the constellation of Mṛigaśirā (Orion). In Rigveda, Mṛigaśirā nakṣatra is mentioned as “Āgrahāyaṇa” which means the starting of the year. Tilak described the positions of the solstices and equinoxes around 4500 BCE as “We have, roughly speaking, the winter solstice quite near the asterism of Uttara Bhādrapada, the vernal equinox between the head and right shoulder of Orion or about 3° east of Mṛigaśirā, the summer solstice at a distance of within 2° east of Uttara Phālgunī, and the autumnal equinox about 5° east of the asterism of Mūla”.

11. Hermann Jacobi pointed out that the sun was in Phālgunī as referred to in the Rigveda and the Atharva Veda and that the full moon was in Bhādrapada during the summer solstice as referred to in Śāṅkhāyana and *Gobhila Grihyasūtra*; this would have occurred at 4500-2500 BCE.
12. In 1789 CE, John Playfair demonstrated that the epoch of the astronomical observations recorded in the tables still in use among Hindu astrologers had to be 4300 BCE.
13. *Kauśitaki Brāhmaṇa* (4.4) mentions about the full moon night in Phālguna as beginning of the year which corresponds to 4000 BCE.
14. *The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* refers to the shifting of Vernal equinox from Mrigaśirā to Rohinī; that indicates 3100 BCE.
15. According to RN Iyengar, Taittirīya Āraṇyaka contains a hymn equating Abhaya and Dhruva which is none other than the star α-Draconis (Thuban) that was nearest to the North Celestial Pole during the period 3200-2400 BCE. Actually, the Dhruva mentioned in Vedic and Puranic literature was a star located at the tail of a celestial animal figure known as Śiśumāra or the Dolphin. This constellation is nothing but the modern Draco. The body parts of the animal figure are made of 14 stars, the last four of which, including Dhruva on the tail, are said to have never set. The Taittirīya Āraṇyaka of Krishṇa Yajurveda School describes this constellation by the same name (Śiśumāra) and lists 14 stars, of which the last was Abhaya, equated with Dhruva, at the tail end. The *Ekāgni kānda* of the Krishṇa Yajurveda School recommends the observation of Dhruva, the fixed pole star, during marriages.
16. The reference to the full moon in Pūrva Phālgunī marking New Year in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Kauśitaki Brāhmaṇa* leads to 3000 BCE. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* mentions that the Vaiśākha new moon coincided with Rohinī nakṣatra which also leads to 3000 BCE.
17. *The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* mentions that Krittikās (Pleiades) rise in the true east and never deviate from the east and that the

constellation Saptarśis (Great Bear or Ursa Major) rises in the north (*Kṛittikā ha vai pūrvato na chyavante uttarā hi saptarṣayāḥ*). This leads to 2950 BCE.

18. The list of nakśatras beginning with Kṛittikā also indicates that it might have been drawn up in 3000 BCE.
19. Balagangadhar Tilak pointed out that the occurrence of the winter solstice with the full moon of Māgha at the time of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* corresponded to 2350 BCE. The Atharva Veda also mentions the occurrence of the winter solstice with the full moon of Maghā (*Ayanam Maghāsu ca*).
20. *The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (1.5.2.7) classifies the nakśatras into two groups namely Devanakśatras and Yamanakśatras. Thirteen and a half nakśatras ending with Viśākhā were situated in the northern hemisphere (Deva) and the remaining nakśatras ending with Bharaṇī were in the southern hemisphere (Yama). This corresponds to 2300 BCE.
21. *Maitrāyanīya Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (6.14) refers to the winter solstice being at the mid-point of the Śrāviṣṭhā segment and the summer solstice at the beginning of Maghā. This indicates 1660 BCE. This text (1.4) also records an observation about the drifting of the fixed pole star, Dhruva which also leads to the same period.
22. *The Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* mentions that the Winter Solstice starts from the beginning of Śrāviṣṭhā (Delphini) and the Summer Solstice from the middle of Āśleṣā which leads to 1400 BCE. In case, Śrāviṣṭhā is identified as β Delphini than this is date to be corrected to 1800 BCE.
23. William Jones concluded, based on the information available in the *Brihat Saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira, that Pārāśara muni lived in 1180 BCE. However, F. Wilford mentions that as per Davis, Pārāśara lived around 1390 BCE. RN Iyengar also came to the same conclusion in his book "*Pārāśaratāntra*" that the date of Pārāśara must be around 1150-1370 BCE. Pārāśara describes the six Indian seasons in terms of the position of the Sun in the different nakśatra segments which leads to 1150-1370 BCE.

All of the above not only provide irrefutable proof of the antiquity and continuity of Vedic civilisation since 10,000 BCE but also the Vedic tradition of multi-generational record keeping of astronomical observations in a scientific manner which gives us glimpses of how astronomy evolved in ancient India. The archaeological findings at the Gulf of Khambhat, Gobekli Tepe, and Nevali Cori provide evidence that the antiquity of Vedic civilisation goes back to 10,000 BCE whereas the findings at Mehargarh, Lahiradeva, Jusi, etc. indicate the development of agrarian Vedic civilisation since 7000 BCE.

In view of the above, the speculative theory of the Aryan invasion does not even merit discussion here. Many scholars have already exposed this baseless, fraudulent and racially motivated theory.

Vedic civilisation was originally born in the region of Sapta Sindhu and spread eastwards and southwards. The regular migration of some families of Vedic civilisation towards the north-west since ancient times culturally influenced the Northern Iran and Anatolian regions which contain some footprints of Vedic civilisation.

Western scholars also concocted another myth and trumpeted it as their fundamental discovery of the origins of the Indo-European language family. According to them, six ancient languages – Sanskrit, Latin, Greek, Gothic (ancestor of the Germanic languages), Celtic (ancestor of Irish and Welsh) and Old Persian are very similar and that they must have descended from an original common language. They speculated that a Proto Indo-European language ought to have been the common ancestor of all Indo-European languages. Vedic Sanskrit is older than the other Indo-European languages. Therefore, it is fundamentally wrong to club Vedic Sanskrit with other Indo-European languages.

Actually, there were two different language families i.e. the Anatolia-European language family and the Indo-Iranian language family. Vedic Sanskrit was born out of a proto Indo-Iranian language that originated in the region of Sapta Sindhu. Most probably, a proto language which originated in Anatolia was the common ancestor of the Anatolia-European languages. Since Vedic civilisation and its descendant civilisation of India was the leader in knowledge and dominated the

world culturally and economically for thousands of years, it is very likely that the ancient Anatolia-European languages have borrowed heavily from Sanskrit; this explains why comparative philology has found similarities between Sanskrit and the Anatolia-European languages.

Another false theory propagated by some historians is that the Vedic people did not have knowledge of writing because the Vedas are known as “Śruti” meaning the texts learnt by listening. This theory can easily be rejected by the study of the Vedic Sanskrit language in which the Vedas were written. Vedic Sanskrit follows the rules of classical Sanskrit grammar substantially. This means the majority of the rules of Sanskrit grammar evolved and were well established during the Rig Vedic period. It is grossly incorrect to say that the entire grammar of Sanskrit evolved after Vedic literature came into existence. Some provisions of Sanskrit grammar like Sañdhi (conjunctions), context-free grammar etc. were artificially introduced into the Sanskrit language to ensure the continuity of the musical rhythm of the human voice and the freedom of using words anywhere in the sentences because Vedic hymns were written in verses. No language in the world except Sanskrit or other Indian languages derived from Sanskrit has the provision of Sañdhi (conjunctions) and context-free grammar because these are artificial provisions. The perfect rules of conjunctions and context-free grammar cannot be naturally evolved.

Vedic Rishis had envisaged the need for developing a flawless, infallible and perfect language for performing Vedic rituals and preserving knowledge. During this process, the Vedic Rishis evolved a strict grammatical regulatory system based on the processing of phonetic alphabets due to which Sanskrit emerged as a perfect & sacred language. Sanskrit also became the language of learned people during the Rig Vedic period itself due to grammatical restrictions and artificial improvisations. Evidently, the Vedas were written when the purification of Sanskrit by grammar attained an advanced stage.

Vedic Rishis also developed meters (*Chandas*) for the writing of Vedic hymns in verse because it is easier to learn and memorize verse than prose. Vedic meters were based on the concept of processing long and short syllables. Incidentally, Vedic Rishis also progressed in the

knowledge of applied sciences like arithmetic, geometry, astronomy etc. Vedas were referred to as “Śruti” because these texts were worshiped as sacred texts. It was strongly believed that the Vedas must be learnt by listening from gurus because any error in pronunciation was treated as a serious offence. It is completely baseless to conclude that Vedic people did not know how to write because the Vedas were learnt by listening. Vedic people definitely had a well-evolved script because:

- The perfect rules of conjunction (Sañdhi) as followed by the Vedas cannot be evolved without the invention of a script based on phonetic alphabets.
- The provision of context-free grammar is also not possible without the invention of a script.
- The evolution of phonetic alphabets is also not possible without a script.
- The evolution of meters based on long and short syllables is also not possible without a script.

Another misunderstanding that prevailed among some historians is about pre-Pāṇinian Sanskrit (Vedic Sanskrit) vs. post-Pāṇinian Sanskrit (classical Sanskrit). According to some historians, Pāṇini was the first to introduce Sanskrit grammar and therefore, they concluded that any treatise written in classical Sanskrit must be dated after Pāṇini. Many historians treated that as literary evidence to fix the date of classical Sanskrit literature. Eurocentric scholars propagated this theory as strong literary evidence and deliberately underestimated the date of Pāṇini around 400 BCE so that the entire body of classical Sanskrit literature could be dated after Pāṇini.

It is noteworthy that Pāṇini himself refers to more than 10 treatises of Sanskrit grammar (Śakaṭāyana, Śākalya, Senaka, Gārgya, Gālava, etc.) which existed prior to his work. In reality, Pāṇini just compiled the rules of Sanskrit grammar which were already well established prior to his work. Pāṇini's greatest contribution is the presentation of Sanskrit grammar in its entirety employing a minimum number of Sūtras and with as minimum a number of words as possible. The concept of pre-Pāṇinian Sanskrit vs. post-Pāṇinian Sanskrit is grossly incorrect.

It may be confidently asserted that the evolution of Sanskrit grammar started in the early Vedic period, reached an advanced level in the Mid Vedic period and was fully established by the post Vedic period. The *Prātiśākhyas* (the earliest texts of Sanskrit grammar), written before the period of the Brāhmaṇas (3000 BCE) are clear evidence of the evolution of Sanskrit Grammar. During the post Vedic period, many Ācharyas attempted to present the rules of Sanskrit grammar adopting scientific methods. It was also a challenge to present the rules of Sanskrit grammar in its entirety in a minimum number of Sutras and with as minimum a number of words as possible. Finally, Panini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* emerged as the best presentation of the already existing rules of Sanskrit grammar ensuring scientific methodology and brevity. Many scholars, including western scholars, declared that Sanskrit grammar as presented by Pāṇini is one of the greatest creations of human intelligence.

As it is humanly impossible to do so in one generation, it is obvious that many generations contributed towards the development and evolution of Sanskrit grammar since the Rig Vedic period and it reached its zenith during the period of Pāṇini.

The script of the inscriptions found at Vikramkhol, Jhārsuguda in Sambalpur district of Orissa is undoubtedly the distant ancestor of the early Brahmi script and the most ancient script used in India. Possibly, the script of the Vikramkhol inscriptions may belong to the mid Vedic era. Most of the Vedic hymns were probably written between 8000 BCE to 6000 BCE. The available texts of the Vedas were finally compiled and edited during the period 6000-3500 BCE. Possibly, certain texts of the Vedic branches may have been finally updated during the period 4000-2500 BCE. The entire Vedic civilisation has evolved in four distinct stages:

- 1. Proto Vedic era
(10000-8000 BCE)**
- Vedic civilisation starts evolving in the region of Sapta Sindhu.
- Vedic Sanskrit starts evolving from the Proto Indo-Iranian language.
- Some families of Vedic civilisation migrate to Eastern Europe.

- 2. Early Vedic era
(8000-5500 BCE)**
 - Vedic Sanskrit and a phonetic script evolve.
 - Most of the Vedic hymns are written.
 - The tradition of astronomical observations is fully established.
 - Agrarian revolution start before 7000 BCE.
- 3. Mid Vedic era
(5500-3500 BCE)**
 - A Phonetic script and Vedic Sanskrit are fully evolved by 6000 BCE.
 - The Vedas are compiled and edited.
 - The early Surya Siddhānta is written by Maya.
 - Classical Sanskrit fully evolved by 5200 BCE.
 - The glorious kings of the Sūryavamśa or Ikṣvāku dynasty reign at Ayodhyā.
 - Maharshi Vālmiki authors the Rāmāyaṇa around 5050 BCE.
- 4. Post Vedic era
(3500-1650 BCE)**
 - Urbanisation and development of cities in full swing.
 - The Saraswati River gradually disappears around 4000-3000 BCE.
 - The Mahābhārata war takes place in 3128 BCE.



Chapter 10

An Outline of the Chronology of Ancient India

The epochs of various ancient Indian eras, the antiquity of Vedic civilisation and the chronology of ancient Indian civilisation can be presented in seven distinct stages as follows:

1.	Proto Vedic period	10,000 – 8000 BCE
2.	Early Vedic period	8000 – 5500 BCE
3.	Mid Vedic period	5500 – 3500 BCE
4.	Post Vedic Period	3500 – 1650 BCE
5.	Imperial era or Early Classical period	1650 - 200 BCE
6.	Classical period	200 BCE–650 CE
7.	Early Mediaeval period	650-1200 CE

Proto Vedic period (10,000-8000 BCE)

The beginnings of ancient Vedic civilisation may be assertively claimed to have started its journey of evolution at the start of the Holocene or the epoch of the so-called Neolithic revolution (12,000 BCE); the foundations of Vedic civilisation were laid around 10,000 BCE in the region of Sapta Sindhu (Saraswati, Sindhu and the five rivers of Punjab). Some families / groups belonging to this period of Vedic civilisation migrated to Central Asia and Eastern Europe as conclusively proven by the genome studies and archaeological findings in the South-eastern Anatolian region (Turkey).

Traditionally, Vedic Rishis were deeply engaged in language studies and laid strong foundations for the evolution of Vedic Sanskrit from the Proto Indo-Iranian language at an early date. They also founded the tradition of multi-generational record-keeping of astronomical

observations that triggered the systematic study and development of Mathematics and Astronomy. Vedic civilisation had also acquired the essential knowledge and experience to augur the agrarian revolution by 7500 BCE, and this period also witnessed considerable internal migration.

Early Vedic period (8000 – 5500 BCE)

Vedic civilisation transformed into an agrarian society around 7500-7000 BCE according to the archaeological findings at Mehargarh, Lahuradeva, and Jhusi. Interestingly, Vedic Rishis seem to have invented a primitive phonetic script that revolutionised language studies at a very early stage. Elementary Vedic Sanskrit grammar, the rules of conjunction (sandhi), context-free grammar and the rules of Chandas (meters) started evolving by 7500 BCE and quite possibly, the script used in the inscriptions found at Vikramkhol, Jharsuguda in Sambalpur district of Orissa may belong to the early and mid-Vedic period. This script is undoubtedly anterior to the Brahmi script. Most of the hymns of the Rigveda and Yajurveda were written around 8000-7000 BCE and various branches of the Vedas also evolved during the period 7000 BCE to 5500 BCE.

The lunisolar calendar and the cycle of five year Yuga system were very likely Indian inventions that were in place by 7000 BCE. Indian astronomy scaled new heights when Maya wrote the earliest version of Sūrya Siddhānta at the end of the Kṛta Yuga i.e. around 5600-5500 BCE. The first Sūrya Varṇśī King Ikṣvāku may have founded his kingdom around 6776-6700 BCE.

Some significant dates of the early Vedic Period are:

- 8000-7000 BCE The hymns of Rigveda and Yajurveda are written and the earliest form of phonetic script possibly developed.
- 7500-7000 BCE The beginning of the agrarian revolution.
- 7500-7000 BCE The use of the Lunisolar calendar and the cycle of five year Yuga system. (Interestingly, the first astronomical revolution coincided with the first agrarian revolution.)

7000-5500 BCE	The evolution of the various branches of the Vedas.
6776-6700 BCE	King Ikṣvāku founds the kingdom of Sūrya Varmśa.
6700-5500 BCE	The duration of Kṛta Yuga.
6200 BCE	Māndhātā, the most illustrious King of the Kṛta Yuga reigns.
5600-5500 BCE	Maya authors the earliest version of Sūrya Siddhānta at the end of the Kṛta Yuga.

Mid-Vedic period (5500-3500 BCE)

Vedic people continued their in-depth study of language due to which classical Sanskrit started evolving. Possibly, the basics of advanced Sanskrit fully evolved and classical Sanskrit came into popular use by the end of the Kṛta Yuga i.e. 5500 BCE. Rāma, the most illustrious king of the Sūrya Varmśa, was born in 5114 BCE and Maharṣi Vālmiki wrote the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the “Ādikāvya” (the first poetry in classical Sanskrit) around 5050 BCE. Various branches of the Vedas undertook an initiative to formally edit and compile the hymns of Rigveda, Yajurveda and Sāmaveda according to their traditions around 5000 BCE. Most probably, the presently available texts of the Rigveda, Yajurveda and Sāmaveda were finally edited and compiled around 4500-3500 BCE.

Some significant dates of the Mid-Vedic Period are:

5500 BCE	The evolution of classical Sanskrit and the basics of advanced Sanskrit grammar.
5500-4300 BCE	The duration of Tretā Yuga.
5114 BCE	The birth of the greatest King Rāma.
5050 BCE	Maharṣi Vālmiki authors the earliest version of <i>Rāmāyaṇa</i> .
5000 BCE	The first king of the Pāndya dynasty reigns in what is today Tamilnadu and the first Sangam is convened under the guidance of Maharṣi Agastya.
4500-3500 BCE	The texts of <i>Rigveda</i> , <i>Yajurveda</i> and <i>Sāmaveda</i> are finally edited and compiled.

- 4500-4000 BCE Some old *Śrautasūtras* like *Lātyāyana*, *Āśvalāyana*, *Śāṅkhāyana* etc. may have been written prior to the disappearance of the Saraswati River. Interestingly, these *Śrautasūtras* refer to the Saraswati as a perennial river. *Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra* was also written during this period.
- 4300-3100 BCE The duration of Dvāpara Yuga.
- 4000 BCE *Kauśītakī Brāhmaṇa* is written.

Post Vedic period (3500-1650 BCE)

The Saraswati was the mightiest river of ancient India and flowed in all her splendour up to 4000 BCE. Śutudri (Sutlej), Yamunā and Drṣadvati rivers were the main tributaries of the Saraswati. According to geological studies, the Saraswati originated in the glaciers of western Garhwal. Due to major tectonic activities in the Siwalik Hills, the decline of the Saraswati possibly commenced around 4000 BCE. The Sutlej suddenly shifted her course westwards and became a tributary of the Indus and probably at the same time, the Yamunā also started flowing eastwards to be another tributary of the Gaṅgā by 3500 BCE. Thus, the sudden diversion of the Sutlej and the Yamunā as well as the melting glaciers of Garhwal reduced the Saraswati to be dependent on the Drṣadvati and seasonal streams by 3500 BCE and eventually, by 3000 BCE, both the Saraswati and the Drṣadvati dried up completely. Politically, the great kingdom of Sūrya Varīṣa declined by 4200-4000 BCE. Kuru founded the reign of the Kaurava dynasty and shifted the capital from Prayāga to Kurukṣetra around 3900 BCE. Bṛhadratha I founded the reign of Bṛhadratha dynasty in Magadha and made Girivraja or Rājagṛha as his capital around 3700 BCE. Gopāla also founded the reign of the Gopāla dynasty in Nepal around 3700 BCE and at the same time, Naraka and Bhagadatta established the reign of their dynasty in Kāmarūpa (Assam) around 3700 BCE. Gonanda I reigned in Kashmir around 3147 BCE and was the contemporary of the Magadha king Jarāsandha. The Mahābhārata war took place around 3128 BCE.

Various Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, Prātiśākhyas, Upaniṣads, and Śulbasūtras were written during this period.

Some important dates of the post Vedic period are:

- 4000-3000 BCE The disappearance of the Saraswati River and the decline of Indus-Saraswati civilisation.
- 3900 BCE King Kuru founds the Kaurava dynasty in Kurukṣetra.
- 3700 BCE Bṛhadratha I founds his dynasty in Magadha.
- 3700 BCE Gopāla I reigns in Nepal and Naraka or Bhagadatta reigns in Kāmarūpa (Assam).
- 3148-3147 BCE Gonanda I reigns in Kashmir and Jarāsandha of Bṛhadratha dynasty in Magadha.
- 3128 BCE The year of the Mahābhārata war and the coronation of King Yudhiṣṭhīra.
- 3102 BCE The epoch of the Kaliyuga era commences in 3102 BCE. Various *Siddhāntas* of Indian astronomy started evolving around 5000-3000 BCE. *Surya Siddhānta* was completely updated and the concept of *Mahāyugas* and 14 *Manvantaras* was introduced in Astronomy. The earlier Yuga of 1200 years was multiplied by 360 to get 432000 years and introduced the differential duration of Yugas in a ratio 4:3:2:1 i.e. Kṛta (432000 x 4), Tretā (432000 x 3), Dvāpara (432000 x 2) and Kali (432000 x 1).
- 3500-2500 BCE *Atharvaveda* is finally edited and compiled.
- 3200-3100 BCE The date of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.
- 3200-2400 BCE The date of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*.
- 3200-2500 BCE The Brāhmī script evolves probably from an ancient phonetic script (the script used in the Vikramkhola inscriptions) and becomes popular over the whole of India by the Mahābhārata era and later becomes the

root of all other Indian scripts. It is quite likely that the script found on the seals of Indus-Saraswati civilisation was used by the Bāhlikas, who were ruling in the western parts of ancient India around 4000-3000 BCE; gradually, the Kharoṣṭhī script evolved and becomes popular in the western parts of ancient India around 3000-2500 BCE. The Yavanas, who used Yavanāni script (later adopted by ancient Greeks), emerged as powerful kings after 3000 BCE. The Rabatak inscription of Kaniṣka (1950-1910 BCE) found in 1993 CE in Afghanistan is written in Yavanāni or the so-called ancient Greek script that clearly tells us that Kaniṣka introduced the Aryan language (Sanskrit) and script by replacing the Yavana language and script. Thus, the Yavanas gradually learnt Sanskrit and became Indianised.

3000-2000 BCE	The date of various <i>Śulbasūtras</i> (<i>Baudhāyana</i> , <i>Āpastamba</i> , <i>Mānava</i> , <i>Kātyāyana</i> etc.).
2950 BCE	The date of <i>Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa</i> .
2719-2718 BCE	Āryabhaṭa writes his astronomical work titled “Āryabhaṭīyam”. (TS Narayana Sastry claims that many old manuscripts of Āryabhaṭīyam mention the birth of Āryabhaṭa in the 360 th year elapsed (2742 BCE) and not the 3600 th year elapsed (498 CE) from the epoch of Kaliyuga. Varāhamihira (156-74 BCE) used the verb “ <i>Jagāda</i> ” in remote past tense which unambiguously indicates that Āryabhaṭa was not his contemporary. Interestingly, all astronomical texts written after the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) invariably refer to the Śaka era except Āryabhaṭīyam which indicates that Āryabhaṭa flourished prior to the introduction of the Śaka era (583 BCE). Therefore, Āryabhaṭa cannot be dated around 476 CE or 498 CE.)

2700-2600 BCE	Lāṭadeva, the disciple of Āryabhaṭa, may have authored “ <i>Sūrya Siddhānta</i> ”. (It appears that Lāṭadeva tried to establish a balance between the traditional approach and radical (scientific) approaches of Āryabhaṭa.)
2300 BCE	The date of the <i>Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa</i> .
2200-2000 BCE	Yavaneśvara writes “ <i>Yavanasiddhānta</i> ” or “ <i>Horārthaśāstra</i> ” in the Yavana language (Bactrian or Bāhlīka language). Sphujidhvaja, the later king of the Yavanas, translates it into Sanskrit around 1500-1000 BCE. (The same Sanskrit translation of Sphujidhvaja was re-produced as “ <i>Yavanajātakam</i> ” by an unknown author after Śaka 56 (528-527 BCE). This unknown author writes the 79 th chapter of <i>Yavanajātaka</i> with the objective of presenting the <i>Yavana siddhānta</i> with reference to lunisolar astronomy).
3138-2132 BCE	The reign of Bṛhadratha dynasty.
2500-2200 BCE	The establishment of Takṣaśilā University.
2214-2213 BCE	The birth of Buddha on 6 th April 2214 BCE. According to Tibetan Sa-skyā-pa scholars, Buddha was born in the Earth-Dragon year (2214-2213 BCE).
2134-2133 BCE	Buddha attains Mahāparinirvāṇa on 23 rd Mar 2134 BCE. The Tibetan Sa-skyā-pa tradition seems to be most authentic and Kalhana's <i>Rājatarāṅgiṇī</i> also supports it. According to Sa-skyā-pa scholars, Buddha attained nirvāṇa in the boundary of the Fire-Pig year (2134 BCE) and the Earth-Mouse year (2133 BCE).
2200-2100 BCE	Pārśvanāth, the 23 rd Tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas, a contemporary of Buddha.
2034-1881 BCE	Kashmir Kings Aśoka (2034-2000 BCE), Jaloka (2000-1990 BCE), Dāmodara II (1990-1984 BCE), Huṣka (1984-1960 BCE), Juṣka (1960-1950 BCE), Kaniṣka

(1950-1910 BCE) and Abhimanyu (1910-1881 BCE) reign. According to Kalhaṇa, Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka flourished 150 years after the date of the nirvāṇa of Buddha. (The Rabatak inscription of Kaniṣka is written in ancient Greek script. Actually, this script was used by the Yavanas of Afghanistan, Persia and Central Asia [most probably, the Indian migrants of the early Vedic era] which was referred to by Pāṇini as “*Yavanānī*”. The same script of the Yavanas was later adopted by ancient Greeks. Therefore, the so-called Greek script was originally the script of the Yavanas. It is very likely that the astronomical school of the Yavanas [*Yavana Siddhānta*] influenced Babylonian and Egyptian astronomy.)

1950-1949 BCE	The date of the Rabatak inscription of Kaniṣka (1 st regnal year).
1881 BCE	Kashmir King Gonanda III ascends the throne.
2132-1994 BCE	The reign of the Pradyota dynasty.
1994-1616 BCE	The reign of the Śiśunāga dynasty.
2500-2200 BCE	The date of “ <i>Manusmrīti</i> ”.
2500-2200 BCE	The date of Pāṇini and Piṅgala (<i>Aṣṭādhyāyī</i> and <i>Chandasāstra</i>).
1800-1600 BCE	The date of “ <i>Charaka Saṁhitā</i> ” and “ <i>Sushruta Saṁhitā</i> ”.
1660 BCE	The date of <i>Maitrāyaṇīya Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad</i> .

The Imperial era or Early Classical period (1650-200 BCE)

Mahāpadma Nanda founded a powerful Magadha empire around 1616 BCE or roughly over 1500 years from the date of the Mahābhārata war (3128 BCE). Chandragupta Maurya dethroned the Nandas and established the great Maurya dynasty around 1516 BCE. Later, the Śūṅgas, Kaṇvas, Śātavāhanas and Guptas reigned over the Magadha Empire. Mahavira, the 24th Tirthāṅkara of Jainas, attained nirvāṇa in 1189 BCE.

Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*, *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa*, *Pārāśaratantra*, Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, and most of the Ayurveda, Smṛti, & philosophical works were written during this period. The Pāli and Prākrit literature of Buddhism and Jainism also came into existence. The outlines of the chronology of Imperial or early classical period are as follows:

1634 BCE	According to "Milindapanho", the Yavana king Milinda reigns 500 years after the date of the nirvāṇa of Buddha.
1616-1516 BCE	The reign of the Nanda dynasty.
1606 BCE	King Jayavarman of Sūryavarṇa reigns in Nepal.
1516-1217 BCE	The reign of the Maurya dynasty.
1300-1200 BCE	Khāravela of Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty reigns in Kaliṅga.
1261 BCE	The birth of Mahavira on 28 th Feb 1261 BCE.
1189-88 BCE	Mahavira attains nirvāṇa on 22 nd Oct 1189 BCE.
1216-916 BCE	The reign of the Śuṅga dynasty
1000-600 BCE	Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakonda emerge as Buddhist centres.
900-600 BCE	The reign of the Ikṣvāku dynasty in Andhra Pradesh, with Vijayapuri (Nāgārjunakonda) as their capital. Many inscriptions of this dynasty found at Amarāvati, Bhaṭṭiprolu, Nāgārjunakonda and Jaggayyapeṭa.
966 BCE	The epoch of the Licchavi era used in the inscriptions of the Licchavi dynasty of Nepal.
966-300 BCE	The reign of the Licchavi dynasty in Nepal
916-836 BCE	The reign of the Kaṇva dynasty
836-338 BCE	The reign of the Śātavāhana dynasty
800-200 BCE	Ajanta caves constructed.
736-723 BCE	King Gardabhilla reigns in Ujjain.

723-719 BCE	The Śakas defeat Gardabhilla and reign for 4 years in Ujjain.
719-718 BCE	The epoch of the Kṛta era or the Mālava-gana era and the Kārttikādi Vikrama era.
719-583 BCE	The reign of the greatest King Vikramāditya I and his four successors and the establishment of Malava-gana (the republic of Mālava).
700-420 BCE	The reign of Bhagadatta lineage in Kāmarūpa (Assam). Bhāskaravarman of this lineage was a contemporary of Śri Harsha.
700-400 BCE	The Māṭharas, Vaśiṣṭhas and Pitṛbhaktas reign in Kaliṅga.
650-300 BCE	The reign of the Nāga dynasty in Vidiśā region.
600-500 BCE	Meharauli iron pillar installed by the Naga king Chandra.
657-656 BCE	The epoch of the Gāṅgeya era (used by the eastern Gaṅga kings).
657-107 BCE	The reign of the eastern Gaṅgas in Kaliṅga.
630-330 BCE	The reign of the Mālava Guptas (mistakenly identified as the Later Guptas).
583 BCE	The epoch of the coronation of Śaka king. (The Śakas defeated the fourth successor of Vikramāditya I and probably the Western Kṣatrapa Caṣṭana became the king of Ujjain.)
583-246 BCE	The reign of the Western Śaka Kṣatrapas.
580-539 BCE	The great Licchavi king Mānadeva I reigns in Nepal.
580-420 BCE	The reign of the Puṣpabhūti dynasty.
475-474 BCE	The Early Chālukya king Vishnuvardhana reigns in Rājamahendravaram in the Kaliyuga era 2628 (475-474 BCE).

457-456 BCE	The epoch of the Śri Harsha era.
457-420 BCE	The reign of the great Puspabhūti king Śri Harsha or Harshavardhana.
450-300 BCE	The reign of the Śālaṅkāyanas in Andhra Pradesh.
403-402 BCE	The epoch of the Kalachuri-Chedi era.
391-390 BCE	The Mālava Gupta king Ādityasena reigns.
385-150 BCE	The reign of the Vākāṭaka dynasty.
340-150 BCE	The reign of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭakas.
374-286 BCE	The reign of the Maharajas of Valkhā
373-358 BCE	The reign of the Kaṭachchuri dynasty.
338-92 BCE	The reign of the Gupta dynasty.
335 BCE	The epoch of the Gupta era.
331-280 BCE	Samudragupta establishes the Gupta Empire, the mightiest in India. (He was the real contemporary of Alexander. Greek historians referred to him as "Sandrokottus".)
300-95 BCE	The reign of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty.
289-209 BCE	The reign of the Aulikara dynasty.

The chronology of ancient Indian literature:

2000-800 BCE	Ancient Buddhist literature written.
1500 BCE	Kautilya authors " <i>Arthaśāstra</i> ".
1500-1000 BCE	The Yavana king Sphujidhvaja translates Yavaneśvara's <i>Horārthaśāstra</i> into Sanskrit (<i>Yavanajātakam</i>).
1400 BCE	Śuchi writes " <i>Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa</i> " based on the treatise of Maharṣi Lagadha. The date of Lagadha can be fixed as not being later than 2000-1800 BCE.

1370-1150 BCE	Maharṣi Pārāśara writes his treatise “ <i>Pārāśaratatantra</i> ”.
1200 BCE	Patañjali writes “ <i>Mahābhāṣya</i> ” during the reign of the Śuṅga king Puṣyamitra.
1100-200 BCE	Ancient Jaina Literature written.
600-500 BCE	The Jaina monk Sarvanandi authors “ <i>Lokavibhāga</i> ”.
500 BCE	Vṛddha Garga writes “ <i>Garga Samihitā</i> ”.
495-490 BCE	Guṇāḍhya writes “ <i>Vaddakathā</i> ” (<i>Bṛhatkathā</i>) in Paiśāchi dialect and the Śātavāhana King Hāla authors “ <i>Gāthāsaptaśatī</i> ”.
400-300 BCE	Vatsyāyana writes “ <i>Kāmasūtra</i> ”.
400-250 BCE	Subandhu authors “ <i>Vāsavadattā</i> ”.
340-305 BCE	The Vatsagulma Vākāṭaka king Sarvasena authors “ <i>Harivijaya</i> ”.
210-200 BCE	The Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena authors “ <i>Setubandha</i> ”.
204-203 BCE	The Jaina scholar Sīṁhasūri translates “ <i>Lokavibhāga</i> ” into Sanskrit.

Classical period (200 BCE – 650 CE)

The Gupta Empire started declining after Skandagupta (199-177 BCE). The rise of the Maukhari in North India and the rise of Yaśodharman in Central India further weakened the Gupta Empire. The Early Chālukyas established their kingdom in northern Karnataka by defeating the early Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Kadarnbas. King Vikramāditya II, also known as Harsha became the king of Ujjain in the 1st century BCE. The Pānduvarṇsi kings founded their kingdom in Dakṣiṇa Kosala (Chattisgarh). The Pāla dynasty started ruling in eastern India and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas defeated the early Chālukyas in the South at the end of the 1st century CE. The Pratihāras, Chedis, Paramāras, Chaulukyas, Chāhamānas, Gāhadwālas, Chandellas, etc. flourished during this period.

Most of the classical Sanskrit literature came into existence in this period. The greatest Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa flourished in the 1st century BCE. All the Purāṇas were updated and recompiled. The outlines of the chronology of classical period are:

- 600-500 BCE The Pallavas establish their kingdom in Kāñchi.
- 500-300 BCE The reign of the Bāṇa Kings.
- 480-115 BCE The reign of the Kadamba dynasty.
- 472 BCE -307 CE The reign of the Gaṅga dynasty.
- 225 BCE-97 CE The reign of the early Chālukyas of Bādāmi.
- 195 BCE-120 CE The reign of the Maitraka dynasty in Valabhi.
- 196-119 BCE The reign of the Traikūṭakas.
- 169-119 BCE The rise of Prakāśadharman and Yaśodharman.
- 130-100 BCE The reign of the Maukhari king Iśānavarman.
- 145 BCE – 19 CE The reign of the Sendraka dynasty.
- 85-84 BCE The epoch of Mānadeva Sarīvat (used in ancient Nepal).
- 82-20 BCE The reign of King Vikramāditya II
- 57 BCE The epoch of the Chaitrādi Vikrama era.
- 52-22 BCE The reign of the early Chālukya Pulakeśin II.
- 55 BCE- 2 CE The reign of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna.
- 73 BCE – 83 CE The reign of the early Gurjaras.
- 46 BCE-473 CE The reign of the eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgi.
- 16-249 CE The reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.
- 30-91 CE The reign of Yaśovarman of Kanauj.
- 99 BCE – 449 CE The reign of the Karkoṭa (99 BCE -156 CE), Utpala (156-239 CE), Brāhmaṇa (239-249 CE), Parvagupta (249-303 CE), Udayarāja (303-401 CE) and Kāntirāja (401-449 CE) dynasties in Kashmir.

0-36 CE	The reign of Lalitāditya Muktāpīda in Kashmir.
21-733 CE	The reign of the later Gaṅgas in Kaliṅga.
75-150 CE	The construction of the temples and caves at Ellora during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.
75-381 CE	The reign of the Pratīhāra dynasty.
78 CE	The epoch of the Śaka-kālātīta or Śālivāhana era.
80-540 CE	The reign of the Pāla dynasty in Bihar and Bengal.
80-160 CE	Odantapuri, Vikramaśilā and Sonapura Mahāvihāras established by the Pāla kings Gopāla and Dharmapāla.
102-299 CE	The reign of the Chāvada dynasty in Anhilwad.
131-556 CE	The reign of the Chāhamānas.
180-580 CE	The reign of the Kalachuris or Chedis of Tripuri
231-612 CE	The reign of the Paramāra dynasty.
338-394 CE	The reign of the great Paramāra king Bhojarāja
270-522 CE	The reign of the Kalachuris of Kalyāṇa.
299-641 CE	The reign of the Chaulukya dynasty in Anhilwad.
91-649 CE	The reign of the Chandrātreya or Chandella dynasty.
290-405 CE	The reign of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi.
319 CE	The epoch of the Valabhi era.
322-567 CE	The reign of the Kalachuris of South Kosala.
341-426 CE	The reign of the early Kacchāpaghāṭas.
325-545 CE	The reign of the Silāhāras of Kolhapur.
300-460 CE	The reign of the Sena dynasty in Mithila and Bengal.
431-443 CE	The reign of Lakśmaṇasena in Mithila and Bengal.
443-444 CE	The epoch of the Lakśmaṇasena era.
427-558 CE	The reign of the Gāhadwāla dynasty.
417-486 CE	The reign of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga in Kaliṅga.

433-480 CE	The reign of the Chaulukya King Jayasimha Siddharāja in Gujarat.
450-451 CE	The epoch of Siṁha Sarīvat.
450-475 CE	Jagaddala Mahāvihāra established by the Pāla king Rāmapāla.
507-556 CE	The reign of the Chāhamāna King Prithvirāja III.
523-650 CE	The reign of the Yādava dynasty
571-641 CE	The reign of the Yajvapāla dynasty.

The chronology of ancient Indian literature:

500 BCE -200 CE	The Purāṇas, are updated.
515-463 BCE	The date of Ādi Śaṅkarāchārya can be fixed based on the epoch of the Yudhiṣṭhira era (3128 BCE or 3109 BCE). Chitsukhāchārya mentions that Ādi Śaṅkarāchārya attained nirvāṇa in the year 2646 of the Yudhiṣṭhira era.
448-416 BCE	The Gaṅga King Mādhava Varman I writes a commentary on “ <i>Dattaka Sūtra</i> ”.
220-140 BCE	The lifetime of the great Sanskrit poet Bhāravi.
180 BCE	Bhāravi writes the “ <i>Kirātārjunīyam</i> ”.
193-138 BCE	The Gaṅga King Durvinīta writes “ <i>Śabdāvatāra</i> ” and a commentary on the 15 th canto of <i>Kirātārjunīyam</i> . He also translates the <i>Bṛhatkathā</i> of Guṇāḍhya into Sanskrit.
200-100 BCE	The probable period of the Sanskrit Poets Hariśchandra and Bhāsa.
156-74 BCE	The lifetime of Varāhamihira.
125-50 BCE	The lifetime of Daṇdin who was the author of “ <i>Avantisundarī Kathā</i> ”, “ <i>Daśakumāracharitam</i> ” and “ <i>Kāvyādarśa</i> ”. His great grandfather was a contemporary of Bhāravi.

105-25 BCE	The lifetime of the greatest poet Kālidāsa
75-60 BCE	Kālidāsa writes “ <i>Raghuvamīśam</i> ”, “ <i>Meghadūtam</i> ”, “ <i>Ritusamihāram</i> ”, “ <i>Abhijñānaśākuntalam</i> ” etc.
60-40 BCE	Kālidāsa writes “ <i>Vikramorvaśīyam</i> ”, “ <i>Mālavikāgnimitram</i> ” etc.
34 BCE	Kālidāsa writes “ <i>Jyotirvidābharaṇa</i> ”.
55 BCE	Hariswāmi writes a commentary named “ <i>Śrutyarthavivṛti</i> ” on <i>Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa</i> .
63 BCE – 17 CE	The lifetime of Brahmagupta.
33-32 BCE	Brahmagupta writes “ <i>Brahma Sphuṭasiddhānta</i> ”.
3-4 CE	Brahmagupta writes “ <i>Khandakhādyaka</i> ”.
1-2 CE	Muñjāla writes “ <i>Laghumānasa</i> ” in Śaka 584 (0-1 or 1-2 CE). (According to some other sources, in Śaka 854 [271-272 CE].)
10-80 CE	The lifetime of Bhavabhūti, the author of “ <i>Uttararāmacaritam</i> ”.
40-130 CE	The lifetime of Vakpatirāja, the author of “ <i>Gauḍavaho</i> ”.
40-120 CE	The lifetime of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the famous author of “ <i>Harshacarita</i> ” and “ <i>Kādambarī</i> ”.
52-83 CE	Famous Kashmiri poets Dāmodaragupta, Udbhaṭṭa Bhaṭṭa, Manoratha, Śaṅkhadatta, Chataka and Sandhimat in the court of Kashmir King Jayapīda.
87-88 CE	Lalla authors “ <i>Śiṣyadhiṣṭhīddhidatantra</i> ”.
80-175 CE	The lifetime of the Jaina scholar Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri.
80-100 CE	Viśākhadatta writes “ <i>Mudrārākṣasam</i> ” and “ <i>Devīchandraguptam</i> ”.
80-150 CE	Aśvaghoṣa writes “ <i>Buddhacaritam</i> ”.
116-117 CE	Udyotana Sūri writes “ <i>Kuvalayamālā</i> ”.

122-123 CE	Jinasena authors “ <i>Harivaiñśa</i> ”.
156-184 CE	Kashmiri poets Ānandavardhana and Ratnākara in the court of Kashmir King Avantivarmanā.
184-202 CE	Jayanta Bhaṭṭa writes “ <i>Nyāyamañjari</i> ” during the reign of Kashmir King Śaṅkaravarmā.
216 CE	The date of <i>Sahottaratatantra</i> (Mānadeva era 301).
219 CE	The date of <i>Sumatitantra</i> (Mānadeva era 304).
237 CE	Guṇabhadra writes “ <i>Uttarapurāṇa</i> ” and Lokasena authors a <i>prāśasti</i> at the end of <i>Uttarapurāṇa</i> .
238 CE	Vateśvara writes “ <i>Karaṇasāra</i> ” in Śaka 821 (238 CE).
243 CE	Vateśvara writes “ <i>Vatesvarasiddhānta</i> ” at the age of 24. Therefore, he was born in 218-219 CE.
239-248 CE	Jayanta Bhaṭṭa’s son Abhinanda writes “ <i>Yogavāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa</i> ” during the reign of Kashmir king Yaśaskara.
270-350 CE	The lifetime of the poet Rājaśekhara who authored “ <i>Bālarāmāyaṇa</i> ”, Viddhaśālabhañjikā etc.
304 CE	Bhaṭṭotpala writes his commentary “ <i>Vivṛti</i> ” on Varāhamihira’s <i>Bṛhajjātaka</i> .
324-338 CE	Padmagupta writes “ <i>Navasāhasrāñkacaritam</i> ” during the reign of the Paramāra King Sindhorāja.
328-349 CE	Kashmiri poet Kśemendra writes “ <i>Bṛhatkathāmañjari</i> ”. He also authors “ <i>Samayamātrikā</i> ” in 349 CE.
345-360 CE	Kashmiri poet Somadeva writes “ <i>Kathasaritsāgara</i> ” during the reign of the Kashmir King Anantadeva.
338-394 CE	Paramāra King Bhoja writes “ <i>Sarasvatīkaṇṭhbharaṇa</i> ”, “ <i>Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra</i> ” and “ <i>Rājamārtāṇḍa</i> ”. He also authors a Karaṇa treatise “ <i>Rājamrgāñka</i> ” in 381 CE.
378-379 CE	Śripati writes “ <i>Siddhāntaśekhara</i> ” and “ <i>Dhīkoti Karaṇa</i> ”.

395-396 CE	Śripati writes “ <i>Dhruvamānasa</i> ”.
394 CE	Daśabala writes “ <i>Cintāmaṇi Sāraṇikā</i> ”.
395-405 CE	Bilhaṇa authors “ <i>Vikramāñkadevacaritam</i> ”.
400-425 CE	Krishna Miśra authors “ <i>Prabodha-chandrodayam</i> ” during the reign of the Chandella king Kīrtivarman.
425-500 CE	The lifetime of the great astronomer Prabhākara who was referred to by Bhāskarāchārya. Interestingly, Prabhākara predicted a total lunar eclipse on 7 th Nov 477 CE which was recorded in the Sarkho copper plates of the Kalachuri king Ratnadeva II (463-486 CE).
428 CE	Sena King Ballālasena writes “ <i>Dānasāgara</i> ”.
430-443 CE	Ballālasena and His son Lakṣmaṇasena writes “ <i>Adbhutasāgara</i> ”.
430-443 CE	“ <i>Gitagovindam</i> ” by Jayadeva, “ <i>Brāhmaṇa Sarvasva</i> ” by Halāyudha, “ <i>Pavanadūtam</i> ” by Dhoyi and “ <i>Rāghava Pāṇḍavīyam</i> ” by Kavirāja. These poets were in the court of King Lakṣmaṇasena.
452-532 CE	The lifetime of the great astronomer Bhāskarāchārya
488-489 CE	Bhāskarāchārya writes “ <i>Siddhānta Śiromani</i> ”.
521-522 CE	Bhāskarāchārya writes “ <i>Karaṇakutūhala</i> ”.
487 CE	Kalhaṇa writes “ <i>Rājatarangiṇī</i> ”.
480-500 CE	Sandhyākara Nandi writes “ <i>Rāmacaritam</i> ”.
540-556 CE	Jayānaka writes “ <i>Prītvīrāja-Vijaya</i> ”.
628 CE	Bhāskara writes a commentary on Āryabhaṭīyam. He also writes “ <i>Mahābhāskarīyam</i> ” and “ <i>Laghubhāskarīyam</i> ”.

Early Medieval Period (650 – 1200 CE)

Eminent historians assumed only one epoch, that of 78 CE for the Saka era (583 BCE) & the Salivahana era (78 CE) and also one epoch,

that of 57 BCE for the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) & the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 CE). They also wrongly calculated the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chedi era (403-402 BCE) as being around 248-249 CE and the epoch of the Sri Harsha era (457-456 BCE) as being around 606 CE. This fallacious approach has brought forward the history of ancient India from early classical and classical period to classical and early medieval period. There is a serious need for further research to re-write the entire history of the early medieval period. However, some outlines of the chronology of the early medieval period are:

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| 606-650 CE | Siharasa or Sri Harsha, the son of Rasal reigns in Kanauj. |
| 647-733 CE | The Later Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga : Bhānudeva II to Narasimha IV |
| 690-795 CE | The reign of Bhavasimhadeva and his descendants in Gauda. |
| 700-725 | King Harachandra reigns in Kanauj. |
| 777-849 CE | The reign of the Gajapati dynasty in Andhra, Kaliṅga and Gauda. |
| 738-1301 CE | The reign of the later Chāhamānas of Sapādalakṣa or Śākambhari. |
| 729-972 CE | The reign of the later Rāṣṭrakūṭas. |
| 757-888 CE | The reign of the Gujarat branch of Later Rāṣṭrakūṭas. |
| 843-1260 CE | The reign of the Śilāhāras of North Konkan |
| 903-1120 CE | The reign of the later Kacchaphaghāṭas |
| 988-1010 CE | The reign of the Śilāhāras of South Konkan |
| 972-1150 CE | The reign of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi. |
| 958-1068 CE | The reign of the later Chaulukyas. |
| 959 CE | Somadevasūri authors “Yaśastilakacampū”. |
| 984 CE | Udayana writes “Laksāṇāvatī”. |
| 1000-1317 CE | The reign of the later Yādavas of Devagiri. |

1290-1311 CE	The last Yādava king Rām Dev reigns in Devagiri as a feudatory of Alauddin Khilji.
1000-1100 CE	The reign of the later Kalachuris of Sarayūpāra.
1025-1129 CE	The reign of the later Paramāras.
1040-1049 CE	Sodhala authors “ <i>Udayasundarī Kathā</i> ”.
1069 CE	Ain-e-Akbari tells us that Jitpal Chauhan conquered North-western Mālava by defeating Kamāluddin in 1069 CE.
1076 CE	The epoch of the Chālukya Vikrama era.
1076-1126 CE	The reign of the Western Chālukya King Vikramaditya.
1109 or 1113 CE	The epoch of the Śiva Simha era.
1095-1200 CE	The reign of the later Sena kings of Bengal.
1200-1203	King Lakhmaniya, the son of Lakhman reigns in Bengal after the death of Rājā Naujah. Lakhmaniya flees when Bakhtiar Khilji invades Nadia. (Historians mistakenly identified Lakhmaniya to be Lakṣmaṇasena.)
1200-1263 CE	The reign of the Viśvamalla family of the later Chaulukyas in Anhilwad.
1165-1203 CE	The last Chandella king Paramāla (mistakenly identified as the earlier Chandella king Paramardi) reigns in Kālinjar. His son Brahmajit dies fighting the army of Prithviraj Chauhan around 1189 CE.
1233-1247 CE	The Baghel Kings Dalakeśvar and Malakeśvar reign in Kālinjar.



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9. EI, VI, pp.143-146.
10. CII, III, No. 36.
11. EI, XXVIII, pp. 81 ff.

<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Gupta era</i> (335 BCE)	<i>Reference</i>
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2. <i>Sam 300 40 3 dvi-Āṣāḍha ba</i>	343 (8 CE)	EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 185.

	<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Gupta era</i> (335 BCE)	<i>Reference</i>
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	2. <i>Mahā-Āśvayuja-saṁvatsare</i>	163 (172 BCE)	EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 175.
	3. <i>Mahā-Chaitra-saṁvatsare</i>	191 (144 BCE)	EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 176.
	4. <i>Mahā-Āśvayuja-saṁvatsare</i>	198 (137 BCE)	EI, XXI, pp. 124-126.
	5. <i>Mahā-Mārgasīrṣa-saṁvatsare</i>	199 (136 BCE)	EI, VIII, pp. 284-290.
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44. EI, XXVI, pp. 174-177.
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86. EI, XXXIV, pp. 175-188.
87. EI, XIII, pp. 155-158.
88. EI, XXVIII, pp. 205-211.
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Chapter 9

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Appendix - I

Inscriptions of the early Chalukyas of Badami

1. Inscriptions dated in Śaka era (583 BCE)

Inscriptions	Śaka era (583 BCE)	References
<i>Early Chalukyas</i>		
1. Marruturu Plates of Satyāśraya Śri Prithivi Vallabha <i>Svāmi-Mahāsenapādānudhyātānām Mānavyasagotrāṇām Hārītiputrāṇām..... Satyāśraya-Śri-Pritivi-vallaba mahārājah..... Pravardhamāna-svarājya-vijaya-varṣe aṣṭame Jyeṣṭha-māsasyāmāvāsyāyām Sūryagrahaṇe....</i>	8 th Regnal year	Vishnukundinulu by N Venkata ramanayya, 1970, The Publication Bureau, Hyderabad, No. 13, Plate XXIX.
2. Nerur Plates of Maṅgala Rāja (erroneously identified with Maṅgalīśvara) <i>Svāmi-Mahāsenapādānudhyātānām Mānavyasagotrāṇām Hārītiputrāṇām..... Saṁbhūtaḥ Vallabhaḥ..... Tasya putraḥ.... Maṅgala Rājaḥ Sañkaragaṇa-putram..... Buddharājam vīdrāvya Chālikya-vamśa- saṁbhūtam aṣṭādaśa-samara-vijayinam Svāmirājam ca hatvā.... Kārttika-dvādaśyām....</i>	360 (359 BCE) Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)	IA, VII, pp. 161-162.
3. Mudhol Plates of Pugavarman <i>Śri-Prithivivallabha-mahārājasya sūnunā Śrimat-Pugavarmanā Raṇasthātura-nāmadheyena....</i>	Not dated.	EI, XXXII, pp. 293-298.
4. Kaira Grant of Vijayarāja <i>Mānavyasagotrāṇām Hārītiputrāṇām Svāmi-Mahāsenapādānudhyātānām..... Saṁvatsara-śatatraye catur-ṇṇavatyadhike Vaisākha-paurnamāsyām..... Saṁvatsara 394 Vaisākha śu 15 </i>	394 (325 BCE) Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)	IA, VII, pp. 241-253.

5.	Godachi Plates of Katti Arasa <i>Svasti Svāmi Mahāsen-</i> <i>Matṛgaṇānud�ātābhī�iktānām</i> <i>Mānavyasa�otrāṇām Hārītiputrāṇām</i> <i>Chālukyānām..... Raṇavikrama-</i> <i>dharma-mahārājasya priya-tanayaḥ</i> <i>Katti-Arasa nāmadheyah....</i>	12 th Regnal year	EI, XXVIII, pp. 59-62.
<i>Early Chalukyas of Badami</i>			
6.	Altem Plates of Pulakeśin I <i>Saka-nṛpābdeṣu ekādaśottareṣu catuśśāteṣu</i> <i>vyaṭiteṣu vibhava-saṁivatsare pravartamāne</i> <i> Kṛte ca ye Vaiśākhodita-pūrṇa-pūṇya-divase</i> <i>Rāhau vidhor-maṇḍalam śliṣṭe....</i>	411(172 BCE)	IA, VII, pp. 209-217.
7.	Badami lithic Inscription of Vallabheśvara (Pulakeśin I) <i>Śaka-varṣeṣu catuśśāteṣu pañca-ṣaṣṭi-yuteṣu....</i>	465 (118 BCE)	EI, XXVII, pp. 4-9.
8.	Aminbhavi Stone Tablet Inscripton? <i>Śaka 488, Sarvajit Saṁivatsara, Sūryagrahaṇa,</i> <i>on the new moon day of Vaiśākha.</i>	488? (needs verification)	IA, XXX, pp. 209.
9.	Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of Maṅgalīśvara <i>Siddārtha Saṁivatsara, 5th</i> <i>regnal year, Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsi.</i>	5 th Regnal year	IA, XIX, pp. 7-20.
10.	Badami Cave Inscription of Maṅgalīśvara <i>Sri Maṅgalīśvara Raṇavikrāntaḥ</i> <i>pravardhamāna-rājya-saṁivatsare dvādaśe</i> <i>Śaka-nṛpati-rājyābhiṣeka-saṁivatsareṣu</i> <i>atikrānteṣu pañcasu śateṣu.....</i> <i>Mahā-Kārttika-paurṇamāsyām</i>	500 (83 BCE)	IA, III, pp. 304-306.
11.	Kurtaketi Plates of Vikramāditya <i>Trīśiśottara-pañca-śateṣu Śaka-varṣeshu atīteṣu,</i> <i>vijaya-rājya saṁivatsare śoḍaśavarṣe</i> <i>pravartamāne..... Vaiśākha-Jyeṣṭha-māsa-</i> <i>madhyamāmāvāsyāyām bhāskaradine</i> <i>Rohiṇyarkṣe madhyāhṇakāle</i> <i>Vikaramādityasya.....</i> <i>Mahādevatayo-rubhayoḥ Vṛṣabharāśau,</i> <i>tasmin Vṛṣabharāśau Sūryagrahaṇa</i> <i>Sarvamāsi (Sarvagrāsi) bhūte....</i>	530 (53 BCE)	IA, VII, pp. 217-220.
12.	Goa Plates of Maṅgalīśvara's son or Feudatory <i>Śaka-kālaḥ pañcha-varṣa-śatāni dvātriṁśāni....</i>	532 (51 BCE)	JBBRAS, X, pp. 348-367.

13.	Hyderabad Plates of Pulakeśin II Ālmanahā pravardhamāna-rājyābhiseka-saṁivatsare tritiye Śaka-nṛpati-saṁivatsara-śateṣu catustrimśatযadhikeṣu pañcasvatiteṣu Bhādrapadāmāvāsyāyām Sūrya-grahaṇa-nimittam....	534 (49 BCE)	IA, VI, pp. 73-77.
14.	Kanadalgaon Plates of Pulakeśin II Śri-Harshavardhana-parājayopalabdha- parameśvarāpara-nāmadheyah..... Māgha-māsa-saptamīyām pañcame vijaya- -rājya-saṁivatsare....	536 (47 BCE) 5 th Regnal Year	IA, XIV, pp. 330-331.
15.	Tummeyanuru Plates of Pulakeśin II Kārttika paurṇamāsi, candra grahaṇa.	548 (35 BCE) 29 th Oct 35 BCE	CPIAPGM, I, pp. 40-45.
16.	Lohner Plates of Pulakeśin II Raṇavikramādityyanāma- Śri Pulakeśi-vallabha- mahārājah..... tasya putraḥ Kirtivarmā..... tasya putraḥ..... Satyāśraya-Prithivi-vallabha- mahārājah..... dvipañcāśadadhike Śakābda- śata-pañcake....	552 (31 BCE)	EI, XXVII, pp. 37-41.
17.	Kopparam Plates of Pulakeśin II Pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁivatsare ekavimśati-tame Kārttika-māse..... bṛhaspati-vāre....	552 (31 BCE) 21 st Regnal year	EI, XVIII, pp. 257-260.
18.	Aihole Inscription of Pulakeśin II Trīnśatsu trisalhasreṣu Bhāratād-āhavāditah Sahābda [Saptābda?]śata-yukteṣu gateṣvbdeṣu pañcasu Pañcāśatsu Kalau kāle ṣaṭsu pañca-śateṣu ca samāsu samatītāsu Sakānāmapi bhūbhujām	556 (27 BCE)	IA, V, pp. 70.
19.	Nerur Plates of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā & Vikramāditya I Vikramādityaḥ Tasya jyestha-bhrātuḥ Śri [Ca]ndrāditya-Prithivi-vallabha-mahārājasya priya-mahiṣi Vijayabhaṭṭārikā Sva-rājya- pañcama-saṁivatsara Āśvayuja- paurṇamāsasya dvitīyāyām viṣuve....	5 th Regnal year	IA, VII, pp.163-164.
20.	Kochre Plates of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā	Not dated.	IA, VIII, pp. 44-47 & JBBRAS, Vol III, pt. I, pp. 211.
21.	Hosur Plates of Ambera (Daughter or son of Pulakeśin II) Māgha Paurṇamāsi.	Not dated.	IA, XIX, pp. 89, 96-98.

22.	Turimella Inscription of Vikramāditya I	2 nd Regnal year	El, XXIX, pp. 160-164.
23.	Karnul Plates of Vikramāditya I	3 rd Regnal year	IA, X, pp. 244.
24.	Amudalpadu Plates of Vikramāditya I	5 th Regnal year	El, XXIX, pp. 175-184.
25.	Talamanchi (Nellore) Plates of Vikramāditya I <i>Viditamastu vosmābhīḥ pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-śaḍvatsare Śrāvaṇamāsa-Sūryagrahaṇe....</i>	6 th Regnal year	El, IX, pp. 98.
26.	A Grant of Vikramāditya I <i>Eka-navaṭyuttara-pañca-śateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu..... pañcadaše vartamāne..... Āśvayuja krṣṇa-pakṣāṣṭamyām viṣuvatkāle....</i>	591(8 CE) 15 th Regnal year	El, XLII, pp. 1-5.
27.	Honnur Plates of Vikramāditya I <i>Dvā-navaṭyuttara-pañca-śateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu..... ṣoḍaše vartamāne Vaiśākha paurṇamāsyām.... VikramādityasyāgraJa-Raṇarāgavarmasya....</i>	592 (9 CE) 16 th Regnal year	MAR, 1939, pp. 129-137.
28.	Tembhurni Plates (1st set) of Vikramāditya I <i>Catur-ṇṇavaṭyuttara pañca-śateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁivatsare sapta-daše varttamāne..... Jyeṣṭha-Paurṇamāsyām? Candra-grahaṇa-vartamāne.... (Āśāḍha paurṇamāsyām ?)</i>	17 th Regnal year	JESI, 10, 1983, pp. 10-15.
29.	Tembhurni Plates (2nd set) of Vikramāditya I <i>Catur-ṇṇavaṭyuttara pañca-śateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁivatsare sapta-daše varttamāne.... Āśāḍha-māsyuttarāyaṇa- samāptau....</i>	17 th Regnal year	JESI, 9, 1982, pp. 1-5.
30.	Gadwal Plates of Vikramāditya I <i>Śaṇṇavaṭyuttara-pañca-śateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu viṁśatitame vartamāne.... Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsyām....</i>	596 (13 CE) 20 th Regnal year	El, X, pp. 100-106.
31.	Savnur (Dharwar) Plates of Vikramāditya I <i>Sapta-navaṭyuttara-pañca-śateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu viṁśatitame vartamāne.... Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsyām....</i>	597 (14 CE) 20 th Regnal year	El, XXVII, pp. 115-119.
32.	Karnul Plates of Ādityavarman	1 st Regnal year	IA, X, pp. 244.
33.	Nelkunda Grant of Abhinavāditya	Not dated.	El, XXXII, pp. 213-216.
34.	Paniyal(Hyderabad) Plates of Vinayāditya	604 (21 CE) 2 nd Regnal year	ARIE, 1955-56, pp. 2 & 18.
35.	Lakshmesvar Inscription of Vinayāditya <i>Pauṣa-māsa-paurṇamāsyām....</i>	608 (25 CE) 5 th Regnal year	SII, XX, No.4, pp. 3-4.

36.	Jejuri Plates of Vinayāditya	609 (26 CE)	El, XIX, pp. 62-65.
37.	Togarachedu Plates of Vinayāditya <i>Ekādaśottara-ṣaṭcchateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsare daśame varttamāne..... Kārttika-paurṇamāsyām....</i>	611 (28 CE)	IA, VI, pp. 85.
38.	Poona Plates of Vinayāditya <i>Dvādaśottara-ṣaṭcchateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu..... daśame vartamāne Vaisākha-paurṇamāsyām....</i>	612 (29 CE) 10 th Regnal year	El, XXV, pp. 289-292.
39.	Karnul Plates of Vinayāditya <i>Trayodaśottara-ṣaṭcchateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣu atīteṣu pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya- saṁvatsare ekādaśe varttamāne..... Māgha-paurṇamāsyām....</i>	613 (30 CE) 11 th Regnal year	IA, VI, pp. 89.
40.	Mayalur Plates of Vinayāditya	614 (31 CE)	El, XXXIII, pp. 311-314.
41.	Sorab (Shimoga) Plates of Vinayāditya <i>[Ca]turddasottara-ṣaṭcchateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣu atīteṣu pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsare ekādaśe varttamāne..... dakṣinābhimukhe bhagavati bhāskare Rohini nakṣatre Śāniścaravāre....</i>	614 (31 CE)	IA, XIX, pp. 146-150.
42.	Dayyamdinne Plates of Vinayāditya <i>Caturddasottara-ṣaṭcchateṣu Śaka varṣeṣu atīteṣu dvādaśe varttamāne Āśāḍha-paurṇamāsyām dakṣināyana-kāle....</i>	614 (31 CE)	El, XXII, pp. 24-29.
43.	Kolhapur Plates of Vinayāditya	615 (32 CE)	KI, II, pp. 6-11
44.	Harihar Plates of Vinayāditya <i>Ṣoḍaśottara-ṣaṭcchateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsare caturdaśe varttamāne..... Kārttika-paurṇamāsyām....</i>	616 (33 CE)	IA, VI, pp. 91-94
45.	Patoda Plates of Vinayāditya	617 (34 CE) 14 th Regnal year	IA, XL, pp. 240
46.	Jamalagama Grant of Vijayāditya	619 (36 CE) 1 st Regnal year	El, XXXIV, pp. 313-316.
47.	Badami Pillar Inscription of Vijayāditya	621 (38 CE) 3 rd Regnal year	IA, X, pp. 60-61.
48.	Malayur Grant of Vijayāditya <i>Dvāviṁśatytara-ṣaṭcchateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu..... caturthe varttamāne Vaisākha-paurṇamāsyām....</i>	622 (39 CE) 4 th Regnal year	El, XXXIII, pp. 311-314.
49.	Nerur Grant of Vijayāditya <i>Dvāviṁśatytara-ṣaṭcchateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu..... caturthe varttamāne Āśāḍha-paurṇamāsyām</i>	622 (39 CE) 4 th Regnal year	IA, IX, pp. 125-130.

50.	Rayagad Grant of Vijayāditya	625 (42 CE) 8 th Regnal year	EI, X, pp. 14-17.
51.	Elapur Grant of Vijayāditya	626 (43 CE)	IHQ, IV, pp. 425-430.
52.	Cholachagudda (Bagalkot) Plates of Vijayāditya <i>Kārttika paurṇamāśī, Lunar Eclipse, Thursday.</i>	627 (44 CE) 10 th Regnal year	ARSIE, 1934-35, 7 & 57, No. 22A; JKU, Vol I, pp. 193-227.
53.	Nerur Plates of Vijayāditya <i>Saptaviṁśatytattara-ṣaṭcchateṣu</i> <i>Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu..... daśame varttamāne....</i>	627 (44 CE) 10 th Regnal Year	IA, IX, pp. 130-132.
54.	Shiggaon Plates of vijayāditya	630 (47 CE)	EI, XXXII, pp. 317-324.
55.	Aihole Inscription of Vijayāditya <i>Āśvayuja paurṇamāśī, at the time of</i> <i>autumnal equinox.</i>	630 (47 CE) 13 th Regnal year	IA, VIII, pp. 285.
56.	Satara Plates of Vijayāditya	632 (49 CE) 14 th Regnal year	EI, XXVI, pp. 322-326.
57.	Alampur Plates of Vijayāditya <i>Ṣat-triṁśaduttara-ṣaṭcchate Śaka-varṣe</i> <i>aṣṭādaśe varttamāne Vaisākha-trayodaśyām....</i>	636 (52-53 CE) 18 th Regnal year	EI, XXXV, pp. 121-124.
58.	Bapgaon Plates of Vijayāditya <i>Caitra paurṇamāśī, Saṁkrānti, Monday.</i>	640 (57 CE) 22 nd Regnal year	JBISM, IX, pp. 1-6.
59.	Lakshmesvar Inscription of Vijayāditya <i>Pañca-catvāriṁśaduttara-ṣaṭcchateṣu</i> <i>Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu..... aṣṭāviṁśatitame.....</i> <i>Bhādrapada-paurṇamāsyām sarvagrāsa-</i> <i>candra-grahaṇopalakṣitāyam</i>	645? or 646? (63 CE) 28 th Regnal year	SII, XX, No. 5, pp. 4-5.
60.	Lakshmesvar Inscription of Vijayāditya <i>Phālguna paurṇamāśī.</i>	651 (68 CE) 34 th Regnal year	SII, XX, No.6, pp. 6-7.
61.	Lakshmesvar Inscription of Vikramāditya II <i>Māgha paurṇamāśī.</i>	656 (73 CE) 2 nd Regnal year	IA, VII, pp. 110- 111.
62.	Narwan Plates of Vikramāditya II <i>Catuśaṣṭytattara-ṣaṭcchateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu.....</i> <i>aṣṭame..... uttarāyaṇa-kāle</i>	664 (81 CE) 8 th Regnal year	EI, XXVII, pp. 125-131.
63.	Kendur Plates of Kīrtivarman II <i>Dvisaptatyuttara-ṣaṭcchateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu</i> <i>pravardhamāna-vijayarājya-saṁivatsare ṣaṣṭhe</i> <i>varttamāne..... Vaisākha paurṇamāsyām Somagrahaṇe....</i>	672 (89 CE) 6 th Regnal year	IA, IX, pp. 200-206.
64.	Vakkaleri Plates of Kīrtivarman II <i>Navasaptatyuttara-ṣaṭcchateṣu</i> <i>Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu..... ekādaśe varttamāne</i> <i>Bhādrapada-paurṇamāsyām....</i>	679 (96 CE) 11 th Regnal year	EI, V, pp. 200-206.

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65.	Sanjan Plates of Buddhavarasara Śri-Harshadeva-parājayopalabdhoparāgaḥ..... Kokkulla-Vikramāditya-mahārājaḥ tasya pitṛvyaḥ Satyāśrayasyānujo Śri-Buddhavarasaraṇaḥ Pauṣa-māsasya Āditya-grahaṇe....	Śaka year not mentioned but probably, issued on 5 th Jan 28 BCE.	JBBRAS, XX, pp.40-48.
66.	Mudgapadra Plates of Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Śilāditya	421(18 CE) Kalachuri- Chedi era (403 BCE)	EI, XXXIV, pp. 117-122.
67.	Navasari Plates of Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Śilāditya Māgha-śuddha-trayodaśyām Saṁvatsara- śata-catuṣṭaye ekavimśat�adhike Dharāśraya- Jayasiṁhavarmā tasya putraḥ Śryāśraya-Śri- Śilāditya-yuvarājaḥ Navasārikāmadhivasaṇ....	421(18 CE) Kalachuri- Chedi era (403 BCE)	JBBRAS, XVI, pp. 1-7. & EI, VIII, pp. 229.
68.	Manor Plates of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa Trayodaśottara-ṣaṭcchateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu pravardhamāna-vijayarājya-saṁvatsare ekavimśatitame varttamāne..... parama-māheśvara- Nāgavardhana-pādānudhyātāḥ..... Kokkuli- Vikramāditya-rājaḥ, tasyānujo Dharāśraya- Jayasiṁhavarma-rājaḥ tasya sutāḥ Vinayāditya-Prithivivallabha-Jayāśraya- Maṅgalarasarājaḥ....	613 (30 BCE)	EI, XXVIII, pp. 17-26.
69.	Nasik Plates of Dharāśraya Jayasimha Caitra-māsa-śuddha-daśamyām viṣuve..... Saṁ 400 30 6 Chai śu 10	436 (33 CE) Kalachuri-Chedi era (403 BCE)	CII, IV, Part I, No.28, Plate XXI, pp. 127-131.
70.	Surat Plates of Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Śilāditya Vikramādityaḥ.... tasya putraḥ.... Vinayādityaḥ.... tasya pitṛvyaḥ Dharāśraya- Jayasiṁhavarmaṇaḥ putraḥ.... Śryāśraya- Śilāditya-yuvarājaḥ...., Śrāvanya-paurṇamāsyām..., Saṁvatsara 400 40 3, Śrāvanya śu di 10 5	443 (40 CE) Kalachuri-Chedi era (403 BCE)	CII, IV, Part I, No.29, Plate XXII, pp. 132-137.
71.	Anjaneri Plates of Bhogaśakti Saṁvatsara-catuṣṭaye ekaṣaṣṭyadhike....	461 (58 CE) Kalachuri-Chedi era (403 BCE)	CII, IV, Part I, pp. 146-158.
72.	Dive Agar Plates of Jayāśraya Maṅgalarasa	649 (66 CE)	IAR, 1962-63, pp. 52.
73.	Balsar Plates of Jayāśraya Maṅgalarasa	653 (70 CE)	IA, XIII, pp. 75.
74.	Navasari Plates of Avanijanāśraya Pulakesirāja Saṁvatsara-śata 400 90 Kārttika-śuddha 10 5	490 (87 CE) Kalachuri-Chedi era (403 BCE)	CII, IV, Part I, No.30, Plate XXIII, pp. 137-145.

75. **Nirpan grant of Nāgavardhana** Not dated. IA, IX, pp. 123-125.
*Pulakesī-vallabhalḥ tasyānujo bhrātā Dharāśraya-
 Śri-Jayasimhavarmarājah.... tasya sūnuḥ.....
 Tribhuvanāśrayalḥ Śri-Nāgavardhanarājah....*

2. *Inscriptions dated in Śālivāhana era (78 CE)*

<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Śālivāhana era (78 CE)</i>	<i>References</i>
1. Pimpalner Plates of Satyāśrayadeva <i>Svasti Śaka-nṛpa-kalatīta-saṁvatsara- śateṣu triṣu daśottareṣu..... Payoṣṇi-saṅgame Sūryagrahaṇa-parvaṇi....</i>	310 (388 CE) 18 th Aug 388 CE	IA, IX, pp. 294.
2. Itagi Grant of Vinayāditya <i>Vaiśākha paurṇamāsi, Vyatipāta, Ānanda Saṁvatsara, Thursday.</i>	516 (594 CE)	ARSIE, 1939-40 to 1940-42, pp. 20.
3. Pali Plates of Vinayāditya <i>Kārttika śukla pañcamī, bhaumavāra, Kālayukta saṁvatsara.</i>	520 (598 CE)	JBISM, III, pt. 1, pp. 6-16.
4. Dharwar Plates of Vinayāditya <i>Vaiśākha amāvāsyā, Thursday, Vyatipāta, Kālayukta saṁvatsara.</i>	520 (598 CE)	ARSIE, 1933-34, pp. 4, No. A2 &IE, Vol II, pp. 222.
5. Boargaon Plates of Vijayāditya <i>Phālguna amāvāsyā, Vyatipāta, Bṛhaspativāra, Solar eclipse, Ānanda saṁvatsara.</i>	520 (598 CE)	SMHD, Vol II, pp. 23-31.
6. Pattadakal Pillar Inscription <i>Śrāvāṇa amāvāsyā, Sūrya Grahaṇa.</i>	Not dated.	EI, III, pp. 1-8 & IA, X, pp. 168.



Appendix - II

Inscriptions of the Eastern Chalukyas of Veṅgi

Inscriptions dated in Śaka era (583 BCE)

<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Śaka era (583 BCE)</i>	<i>References</i>
<i>Early Chalukyas of Rājamahendravaram</i>		
1. Inscription of Vishnuvardhana (Pedda-Cherukuru, Guntur)	2625 (477-476 BCE) <i>Kaliyuga era</i> (3102 BCE)	Dynastic list of Copper-Plate Inscriptions from 1887 to 1969, No. 163, pp. 32.
2. Inscription of Vishnuvardhana (Govt. Museum of Hyderabad) <i>Mānavyagotrāṇām Hāritiputrāṇām.... Svāmi-Mahāsenapādānudhyātṛīṇām.... Chālukyānām..... Nija-Bhuja-niśita-nistrīṁśa-dhārāvanata-pratīpa-nṛpacaya-sikharo Śri-Vishnuvardhana-mahārājasya priya-putraḥ... Śri-Vishnuvardhana-mahārājah.... Rājamahendravare sthito.... Kalyādyabda-gaṇe aṣṭa-netra-rasa-dossañkhyegate vatsare prāptē'tha Prabhavē Tapasyapi site pakṣe dvitīyāyām gurau vāre cha-Ikśupurindhra-nāma Cherayūri-grāmake....</i>	2628 elapsed (474-473 BCE) <i>Kaliyuga era</i> (3102 BCE) The date is 6 th Jan 473 BCE.	SII, VI, No. 202, pp. 95-98.
<i>Eastern Chalukyas of Veṅgi</i>		
3. Satara Plates of Vishnuvardhana I	540 (43 BCE) 8 th Regnal Year of Pulakeśin II	IA, XIX, pp. 303-311.
4. Chipurupalle Plates of Vishnuvardhana I <i>Satyāśraya-Śrivallabha-Mahārājah Tasya priyānujāḥ..... Śri Vishnuvardhana mahārājah.... Śrāvaṇa-māse Candragrahanā-nimitti..... Saṁ 10 8 ma 4 di 10 5 </i>	554 (29 BCE) 18 th Regnal year	IA, XX, pp. 15-18.
5. Grant of Vishnuvardhana II <i>Vardhamāna-rājya-dvitiyā-saṁivatsare</i>	2 nd Regnal year	IA, VII, pp. 185-191.

	<i>Caitra-māse śuklapakṣe daśamyām Maghā-nakṣatre budhavāreṣu....</i>		
6.	Grant of Vishnuvardhana III <i>Kirtivarmanāḥ prajaptā, Vishnuvardhana -mahārājasya naptā Jayasimha-mahārājasya priya-bhrātuḥ Indra-bhaṭṭārakasya priya -tanayaḥ Vishnuvardhana-mahārājāḥatmano Vijaya-pañcame sañivatsare Phālguna -māse amāvāsyāyām Sūryagrahaṇa-nimittam....</i>	5 th Regnal year	IA, VII, pp. 191-192.
7.	A Grant of Narendra-MṛgaRāja <i>Candra-grahaṇa nimite....</i>	Not dated.	SII, I, No.35, pp. 31-36.
8.	Kalpataru Grant of Vijayāditya III or Guṇagāṅka Vijayāditya	Not Dated.	EI, XLII, pp. 35-43.
9.	Bezavada Plates of Chālukya Bhima I	Not dated.	EI, V, pp. 127-131.
10.	Masulipatnam Plates of Ammarāja I	Not dated.	EI, V, pp. 131-134.
11.	A Grant of Ammarāja I	Not dated.	SII, I, No.36, pp. 36-43.
12.	Masulipatnam Plates of Chālukya Bhima II	Not dated.	EI, V, pp. 134- 139.
13.	A Grant of Chālukya Bhima II	Not dated.	SII, I, No.37, pp. 43-46.
14.	A Grant of Ammarāja II <i>Giri-Rasa-Vasu sankhyābde Śaka-samaye Mārgaśīrṣa-māse'smin kṛṣṇa-trayodaśadine bṛguvāre Maitra-nakṣatre Dhanuṣi ravau Ghāta-lagne dvādaśavarṣe tu janmataḥ paṭṭam....</i>	867 (283-284 CE)	IA, VII, pp. 15-19.
15.	A Grant of Ammarāja II	Not dated.	SII, I, No.38, pp. 46-49.
16.	Nammuru Grant of Ammarāja II <i>Śri-Ammarājābhidhāna-sakalabhuvanāśraya - Śri-Vijayādityaḥ....</i>	Not dated.	EI, XII, pp. 61-65.
17.	Maliyapundi Grant of Ammarāja II <i>Hatvā bhūri-Nodaniba-rāṣṭra-nṛpatim Maṅgi-mahāsaṅgara-Gaṅgānāśrita- Gaṅgakūṭa-śikharān nirjitya Sañdalādhīśam Saṅkilamugravallabhayutam yo bhāyyayitvā..... Vijayādityo rarakṣa kṣitīm..... Kirāṇapuramadhākṣit Krishnarājasthitam....</i>	Not dated.	EI, IX, pp. 47-56.
18.	Vandaram Plates of Ammarāja II	Not dated.	EI, IX, pp. 131-135.

19.	Masulipatnam Plates of Ammarāja II	Not dated.	El, V, pp. 139-142.
20.	Vemalurpadu Grant of Ammarāja II	Not dated	El, XVIII, pp. 226-235.
21.	Tandikonda Grant of Ammarāja II	Not dated. Probably, Śaka 880 (297 CE).	El, XXIII, pp. 161-170.
22.	Mangallu Grant of Ammarāja II <i>Ammarājah surapati-vibha-baddho dharitrīm rakṣayān ekādaśābdam jitāripuramagamat Krishna-kopāt Kaliṅgam Tasya dvaimāturalah kṣmām sakala-jana-mude Vallabhādāpta-rājyo Bhaimo Dānārṇavēśo' pyavati Manu-nayād Añkidevī-tanūjaḥ </i>	Not dated. Probably, Śaka 878 (295 CE).	El, XXXI, pp. 37-44.
23.	Arumbaka Grant of Badapa	Not dated.	El, XIX, pp. 137-148.
24.	Śripundi Grant of Tala II	Not dated.	El, XIX, pp. 148-154.
25.	Grant of Rājarāja I <i>Yo Rakśitum Vasumatīm Śaka-vatsareśu, Vedāmburāśi-nidhi vartīsu Siṁhage'rke Kṛṣṇa-dvītya-divasottara-bhadrikāyām, Vāre guror vaniji lagna-vare'bhiṣiktaḥ </i>	944 (360 CE)	IA, XIV, pp. 48-55.
26.	A Grant of Vira Choda <i>Śākabde Śaśi-khadvayendu-gaṇite Siṁhādhirūḍhe ravau, Candre vṛddhimati trayodaśa-tithau vāre guror-vṛścike lagne'tha Śravaṇe samasta-jagatī-rājyābhīṣikto mudā, lokasyodvahati sma paṭṭamanaghāḥ Śri-Vīra-chodo nrpaḥ Śri-vijaya-rājya -saṁtvatsare ekaviṁśe....</i>	1001 (417 CE)	SII, I, No.39, pp. 50-62.
27.	Chittoor Grant of Kulottunga Chodadeva II <i>Śakābdānām pramāṇe rasa-viśikha- viyaccandra-saṅkhyām prayāte deśe.... Ādrarkṣe pūrvapakṣe viṣuvati sutithau</i>	1056 (473 CE)	IA, XIV, pp. 55-59.



Appendix - III

Inscriptions of the early Rāṣṭrakūṭas

Inscriptions dated in Śaka era (583 BCE)

<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Śaka era (583 BCE)</i>	<i>References</i>
<i>Achalapura branch of the early Rāṣṭrakūṭas</i>		
1. Tiwarkheda Plates of Nannarāja Śaka-kāla-saṁivatsara-śateṣu pañcasu trayah-pañcāśad-varṣādhikeṣu aṣṭamāsebhyaḥ atīteṣu....	553 (30 BCE)	EI, XI, pp. 276-281.
2. Nagardhan Plates of Svāmirāja Āśādha-saṁivatsare Caitrāmāvāsyāyām.... grahoparāge saṁivatsara-śata-traye dvavimīṣe (322) Kārttika śudi 5....	322 (13 BCE) Gupta era (335 BCE)	EI, XI, pp. 276-81.
3. Sangalooda Plates of Nannarāja Śaka-kāla-saṁivatsara-śateṣu ṣaṭsu pañcadaśānviteṣu Kārttika-śuddha -paurṇamāsyām....	615 (32 CE)	EI, XXIX, pp. 109-115.
4. Multai Plates of Nandarāja Kārttika paurṇamāsyām..... Śaka-kāla -saṁivatsara-śateṣu ṣaṭcchateṣu -eka-trinśottareṣu....	631 (48 CE)	IA, 18, pp. 230-236.
5. Indragarh Inscription of Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Nannappa Sapta-ṣaṭyatadhike yāte varṣāṇām śata- saptake Mālavānām narendrāṇām pr̥thivyām viśrutātmanām Kāle śaradi saṁprāptē....	767 (48 CE) Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)	EI, XXXII, pp. 112-117.
<i>Main branch of the early Rāṣṭrakūṭas</i>		
6. Ellora Plates of Dantidurga Saṁ 600 60 3 Āśvayuja śuddha trayodaśyām somavāre....	663 (80-81 CE)	EI, XXV, pp. 25-31.
7. Manor Plates of Dantidurga Saṁivatsara-śateṣu ṣaṭsu visa (eka) saptayatadhikeṣu.... Saṁ 600 70 1....	671 (88-89 CE)	Studies in Indology, Vol II, pp. 10-15.

8.	Samangad Plates of Dantidurga Pañcasaptatyadhika Śaka-kāla-saṁvatsara -śata-ṣaṭke vyatīte Saṁvat 675..... Māgha-māsa-rathasaptamyām....	675 (92-93 CE)	IA, XI, pp. 109-115.
9.	Manne Plates of Krishnarāja I Śaka-nṛpati-saṁvatsara-śata-ṣaṭke aśtyuttare Hemalamba-saṁvatsare..... Āśvayujāmāvāsyāyām Sūrya-grahaṇe....	680 (97-98 CE)	BISM, VIII, pp.166-167.
10.	Barsi Plates of Krishnarāja I Śaka-nṛpati-saṁvatsara-śata-ṣaṭke saptāśtyuttare Śubhakṛt-saṁvatsare..... Jyeṣṭha māsi amāvāsyāyām Sūrya- grahaṇa-nimittam....	687 (103-104 CE)	JESI, XI, 1984, pp.106-114.
11.	Talegaon Plates of Krishnarāja I Śaka-nṛpati-saṁvatsara-śata-ṣaṭke navatyuttare Plavaṅga-varṣe Vaisākhāmāvāsyāyām Āditya-grahe Gaṅgānām-upari vijaya-skandhāvāre Manna-nagare....	690 (106-107 CE)	EI, XIII, pp. 275-282.
12.	Alas Plates of yuvarāja Govindarāja II Ṣaṭchate dvinavatyadhike Śaka-varṣe Saumya-saṁvatsare Āśāḍha-śukla-pakṣe saptamyām....	692 (108-109 CE)	EI, VI, pp. 208-213.
13.	Manne Plates of a feudatory of Yuvarāja Govinda III Catur-viṁśatyuttareṣu sapta-śateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣu samatīteṣu..... Somagrahaṇe Puṣya-nakṣatre....	724 (140-141 CE)	EC, IX, Nj 61.
14.	Copper Plates of Govinda III Trīniśaduttareṣu Śaka-varṣeṣu....	730 (147 CE)	MAR, 1920, pp. 31.
15.	Manne Plates of Ranāvaloka Kambharāja Caturviṁśatyuttareṣu saptaśateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣu samatīteṣu ātmānaḥ pravardhamāna- vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsare Mānyapura-madhibasati vijaya- skandhāvāre Somagrahaṇe Puṣya-nakṣatre....	724 (141 CE)	EI, XXIII, pp. 293 & Rāṣṭrakūṭa Śāsanagalū, Vol I, No. 48.
16.	Devanuru Plates of Ranāvaloka Kambharāja Trīniśaduttareṣvatiṭeṣu [saptaśateṣu] Śaka-varṣeṣu Kārttika-māsa-paurnamāsyām Rohiṇī-nakṣatre....	730 (147 CE)	EC, III, Nj 278, pp. 352.
17.	Badanaguppa Plates of Ranāvaloka Kambharāja	730 (147 CE)	MAR, 1920, pp.25

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18.	Manne Plates of Govinda III Śrimad-Dhārāvaraśa-pādānudhyāta..... Prabhūtāvaraśa-Śri-Govindarājadevaḥ । Dantīvaraṇapā... Chākīrajena sahitena..... dvātriṁśaduttareṣu sapta-śateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣu samatīteṣu ātmānaḥ pravardhamāna-vijaya-saṁivtsareṣu aṣṭādaśa samatīteṣu Pauṣamāsa- paurṇamāsyām Somagrahaṇe Puṣya-nakṣatre....	732 (149 CE)	The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, 14, 1923-24, pp. 82-88.
19.	Kadamba Plates of Prabhūtāvaraśa Śaka-nṛpa-saṁvatsareṣu śara-śikhi-munīṣu vyatīteṣu Jyeṣṭha-māsa-śukla-daśamyām Puṣya-nakṣatre candravāre	735 (152 CE)	EI, IV, pp. 332-348.
20.	Saundatti Inscription of Pṛthivīrāma, a feudatory of Krishnarāja II Saptaśatyā navatyā ca saṁyukteṣu ca saptaṣu, Śaka-kāleśvatīteṣu Manmathāhvaya vatsare....	797 (214 CE)	JBBRAS, Vol X, pp. 194.
21.	Mulgund Inscription of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Krishnavallabha Śaka-nṛpa-kāle aṣṭāśate caturuttara- viṁśaduttare sañipragate Dundubhi nāmani varṣe pravartamāne....	824 (241 CE)	JBBRAS, Vol X, pp.190.
22.	Karadvanj Plates of Akālavarṣa Krishnarāja Śaka-saṁvrat 832 Vaiśākha-śuddha -paurṇamāsyām mahāvaiśākhyām....	832 (249 CE)	EI, I, pp. 52-58.
23.	Śravaṇabelagola Inscription of Indrarāja Vanadhi-nabho-nidhi (904) pramita saṅkhye Śākāvanipāla-kālamam nanayise Citrabhānu parivartise....	904 (321 CE)	Rāṣṭrakūṭa Śāsanagalū, Vol II, No. 507 & 508.
<i>Gujarat branch of the early Rāṣṭrakūṭas</i>			
24.	Hilol Plates of Kakkarāja Saṁvatsara-śata-catuṣṭaye saptyadhike Mārgaśīra-māsa-śuddha-saptamīyām bhauma-dine....	470 (135 CE) Gupta era (335 BCE)	EI, XXXIV, pp. 213-218.
<i>Central India branch of the early Rāṣṭrakūṭas</i>			
25.	Pathari Pillar Inscription of Parabala (Grandson of Jeija and son of Karkarāja) Saṁvrat 917 Caitra śudi 6....	917 (198 CE) Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 CE)	EI, IX, pp. 248-256.



Appendix - IV

Inscriptions of Later Rāṣṭrakūṭas

1. Inscriptions dated in Śālivāhana era (78 CE)

<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Śālivāhana era (78 CE)</i>	<i>References</i>
1. Tadakal(Gulbarga) Inscription of Amoghavarṣa	651(729 CE) Śāsanagalu,	Rāṣṭrakūṭa Vol I, No. 137.
2. Bhadrak Plates of Akālavarṣa Narendradeva	694 (772 CE)	EI, XIV, pp. 121-130.
3. Pimpri Plates of Dhārāvarṣa Dhruvadeva	697 (775 CE)	EI, X, pp. 81-89.
4. Bhor State Museum Plates of Dhārāvarṣa Dhruvadeva	702 (780 CE)	EI, XXII, pp. 176-186.
5. Kasarsirsi Plates of Dhruvadeva	705 (783 CE)	JASB, Vol 43-44, 1968-69, pp. 95.
6. Jethwai Plates of Dhruvadeva's wife Sīlamahādevi	708 (786 CE)	EI, XXII, pp. 98-109.
7. Daulatabad Plates of Samarāvaloka Saṅkaraganarāja	715 (793 CE)	EI, IX, pp. 193-198.
8. Paithan Plates of Prabhūtavarṣa Śrivallabha	716 (794 CE)	EI, III, pp. 103-110.
9. Wadgaon Plates of Amoghavarṣa	720 (798 CE)	IA, XXX, pp. 371-373.
10. Anjanvati Plates of Prabhūtavarṣa Śrivallabha	722 (800 CE)	EI, XXIII, pp. 8-18.
11. Jharika Plates of Govindarājadeva	726 (804 CE)	EI, XXXII, pp. 157-164.
12. Inscription of Govinda III (No. CXXIII)	726 (804 CE)	IA, XI, pp. 125-126.
13. Nesarika Grant of Govindarāja Prabhūtavarṣa Śrivallabha	727 (805 CE) pp. 123-134.	EI, XXXIV, pp. 123-134.
14. Nandi Plates of Prabhūtavarṣa Śrivallabha	728 (806 CE)	MAR, 1914, pp. 30.

15.	Dharur Plates of Jagattuṅga Śrivallabha 285-296.	728 (806 CE)	EI, XXXVI, pp.
16.	Beed Plates of Jagattuṅga Śrivallabha	728 (806 CE)	EI, XXXVI, pp. 290.
17.	Shisavi Grant of Prabhūtavarṣa Śrivallabha	729 (807 CE)	EI, XXIII, 204-212
18.	Vani Plates of Prabhūtavarṣa Govindarāja	730 (808 CE)	IA, XI, pp.156-163.
19.	Randhanpur Plates of Prabhūtavarṣa Śrivallabha	730 (808 CE)	EI, VI, pp. 239-251.
20.	Bahulavar Plates of Prabhūtavarṣa Govindarāja	732 (810 CE)	JIH, XI.
21.	Bahulavar Plates of Prabhūtavarṣa Śrivallabha	732 (810 CE)	JIH, 1925.
22.	Lohara Grant of Prabhūtavarṣa Śrivallabha	734 (812 CE)	EI, XXIII, pp. 212-222.
23.	Torkhede Plates of the time of Prabhūtavarṣa Govindarāja	735 (813 CE)	EI, III, pp. 53-58.
24.	Javakheda Plates of Amoghavarṣa	742 (820 CE)	EI, XXXII, pp. 129-134.
25.	Tarsad Plates of Tribhuvanavallabha Amoghavarṣa	772 (850 CE)	ARIE, 1971-72, A2.
26.	Kanheri Inscription of Amoghavarṣa	775 (853 CE)	ARIE, 1949-50, B168.
27.	Konnur Inscriptions of Amoghavarṣa	782 (860 CE)	EI, VI, pp. 25-38.
28.	Nilgund Inscription of Amoghavarṣa	788 (866 CE)	EI, VI, pp. 98 ff
29.	Sirur Inscription of Amoghavarṣa	788 (866 CE)	EI, VII, pp.202
30.	Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa	793 (871 CE)	EI, XVIII, pp. 235-255.
31.	Kanheri Inscription of Amoghavarṣa	799 (877 CE)	IA, XIII, pp.135-136.
32.	Suratur Inscription of Akalavarṣa	805 (883 CE)	SII, XI, Part I, No. 20 & EI, XXI, pp. 206-208.
33.	Devanagiri Inscription of Kannaradeva	809 (887 CE)	EC, XI, Dg 17.
34.	Ankuleśvar Plates of Akālavarṣa Krishnarāja	810 (888 CE)	IA, XIII, pp. 65-69.
35.	Nandavadiga Inscription of Kannaradeva	822 (900 CE)	ARSIE, 1927, BK170.

36.	Bandalika Inscription of Kannaradeva	834 (912 CE)	EC, VII, Sk 219.
37.	Kumsi Inscription of Akālavarṣa	835 (913 CE)	EC, VIII, Pt. II, Sb 88.
38.	Bagumra Inscription of Nityavarṣa	836 (914 CE)	JBBRAS, XVIII, pp. 253.
39.	Vajirkheda Plates of Nityavarṣa	836 (914 CE)	EI, XXXVIII, pp.5-22.
40.	Tiggamvi Inscription of Nityavarṣa	841 (919 CE)	KI, I, No. 16
41.	Kadabagiri Inscription of Nityavarṣa	844 (922 CE)	SII, IX, No. 58
42.	Chinchani Plates of Nityavarṣa	848 (926 CE)	EI, XXXII, pp. 44-55
43.	Nagpur Plates of Suvarṇavarṣa	851 (929 CE)	EI, XXXVI, pp.257 ff.
44.	Ganauri Plates of Suvarṇavarṣa	851 (929 CE)	EI, XXIII, pp.101-113.
45.	Cambay Plates of Suvarṇavarṣa	852 (930 CE)	EI, VII, pp. 26-47.
46.	Savantvadi Plates of Suvarṇavarṣa	855 (933 CE)	IA, XII, pp. 247-255.
47.	Chitradurga Inscription of Amoghavarṣa	859 (937 CE)	EC, XI, Cd 76.
48.	Shimoga Inscription of Kannaradeva	861 (939 CE)	EC, VIII, Sb 476.
49.	Diyoli Plates of Akālavarṣa	862 (940 CE)	EI, V, pp. 188-197.
50.	Bagali Inscription of Kannaradeva	868 (946 CE)	SII, IX, No. 64.
51.	Atakur Inscription of Kannaradeva	872 (950 CE)	EI, II, pp.167.
52.	Chennagiri Plates of Kṛṣṇarāja	873 (951 CE)	MAR, 1935, pp. 117.
53.	Andola Inscription of Kannaradeva	880 (958 CE)	Rāṣṭrakūṭa Śāsanagalu, Vol II, No. 339.
54.	Karhada Plates of Akālavarsa	880 (958 CE)	EI, IV, pp. 278-290.
55.	Kulagallu Inscription of Akālavarṣa	888 (966 CE)	SII, IX, No. 67.
56.	Gunderi Inscription of Akālavarṣa	891 (969 CE)	EC, XI, Hk 23.
57.	Kulagallu Inscription of Khoṭṭiga	889 (967 CE)	EI, XXI, pp. 260.
58.	Kharda Plates of Karka	894 (972 CE)	IA, XII, pp. 263.

2. Inscriptions of the Gujarat Branch of Later Rāṣṭrakūṭas

<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Śālivāhana era</i> (78 CE)	<i>References</i>
1. Antroli-Chharoli Plates of Kakkarāja	679 (757 CE)	JBBRAS, XVI, pp.105-113.
2. Dhulia Plates of Karkarāja	701 (779 CE)	EI, VIII, pp. 182.
3. Bhilodia Plates of Prabhūtavarṣa Govindarāja	732 (810 CE)	EI, XXVI, pp. 248-255.
4. Bagumra Plates of Suvarṇavarṣa Karkarāja	734 (812 CE)	IA, XII, pp. 156-165.
5. Dhulia Plates of Prabhūtavarṣa Govindarāja	735 (813 CE)	EI, III, pp. 53.
6. Magoli Plates of Suvarṇavarṣa Karkarāja	736 (814 CE)	JOI, Vol XX, pp.274-279.
7. Navasari Plates of Suvarṇavarṣa Karkarāja	738 (816 CE)	JBBRAS, XX, pp.131-149.
8. Anasttu Plates of Suvarṇavarṣa Karkarāja	739 (817 CE)	JBBRAS, XX, pp. 48-49 & ARIE 1959-60, A27.
9. Devli Plates of Prabhūtavarṣa Govindarāja	500 (819 CE) <i>Valabhi era</i> (319 CE)	EI, XXXV, pp. 269.
10. Surat Plates of Suvarṇavarṣa Karkarāja	743 (821 CE)	EI, XXI, pp.140.
11. Brahmanapalli Plates of Suvarṇavarṣa Karkarāja	746 (824 CE)	EI, XXII, pp.77-85.
12. Kāvi Plates of Prabhūtavarṣa Govindarāja.	750 (828 CE)	IA, V, pp. 113 ff.
13. Vadodara Plates of Dhārāvaraṣa Dhruvadeva	757 (835 CE)	IA, XIV, pp.199.
14. Bharoch Plates of Dhārāvaraṣa Dhruvadeva	789 (867 CE)	IA, XII, pp. 179.
15. Sarasavani Plates of Dantivarmā	789 (867 CE)	EI, VI, pp. 285-294.
16. Mahuva Plates of of Dhārāvaraṣa Dhruvadeva	806 (884 CE)	EI, XXII, pp.64-76.
17. Ankulesvara Plates of Akālavaraṣa Krishnarāja	810 (888 CE)	IA, XIV, pp.199 ff.



Appendix - V

Inscriptions of the Gaṅga dynasty

1. Inscriptions dated in Śaka era (583 BCE)

<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Śaka era (583 CE)</i>	<i>References</i>
1. Kudlapur Stone Inscription Śakavarṣam gateṣu pañcavimśati 25 neya Śubhakṛtu saṁvatsarasya Phālguna śuddha pañchamī śani Rohiṇī....	25 (558 BCE)	EC, III, NJ 110.
2. Śāsanakota Plates of Mādhavavarman I	1 st Regnal year	EI, XXIV, pp. 234-239.
3. Kandasala Grant of Mādhavavarman I 12 th tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika month but donation was made on Kārttika Pūrṇimā.	9 th Regnal year	MAR, 1925, No. 115.
4. Nandi Plates of Mādhavavarman I	Not dated.	MAR, 1914, pp. 27.
5. Bendiganahalli Plates of Vijaya Krishnavarman	1 st Regnal year	MAR, 1914-15, pp. 40.
6. Kudiliyam Grant of Krishnavarman	2 nd Regnal year	MAR, 1932, pp. 124-130.
7. Tanjore Plates of Arivarman or Harivarman Śaka-kāle navottara-ṣaṣṭireka-śata-gateṣu Prabhava-saṁvatsarābhyaṇtare..... Phālguna amāvāsyā bṛguvāre Revatī-nakṣatre Vṛddhi yoge Vṛṣabha lagne....	169 (414 BCE)	IA, VIII, pp. 212.
8. Kudlur Plates of Harivarman Atta-aśiti Uttara mage abhyantare Jaya-saṁvatsare Māgha-māse somavāre Svāti-nakṣatre Sūryagrahanē Tālavapanura-madhivasati....	188? or 198? (395 or 385 BCE)	MAR, 1921, pp. 7.
9. Tagadur Plates of Harivarman Śaka-varṣeṣu gateṣu aṣṭāśiti-śate Vibhava-saṁvatsare Phālguna-māse śuddha daśamī guruvāre Punarvasu nakṣatre....	188 (395 CE)	EC, III, NJ 122.

10.	Chukтур Plates of Simhavarman I (son of Kṛṣṇavarma) <i>Svajanma-nakṣatre Mārgasīrṣa māse kṛṣṇapakṣe aṣṭamyām Chitrāyām....</i>	Not dated.	MAR, 1924, pp. 79-81.
11.	Kannada Sāhitya Pariṣat Plates of Simhavarman	Not dated.	EI, XLI, pp. 189-194.
12.	Kutalur Grant of Mādhava Simhavarman <i>Caitre māsi śucau pakṣe pañcamyām Rohiṇīdine....</i> Not dated.		MAR, 1930, pp. 259-265.
13.	Penukonda Plates of Mādhava Simhavarman <i>Caitra-māsi tithau paurṇamāsyām.... (Pallava-Simhavarmanā abhiṣiktasya Āryavarmanālā, Pallava-Skandavarmanā abhiṣiktena Mādhava-Simhavarmanā)</i>	Not dated.	EI, XIV, pp. 331-340.
14.	Harihar Plates of a son of Viṣṇugopa <i>Saga.... Sādhāraṇa saṁivatsarada Phālguna māse amāvāsē ādityavāradandu....</i>	272 (311 BCE)	IA, VII, pp. 173.
15.	Bannitalapura Plates of Mādhava II <i>Aṣṭāśītyuttarasya dvi-śatasya saṁivatsarasya..... Mārgaśīra-māsa-ādityavāra-Puṣya-nakṣatra- pūrnimā-dina-Somagrahaṇe....</i>	280 (303 BCE)	Copper Plate Inscriptions from Karnataka, 1997, Mysore, pp. 21-30.
16.	Chaluvanahalli Plates of Mādhava II <i>Prathama-saṁivatsare Phālguna-māse tithau paurṇamāsyām uttare nakshatren....</i>	1 st Regnal year	Kannada Sahitya Parishat Patrika, 68, 43.
17.	Nonamangala Plates of Mādhava II	13 th Regnal year	EC, X, Mr 73.
18.	Keregallur Plates of Mādhava II	Not dated.	MAR, 1930, pp. 113.
19.	Melekote Plates Mādhava II	Not dated.	MAR, 1910, pp. 17.
20.	Mallohalli Grant of Mādhava II <i>Jaya Saṁivatsara, 29th Regnal year.</i>	29 th Regnal year	Mysore Inscriptions, pp. 289.
21.	Nonamangala Plates of Avinīta <i>Candranandyāchāryapramukhena....</i>	1 st Regnal year	EC, X, Malur 72.
22.	Śringeri Plates of Avinīta	2 nd Regnal year	MAR, 1916, pp. 34.
23.	Hosakote Plates of Avinīta	12 th Regnal year	MAR, 1938, pp. 80.
24.	Residency Plates of Avinīta	25 th Regnal year	MAR, 1924, Plate III.
25.	Kudunjeruvu Grant of Avinīta <i>Ātmānāh vijayāśvarya-pañca-viṁśad-vijayi -saṁivatsare Bhādrapade māse śukla pakṣe tithau daśamyām bṛhaspati-vāre Pūrvabhādrapade nakṣatre....</i>	25 th Regnal year	MAR, 1924, Plate IX, pp. 78.

26.	Mallohalli Grant of Avinīta Ātmanah pravardhamāna-vipula-vijayaśvare ekonatrinīśad-vijayasaṁvatsare sataya nakṣatre....	29 th Regnal year	EC, IX, Db 67 & IA, V, pp. 133.
27.	Merkara Plates of Kongani Avinīta Aṣṭāśītyuttarasya trayośatasya saṁvatsarasya Māghamāsan somavāran Svāti-nakṣatre Śuddha-pañcamī-kāle....	388 (195 BCE)	IA, I, pp. 362.
28.	Bangalore Museum Grant of Durvinīta	3 rd Regnal year	IA, VII, pp. 174.
29.	Pennaur Grant of Durvinīta	4 th Regnal year	MAR, 1942, pp. 131.
30.	Kadagattur Plates of Durvinīta	4 th Regnal year	EC, XII, Mi 110.
31.	Uttanur Plates of Durvinīta Viṁśattame vijaya-saṁvatsare Kārttika-māse paurṇamāsyām tithau Kṛttikā-nakṣatre Abhijin-muhūrtte.... (Sabdāvatāra-kāreṇa, Devabhāratī-nibaddha-vadḍa-kathena, Kirātārjunīye pañcadaśa-sarga-tīkākāreṇa Durvinīta-nāmadheyena)	20 th Regnal year	MAR, 1916, pp.35.
32.	Dive Agar Plates of Durvinīta Catvārimiśattame vijaya-saṁvatsare Vaiśakhe māse śukla-pakṣe puṇyāyām tithau Rohiṇī-nakṣatre....	24 th Regnal year	ARE, 1962-63, App. A, No. 45.
33.	Hebbata Grant of Durvinīta Trinīśa-ekavarisamatikrānta..... Phāganya paurṇamāsa Uttara-nakṣatra -Kumbha-lagnam....	31 st Regnal year	Early Gangas of Talakkad by Srikantha Sastry, 1952, pp. 2-9.
34.	Mallohalli Grant of Duvinīta Ātmanah vijayaśvare pañca-triṇīśad- vijayi-saṁvatsare pravartamāne....	35 th Regnal year	EC, IX, Db 68.
35.	Saliggame Plates of Durvinīta Koṅgani-vṛddharājena Durvinīta-nāmadheyena.... ātmanah pravardhamāna vijayaśvare ekānnacatvārimiśattame vijayasaṁvatsare pravartamāne Kārtikamāsa-śuklapakṣa- puṇyāyām tithau Śatabhiṣaja-nakṣatre....	39 th Regnal year	MAR, 1930, pp. 127-134.
36.	Nallalam grant of Durvinīta Pravartamāne vijaya-saṁvatsare chatvārimiśattame Vaisākha prathama pakṣe Viśākhā nakṣatre Brāhma muhūrtte....	40 th Regnal year	MAR, 1924, pp. 69.
37.	Gummareddipura Plates of Durvinīta Ātmanah catvārimiśad-vijaya-saṁvatsare Māgha-māsa-kṛṣṇa-pakṣa-dvādaśyām budhavāre sva-nakṣatrikāyām....(Sabdāvatāra-kāreṇa, Devabhāratī-nibaddha-vadḍa-kathena, Kirātārjunīye pañcadaśa-sarga-tīkākāreṇa Durvinīta-nāmadheyena)	40 th Regnal year	MAR, 1912, pp. 65-69.

38.	British Museum Grant of Muṣkara	Not dated.	EI, III, pp. 159.
39.	Kirumorekoli Grant of Muṣkara		Inscriptions of the western Gangas, by KV Ramesh, pp. 490.
40.	Arakere Grant of Śrivikrama <i>Svarājyābhīṣeka-prathama-varṣe Kārttika-paurṇamāsyām somavāre Rohini-nakṣatre Somagrahaṇe....</i> Talakkad by Śrikantha sastry, pp. 3-6.	1 st Regnal year	Early Gangas of
41.	Bedirur Grant of Bhūvikrama <i>Sakala-digantara-prasiddha-Siñdhurāja-duhitvvaraḥ Śri-vikrama-nāmadheyah tasya putraḥ Kārita-Kāverī-tīra-Karikāla-kula-vamśotpannah Chola-nṛpa-putrīputro.....</i> <i>śatpañcāśatytara pañca-sateṣu gateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣu samatiteṣu ātmanah pravardhamāna-pañcavimśati-varttamāne vijayaśvarya-saṁvatsare Caitra-śukla-pakṣe daśamīyām Maghā-nakṣatre bṛhaspati-vāre....</i>	556 (28-27 BCE)	MAR, 1925, pp. 85.
42.	Hallegeré Plates of Śivamāra I <i>Pañca-trimśottara-ṣaṭcchateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣu atiteṣu ātmanah pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsare Catus-trimśatke pravarttamāne Tālavanapuram adhivasati Jyeṣṭha-māsa-paurṇamāsyām....</i>	635 (52-53 CE)	EC, III, Md 113, pp. 106.
43.	Kulagana Plates of Śivamāra I	Not dated.	MAR, 1925, pp. 90-92.
44.	Baradur Grant of Śripuruṣa Prithivi Koṅgani <i>Bhūvikrama-dvitiya-nāmadheyah tasyānujo.....</i> <i>Varṣa-śata-pūrṇayuḥ Śrimat-Prithivi-Koṅgani-vrddhārājah....</i>	1 st Regnal year	MAR, 1944, pp. 60.
45.	Nandi Plates of Śripuruṣa Prithivi Koṅgani <i>Vijayarājya-tritiya-saṁvatsare varttamāne....</i> <i>Phālguna-paurṇamāsyām Puranakṣatre? [Pūrva-Phālgunī-nakṣatre] candravāre....</i>	3 rd Regnal year	MAR, 1914, pp. 27.
46.	Agali Grant of Śripuruṣa Prithivi Koṅgani <i>Ekona-saptatyuttiara-ṣaṭcchateṣu</i> <i>Śaka-varṣeṣvatiteṣu..... pravardhamāna-vijayaśvarya-saṁvatsare dvāviṁśe varttamāne....</i> <i>Māgha-māsa-śukla-pakṣa-trayodaśyām Punarvasu-nakṣatre....</i>	669 (86 CE) 22 nd Regnal year	EI, XXXVII, pp. 133-138.

47.	Javali Plates of Śripuruṣa Prithivi Koṅgani	672 (89 CE) Dvā-saptatittareṣu ṣaṭcchateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu pravardhamāna-vijayaiśvarye sañivatsare pañcavīṁśe varttamāne..... Vaiśākha- śukla-pakṣa-daśamīyām Uttara-Phālguni-nakṣatre somavāre Vṛṣabha-rāśi-saṅkrāntyām.....	25 th Regnal year	EC, VI, Mg 36.
48.	Hosur Grant of Śripuruṣa Prithivi Koṅgani	684 (101 CE) Caturaśītittareṣu ṣaṭcchateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣu samatīteṣu..... Vaiśākha māse Somagrahaṇe Viśākhā-nakṣatre śukravāre....		EC, X, Gd. 47.
49.	Salem Plates of Śripuruṣa Prithivi Koṅgani	693 (110 CE) Ṣaṭcchateṣu navatīrisañivatsara-Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu Candraṇada-śuklapakṣe dvitiyāyām tithau Uttara- Phālguni-nakṣatre śukravāre śuklodaye....		EL, XXVII, pp. 145-152.
50.	Devarahalli Plates of Śripuruṣa Prithivi Koṅgani	698 (115 CE) 50 th Regnal year		EC, IV, Ng 85.
51.	Nallamangala Grant of Śripuruṣa Prithivi Koṅgani	698 (115 CE) 51 st Regnal year Aṣṭa-navaṭyuttareṣu ṣaṭcchateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣu atīteṣu ātmānāḥ pravardhamāna-vijayaiśvarye- sañivatsare pañcāśattame pravardhamāne....		IA, II, pp. 155.
52.	Manne Plates of Śivamāradeva	719 (136 CE) Śakavarṣam elnura pattombhattu varṣamum muru tingalum Āṣāḍha-śuklapakṣada pañcamyām Uttarabhādrapadēmum somavāramum....		EC, IX, Nj-60, pp. 47.
53.	Kottimba Grant of Yuvarāja Mārasinha	721(139 CE) Ekavīṁśatittareṣu sapta-śateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣu samatīteṣu ātmānāḥ pravardhamāna- sañivatsareṣu triṣu samatīteṣu Śrāvaṇa- paurṇamāsyām somavāre Dhaniṣṭhā-nakṣatre Somagrahaṇa-velāyām....	3 rd Regnal year also elapsed. Thus, the date was 29 th July 139 CE.	MAR, 1924, pp. 106.
54.	Perijarangi Grant of Rājamalla I	741(158 CE) Ekacatvāriṁśaduttareṣu saptaśateṣu atīteṣu..... vijaya-sañivatsare prathame Sūrya-grahaṇe....	1 st Regnal year [13 th July 158 CE]	MAR, 1942, pp. 208-231.
55.	Manne Plates of Rājamalla I		12 th Regnal year	
56.	Galigekere Plates of Nītimārga I	782 (199 CE)		
57.	Narsapura Plates of Rājamalla II	824 (241 CE)		EC, X, Kl-90.
58.	Gattavadipura Plates of Rājamalla III (Nītimārga Eregaṅga)	826 (243 CE) Ṣaḍvīṁśatittareṣu-aṣṭaśateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu Māraśīrṣa-māse paurṇamāsyām Mṛgaśīrasi nakṣatre sūryavāre grahaṇavelāyām....		EC, XII, Nj 269.

59. **Kerehalli Plates of Rājamalla III (Nītimārga Eregaṅga)** 827 (244 CE) Inscriptions of the Western Gangas, by KV Ramesh, p 369
60. **Keregodi-Rangapura Plates of Rājamalla III** 8..? MAR, 1918, pp. 21.
Śaka-varṣeṣu-atiṭeṣvaṣṭa....
61. **Sudi Plates of Butuga I** Śaka-varṣeṣu ṣaṣṭyuttara-aṣṭa-śateṣu atikrānteṣu 860 (277 CE) EI, III, pp. 176.
Vikāri saṁvatsara Kārttika-nandīśvara
Śuklapakṣa aṣṭamīyām ādityavāre....

2. Inscriptions of the later Gaṅgas dated in Śālivāhana era (78 CE)

Inscriptions	Śālivāhana era (78 CE)	References
Basavatti Inscription Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śatangal elunura irppatt-eradane variṣa pravarttise.... Pauṣa-māsam āditya-vāram Sūrya-grahaṇadol....	722 (800 CE)	MAR, 1933, pp. 236.
Husukuru Inscription, Mallikārjuna Temple 792 (870 CE) Śri Śakavarṣam elnura-tombatteradu ve.... Kuvalālapuravāreśvara Nandagirinātha..... Rajamalla Permmanadigal....		EC, III, Nj 75.
Biliyuru Inscription Śaka-nṛpātīta-kāla -saṁvatsara-śatangal..... (18 th Regnal year, Phālguna, Śripañcami. Śripañcami is a Jaina religious rite performed before Nandīśvara ritual observed in the bright fortnight of Āśāḍha, Kārttika and Phālguna.)	809 (887 CE)	EC, I, No. 96.
Śri Svasti Śaka variṣa kālātīta saṁvatsarangal entu-nura-padinenta varisha sale Satya-vākyā Permadi....	810 (888 CE)	EC, V, Hassan 28.
Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śatangal entu-nura-muvattonda neya variṣa pravarttise....	831(909 CE)	EC, III, Ml 30, pp. 59.
Talakadu Inscription Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śatangal entunura-ayvatta elane pravarttise....	857 (935 CE)	MAR, 1912, pp. 32.
Atakur Inscription at Challeśvara Temple Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śatangal entu-nurerpatt-eradaneya Saumyam emba saṁvatsaram pravarttise....	872 (950 CE)	EC, III, Md 41, pp. 92.
Danugur Inscription Kara-nag-asta-satangalage Śaka-bhūpātīta-saṁvatsaram varisam taldida Ravudram Asvayujadol....	882 (960 CE)	MAR, 1920, pp. 25.

9.	Kudlur Plates of Mārasimha <i>Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁivatsareṣu caturaśītyuttara-aṣṭa-śateṣu pravartamāneṣu Rudhirodgāri-saṁivatsare Caitra-māsa-pañcamyām budhavāre....</i>	884(962 CE)	MAR, 1921, pp. 11 & JBBRAS, XVI, pp. 106.
10.	Kadalur Grant of Mārasimha	884(962 CE)	ARISE, 1934-35, A23.
11.	Kukkanur Grant of Mārasimha <i>Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁivatsara-śateṣvaṣṭasu navatyuttareṣu Vibhava-saṁivatsare pravartamāne uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrāntau....</i>	890 (968 CE)	ARE, 1969-70, A5.
12.	At Karya Village <i>Svasti Śri Śakavarṣam entu-nura tombattua neya Prabhava saṁivatsara pravarttise....</i>	890 (968 CE)	EC, III, Nj 192, pp. 214.
13.	At Doddahomma village <i>Svasti Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁivatsara-śatangal entu-nure-tombattombatta neya Iṣvara saṁivatsara..... Āṣāḍha māsada punnamiyum Angaravarada andu Soma-grahaṇa....</i>	899 (977 CE)	EC, III, Nj 183.
14.	Peggur Inscription	899 (977 CE)	EC, I, No.4.
15.	At Kottati in Boredeva Temple <i>Svasti Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁivatsara śatangal 899 neya Pramādi saṁivatsara pravarttisse....</i>	899 (977 CE)	EC III, Md 107, pp. 106.
16.	Paduguru Inscription	907 (985 CE)	EC, III, Gu 95.
17.	Belachalavadi Inscription <i>Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁivatsara śatangal 935 neya....</i>	935 (1013 CE)	EC, III, Gu 48.



Appendix - VI

Inscriptions of the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani

1. Inscriptions dated in Śaka or Śālivāhana era (78 CE)

	<i>Verifiable details of Solar eclipses</i>	<i>Śaka era</i>	<i>Śalivahan era</i>	<i>References</i>
1.	Year 872 , Sādhāraṇa saṁvatsara, Kārttika month, Amāvāsyā, Thursday, solar eclipse.	—	—	SII, XV, No. 42.
2.	Year 947 , Krodhana saṁvatsara, Mārgaśīrṣa month, Amāvāsyā, solar eclipse.	—	—	SII, IX, No. 83.
3.	Year 958 , Dhātu saṁvatsara, Kārttika month, śuddha padiva, Sunday, solar eclipse.	—	22 nd Oct 1036	SII, IX, No. 90.
4.	Year 969 , Sarvajit saṁvatsara, Vaiśākha month, Amāvāsyā, Friday, solar eclipse.	—	—	SII, IX, No. 105.
5.	Year 983 , Plava saṁvatsara, Jyeṣṭha month, Amāvāsyā, Sunday, solar eclipse	—	20 th June 1061	SII, IX, No. 125.
6.	Year 991 , Saumya saṁvatsara, Āṣāḍha month, Amāvāsyā, Tuesday, solar eclipse.	—	21 st July 1069	SII, IX, No. 134.
7.	Year 1045 , Śubhakṛt saṁvatsara, Amāvāsyā, Friday, solar eclipse	20 th Sep 461 or 17 th Mar 462	—	SII, XX, No. 82.
8.	Year 1056 , Ānanda saṁvatsara, Āṣāḍha month, Amāvāsyā, solar eclipse.	—	23 rd July 1134	SII, XX, No. 105.
9.	Year 1072 , Pramādi saṁvatsara, Aksaya Tritiyā (Vaiśākha śukla tritiyā, Amāvāsyā, solar eclipse.	18 th Mar 489	—	SII, IX, No. 257.
10.	Year 1085 , Śrimukha saṁvatsara, Puṣya month, Amāvāsyā, Uttarāyaṇa, Vyatipāta, Monday, solar eclipse.	—	17 th Jan 1162	SII, IX, No. 257.

11. **Year 1106**, Krodhi saṁvatsara,
Kārttika month, Amāvāsyā,
Monday, solar eclipse. — 5th Nov
1184 SII, IX,
No. 277.
12. **Year 1106**, Krodhi saṁvatsara,
Āṣāḍha month, Amāvāsyā,
Monday, solar eclipse. — — SII, XV,
No.57

2. Inscriptions dated in Chalukya Vikrama era (1076 CE?)

<i>Verifiable details of Solar eclipses</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>References</i>
1. CV 4, Siddhārthi saṁvatsara, Jyeṣṭha month, Amāvāsyā, solar eclipse.	1079-80	20 th Jun 1080	SII, IX, No. 145.
2. CV 15, Pramoda saṁvatsara, Āśvayuja month, Amāvāsyā, Sunday, solar eclipse.	1090-91	—	SII, IX, No. 158.
3. CV 17, Śrimukha saṁvatsara, Bhādrapada month, Amāvāsyā, Thursday, solar eclipse.	1092-93	23 rd Sep 1093	SII, IX, No. 163.
4. CV 31, Sarvajit saṁvatsara, Caitra month, Amāvāsyā, Viṣuva-samkramaṇa, solar eclipse.	1106-07	—	SII, IX, No. 118.
5. CV 32, Sarvajit saṁvatsara, Caitra month, Amāvāsyā, Monday, solar eclipse.	1107-08	—	SII, XX, No. 67.
6. CV 32, Sarvajit saṁvatsara, Āśvayuja month, Amāvāsyā, Wednesday, solar eclipse.	1107-08	—	SII, XX, No. 68.
7. CV 32, Sarvajit saṁvatsara, Mārgaśirṣa month, Amāvāsyā, Monday, solar eclipse.	1107-08	16 th Dec 1107	SII, IX, No. 173.
8. CV 33, Sarvajit saṁvatsara, Mārgaśirṣa month, Amāvāsyā, Monday, solar eclipse.	1108-09	—	SII, XX, No. 69.
9. CV 33, Sarvadhāri saṁvatsara, Āṣāḍha month, Amāvāsyā, Wednesday, solar eclipse.	1108-09	—	SII, XX, No. 70.
10. CV 37, Nandana saṁvatsara, Caitra month, Amāvāsyā, Sunday, solar eclipse.	1112-13	—	SII, IX, No. 189.
11. CV 44, Vikāri saṁvatsara, Vaiśākha month, Amāvāsyā, Sunday, solar eclipse.	1119-20	11 th May 1119	SII, IX, No. 197.

12.	CV 46 , Śarvarī saṁvatsara, Āśvayuja month, Amāvāsyā, Monday, solar eclipse.	1121-22	—	SII, XX, No. 80.
13.	CV 46 , Plava saṁvatsara, Talira Amāvāsyā, Sunday, solar eclipse.	1121-22	—	SII, IX, No. 201.
14.	CV 47 , Plava saṁvatsara, Phālguna Amāvāsyā, Saṁkrānti, solar eclipse.	1122-23	10 th Mar 1122	SII, XX, No. 81.
15.	CV 50 , Viśvāvasu saṁvatsara, Māgha śu 1, Friday, solar eclipse.	1125-26	—	SII, IX, No. 210.
16.	CV 51 , Parābhava saṁvatsara, Jyeṣṭha month, Amāvāsyā, Sunday, solar eclipse.	1126-27	—	SII, IX, No. 211 & 212.
17.	CV 58 , Pramādi saṁvatsara, Puṣya ba 11, Uttarāyaṇa, Vyatipāta, Sunday, solar eclipse.	1133-34	—	SII, IX, No. 228.



Appendix - VII

Inscriptions of the Yādava dynasty

1. Inscriptions dated in Śaka era (583 BCE)

<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Śaka era (583 BCE)</i>	<i>References</i>
1. An Inscription of Govana III of Nikumbhavamīśa <i>Varsaṇām pañcasaptasyā sahasre sādhike gate Śaka-bhūpāla-kālasya tathā Śrimukha-vatsare </i>	1075 (492 CE)	IA, VIII, pp. 39-43.
2. Nimbal Inscription of Bhillama's feudatory <i>Plavaṅga, Bhādrapada amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse, vyatipāta, saṃikramana.</i>	3 rd Regnal year	EI, XXVIII, pp. 94-98.
3. Annigeri Inscription of Bhillama's feudatory <i>Bhillamadeva-varṣada muraneyā Saumya-saīnvatsarada Puṣya- bahuladamāvāsyā somavāraduttarāyaṇa- saṃikramaṇa vyatipāta....</i>	3 rd Regnal year	SII, XV, No. 149, p. 190-193.
4. Hire Bevinur Inscription of Bhillama's feudatory <i>Naranetra-śāśi-soma-indu (1113), Sādhāraṇa.... Śrāvāṇa-paurṇamāsa guruvāra Rāhu-parvanganu....</i>	1113 (530 CE) [21 st July 529 CE]	SII, XX, No. 175, pp. 218-221.
5. Bhairavadigi Inscription of Bhillama's feudatory <i>Śakavarṣada 1114 neya Virodhikṛt saīnvatsarada Puṣya śu 8 budhavāradandu uttarāyaṇa saṃikramanadalu....</i>	1114 (531 CE)	SII, XV, No. 151, pp. 193-194.
6. Hipparagi Inscription of Bhillama's feudatory <i>Śakavarṣada 1115 neya Paridhāvi saīnvatsarada Bhādrapada bahula madhyā-śthaki somavāra vyatipāta Kanyā-saṃikramanadalu....</i>	1115 (532 CE)	SII, XX, No. 178, pp. 224-225.

7.	Muttigi Inscription of Bhillama Bhillamadeva-varṣada 8 neya Paridhāvi saṁivatsarada Śrāvāṇa Punnami bṛhaspativāradalu....	8 th Regnal year	SII, XV, No. 152, pp. 194-195.
8.	Kadlevad Inscription of Jaitugi's Feudatory Śakavarṣa 1114 neya Paridhāvi saṁivatsarada Puṣya bahula 10 ādityavāra uttarāyaṇa saṁkrāntiyandu....	1114 (531 CE) [20 th Dec 531 CE]	SII, XX, No. 180, pp. 228-229.
9.	Devur Inscription of Jaitugi's Feudatory Śakavarṣa 1118 neya Nala saṁivatsarada Uttarāyaṇa saṁkrānti somavāra.... [Kha]grāśi Sūryagrahaṇa vyatipāta..... (annual solar eclipse)	1118 (534-535 CE) [29 th Apr 534 CE]	SII, XX, No. 182, pp. 231.
10.	Devangav Inscription of Jaitugi's Feudatory Śakavarṣa 1121 neya Kālāyukta saṁivatsarada Māgha bahula amāvāsyā somavāra Sūryagrahaṇa....	1121(538 CE) [15 th Feb 538 CE]	SII, XX, No.184, pp. 232-233.
11.	Kudigi Inscription of Jaitugi's Feudatory Jaitrapāladeva-varṣada 11 neya Durmati saṁivatsarada Puṣya śuddha 11 somavāra vyatipāta uttarāyaṇa saṁkrāntiyandu.....	11 th Regnal year	SII, XX, No.185, p. 234-235
12.	Patna(Khandesh) Inscription of Siṅghana's feudatories Śri Soideva and Hemadideva Svasti Śri Śāṅke 1128 Prabhava-saṁivatsare Śrāvāṇa-māse paurṇamāsyām Candra-grahaṇe....	1128 (545-546 CE)	EI, I, pp. 338-346.
13.	Kadlevad Inscription of Siṅghana Śaka 1127, Raktūkṣi, Āśvayujā, Pūrnimā, Vyatipāta, lunar eclipse.	1127 (545 CE) [6 th Sep 545 CE]	SII, XX, No.186, pp. 235.
14.	Mankani Inscription of Siṅghana Śaka 1128, Krodhana, Monday, Solar eclipse.	1128 (545-546 CE)	SII, XV, No. 155, pp. 196-200.
15.	Korvar Inscription of Siṅghana Śakavarṣa 1122 neya Prajāpati-saṁivatsarada Kārttika amāvāsyā ādityavāra samikramāṇa.....	1133 (550 CE)	SII, XX, No.190, pp. 239.
16.	Gadag Inscription of Siṅghana Śri-Vīranārāyaṇadeva-śripāda- prasādāśīdita.... Śaka-nṛpa-kālākrānta- saṁivatsara-satamgalu 1135 neya Āngirasa-saṁivatsarada Phālguna- śuddha-bidige śānaiścaravāradandu	1135 (552 CE)	IA, XII, pp. 210 ff.

17.	Khedrapur Inscription of Siṅghana Śaka 1136, Śrimukha, Caitra, somadina, solar eclipse.	1136? or 1137? (554 CE) [19 th Mar 554 CE]	CII, VI, pp. 287-289
18.	Lakshmesvar Inscription of Siṅghana Yuva-saīnvatsarada Āśādha-amāvāsyā somavāra Puṣya-nakṣatra vyatipāta....	1137 (553-554 CE) [26 th June 553 CE]	SII, XX, No. 191, pp. 240.
19.	Balagamve Inscription of Siṅghana Śaka 1137, Yuva Saīnvatsara, Bhādrapada Amāvāsyā, Thursday.	1137 (554 CE)	
20.	Inscription of Siṅghana Svasti Śri Śakavarṣe 1136 śrimukha saīnvatsare Chaitre Sūryaparvaṇi somadine....	1136? or 1137? (554 CE) [19 th Mar 554 CE]	JBBRAS, Vol XII, Issue no. 33, pp. 7 ff.
21.	Kolhapur Inscription of Siṅghana Śaka-varṣa 1140 Bahudhānya saīnvatsare....	1140 (557 CE)	
22.	Bahai Inscription of Siṅghana Ṣatkone sadala-śatādhike sahasre 1144, varṣāṇām Śaka-pṛthivīpateḥ prayāte Caitrādyā-pratipadi Citrabhānu varṣe....	1144 (561 CE)	EI, III, pp. 113 ff.
23.	Munolli Inscription of Siṅghana Śaka 1145, Citrabhānu saīnvatsara, Kārttika paurṇamāsi, somavāra, lunar eclipse.	1145 (562 CE)	
24.	Bijapur Inscription of Siṅghana Śaka 1156, Jaya saīnvatsara, Vaiśākha paurṇamāsi, vaddavāra....	1156 (573 CE)	
25.	Kolhapur Inscription of Siṅghana Svasti śri Śaka 1158 varṣe Durmukha- saīnvatsare Māgha-śuddha- paurnamāsyām tithau somadine....	1158 (575 CE)	
26.	Haralahalli Grant of Siṅghana's feudatory Chikkadeva Śaka-kāladārabhya ṣaṣṭyadhika-śatottara- sahasra-mite Hemalāmbi-saīnvatsare Phālguna-māse saptamīyām....	1160 (577 CE)	JBBRAS, Vol XV, Issue no. 40, pp. 388 ff.
27.	Kalkeri Inscription of Siṅghana Śakavarṣada 1166 neya Krodhi saīnvatsarada Bhādrapada śuddha 14 ādivara vyatipāta....	1166 (583 CE)	SII, XX, No. 202, pp. 250-255.
28.	Lakshmeshvar Inscription of Siṅghana Śaka 1169, Plavaṅga, Jyeṣṭha amāvāsyā.	1169 (586 CE)	SII, XX, No. 205, pp. 256-258.

29.	Chikka-Bagiwadi Plates of Krishna <i>Eka-saptatyuttara-śatādhika-sahasreṣu Śakābdeśvatīteṣu pravartamāne Saumya- saṁivatsare tadantargata Āśādha- paurṇamāsyām śanaiścaravāre Purvāśādha nakṣatre Vaidhṛti yoge....</i>	1171(588 CE) [14 th June 588 CE or 25 th June 587 CE]	JBBRAS, Vol XII, Issue no. 33, pp. 25 ff. & IA, VII, pp. 304.
30.	Bendigeri Grant of Krishna <i>Svasti Śri Śaka-saṁivatsarasya śatādhika- saḥasraikādhika-saptya cānantare Saumye'bde Śrāvane māsi sitapak्षे dvādaśyām guruvāre....</i>	1171 (588 CE)	IA, XIV, pp. 69.
31.	Munolli Inscription of Krishna <i>Śaka-varṣa 1174 neya Virodhikṛt- saṁivatsarada Jyeṣṭha bahula amāvāse, Sūrya-grahaṇa śukravāradamdu....</i>	1174? or 1171? (588 CE) [31 st May 588 CE]	JBBRAS, Vol XII, Issue no. 33, pp. 39 ff. & IA, XIX, p. 441.
32.	Salavadigi Inscription of Krishna <i>Śaka 1174, Virodhikṛt, Śrāvana, Lunar eclipse.</i>	1174 (591 CE)	SII, XV, No.188, pp. 231.
33.	Behatti Plates of Krishna <i>Pañca-saptatyadhika-śatottara-sahasrake Śakavarṣe varttamāne.... Śri-Kanharadeva- varṣeṣu saptaame Pramādi-saṁivatsare Caitra-māse kṛṣṇapak्षe amāvāsyāyām somavāre....</i>	1175 (592 CE)	JBBRAS, Vol XII, Issue no. 33, pp. 42 ff. & IA, XIX, pp. 442.
34.	Nagavi Inscription of Krishna <i>Śaka 1177 neya Rākṣasa saṁivatsarada Vaiśākha Śuddha 15 bṛhaspativāra vyatipāta samkrānti....</i>	1177 (594 CE)	SII, XV, No.188, pp. 232-233.
35.	Jettigi Inscription of Krishna <i>Śaka 1178, Nala, Puṣya ba 30, Monday, solar eclipse, Uttarāranya samkrānti.</i>	1178 (595 CE) [16 th Jan 595 CE]	SII, XV, No.191, pp. 235.
36.	Lakshmeśvar Inscription of Krishna <i>Indu-Kari-Rudra-saṅkhya... Śaka-nṛpa- varuṣa Siddhārthi....</i>	1181 (598 CE)	SII, XX, No. 217, pp. 266.
37.	Kalegaon Plates of Mahādeva <i>Śaka-nṛpopalakśita-saṁivatsarāṇīm Dvāśityadhikeśvekādaśasu śateśvatīteṣu varttamāna-Durmati-saṁivatsarāntargata- Bhādrapada-śukla-dvitiyāyām some ātmānāḥ paṭṭa-bandha-samaye....</i>	1182 (599 CE)	EI, XXIX, pp. 109-115.
38.	Chaudadampur Inscription of Mahādeva <i>Śaka 1185, Dundubhi saṁivatsara, Vaiśākha paurṇamāsi, lunar eclipse.</i>	1185 (602 CE)	

39.	Kottagi Inscription of Mahādeva Svati Śri Sākādārabhya 1186 neya.... Raktākṣī, Vaiśākha pūrṇimā.	1186 (603 CE)	SII, XV, No. 195, pp. 241.
40.	Ingalesvar Inscription of Mahādeva Śaka 1187, Krodhana, Mārgaśīra, ba. 10 Friday, sañikramana.	1187 (604 CE)	SII, XV, No.196, pp. 243.
41.	Hulgur Inscription of Mahādeva Śaka 1189, Prabhava, Jyeṣṭha Amāvāsyā, solar eclipse, budhavāra.	1189 (606 CE) [11 th June 606 CE]	IA, XVIII, pp. 128.
42.	Paithan Plates of Rāmachandra Śāke ca ekādaśasū trinavat�adhikeśvatīteṣु 1193 varttamāna Prajāpati- sañivatsarāntargata-Māgha-śuddha- dvādaśyām vuddhe....	1193 (610 CE)	IA, XIV, pp. 314-319.
43.	Thana Plates of Rāmachandra Svasti Śri-Śāke Aṅgira-sañivatsare Aśvina śuddha 5 ravau	1194 (611 CE)	EI, XIII, pp.198 ff.
44.	Kolhapur Plates of Rāmachandra Śaka 1194, Angirasa, Māgha paurnamāsi, lunar eclipse.	1194 (611 CE)	
45.	Sidnurle Inscription of Rāmachandra Śaka-varṣeṣu 1199 randhrāṅka-rudra- pramiteṣu gateṣu varttamāna-Dhātri-sañiva tsarāntargata-Śrāvanya-paurnamāsyām somadine yajñopavīta-parvanyi	1199 (616-617 CE)	
46.	Kolur Inscription of Rāmachandra Śaka 1229, Plavaṅga, Vaiśākha śu 10, Thursday.	1229 (646 CE)	SII, XV, No. 203, pp. 248.
47.	Purushottampuri Plates of Rāmachandra Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-sañivatsareṣu dvātriṁśadadhika-dvādaśa-śāta- sañkyākeṣu Sādhāraṇa-sañivatsarāntargata- Bhādrapada-śuklaikādaśyām Bhādrapadamāsi Kapila-śaṣṭhyām....	1232 (649-650 CE)	EI, XXV, pp. 199 ff

2. *Inscriptions of the later Yadavas dated in Śālivāhana era (78 CE)*

Inscriptions	Śālivāhana era (78 CE)	References
1. Samgamner Plates of Bhillama Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-sañivatsara-śateṣu navasu dvāvinīśatyadhikeṣu..... Śarvari sañivatsara, Bhādrapada, Solar eclipse.	922 (1000 CE)	EI, II, pp. 212 ff.

2.	Kalas-Budrukhan Plates of Bhillama Śaka-nṛpa-kālātitā-saṁvatsara-śateṣu navasvaṣṭa-catvāriṁśad-adhikēṣvaṇkato'pi 948 Krodhana-saṁvatsara-Kārttika-saṁjāta Ādityagrahaṇe....	948 (1026 CE)	IA, XVII, pp.117 ff.
3.	Devalali Plates of Bhillama Śalivāhana 974, Nandana saṁvatsara.	974 (1052 CE)	EI, XXXVII, pp. 74 ff. & ARE 12 of 1958.
4.	Vaghli Inscription of Seunachandra Śalivāhana 991, saumya saṁvatsara, solar eclipse in Āṣāḍha month.	991 (1069 CE)	
5.	Bassein Plates of Seunachandra Śakasāṁvat eka-navat�adhika-nava-śateṣu saṁvat 991 Saumya-saṁvatsarātya Srāvaṇa-śudi caturdaśyām gurudine....	991 (1069 CE)	IA, XII, pp. 119-125.
6.	Vaghli Inscription of Seunachandra Rūpa-nandānka-tulye 991 Śaka-kālaśya bhūpatau Saumya-saṁvatsarāṣāḍha- ravigrahaṇa-parvvaṇi....	991 (1069 CE)	EI, II, pp. 227.
7.	Anjaneri Inscription of Seunadeva Svasti Śri Śaka-saṁvat 1063 Dundubhi- saṁvatsarāntargata-Jyeṣṭha-śudi pañcadaśyām some anurādhā-nakṣatre siddha-yoge....	1063 (1141 CE)	IA, XII, pp. 126-129.
8.	Gadag Inscription of Bhillama? (..Devena) Śaka-nṛpa-kālātitā-saṁvatsara-śateṣu trayodaśādhibikeṣvekādaśasu varttamāna Virodhikṛt-saṁvatsarāntargata Jyeṣṭha- -amāvāsyāyām ādityavāre Suryagrahaṇe....	1113 (1191 CE)	EI, III, pp. 219- 220.
9.	Tasgaon Plates of Kannara Svasti Śri-Śalivāhana-Śake...	1172 (1250 CE)	EI, XXVII, pp. 208 ff.
10.	Methi Inscription of Kannara Svasti Śri Śaka-vatsare Rasa-Muni-saṅkhya Rudraiḥ śataiḥ, Ānande...	1176 (1254 CE)	EI, XXVIII, pp. 312-320.



Appendix - VIII

Inscriptions dated in Gupta era (335 BCE)

1. *Inscriptions of the Gupta dynasty*

<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Gupta era (335 BCE)</i>	<i>References</i>
1. Basarh clay seal Inscription of Ghaṭotkachagupta	Not dated.	CII, III, No. 27
2. Nalanda Plates of Samudragupta Sañvat 5, Māgha di 2	5 (331 BCE)	CII, III, No. 3
3. Gaya Plates of Samudragupta Sañvat 9, Vaiśākha di 10	9 (326 BCE)	CII, III, No. 4
4. Vidisa stone Inscriptions of Rāmagupta	Not dated.	CII, III, No. 5
5. Mathura Inscription of Chandragupta II Sañvatsare ekaṣaṣṭhe 60 1..... [pra]lhame śukla-divase pañcamyām....	61(274 BCE)	CII, III, No. 6
6. Udayagiri cave Inscription of Chandragupta II Sañvatsare 80 2 Āśādha-māsa-śuklaikādaśyam....	82 (253 BCE)	CII, III, No. 7
7. Gadhwa Inscription of Chandragupta II	88 (247 BCE)	CII, III, No. 8
8. Sanchi Inscription of Chandragupta II Sañ 90 3 Bhādrapada di 4	93 (242 BCE)	CII, III, No. 9
9. Bilsad Inscription of Kumāragupta I Abhivardhamāna-vijaya-rājya- sañvatsare ṣaṇṇavate....	96 (239 BCE)	CII, III, No. 16
10. Gadhwa Inscription of Kumāragupta I Sañvatsare 90 8	98 (237 BCE)	CII, III, No. 17
11. Mathura Inscription of Kumāragupta I Rājye 100 7 [adhi]ka [Śrāva]ṇa-māsa 20	107 (228 BCE)	CII, III, No. 18
12. Dhanaidaha Inscription of Kumāragupta I Sañvatsara-ṣate trayodaśottare....	113 (222 BCE)	CII, III, No. 19
13. Tumain Inscription of Kumāragupta I Sama-sate ṣoḍaśa-varṣa-yukte....	116 (219 BCE)	CII, III, No. 20

14.	Karamdamda Inscription of Kumāragupta I <i>Vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara-śate sapta-daśottare Kārttika-māsa-daśama divase....</i>	117 (218 BCE)	CII, III, No. 21
15.	Damodarpur Inscription of Kumāragupta I <i>Saṁvat 100 20 4 Phālguna di 7</i>	124 (211 BCE)	CII, III, No. 22
16.	Mathura Inscription of Kumāragupta I <i>Vijaya-rājya-saṁvat 100 20 5 Āśvayuja-māse di 9....</i>	125 (210 BCE)	CII, III, No. 23
17.	Damodarpur Plates of Kumāragupta I <i>Saṁ 100 20 8 Vaiśākha di 10 3</i>	128 (207 BCE)	CII, III, No. 24
18.	Mankuwar Inscription of Kumāragupta I <i>Saṁvat 100 20 9.... Jyeṣṭha-māsa di 10 8</i>	129 (206 BCE)	CII, III, No. 25
19.	Junagadh Inscriptions of Skandagupta 1. <i>Saṁvatsarāñāmadhike śate tu triṁśadbhiranyairapi ṣadbhireva rātrau dine Prausṭhapādasya ṣaṣṭhe Gupta-prakāle ganānām vidhāya 2. Saṁvatsarāñāmadhike śate tu triṁśadbhiranyairapi Saptabhiścha ... Graīṣmasya māsasya tu pūrvapakṣe [pra] thame'hni 3. Varṣaśate'ṣṭatrimisē Guptānām kāle....</i>	136 (199 BCE) 137 (198 BCE) and 138 (197 BCE)	CII, III, No. 28
20.	Kahaum Inscription of Skandagupta <i>Varṣe triṁśaddasaikottara-śatataṁ Jyeṣṭha-māsi....</i>	141(194 BCE)	CII, III, No. 29
21.	Supia Inscription of Skandagupta <i>Rājya-saṁvatsara-śate eka-chatvāriṁśottarake....</i>	141 (194 BCE)	CII, III, No. 32
22.	Indore Plates of Skandagupta <i>Vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara-śate ṣaṭ- chatvāriṁśaduttara-tame Phālguna-māse....</i>	146 (189 BCE)	CII, III, No. 30
23.	Saranatha Inscription of Kumāragupta II <i>Varṣa-śate Guptānām sa-catuh-pañchāśaduttare..... māse Jyeṣṭhe dvitīyāyām....</i>	154 (181 BCE)	CII, III, No. 34
24.	Saranath Inscription of Budhagupta <i>Guptānām samatikrānte sapta-pañchāśaduttare śate samānām.... Vaiśākha-māsa-saptamīyām Mūle saṁpragate....</i>	157 (178 BCE)	CII, III, No. 36
25.	Varanasi Inscription of Budhagupta <i>Saṁvat 100 50 9 Mārgga di [20] 8</i>	159 (176 BCE)	CII, III, No. 37
26.	Damodar Plates of Budhagupta <i>Saṁ 100 60 3 Āṣāḍha di 10 3</i>	163 (172 BCE)	CII, III, No. 38
27.	Eran Inscription of Budhagupta <i>Śate pañca-ṣaṣṭyadhike varṣāṇām.... Āṣāḍha-māse Śukla-dvādaśyām suraguror- divase, Saṁ 100 60 5....</i>	165 (170 BCE)	CII, III, No. 39

28. **Shankarpur Inscription of Budhagupta** 168 (167 BCE) JESI, IV, pp. 62 ff.
*Sanīvatsara-śate'ṣṭa-śaṣṭyuttare mahā-
māgha-sanīvatsare Śrāvaṇa-māse pañcamyām....*
29. **Damodarpur Plates of Viṣṇugupta** 224 (111 BCE) CII, III, No. 47
Sanīvat 200 20 4 Bhādra di 5

2. Inscriptions of other dynasties dated in Gupta era

<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Gupta era (335 BCE)</i>	<i>References</i>
1. Udayagiri cave Inscription <i>Guptānvayānām nṛpa-sattamānām rājye..... śadbhir-yute varṣa-śate'tha māse, su- kārttike bahula-dine'tha pañcame....</i>	106 (229 BCE)	IA, XI, pp. 309 ff.
2. Sultanpur Plates found Rajashahi district (Bangladesh)	121(214 BCE)	EI, XXXI, pp. 57 ff.
3. Baigram Plates found in Bogra district (Bangladesh)	128 (207 BCE)	EI, XXI, pp. 78 ff.
4. Sanchi stone Inscription <i>Sanīvat 100 30 1 Āśvayuja di 5</i>	131 (204 BCE)	EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 173.
5. Khoh Plates of Mahārāja Hastin <i>Śhaṭpañchāśottare'bdaśate Gupta-nṛpa- rājya-bhuktai Mahā-vaiśākha-sanīvatsare Kārttika-māsa-śukla-pakṣa-tritīyāyām....</i>	156 (179 BCE)	EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 174.
6. Pali Plates of Mahārāja Lakṣmaṇa <i>Sanīvatsaraśate aṣṭa-pañchāśaduttare Jyeṣṭhamāse paurṇamāsyām....</i>	158 (177 BCE)	EI, II, pp. 363 ff.
7. Paharpur Plates found in Rajashāhi district (Bangladesh)	159 (176 BCE)	EI, XX, pp. 59 ff.
8. Khoh Plates of Mahārāja Hastin <i>Triṣṭyuttare'bdaśate Gupta-nṛpa-rājya- bhuktai Mahā-āśvayuja-sanīvatsare Caitra-māsa-śukla-pakṣa-dvitiyāyām....</i>	163 (172 BCE)	EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 175.
9. Nandapur Copper Plates <i>Sanī 100 60 9 Vai śudi 8</i>	169 (166 BCE)	EI, XXIII, pp. 52-56.
10. Bhamodra Mohota Plates of Mahārāja (Maitraka) Droṇasimha	183 (152 BCE)	EI, 16, pp. 17-19.
11. Eran Inscription of Bhānugupta <i>Sanīvatsara-śate eka-navatyuttare Śrāvaṇa-bahula-pakṣa-saptamyām । Sanīvat 100 90 1 Śrāvaṇa ba di 7....</i>	191 (144 BCE)	CII, III, No. 43.

12.	Majhgawam Plates of Mahārāja Hastin <i>Eka-nava-tyuttare'bdaśate Gupta-nṛpa-rājya-bhuktau Mahā-chaitra-saṁvatsare Māgha-māsa-bahula-pakṣa-tritiyāyām....</i>	191 (144 BCE)	El, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 176.
13.	Sohawal Plates of Mahārāja Sarvanātha <i>Saṁvatsara-śate eka-nava-tyuttare dvirāśāḍha-māsa-divase daśame</i>	191 (144 BCE)	El, 19, pp. 127 ff.
14.	Navagrama Grant of Mahārāja Hastin <i>Aṣṭanavatyuttare'bdaśate Gupta-nṛpa-rājya-bhuktau Mahāśvayuja-saṁvatsare....</i>	198 (137 BCE)	El, 21, pp. 124-126.
15.	Betul Plates of Mahārāja Saṁkśobha <i>Saṁvatsaraśate nava-navatyuttare Gupta-nṛpa-rājya-bhuktau Mahā-mārgaśīrṣa-saṁvatsare Kārttika-māsa-daśamyām....</i>	199 (136 BCE)	El, 8, pp. 284-290.
16.	Grant of Dhruvasena I (from Pālitānā) <i>Sanī 200 6 Āśvayuja śu 3</i>	206 (129 BCE)	El, 17, pp. 108 ff.
17.	Ganeshgarh Grant of Dhruvasena I (from Pālitānā) <i>Sanīvat 200 7 Vaiśākha, ba 5</i>	207 (128 BCE)	El, 17, pp. 105-108.
18.	Khoh Grant of Mahārāja Saṁkśobha <i>Mahāśvayuja-saṁvatsare....</i>	209 (126 BCE)	El, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 177
19.	Bhavnagar Grant of Dhruvasena I <i>Sanī 200 10 Bhādrapada badi 9</i>	210 (125 BCE)	El, XIX, pp. 125-127.
20.	Plates of Guhasena of Valabhi	240 (95 BCE)	IA, VII, pp. 67 ff.
21.	Sumandala Plates of Pr̥thivīvighraha <i>Gupta-rājye Varṣa-śata-dvaye pañchāśaduttare Kalinga-rāstra-manuśāsatī.... Māgha-Kṛṣṇasyaikādaśyām uttarānyane....</i>	250 (85 BCE)	El, XXVIII, pp. 81 ff.
22.	Bantia Plates of Dharasena I <i>Sanīvat 254, Sūryoparāgē, Vaiśākha Amāvāsyā.</i>	254 (81 BCE) (257?)	El, XXI, pp. 179-181.
23.	Arang Plates of Bhīmāsen II <i>Guptānām saṁvatsara-śate 200 80 2 Bhādra di 10 8</i>	282 (53 BCE)	El, IX, pp. 342-345.
24.	Ganjam Plates of Śāśāñkarāja <i>Gauptābde varṣa-śata-traye..... Sūryoparāgē....</i>	300 (35 BCE)	El, VI, pp. 143-146.
25.	Bhavnagar Plates of Dharasena II <i>Sanī 300 4 Māgha śu 7</i>	304 (31 BCE)	El, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 183.

26.	Botad Plates of Dhruvasena Bālāditya <i>Saṁ 300 10 Āśvayuja ba 10 5</i>	310 (25 BCE)	IA, VI, pp. 13 ff.
27.	Kaira Plates of Dharasena III <i>Saṁ 300 30 Dvi-mārgaśira śu 2</i>	330 (5 BCE)	IA, XV, pp. 339 ff.
28.	Wala Plates of Śilāditya III <i>Saṁ 300 40 3 dvi-āśāḍha ba</i>	343 (8 CE)	EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 185.
29.	Bhavnagar Plates of Śilāditya IV	372 (38 CE)	EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 186.
30.	Gondal Plates of Śilāditya V	403 (68 CE)	EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 187.
31.	Lunavada Plates of Śilāditya VI	441 (106 CE)	EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 187.
32.	Alina Plates of Śilāditya VII	447 (112 CE)	EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 187.
33.	Hilol Plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Karkarāja <i>Saṁivatsara-śata-catuṣṭaye saptatyadhike....</i> <i>Mārgaśira-māsa-suddha-saptamyām</i> <i>bhauma-dine....</i>	470 (135 CE)	EI, XXXIV, pp. 213-218.
34.	Tezpur Rock Inscription	510 (175 CE)	EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 188.
35.	Six grants of Saindhavas	513 to 596 (178 CE to 261 CE)	EI, XXVI, pp. 185-226.
36.	Morbi Grant of Jāika II <i>Pañchāśītyā yute'tite samānām śata-</i> <i>pañcake Gaupte dadāvādau nṛpaḥ</i> <i>soparāge'rka marīdale Saṁvat 585</i> <i>Phālguna śudi 5.....</i>	585 (250 CE)	IA, II, pp. 258 ff.
37.	A commentary by Śilāchārya on Jain work "Āchārāṅgasūtra" <i>Dvāśaptatyadhikeśu hi śateśu saptashu</i> <i>gateśu Guptānām saṁivatsareśu māsi</i> <i>cha Bhādrapade śukla-pañcamyām </i> <i>Śilāchāryeṇa kṛta Gaṁbhūtāyām</i> <i>sthitenā tīkaiśā </i>	772 (437 CE)	IA, XV, pp.188.

38. **Gokak Plates of Sendraka king** 845 (510 CE) EI, XXI, pp.
IndranandaĀguptāyikānām rājñām 289-292.
aṣṭasu varṣa-sāteṣu pañca-
chatvārimśhad-agreṣu gateṣu....

Sri Harsha Samvat? or Gupta Samvat ?

1. **Amauna Plates of Mahārāja Nandana** Harṣa 232 (225
Samvat 200 30 2 Mārgga di 20 BCE) or Gupta
Śūdrakarendrakṣuṇah.... 232 (103 BCE)



Appendix - IX

Inscriptions dated in the Kṛta, Mālava-Gaṇa or Kārtikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)

1. Inscriptions of dated in the Kṛta or Mālava-Gaṇa era (719-718 BCE)

<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Kṛta or Mālava-Gaṇa era (719-718 BCE)</i>	<i>References</i>
1. Nāndśā (Udaypur, Rājasthan) Pillar Inscription of Śaktiguṇaguru <i>Kṛtaylor-dvayor-varṣa-śataylor-dvyāśītyoḥ</i> 200 80 2 Chaitra-paurṇamāśyām....	282 (437 BCE)	IA, LVIII, pp. 53 ff.
2. Yupa Inscription from Barnala(Jaipur) <i>Kṛte hi 200 80 4 Chaitra-śukla-pakṣasya pañcadaśi....</i>	284 (435 BCE)	EI, XXVI, pp. 118-123.
3. Kota (Rājasthan) Yūpa pillar Inscriptions (3 nos) <i>Kṛte hi 200 90 5 Phālguna-śuklasya Pañce di....</i>	295 (424 BCE)	EI, XXIII, pp. 42-52.
4. Yūpa Inscription from Barnala (Jaipur) <i>Kṛte hi 300 30 5 Jaṣa (Jyeṣṭha)-śuddhasya pañcadaśi....</i>	335 (384 BCE)	EI, XXVI, pp. 118-123.
5. Mankanika Plates of Taralasvāmi (Kaṭachchuri dynasty)	346 (373 BCE)	CII, IV, pt. I, pp. 160-165.
6. Abhona Grant of Śaṅkaragaṇa (Kaṭachchuri dynasty) <i>Saṇivatsara-śata-traye sapta-chatvāriṁśaduttarake Śrāvaṇa-śuddha-pañcadaśyām.... Saṇi 300 40 7 Śrāvaṇa śu 10 5....</i>	347 (372 BCE)	CII, IV, pt. I, pp. 38-44.
7. Vadner Grant of Buddharāja (Kaṭachchuri dynasty) <i>Saṇivatsara-śata-traye ṣaṣṭyadhike Bhādrapada-śuddha-trayodaśyām.... Saṇi 300 60 Bhādrapada śu 10 3....</i>	360 (359 BCE)	CII, IV, pt. I, pp. 47-51.
8. Sarsavni Plates of Buddharāja (Kaṭachchuri dynasty) <i>Saṇivatsara-śata-traye eka-ṣaṣṭyadhike Kārttika-bahula-pañcadaśyām.... Saṇi 300 60 1 Kārttika ba 10 5....</i>	361 (358 BCE)	CII, IV, pt. I, pp. 51-56.

9.	Kaira Grant of Vijayarāja <i>Mānavyasagotrāṇām Hāritiputrāṇām Svāmi- Mahāsena-pādānudhyātānām....Saṁvatsara- śatatraye Catur-ṇṇavatyadhike Vaiśākha- paurṇamāsyām.... Saṁvatsara 300 90 4 Vaiśākha śu 10 5 </i>	394 (325 BCE)	IA, VII, pp. 241-217.
10.	Bijayagarh(Bharatpur, Rājasthan) Inscription of Viṣṇuvardhana <i>Kṛteṣu catusru varṣa-śateṣv' aṣṭaviṁśeṣu 400 20 8 Phālguna bahulasya pañcadaśyām....</i>	428 (291 BCE)	
11.	Mandasor (Gwalior) Inscription of Naravarman <i>Sri-Mālava-gaṇāmnātē praśaste Kṛta-saṁjñīte eka-ṣaṭyadhike prāpte samā-śata-catuṣṭaye Dine Āśvayuja-śuklasya pañcamyām....</i>	461 (258 BCE)	IA, XLII, pp.161 ff. & EI, XII, pp. 320 ff.
12.	Bihar Kotra Inscription	474 (245 BCE)	
13.	Gangadhar(Jhalawar, Rājasthan) Inscription of Viśvavarman <i>Yāteṣu catusru Kṛteṣu śateṣu.... aśītyuttareṣu...., śukle trayodaśa-dine bhuvi Kārttikasya māsasya....</i>	480 (239 BCE)	IA, XLII, pp. 161 ff.
14.	Nagari (Udaypur, Rājasthan) Inscription <i>Kṛteṣu catusru varṣa-śateṣv'- ekāśītyuttareṣvāsyām Mālava-pūrvyāyām 400 80 1 Kārttika-śukla-pañcamyām....</i>	481 (238 BCE)	EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 2.
15.	Mandasor Inscription of Bandhavarman <i>Mālavānām gaṇa-sthityā yāte śata-catuṣṭaye tri-navatyadhike 'bdānām rtau sevyā- ghana-svane Sahasya-māsa śuklasya praśaste'hni trayodaśe </i>	493 (226 BCE)	IA, XV, pp. 196 ff.
16.	Mandasor Inscription of Prabhākara <i>Vikhyāpake Mālava-varṇā-kirtteḥ Śaradgaṇe pañcaśate vyatite trighātitāṣṭābhyaḍhike kramena </i>	524 (195 BCE)	EI, XXVII, pp. 12-18.
17.	Risthal Inscription of Prakāśadharman <i>Dvālbda-saptati-sama-samudayavatsu pūrṇeṣu pañcasu śateṣu vivatsarāṇyām....</i>	572 (147 BCE)	
18.	Mandasor Inscription of Yaśodharman <i>Pañchasu śateṣu śaradām yāteṣv' ekanavati- sahiteṣu Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt-kāla- jñānāya likhiteṣu </i>	589 (130 BCE)	IA, XVIII, pp.220 ff.
19.	Haraha Inscription of Suryavarman, the son of Isānavarman <i>ekadaśātirikteṣu ṣaṭsu sātiṭavidviṣi Śateṣu śaradām patyau bhuvali Śrīśānavarmaṇi </i>	611 (108 BCE)	EI, XIV, pp. 115 ff.

20.	Indragarh Inscription of Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Nannappa	767 (48 CE)	EI, XXXII, pp. 112-117.
	<i>Sapta-śaṣṭyadhike yāte varṣāṇām śata-saptake Mālavāṇām narendrāṇām prthivyām viśrutātmanām Kālē śāradi samprāpte....</i>		
21.	Kanaswa (Kota, Rājasthān) Inscription of Śivagaṇa	795 (76 CE)	IA, XIX, pp. 57 ff.
	<i>Sanīvatsara-śatair yātaiḥ sa-pañca-navatyagrāiḥ saptatibhir Mālaveśānam </i>		
22.	Gyārāspur Inscription	936 (217 CE)	EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 8.
	<i>Mālava-kālaśchchṛadām ṣaṭtrīṁśat- saṁyuteṣu atīteṣu Navasu śateṣu....</i>		
23.	Bharat Kala Bhavan Plates of Harirāja	1040 (321 CE)	EI, XXXI, pp. 309 ff.
	<i>Sanīvat 1040 adyeha sīyadonyām Mahārājādhirāja Harirājadevena Vetravatyām snātvā rāhugraste divākare....</i>		
24.	Menalgarh Inscription of Chāhamānas	1226 (507 CE)	EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 52.
	<i>Mālaveśa-gata-vatsara-śataiḥ dvādaśaiśca ṣaḍvīṁśa-pūrvvakaiḥ </i>		

2. *Inscriptions of the Pratīhāra dynasty*

<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Kārttikādi Viśvara era (719-718 BCE)</i>	<i>References</i>
1. An Inscription of Pratīhāra Vatsarāja <i>Muni-śaśi-naga-saṁsthē yānti kāle Śakānām, Surabhi-carama māse śukla- pakṣe daśamīyām </i>	717 (134 CE) Śaka era (583 BCE)	EI, XLI, pp. 49-57.
2. Buchkala Inscription of Nāgabhaṭa II <i>Sanīvatsara-śate 872 Chaitrasya sita- pakṣasya pañcamīyām....</i>	872 (153 CE)	EI, IX, pp. 198-200.
3. Amroha Grant of Nāgabhaṭa II	885 (166 BCE)	Dynastic list of copper Plates from 1969-70 to 1996-97, pp. 46.
4. Gwalior Praśasti of Bhojadeva	Not dated.	EI, XVIII, pp.99-114.
5. Barah Plates of Bhojadeva <i>Śri-Kānyakubja-bhuktau..... Sanīvat 893 Kārttika śudi 5....</i>	893 (174 BCE)	EI, XIX, pp. 15-19.
6. Daulatpura Plates of Bhojadeva <i>Sanīvat 900 Phālguna śudi 10 3....</i>	900 (181 CE)	EI, V, pp. 208 ff.

7.	Deogarh pillar Inscription of Bhojadeva of Kanauj	919 (200-201 CE) [Śaka 784]	EI, IV, pp. 309-310.
	• <i>Saṁvat 919 Āśvayuja-śukla-pakṣa-caturdaśyām Bṛhaspati-dinena Uttara-bhādrapada-nakṣatre</i>		
	• <i>Śaka-kālā'bda-sapta-śatāni caturaśītyadhihikāni 784</i>		
8.	Gwalior Inscription of the time of Bhoja	933 (214 CE) <i>Saṁvatsara-śatesu navasu trayastrīniśadadhikeśu Māgha-śukla-dvitiyāyām Saṁ 933 Māgha śudi 2....</i>	EI, I, pp. 159-162.
9.	Ahar Inscription of the time of Bhoja (<i>Atitasāṁvat</i> = elapsed year)	1. 259 (202 CE) 2. 258 (201 CE) 3. 298 (241 CE) 4. 943 (224 CE) 5. 280 Phālguna vadi 8 6. 287 Mārgaśira vadi 11 7. 296 Bhādrapada śudi 14 8. 298 Jyeṣṭha śudi 13 9. 261 Āṣāḍha vadi 3 10. 298 Bhādrapada vadi 5	EI, XIX, pp.52-62. <i>Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE)</i> <i>Karttikādi Vikrama era</i> <i>5. 280 (223 CE)</i> <i>6. 287 (230 CE)</i> <i>7. 296 (239 CE)</i> <i>8. 298 (241 CE)</i> <i>9. 261 (204 CE)</i> <i>10. 298 (241 CE)</i> <i>Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE)</i>
11.	Pehova Inscription of Bhoja <i>Saṁvat 276 Vaisākha śudi 7</i>	276 (219 CE) <i>Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE)</i>	EI, I, pp. 184-190.
12.	Dighwa-Dubauli Plates of Mahendrapāla <i>Savitūḥ Kūmīṭha Saṁkrāntau snātvā..... Saṁvat 900 50 5 Māgha śudi 10</i>	955 (236 CE)	IA, XV, pp. 112 ff.
13.	Junagarh Plates of Mahendrapāla	956 (237 CE)	EI, IX, pp. 1-10.
14.	Siyadoni Inscription (Mahendrapāla)	960 (241 CE) 1. <i>Saṁ 960 Śrāvāṇa</i> 2. <i>Saṁ 964 Mārgaśira Vadi 3</i>	EI, I, pp. 162-179.
15.	Copper Plate Inscription of Vināyakapāla <i>Mahendrapāladevaḥ tasya putraḥ Mahārāja Bhojadevaḥ tasya bhrātā Sri-Mahendrapāladeva-putrasya pādānudhyātāḥ Vināyakapāladevaḥ..... Pratiṣṭhāna-bhuktau Vārāṇasī-viṣaye..... Saṁvatsaro 900 80 8 Phālguna vadi 9....</i>	988 (269 CE)	IA, XV, pp. 138-141.

16. Partabgarh Inscription of Mahendrapāla II	1003 (284 CE)	IA, XLV, pp. 122 ff.
17. Jhusi Grant of Trilochanapāla (Vijayapāla, Rājyapāla and Trilochanapāla)	1084 (365 CE)	IA, XVIII, pp. 33-35.
18. Kara Inscription of Yaśahpāla	1093 (374 CE)	JRAS, 1927, pp. 694-695.

3. *Inscriptions of the Paramāra dynasty of Mālava*

<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)</i>	<i>References</i>
1. Two Harsola Grants of Sīyaka <i>Chandrārka-yoga-parvaṇi.....Saṁvat 1005 Māgha vadi 30 budhe....</i>	1005 (286 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp.1-8.
2. Ahmedabad Grant of Sīyaka <i>Saṁ 1026 Aśvina vadi 15....</i>	1026 (307 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp.8-10.
3. Dharmapuri Grant of Vākpatirāja <i>Saṁ 1031 Bhādrapada śudi 14....</i>	1031 (312 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp.10-14.
4. Ujjain Grant of Vākpatirāja <i>Ṣaṭ-trimśa-sāhaśraika-saṁvatsare'smin Kārttika-śuddha-paurṇamāsyām soma- grahaṇa-parvaṇi....Saṁvat 1036 Chaitra vadi 9....</i>	1036 (317 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp.14-17.
5. Gaonri Grant 1 of Vākpatirāja <i>Aṣṭatrimśāduttara-sāhaśrika-saṁvatsare'smin Kārttikyām somagrahaṇa-parvaṇi..... Saṁvat 1038 dvirāṣāḍha śudi 10....</i>	1038 (319 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp.18-24,
6. Gaonri Grant 2 of Vākpatirāja <i>Trichatvāriṁśa-saṁvatsara-sahasre Māghe māsi Udagayana-parvaṇi..... Saṁvat 1043 Māgha vadi 13....</i>	1043 (324 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 24-27.
7. Modasa Grant of Bhojadeva <i>Saṁvatsara-śatesu daśasu sapta-ṣaṣṭyatadhikeṣu Jyeṣṭha-śukla-pakṣa-pratipadāyām.... saṁvat 1067 Jyeṣṭha śudi 1 ravau....</i>	1067 (348 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 27-31.
8. Mahaudi Grant of Bhojadeva <i>Chatus-saṁvatsara-śata-saṁvatsare Śrāvaṇa-śudi-paurṇamāsyām gurau saṁjāta- somagrahaṇa-parvaṇi.... Saṁvat 1074 Aśvina śudi 5....</i>	1074 (355 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 31-35.
9. Betma Grant of Bhojadeva <i>Saṁvat 1076 Bhādrapada śudi 15</i>	1076 (357 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 35-38.

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10.	Banswada Grant of Bhojadeva <i>Sanīvat 1076 Māgha śudi 5</i>	1076 (357 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 38-42.
11.	Ujjain Grant of Bhojadeva <i>Atītāṣṭa-saptatyadhika-sāhaśrīka-sanīvatsare Māgha-sita-trītyāyām..... Sanīvat 1078 Chaitra śudi 14....</i>	1078 (359 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 42-45.
12.	Depalpur Grant of Bhojadeva <i>Sanīvat 1079 Chaitra śudi 14</i>	1079 (360 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp.45-48.
13.	Kalvan Grant of the time of Bhojadeva <i>Chaitramāsāmāvāsyāyām Sūryagrahaṇe....</i>	-	CII, VII, pt. II, pp.54-58.
14.	Tilakwada Grant of the time of Bhojadeva? <i>Sanīvatsarair Vikramādityail śatarekādaśaistathā tryuttarair- Mārgamāse'smin some somasya parvaṇi </i>	1103 (384 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp.50-54.
15.	Mandhata Grant of Jayasimha <i>Sanīvat 1112 Āṣāḍha vadi 13</i>	1112 expired (394 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp.61-64.
16.	Udaypur Praśasti Inscription	Not dated.	CII, VII, pt. II, pp.75 ff.
17.	Inscription of Udayāditya	1131 (412 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 65-66.
18.	Inscription of Udayāditya	1140 (421 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 67- 69.
19.	Jhalrapatan Inscription of the time of Udayāditya <i>Sanīvat 1143 Vaiśākha śudi 10</i>	1143 (423 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 69-71.
20.	Amera Stone Inscription of Naravarman <i>Sanīvat 1151 Āṣāḍha śudi 7</i>	1151 (432 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 98-101.
21.	Dewas Grant of Naravarman <i>Dvipañcāśadadhika-śataikādaśa-sanīvatsare Bhādrapada-śudi ekādaśyām....</i>	1152 (433 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 102-105.
22.	Bhojpur Inscription of the time of Naravarman	1157 (438 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 105-106.
23.	Nagpur Museum Inscription of Naravarman	1161 (442 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 106-114.
24.	Kadambapadraka Grant of Naravarman <i>Sanīvat 1154 Kārttika śudi 15 Sanīvat 1159 Pauṣa śudi 15 Sanīvat 1167 Māgha śudi 12 </i>	1154 (435 CE) 1159 (440 CE) 1167 (448 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 114-118.
25.	Ujjain Plates of Yaśovarman <i>Sanīvat 1192 Mārga (or Māgha) Vadi 3</i>	1192 (473 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 126-118.

26.	Ujjain Inscription of Mahākumāra Lakṣmīvarman Yaśovarmadevena Śri-Vikrama-kālātīta-saṁvatsaraika-navatyadhika-śataikādaśeṣu Kārttika śudi aṣṭamyaṁ..... Saṁvatsara-śatadvādaśakeṣu Śrāvaṇa śudi pañcadaśyāṁ Somagrahaṇa-parvaṇi....	1191 (472 CE) 1200 (481 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 133-137.
27.	Bhopal Inscription of Mahākumāra Lakṣmīvarman Rāstrakūṭa Vaddiga & Vijayasimha	—	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 138-140.
28.	Vidisa stone Inscription of Mahākumāra Trailocyavarman Saṁvat 1216 Chaitra vadi 12	1216 (497 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 141-144.
29.	Bhopal Grant of Mahākumāra Hariśchandra Śrinad-Vikrama-kālātīta-caturdaśādhika-dvādaśa-śatāntalhpāti-saṁvatsare Kārttika-śudi-paurṇamāsyāṁ samjāta-Soma-grahaṇa-sarva-grāsa-parvaṇi....	1214 (494-495 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 146-152.
30.	Piplianagar Grant of Mahākumāra Hariśchandra Śri-Vikrama-kālātīta 1235 pañca-trimśadadhika-dvādaśa-śata-saṁvatsarāntalhpāti Pauṣa vadi amāvāsyāṁ samjāta-surya-parvaṇi.... 1236 ṣaṭ-trimśadadhika-dvādaśa-śata-saṁvatsarāntalhpāti Vaisākha-māsi paurṇamāsyāṁ....	1235 (516 CE) 1236 (517 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 152-157.
31.	Bhopal Grant of Mahākumāra Udayavarman Śri-Vikrama-kālātīta-ṣaṭ-pañcāśadadhika-dvādaśa-śata-saṁvatsarāntalhpāti añke 1256 Vaisākha śudi 15 paurṇamāsyāṁ tithau Viśākhā-nakṣatre Parighayoge ravidine Mahāvaiśākhyāṁ parvaṇi....	1256 (537 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 157-161.
32.	Piplianagar Grant of Arjunavarman Sapta-ṣaṣṭyadhika-dvādaśa-śata-saṁvatsare phālgune 1267 śukla-daśamyaṁ abhiṣeka-parvaṇi..... Saṁvat 1267 Phālguna śudi 10....	1267 (548 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 162-166.
33.	Sehore Grant of Arjunavarman Saptatyadhika-dvādaśa-śata-saṁvatsare Vaisākha-vadi amāvāsyāṁ Suryagrahaṇaparvaṇi..... Saṁvat 1270 Vaisākha vadi 15 some....	1270 (551 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 166-168.

34.	Sehore Grant of Arjunavarman <i>Dvisaptatyadhika-dvādaśa-śata-saṁivatsare Bhādrapada-paurṇamāsyām Chandroparāga- parvaṇi..... Saṁ 1272 Bhādrapada śudi 15 budhe....</i>	1272 (553 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 168-171.
35.	Harsauda Inscription of Devapāla <i>Saṁivat pañca-saptatyadhika-dvādaśa- śatānke 1275 Mārga-śudi 12 adhike pañcasaptatyā dvādaśābdaśate śake vatsare Citrbhānau tu Mārgaśīrse site dale Pañcamyāntaka-saṁiyoge nakṣatre Viṣṇu-daivate Yoge Harṣaṇasarijñe tu tithyārdhe dhātridaivate </i>	1275 (556 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 171-175.
36.	Mandhata Grant of Devapāla <i>Dvyāśityadhika-dvādaśa-śata-saṁivatsare Bhādrapade māse paurṇamāsyām soma-parvaṇi..... Saṁivat 1282 varṣe Bhādra śudi 15 gurau....</i>	1282 (563 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 175-185.
37.	Udaipur Inscription of the time of Devapāla <i>Saṁivat 1286 Kārttika śudi....</i>	1286 (567 CE) 1289 (570 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 185-187.
38.	Rahatgarh Inscription of the time of Jayasimhadeva <i>Saṁivat 1312 varṣe Bhādrapada śudi 7 some....</i>	1312 (593 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 190-194.
39.	Modi stone Inscription of Jayavarman <i>Saṁivat 1314 Māgha vadi 1</i>	1314 (595 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 194-200.
40.	Mandhata Grant of Jayavarman <i>Saptadaśādhika-trayodaśa-śata-saṁivatsare..... Saṁivat 1317 Āgrahāyana-śukla-tritiyāyām tithau raviṇūsare pūrvāśāḍha-nakṣatre śūlanāmni yoge..... Saṁivat 1317 Jyeṣṭha śudi 11 gurau....</i>	1317 (598 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 200-206.
41.	Vidisha Inscription of Jayasimha	1320 (601 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 206-207.
42.	Pathari Inscription of Jayasimha	1326 (607 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 208-209.
43.	Mandhata Grant of Jayavarman <i>Ekatriṁśadadhika-trayodaśa-śata-sankhyānvite Pramāthināmni saṁivatsare Bhādrapade māsi śuklapakṣe saptamīyām tithau śukradine Maitre nakṣatre....</i>	1331(612 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 209-224.

4. Inscriptions of the Paramāras of Chandrāvati

<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)</i>	<i>References</i>
1. Varman Inscription of the time of Pūrṇapāla	1099 (380 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 225-226.
2. Vasantgarh Inscription of the time of Pūrṇapāla and his son Śivapāla <i>Nav-a-navatirihāsi Vikramāditya-kāle Jagati daśa-śatānāmagrato yatra pūrṇā Prabhavati Nabha-māse sthānake Citrabhānoḥ Mṛgaśirasi śaśāṅke Kṛṣṇa-pakṣe navamyām </i>	1099 (380 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 226-232.
3. Bhadund Inscription of the time of Purnapala <i>Saṁvatātsare 1102 Kārttika vadi pañcamyām....</i>	1102 (383 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 232-237.
4. Kayadra Inscription of Dhārāvarṣa <i>Saṁvat 1220 Jyeṣṭha śudi 15 śānidine Somaparve....</i>	1220 (501 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 243-245.
5. Nana Inscription of Dhārāvarṣa	1237 (518 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 245-247.
6. Ajhari Inscription of Dhārāvarṣa <i>Saṁi 1240 Vaiśākha śudi 3 some....</i>	1240 (521 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 249-250.
7. Mungthala Inscription of Dhārāvarṣa <i>Saṁvat 1245 Bhādrapada śudi 1 budhe....</i>	1245 (526 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 250-252.
8. Butri Inscription of Dhārāvarsa <i>Saṁvat 1271 varṣe Āśvayuja śudi 4 some....</i>	1271 (552 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 256-257.
9. Kamtal Inscription of Dhārāvarṣa <i>Saṁvat 1274 Māgha-Phālgunayor-madhye Somagrahaṇa-parve....</i>	1274 (555 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 257-259.
10. Dhanta Inscription of Somasimha	1277 (558 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 262-264.
11. Nana stone Inscription of Somasimha <i>Saṁvat 1290 varṣe Mārga vadi 15 some....</i>	1290 (571 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 264-266.
12. Devkhetar Inscription of Somasimha	1293 (574 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 266-267.
13. Kalajara Inscription of Alhaṇadeva	1300 (581 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 267-268.
14. Girvad Inscription of Pratāpasimha <i>Saṁvat trayodaśaśate tricatvārimśa- dākhyayā khyāte saṁvatātsare śukla daśamyaṁ aśvinasya Āgāmini catuś- chatvārimśadākhye'tha vatsare Jyeṣṭhasya sitapañcamyām śukre....</i>	1344 (625 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 270-277.

5. Inscriptions of the Paramāras of Vagada

Inscriptions	Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)	References
1. Arthuna Inscription of Chāmunḍarāja <i>Saṁvat 1136 Phālguna śudi 7 śukre....</i>	1136 (417 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 286-296.
2. Arthuna Inscription of Chāmunḍarāja	1159 (440 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 302-304.
3. Arthuna Inscription of Vijayarāja <i>Vikramāñkataḥ saṁvat 1165 Phālguna śudi 2 gurau dine....</i>	1165 (446 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 309-311.
4. Arthuna Inscription of Vijayarāja <i>Vikrama-Saṁvat 1166 Vaiśākha śudi 3....</i>	1166 (447 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 312-317.

6. Inscriptions of the Paramāras of Bhinmal

Inscriptions	Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)	References
1. Ropi Inscription of Devarāja <i>Saṁvat 1059 Māgha śudi 15.... Somagrahaṇe....</i>	1059 (340 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 318-320.
2. Bhinmal Inscription of Kṛṣṇarāja <i>Saṁvat 1117 Māgha śudi 6 rāvau....</i>	1117 (398 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 320-323.
3. Kiradu Inscription of Someśvara <i>Saṁvat 1218 Aśvina śudi 1 gurau....</i>	1218 (499 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 325-329.
4. Bhinmal Inscription of Jayatsimha <i>Saṁvat 1239 Aśvina vadi 10 budhe....</i>	1239 (520 CE)	CII, VII, pt. II, pp. 329-331.

7. Inscriptions of the Chaulukya dynasty (Solanki)

Inscriptions	Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)	References
1. A Grant of Mūlarāja I <i>Suryagrahaṇa-parvaṇi..... Saṁvat 1043 Māgha vadi 15 Ravaū....</i>	1043 (324 CE)	IA, VI, pp. 191-193.
2. A Grant of Bhīmadeva I <i>Vikrama-Saṁvat 1086 Kārttika śudi 15..... adya Kārttikī-parvaṇi....</i>	1086 (367 CE)	IA, VI, pp. 193-194.
3. Paliad Grant of Bhīmadeva I <i>Vikrama-Saṁvat 1112 Chaitra śudi 15..... Soma-grahaṇa-parvaṇi....</i>	1112 (393 CE)	EI, XXXIII, pp. 235-237.

4.	A Grant of Bhīmadeva I	1117 (398 CE)	
5.	Palanpur Grant of Bhīmadeva I <i>Vikrama-Saṁvat 1120 Pauṣa śudi 15..... adya Uttaṛāyana-parvaṇi....</i>	1120 (401 CE)	El, XXI, pp. 171-172.
6.	Sunak Grant of Chaulukya Karṇadeva <i>Sri Vikrama-Saṁvat 1148 Vaiśākha śudi 15 Some..... adya Somagrahaṇa-parvaṇi....</i>	1148 (429 CE)	El, I, pp. 316-318.
7.	Talwara Inscription of the time of Siddharāja Jayasimha	Not dated.	El, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 209.
8.	Gala Inscription of Siddharāja Jayasimha	1193 (474 CE)	El, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 37.
9.	Ujjain Inscription of Siddharāja Jayasimha	1195 (476 CE)	El, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 37.
10.	A Grant of Kumārapāla	1199 (480 CE)	List of Copper Plates from 1969-1997, No. 35, pp. 9.
11.	Vādnagar Praśasti of the time of Kumārapāla <i>Saṁvat 1208 varṣe Aśvina śudi.... Gurau.....Chaitra-māse Śubhre pakṣe pratipad guruvāsare Nandāṣṭanṛpe 1689 varṣe Praśastih likitā punah </i>	1208 (489 CE) 1689 (970 CE)	El, I, pp. 293-305.
12.	Brahmanavada Grant of Mūlarāja II <i>Śrimad-Vikramādityotpādita-saṁivatsara- śateṣu dvādaśasu dvātriṁśaduttareṣu Chaitra-māsa-śukla-pakṣa ekādaśyām somavare' trāṇikato'pi Saṁvat 1232 Caitra śudi 11 some....</i>	1232 (513 CE)	Important Inscriptions of Baroda State, Vol I, pp. 71-73.
13.	Kada-grama Grant of Bhīmadeva II <i>Śrimad-Vikramādityotpādita-saṁivatsara- śateṣu dvādaśasu ṣaṭpañchāśaduttareṣu Bhādrapada-kṛṣṇāmāvāsyāyām bhaumavāre' trāṇikato'pi Saṁvat 1256 Bhādrapada vadi 15 bhaume..... amāvāsyā-parvaṇi....</i>	1256 (537 CE)	IA, XI, pp. 71-73.

14.	A Grant of Bhīmadeva II Śrimad-Vikramādityotpādita-Saṁivatsara-śateṣu dvādaśasu tri-śaṣṭyuttareṣu Śrāvaṇa-māsa-śukla-pakṣa-dvitiyāyām Ravivāre'trāñkato'pi Saṁivat 1263 Śrāvaṇa śudi 2 ravau..... vyatipāta-parvaṇi....	263 (544 CE)	IA, VI, pp. 1194-196.
15.	A Grant of Bhīmadeva II Saṁivat 93 Chaitra śudi 11 ravau.... Saṁkrānti-parvaṇi....(Siṁha Saṁivat 93 = Kārttikādi Vikrama 1263)	1263 (544 CE) [21 st Mar 544 CE]	IA, XVIII, pp. 108-110.
16.	A Grant of Bhīmadeva II Śrimad-Vikrama-nṛpa-kālāñitta-saṁivatsara-śateṣu dvādaśasu ṣaṭ-śaṣṭyadhikeṣu laukika Mārga-māsasya śukla-pakṣa-caturdaśyām guru-dine atrāñkato'pi Śri-Vikrama-Saṁivat 1266 varṣe Śri-Siṁha-saṁivat 96 varṣe laukika Mārga śu di 14 gurau....	1266 (547 CE)	IA, XVIII, pp. 110-116.
17.	A Grant of Bhīmadeva II Saṁivat 1283 varṣe Kārttika śudi 15 gurau....	1283 (564 CE)	IA, VI, pp. 199-200.
18.	A Grant of Bhīmadeva II Saṁivat 1287 varṣe Āṣāḍha śudi 8 śukre....	1287 (568 CE)	IA, VI, pp. 201-203.
19.	A Grant of Bhīmadeva II Saṁivat 1288 varṣe Bhādrapada śudi 1 some....	1288 (569 CE)	IA, VI, pp. 203-204.
20.	A Grant of Bhīmadeva II Saṁivat 1295 varṣe Mārga śudi 14 gurau....	1295 (576 CE)	IA, VI, pp. 205-206.
21.	A Grant of Bhīmadeva II Saṁivat 1296 varṣe Mārga vadi 14 ravau....	1296 (577 CE)	IA, VI, pp. 206-208.
22.	A Grant of Jayantasiṁha Gata-saṁivatsara-dvādaśa-varṣa-śateṣu aśiṭyuttareṣu Pauṣa-māse śukla-pakṣe tritiyāyām tithau bhaumavāre saṁjāta- uttaragata-Sūrya-saṁkramāṇa-parvaṇi añkato'pi Saṁivat 1280 varṣe Pauṣa śudi 3 bhaume..... uttarāyaṇa-parvaṇi....	1280 (561 CE)	IA, VI, pp. 196-199.
23.	A Grant of Tribhuvanapāla Śrimad-Vikramādityotpādita-Saṁivatsara-śateṣu dvādaśasu nava-navatyuttareṣu Caitra-māsiya-śukla-śaṣṭhyām somavare' trāñkato'pi Saṁivat 1299 varṣe Chaitra śudi 6 some..... Phālgunamāsiya- amāvāsyāyām saṁjāta-Sūrya-grahaṇa-parvaṇi....	1299 (580 CE)	IA, VI, pp. 208-210.

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24. A Grant of Vīsaladeva	1317 (598 CE)	IA, VI, pp. 210-214.
Srimad-Vikrama-kālātīta-saptadaśādhika-trayodaśa-śatīka-saṁivatsare laukika-Jyeṣṭha-māsasya Kṛṣṇa-pakṣa-caturthyām tithau gurau....		
25. Kantela Inscription of Arjunadeva	1320 (601 CE)	MSQJ, Vol XIV, pp. 242-243.
26. Kutch Inscription of Arjunadeva	1328 (609 CE)	MSQJ, Vol XIV, pp. 242-243.
27. Girnar (Kathiawad) Grant of Arjunadeva <i>Sanī 1330 Vaiśākha śu 15 Śrimad-Arjunadevarājye Surāṣṭrāyām tanniyukta Śri-Palhe.....</i>	1330 (611 CE)	MSQJ, Vol XIV, pp. 242-243.
28. Inscription of Sāraṅgadeva <i>Sanīvat 1332 varṣe Mārga śudi 11 śanau....</i>	1332 (613 CE)	IA, XXI, pp. 276-277.
29. Vanthali Inscription of Sāraṅgadeva <i>Sanīvat 1346 varṣe Vaiśākha vadi 6 some....</i>	1346 (627 CE)	EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 89.
30. Anavada Inscription of Sāraṅgadeva <i>Sanīvat 1348 varṣe Āṣāḍha śudi 13 ravau....</i>	1348 (629 CE)	IA, XLI, p. 20-21.

Inscriptions of the Viśvamalla branch of later Chaulukyas dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE)

31. Veraval Inscription of Arjunadeva	1320 (1263 CE)	IA, XI, pp.242-245.
32. Amaran Inscription of Sāraṅgadeva	1333 (1276 CE)	EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 84.
33. Cintra Praśasti of Sāraṅgadeva	1343 (1286 CE)	EI, I, pp. 271-287.

8. Inscriptions of the Chāhamāna dynasty

<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)</i>	<i>References</i>
1. Hansot Plates of Bhartṛvaddha <i>Sūrya-grahane..... Saṁivatsara-śatāṣṭake trayodaśādhike 800 10 3....</i>	813 (94 CE)	EI, XII, pp. 197-204.

2.	Harṣa stone Inscription of the Chāhamāna Vigraharāja	1013 (294 CE) 1030 (311 CE)	EI, II, pp. 116-130.
3.	Bijolia rock Inscription <i>Tṛitīyāyām tithau vāre gurau nakśatre ca Hastake Dhṛtināmani yoge ca karaṇe Taitile tathā Saṁvat 1226 Phālguna vadi 3....</i>	1226 (507 CE)	EI, XXVI, pp. 84-112.
4.	Menalgarh Inscription of ChihamIna <i>PṛthvirājaMālaveśa-gata-vatsara-śataiḥ dvādaśaiścha ṣaḍviṁśa-pūrvakaiḥ </i>	1226 (507 CE)	EI, appendix (XIX to XXIII), 1929, pp. 52.

9. *Inscriptions of the Chandrātreyas or Chandellas of Jejākabhukti*

<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)</i>	<i>References</i>
1. Khajuraho Inscription of Harṣadeva	Not dated.	CII, VII, pt. III, pp. 335-337.
2. Khajuraho Inscription of Yaśovarman <i>Saṁvatsara-daśa-śateṣu ekādaśādhikeṣu Saṁvat 1011....</i>	1011	Ibid. pp. 337-347.
3. Khajuraho Inscription of Dhaṅgadeva <i>Saṁvat 1011....</i>	1011	Ibid. pp. 347-348.
4. Nanyaura Plates of Dhaṅgadeva <i>Saṁvatsara-sahasre pañca-pañcāśadadhike Kārttika-paurṇamāsyām ravidine....</i>	1055	Ibid. pp. 349-353.
5. Khajuraho Inscription of Dhaṅgadeva <i>Saṁvat 1059 Śri-Kharjūravāhake Śri-Dhaṅgadeva-rājye....</i>	1059	Ibid. pp. 381-390.
6. Kundesvara Plates of the time of Vidyādhara <i>Saṁvatsara-sahasre ṣaṣṭyadhike Saṁvat 1060 Śrāvanī? [Phālguna?] amāvāsyāyām.... Sūryagrahaṇe....</i>	1060	Ibid. pp. 651-656.
7. Nanyaura Plates of Devavarman <i>Saṁvat 1107 Vaiśākhamāse krṣṇa-pakṣe tritīyāyām somadine....</i>	1107	Ibid. pp. 356-360.
8. Charkhari Plates of Devavarman <i>Saṁvatsara-sahasraike aṣṭottara- śatādhike añkato'pi 1108 Mārgaśīrṣa- śudi 15 somadine....</i>	1108	Ibid. pp. 360-364.
9. Darbat Santinatha image Inscription of Kirtivarman <i>Saṁvat 1132</i>	1132	Ibid. pp. 365-366.

10.	Kalanjar Inscription of the time of Kirtivarman <i>Saṁvat 1147 Māghamāse śukla-pakṣe saptamyām Revatī-nakṣatre....</i>	1147	Ibid. pp. 367-370.
11.	Deogarh Inscription of the time of Kirtivarman <i>Saṁvat 1154 Chaitra....</i>	1154	Ibid. pp. 371-373.
12.	Khajuraho Inscription of Jayavarmanadeva <i>Saṁvat 1173 Vaisākha śudi 3 śukre....</i>	1173	Ibid. pp. 381-390.
13.	Kalanjar pillar Inscription of the time of Madanavarman <i>Saṁ 1186....</i>	1186	Ibid. pp. 391-392.
14.	Kalanjar rock Inscription of the time of Madanavarman <i>Saṁvat 1187 Jyeṣṭha śudi 9....</i>	1187	Ibid. pp. 392-393.
15.	Kalanjar rock Inscription of the time of Madanavarman <i>Saṁvat 1188 Kārttika śudi 8 śanau....</i>	1188	Ibid. pp. 393-394.
16.	Augasi Plates of Madanavarman <i>Naavatyadhika-śataikopeta-sahasra-tame saṁvatsare Māghe māsi śukla-pakṣe pūrnimāyām somavāre....</i>	1190	Ibid. pp. 395-399.
17.	Bharat Kala Bhavan Plates of Madanavarman <i>Dvi-naavatyadhika-śatopeta-sahasra-tame saṁvatsare Chaitre māsi kṛṣṇa-pakṣe pañcamyām....</i>	1192	Ibid. pp. 399-405.
18.	Kalanjar rock Inscription of the time of Madanavarman <i>Saṁvat 1192 Jyeṣṭha vadi 9 ravau....</i>	1192	Ibid. pp. 405-406.
19.	Dhubela Museum Inscription of the time of Madanavarman <i>Saṁvat 1203 Phā śudi 9 some....</i>	1203	Ibid. pp. 629-630.
20.	Ajayagarh Inscription of the time of Madanavarman <i>Saṁvat 1208 Mārga vadi 15 śanau....</i>	1208	Ibid. pp. 406-408.
21.	Horniman museum image Inscription of the time of Madanavarman <i>Saṁvat 1208 Vaisākha vadi 5 gurau</i>	1208	Ibid. pp. 409-410.
22.	Mahoba image Inscription of the time of Madanavarman <i>Saṁ 1211 Āṣāḍha śudi 3 śanau....</i>	1211	Ibid. pp. 410-411.

23.	Khajuraho Inscription of the time of Madanavarman <i>Sanīvat 1215 Māgha śudi 5....</i>	1215	Ibid. pp. 411-412.
24.	Semra Plates of Paramardideva <i>Sanīvat 1223 Vaiśākha śudi 7 guruvāre Pūrvānī Mahārājādhīrāja- Śri-Madanavarma-devenāśmat-pitāmahena..... Sanīvat 1219 Māgha vadi 15 guruvāre....</i>	1223	Ibid. pp. 418-435.
25.	Mahoba Inscription of the time of Paramardideva <i>Sanīvat 1224 Āṣāḍha śudi 2 ravau....</i>	1224	Ibid. pp. 435-436.
26.	Ajayagarh Inscription of the time of Paramardideva <i>Sanīvat 1227 Āṣāḍha śudi 2 ravau....</i>	1227	Ibid. pp. 436-438.
27.	Ichchavar Plates of Paramardideva <i>Āṣṭāvīṁśatyadhika-śata-dvayopeta-sahasratame sanīvatsare Śrāvane māsi śukla-pakṣe pañcadaśyām..... rāhugraste niśākare</i>	1228 (509-510 CE) 16 th Aug 509 CE or 5 th Aug 510 CE	Ibid. pp. 438-442.
28.	Mahoba Plates of Paramardideva <i>Trīniśadadhika-śata-dvayopeta-sahasratame sanīvatsare Māghe māsi kṛṣṇa-pakṣe caturthyām..... bhaumavāre Makaragate savitari....</i>	1230	Ibid. pp. 443-446.
29.	Pachchar Plates of Paramardideva <i>Trayas-triṇiśadadhika-śata-dvayopeta-sahasratame sanīvatsare Kārttike māsi kṛṣṇa-pakṣe'ṣṭamīyām..... budhavāre....</i>	1233	Ibid. pp. 446-451.
30.	Charkhari Plates of Paramardideva <i>Ṣhaṭ-triṇiśadadhika-śata-dvayopeta-sahasratame sanīvatsare Chaitre māsi śukla-pakṣe saptaśamyām..... bhaumavāre....</i>	1236	Ibid. pp. 451-455.
31.	Ahar statue Inscription of the time of Paramardideva <i>Sanīvat 1237 Mārgga śudi 3 śukre</i>	1237	Ibid. pp. 455-457.
32.	Bharat Kala Bhavan Plates of Paramardideva <i>Ekonachatvāriṇiśadadhika-śata-dvayopeta-sahasratame sanīvatsare Phālgune māsi kṛṣṇa-pakṣe caturthyām..... bhaumavāre....</i>	1239	Ibid. pp. 458-461.
33.	Kalanjar Inscription of the time of Paramardideva <i>Sanīvat 1240.... Vaiśākha śudi 14 gurau....</i>	1240	Ibid. pp. 461-462.

34.	Mahoba Inscription of the time of Paramardideva <i>Sanīvat 1240 Āśādha vadi 9 some....</i>	1240	Ibid. pp. 462-467.
35.	Ajaygarh Inscription of the time of Paramardideva <i>Sanīvat 1243..... śudi 11 budhe....</i>	1243	Ibid. pp. 468-469.
36.	Bharat Kala Bhavan Plates of Paramardideva <i>Sapta-chatvāriṁśadadhika-śata-dvayopeta-sahasratame sanīvatsare Phālgune māsi śukla-pakṣe caturdaśyām..... śānivāre....</i>	1247	Ibid. pp. 469-472.
37.	Batesvara Inscription of the time of Paramardideva <i>Pakṣa-mukhāditya-saṅkhiye Vikrama-vatsare Aśvina śukla-pañcamyām vāsare vāsareśituḥ </i>	1252	Ibid. pp. 473-478.
38.	Kalanjar Inscription of Paramardideva <i>Sanīvat 1258 or 1298 Kārttika śudi 10 some....</i>	1258 1298	Ibid. pp. 478-482.
39.	Garra Plates of Trailokyavarman <i>Sanīvat 1261 Vaiśākha śudi 2 Śukravāre</i>	1261	Ibid. pp. 483-487.
40.	Sagar Plates of Trailokyavarman <i>Chatuḥ-ṣaṣṭyadadhika-śata-dvayopeta-sahasratame sanīvatsare Bhādrapade māsi kṛṣṇa-pakṣe dvitiyāyām..... Śukravāre....</i>	1264	Ibid. pp. 487-490.
41.	Ajaygarh Inscription of the time of Trailokyavarman <i>Sanīvat 1269 Phālguna vadi..... śānau....</i>	1269	Ibid. pp. 630-631.
42.	Ramvan Museum Plates of Trailokyavarman <i>Sanīvat 1283 Chaitra śudi 11 budhavāre....</i>	1283	Ibid. pp. 657-661.
43.	Charkhari Plates of Viravarman <i>Sanīvat 1311 Aśvina śudi 8 somavāre....</i>	1311	Ibid. pp. 495-498.
44.	Ajaygarh Inscription of the time of Viravarman <i>Sanīvat 1317 Vaiśākha śudi 13 gurau....</i>	1317	Ibid. pp. 498-502.
45.	Ajaygarh Inscription of the time of Viravarman <i>Sanīvat 1325....</i>	1325	Ibid. pp. 503-503.
46.	Ajaygarh Inscription of the time of Viravarman <i>Sanīvat 1335 Chaitra śudi 13 some....</i>	1335	Ibid. pp. 631-632.
47.	Ajaygarh Inscription of the time of Viravarman <i>Sanīvat 1337 Māgha śudi 13 some....</i>	1337	Ibid. pp. 504-507.

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48.	Ajaygarh Inscription of the time of Bhojavarman <i>Sanīvat 1344 Vaiśākha vadī....</i>	1344	Ibid. pp. 633-634.
49.	Ajaygarh Inscription of the time of Bhojavarman <i>Sanīvat 1345 Vaiśākhe māsi....</i>	1345	Ibid. pp. 510-515.
50.	Charkhari Plates of Hammiravarman <i>Sanīvat 1346 Bhādrapada vadī 12 ravaū puṣya-nakṣatre....</i>	1346	Ibid. pp. 521-525.
51.	Bamhni śati stone Inscription <i>Sanīvat 1365....</i>	1365	Ibid. pp. 525-527.
52.	Panna stone pedestal Inscription <i>Sanī 1366 Śrāvāṇa śudi 10 gurau....</i>	1366	Ibid. pp. 634-634.
53.	Ajaygarh Sati stone Inscription of the time of Hammiravarman <i>Sanīvat 1368 Śrāvāṇa śudi 6 budhe....</i>	1368	Ibid. pp. 527-528.

10. Inscriptions of the Kacchapaghātas

	<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)</i>	<i>References</i>
1.	Dubkund Inscription of the time of Vikramasimha <i>Sanīvat 1145 Bhādrapada śudi 3 some....</i>	1145	CII, VII, pt. III, pp. 525-535.

11. Inscriptions of the Yajvapālas

	<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)</i>	<i>References</i>
1.	Bhimpur Inscription of the time of Asalladeva <i>Nidhindvagnīndu-vatsare....</i>	1319	CII, VII, pt. III, pp. 561-568.
2.	Badodi Inscription of the time of Gopaladeva <i>Sanīvat 1336 Mārgaśīrṣa vadī śukradine....</i>	1336	Ibid. pp. 572-577.
3.	Bangla Inscription of the time of Gopaladeva <i>Sanīvat 1337 Chaitra śudi 7 śukre....</i>	1337	Ibid. pp. 577-585.

4.	Narwar Inscription of the time of Gopaladeva	1339	Ibid. pp. 586-591.
	<i>Sanīvat 1339 Pauṣa vadi 10 guruvāsare....</i>		
5.	Surwaya Inscription of the time of Gopaladeva	1341	Ibid. pp. 591-594.
	<i>Ekābdhi-rāma-rūpāñke Vikramāditya-vatsare Kārttike śukla-pañcamyām....</i>		
6.	Sesai Inscription of the time of Gopaladeva	1341	Ibid. pp. 594-596.
	<i>Sanīvat 1341 Pauṣa....</i>		
7.	Surwaya Inscription of the time of Gaṇapati	1350	Ibid. pp. 596-599.
	<i>Sanīvat 1350 Kārttika vadi 7 budhavāsare....</i>		
8.	Narwar Inscription of the time of Gaṇapatideva	1355	Ibid. pp. 600-603.
	<i>Sanīvat 1355 Kārttika vadi 5 gurau....</i>		



Appendix - X

Inscriptions dated in Sri Harsha era (457 BCE)

<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Sri Harsha era (457 BCE)</i>	<i>References</i>
1. Banskhera grant of Sri Harsha <i>Saṇivat 20 2 Kārttika vadi 1....</i>	22 (435 BCE)	EI, IV, pp. 208-211.
2. Varanasi Grant of Sri Harsha <i>Saṇivat 20 3....</i>	23 (434 BCE)	EI, XLIII, pp. 40-51.
3. Madhuban Grant of Sri Harsha <i>Saṇivat 20 5 Mārgaśīrṣa vadi 6....</i>	25 (432 BCE)	EI, I, pp. 67-75.
4. Shahpur Inscription of Adityasena <i>Saṇivat 60 6 Mārga śudi 7....</i>	66 (391 BCE)	Inscriptions of the Maukhari, Later Guptas, Puṣṭabhūti and Yaśovarman of Kanauj, pp. 158-159.

Inscriptions of the Licchavi dynasty of Nepal dated in Sri Harsha era

5. Bungmati Inscription of Añśuvarman I <i>Saṇivat 20 9 Jyeṣṭha śukla daśamīyām....</i>	29 (428 BCE)	Inscriptions of Ancient Nepal, Vol I, pp. 70-71.
6. Harigaon Inscription of Añśuvarman I <i>Saṇivat 30 Jyeṣṭha śukla ṣaṣṭhyām....</i>	30 (427 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 71-72.
7. Bhatuwal Inscription of Anshuvarman I <i>Saṇivat 31 Prathama Pauṣa.... pañcamīyām....</i>	31 (426 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 73-74.
8. Inscription of Inayatol, Bhadgaon <i>Saṇivat 31 Dvitiya Pauṣa śuklāṣṭamīyām....</i>	31 (426 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 75.
9. Chāngūnārāyaṇa Inscription of Añśuvarman I <i>Ekatriinśattame varṣe varttamāne svasarīṁsthayā Māgha śuklatrayodaśyām Puṣyēṇa savitūr dīne....</i>	31 (426 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 75.
10. Harigaon Inscription of Añśuvarman I <i>Saṇivat 30 2 Āṣāḍha śukla trayodaśyām....</i>	32 (425 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 76-77.
11. Sanga Inscription of Añśuvarman I <i>Saṇivat 30 2 Bhādrapada śukla 9</i>	32 (425 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 77-78.

12.	The Sundhara Inscription of Añśuvarman I <i>Sañvat 30 4 Prathama Pauṣa śukla dvitiyāyām....</i>	34 (423 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 77-78.
13.	Kathmandu Inscription of Añśuvarman I <i>Sañvat 30 6 Āśādha śukla divā pañcamyām....</i>	36 (421 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 80-81.
14.	Taukhel Inscription of Añśuvarman I <i>•Sañvat 37 Phālguna śukla divā pañcamyām....</i>	37 (420 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 79-80.
15.	Inscription at Paśupati temple <i>Sañvat 30 9 Vaiśākha śukla divā daśamyām.... (Yuvārāja Udayadeva)</i>	39 (418 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 82-83.
16.	Chitlang stone Inscription of Udayadeva <i>Sañvat 40.... Āśādha śukla dvādaśyām....</i>	40 (417 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 92-93.
17.	Tavajhya Inscription of Dhruvadeva <i>Sañvat 40 8 Kārttika śukla....</i>	48 (409 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 93-94.
18.	Malitar Inscription of Dhruvadeva <i>Sañvat 40 9 Māgha kṛṣṇa dvādaśyām....</i>	49 (408 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 95.
19.	Balambu Inscription of Bhīmārjunadeva <i>Sañvat 50 5 Āśvayuja śukla pañcamyām....</i>	55 (402 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 99-100.
20.	Thankot Inscription of Bhīmārjunadeva <i>Sañvat 50 7..... divā dvitiyāyām....</i>	57 (400 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 103-105.
21.	Yangahiti Inscription of Bhīmārjunadeva <i>Sañvat 60 4 Phālguna śukla dvitiyāyām....</i>	64 (393 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 106-108.
22.	Bhringaresvara temple Inscription of Bhīmārjunadeva <i>Sañvat 60 5 Phālguna śukla dvitiyāyām....</i>	65 (392 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 108-109.
23.	Lunjhya(Patan Palace) Inscription of Narendradeva <i>Sañvat 60 7 Pauṣa śukla pañcamyām....</i>	67 (390 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 112-114.
24.	Yangahiti Inscription of Narendradeva <i>Sañvat 60 7 Bhādrapada śukla dvitiyāyām....</i>	67 (390 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 114-116.
25.	Deopatan Inscription of Narendradeva <i>Sañvat 60 9 Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa divā saptamyām....</i>	69 (388 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 116.
26.	Kasaitol Inscription of Narendradeva <i>Sañvat 70 1 Kārttika śukla dvitiyāyām....</i>	71 (386 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 117-118.
27.	Naksal road Inscription of Narendradeva <i>Sañvat 70 8 Kārttika śukla navamyām pra yugādau....</i>	78 (379 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 118-119.
28.	Gairidhara Inscription of Narendradeva <i>Sañvat 80 3 Bhādrapada śukla ṣaṣṭhyām.... (Yuvārāja Skandadeval)</i>	83 (374 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 119-120.

29.	Anantaligesvara Inscription of Narendradeva <i>Saṁvat 80.... kṛṣṇa divā daśamyām....</i>	80? (377 BCE?)	Ibid. pp. 121-122.
30.	Chyasaltol Inscription of Narendradeva <i>Saṁvat 90 5 Pauṣa śukla divā daśamyām.... (Yuvvarāja Sauryadevalḥ)</i>	95 (362 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 124-125.
31.	Vajraghar Inscription of Narendradeva <i>Saṁvat 100 3 Jyeṣṭha śukla divā trayodaśyām.... (Yuvvarāja Śri Śivadevalḥ)</i>	103 (354 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 128-130.
32.	Lagantol Inscription of Śivadeva <i>Saṁvat 100 10 9 Phālguna śukla daśamyām.... (Rājaputra Jayadevalḥ)</i>	119 (338 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 132-133.
33.	Sonaguthi Stone Inscription of Śivadeva <i>Saṁvat 100 20 5 Bhādrapada śukla pañcamyām.... (Rājaputra Jayadevalḥ)</i>	125 (332 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 133-134.
34.	Balambu Inscription of Śivadeva <i>Saṁvat 100.... 9 divā pañcamyām.... (Jayadevo Bhaṭṭārakah)</i>	129? (328 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 137-140.
35.	Chyasaltol Inscription of Jayadeva <i>Saṁvat 100 30 7 Jyeṣṭha śukla pañcamyām.... (Bhaṭṭāraka Śri Vijayadevalḥ)</i>	137 (320 BCE)	Ibid. pp.124-125.
36.	Minanatha stone Inscription of Jayadeva <i>Saṁvat 100 40 8 Pauṣa śukla divā tritīyasyām.... (Yuvvarāja Śri Vijayadevalḥ)</i>	148 (309 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 142-144.
37.	Paśupati Inscription of Jayadeva <i>Saṁvat 100 50 7 Kārttika śukla navamyām....</i>	157 (300 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 144-148.



Appendix - XI

Inscriptions dated in Kalachuri-Chedi era (403 BCE)

1. *Inscriptions of the Maharajas of Valkha, Traikutakas, Gurjaras, etc.*

<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Kalachuri-Chedi era (403 BCE)</i>	<i>References</i>
1. Bagh (Valkhā) hoard of Copper Plate Inscriptions (27 nos) discovered in 1982 and Eight inscriptions discovered earlier.	29 to 117 (374-286 BCE)	JESI, X, pp. 86 ff. & EI, XV, pp. 286-291.
2. Barwani Grant of Subandhu <i>Sam 100 60 7 Bhādrapade śudi sapta....</i>	167 (236 BCE)	CII, IV, pt. I, p.17-19.
3. Pardi Grant of Dāhrasena <i>Sam 200 7 Vaiśākha-śuddha-trayodaśyām 10 3....</i>	207 (196 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 22-25.
4. Surat Grant of Vyāghrasena <i>Sam 200 40 1 Kārttika śu 10 5....</i>	241 (162 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 25-29.
5. Kanheri Plate of Traikuṭakas <i>Sanīvatsara-śata-dvaye pañca-chatvāriṁśaduttare....</i>	245 (158 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 29-32.
6. Sunao Kala Plates of Saṅgamasiṁha <i>Sam 200 90 2 Kārttika śu 10 5....</i>	292 (111 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 33-37.

Inscriptions of early Gurjaras

7. Inscription of Jayabhaṭa I (Gurjara) Antiquity, III, 1940 pp. 248.	355 (48 BCE)	New Indian
8. Kaira Plates of Dadda II (Gurjara) <i>Sanīvatsara-śata-traye aśītyadhike Kārttika-śuddha-pañcadaśyām.... Sam 300 80 Kārttika śu 10 5....</i>	380 (23 BCE)	CII, IV, pt. I, pp. 57-66.
9. Kaira Plates of Dadda II (Gurjara) <i>Sanīvatsara-śata-traye Pañchāśītyadhike Kārttika-paurnamāśyām.... Sam 300 80 5 Kārttika śu 10 5....</i>	385 (18 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 67-72.

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10.	Sankheda Plate of Raṇāgraha (Gurjara)	391 (12 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 72-75.
11.	Sankheda Grant of Dadda II (Gurjara) <i>Saṁvatsara-śata-traye dvīnavatyadhike Vaiśākha-Paurṇamāsyām.... Saṁ 300 90 2 Vaiśākha śu 10 5....</i>	392 (11 BCE)	Ibid. pp. 75-81.
12.	Prince of Wales Museum Plates of Dadda II	427 (24 CE)	Dynastic List of Copper Plates, 1887-1969, pp. 79.
13.	Navasari Grant of Jayabhaṭa II (Gurjara) <i>Chandroparāge.... Saṁvatsara-śata-catuṣṭaye ṣaṭ-pañcāśaduttarake Māgha-śuddha- pañcadaśyām..... Saṁ 400 50 6 Māgha śu 10 5....</i>	456 (53 CE)	CII, IV, pt. I, pp. 82-89.
14.	Anjaneri Grant of Jayabhaṭa II (Gurjara) <i>Āśvayuja-bahulaikādaśyām Tulā-saṁkrānter.... Saṁ 400 60 Āśvayuja ba 10 1....</i>	460 (57 CE)	Ibid. pp. 90-96.
15.	Kavi Plates of Jayabhaṭa III (Gurjara) <i>Āśāḍha-śuddha-daśamyām Karkaṭaka-rāśau saṁkrānte ravau.... Saṁ 400 80 6 Āśāḍha śu 10 ādityavāre....</i>	486 (83 CE)	Ibid. pp. 96-102.
16.	Prince of Wales Museum Plates of Jayabhaṭa III (Gurjara) <i>Saṁ 400 80 6 Āśvayuja ba 10 5....</i>	486 (83 CE)	Ibid. pp. 102-109.

Inscriptions of Sendrakas

17.	Kasare Plates of Āllaśakti <i>Saṁ 400 4 ĀśāḌha ba amāvāsyā Sūrya-grahoparāge....</i>	404 (1 CE)	Ibid. pp. 110-116.
18.	Bagumra Plates of Āllaśakti <i>Saṁvatsara-śata-catuṣṭaye ṣaduttare Bhādrapada-śuddha-pañcadaśyām....</i>	406 (3 CE)	Ibid. pp. 117-122.
19.	Nagad Plates of Nikumbhällaśakti <i>Pañcaśatike kāle sapta-saptatyadhike ānande'bde ... Māgha Śuddha tritiye....</i>	Śaka 577 (6 BCE) 397 (6 BCE)	EI, XXVIII, pp. 195-205.
20.	Mundakhede Plates of Jayaśakti	Śaka 602 (19 CE) 422 (19 CE)	EI, XXVIII, pp. 198-199.

Inscriptions of the early Chalukyas of Gujarat

21.	Mudgapadra Plates of Yuvarāja <i>Śryāśraya Śilāditya</i>	421 (18 CE)	EI, XXXIV, pp. 117-122.
22.	Navasari Plates of Yuvarāja <i>Śryāśraya Śilāditya Māgha-śuddha-trayodaśyām Saṁvatsara- śata-catuṣṭaye ekavimśat�adhike....</i>	421 (18 CE)	JBBRAS, XVI, pp. 1-7 & EI, VIII, pp. 229.

23.	Nasik Plates of Dharāśraya Jayasimha <i>Caitra-māsa-śuddha-daśamīyām viṣuve..... Saṁ 400 30 6 Chai śu 10....</i>	436 (33 CE)	CII, VI, pt. I, No.28, Plate XXI, pp. 127-131. Ibid. No.29, Plate XXII, pp. 132-137.
24.	Surat Plates of Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Śilāditya <i>Śrāvāṇa-paurṇamāsyām....., Saṁivatsara 400 40 3, Śrāvāṇa śu di 10 5....</i>	443 (40 CE)	Ibid. No.29, Plate XXII, pp. 132-137.
25.	Navasari Plates of Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśirāja <i>Saṁivatsara-śata 400 90 Kārttika-śuddha 10 5....</i>	490 (87 CE)	Ibid. No.30, Plate XXIII, pp. 137-145.
26.	Anjaneri Plates of Bhogaśakti <i>Saṁivatsara-catuṣṭaye ekaśaṣṭyadhike....</i>	461 (58 CE)	Ibid. pp. 146-158.

2. *Inscriptions of the Kalachuris or Chedis of Tripuri*

<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Kalachuri-Chedi era (403 BCE)</i>	<i>References</i>
1. Karitalai Inscription of Lakṣmaṇarāja I <i>Saṁivat 593 Śri-Lakṣmaṇadeve rājani....</i>	593 (190 CE)	CII, IV, pt. I, pp. 178-182.
2. Bandhogarh Inscription of Yuvarājadeva I	Not dated.	Ibid. pp. 183-185.
3. Karitalai Inscription of Lakṣmaṇarāja II	Not dated.	Ibid. pp. 186-195.
4. Chandrehe Inscription of Prabodhaśiva <i>Saṁivat 724 Phālguna śu di 5....</i>	724 (321 CE)	Ibid. pp. 198-204.
5. Bilhari Inscription of Yuvarājadeva II	Not dated.	Ibid. pp. 204- 224.
6. Gurgi Inscription of Kokalladeva II	Not dated.	Ibid. pp. 224-233.
7. Makundpur Inscription of Gāngeyadeva <i>Saṁivat 772 Kārttika śu di 12 budhadine....</i>	772 (369 CE)	Ibid. pp. 234-235.
8. Banaras Plates of Karṇa <i>Saṁivat 793 Phālguna vadi 9 some....</i>	793 (390 CE)	Ibid. pp. 236- 250.
9. Rewa Inscription of Karṇa.... <i>Mahāmaṅgala-saṁivatsare 800 </i>	800 (397 CE)	Ibid. pp. 263-275.
10. Goharwa Plates of Karṇa <i>Śrimat-Karṇapraprākē vyavaharaṇe saptama-saṁivatsare Kārttike māsi śukla-pakṣa-Kārttika-pauṇamāsyam tithau gurudine....</i>	810 (407 CE)	Ibid. pp. 252-263.

11. Saranath Inscription of Karṇa <i>Sanīvatsare 1810 Āśvina śudi 15 ravau....</i>	810 (407 CE)	Ibid. pp. 275-278.
12. Rewa Inscription of Karṇa <i>Sanīvatsare 812 Srimat-Karṇaprakaśa-vyavaharaṇaya navama-sanīvatsare Māgha śudi 10 gurau....</i>	812 (409 CE)	Ibid. pp. 278-284.
13. Khairha Plates of Yaśahkarṇa <i>Sanīvat 823 Phālguna-māsi śukla-pakṣe caturddāśyām ravau sanīkrāntau....</i>	823 (420 CE)	Ibid. pp. 289-299.
14. Jabalpur Plates of Yaśahkarṇa	Not dated.	Ibid. pp. 299-305.
15. Jabalpur Plate of Yaśahkarṇa <i>Sanīvat 529 Māghe māsi kṛṣṇa-pakṣe daśamīyām somadine uttarāyaṇa-sanīkrāntau....</i>	529 (472 CE)	CII, IV, pt. II, pp. 633-636.
16. Tewar Inscription of Gayākarṇa <i>Navaśata-yugalābdādhikyage Chedi-diṣṭe Janapadamavatīmam Śri-Gayākarṇadeve....</i>	902 (499 CE)	CII, IV, pt. I, pp. 305-309.
17. Bhera-Ghat Inscription of Narasimha <i>Sanīvat 907 Mārgga śudi 11 ravau....</i>	907 (504 CE)	Ibid. pp. 312-321.
18. Lal Pahad Inscription of Narasimha <i>Sanīvat 909 Śrāvanya śudi 5 budhe....</i>	909 (506 CE)	Ibid. pp. 321-322.
19. Jabalpur Plates of Jayasimha <i>Sanīvat 918 Āśvina śudi paurṇamāsyām titħau śanidine tripuryām Somagrahanē....</i>	918 (515 CE)	Ibid. pp. 324-331.
20. Jabalpur Inscription of Jayasimha <i>Sanīvat ṣaḍvinīśatyuttara-navaśatañke'pi 926....</i>	926 (523 CE)	Ibid. pp. 331-339.
21. Rewa Plates of Jayasimha <i>Sanīvat 926....</i>	926 (523 CE)	Ibid. pp. 340-344.
22. Tewar Inscription of Jayasimha <i>Sanīvat 928 Śrāvanya śudi 6 ravau Haste....</i>	928 (525 CE)	Ibid. pp. 344- 346.
23. Kumbhi Plates of Vijayasimha <i>Sanīvat 932..... yugādau....</i>	932 (529 CE)	CII, IV, pt. II, pp. 645-652.
24. Rewa Inscription of Vijayasimha <i>Catvāriñśatyadhikebde caturbhīrnavaṁśe śate śukre sāhasamallāñke nabhasye prathame dine Sanīvat 944 Bhādrapada śudi 1 śukre....</i>	944 (541 CE)	CII, IV, pt. I, pp. 346-358.

25. Rewa Plate of Vijayasimha <i>Saṇivat 1253 Mārgaśira-māse kṛṣṇa-pakṣe saptamīyām tithau śukradine....</i>	1253 (534 CE) <i>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)</i>	Ibid. pp. 358-363.
26. Rewa Inscription of Vijayasimha <i>Saṇivat 96x [960]....</i>	96x [960] (557 CE)	Ibid. pp. 363-367.
27. Dhureti Plates of Trailokyamalla <i>Saṇivat 963 Jyeṣṭha śudi 7 some....</i>	963 (560 CE)	Ibid. pp. 369-374

3. *Inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur or South Kosala*

<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Kalachuri-Chedi era (403 BCE)</i>	<i>References</i>
1. Raipur Plate of Pṛthvideva I <i>Saṇivat 821 Māgha vadi 8 ravau....</i>	821 (418 CE)	CII, IV, pt. II, pp. 398-401.
2. Amoda Plates of Pṛthvideva I <i>Chediśasya Saṇi 831....</i>	831 (428 CE)	Ibid. pp. 401-409.
3. Ratanpur Inscription of Jājalladeva I <i>Saṇivat 866 Mārga śudi 9 ravau....</i>	866 (463 CE)	Ibid. pp. 409-417.
4. Sheorinarayan Plates of Ratnadeva II <i>Saṇivat 878 Bhādra śu di 5 ravau....</i>	878 (475 CE)	Ibid. pp. 419-423.
5. Sarkho Plates of Ratnadeva II <i>Tenāśītyadhiकāṣṭa-vatsara-śate jāte dine Gīḍpate, Kārttikyāmatha Rohinībha-samaye ratreścha yāma-traye Śrimad-Ratnanareśvarasya sadasi jyotiividāmagrataḥ, Sarvagrāsamanuṣṇagoh pravadatā tirṇa pratijñānadi </i>	880 (477 CE)	Ibid. pp. 423-429.
6. Paragaon Plates of Ratnadeva II <i>Rāhugraste Kārttike māsi bhānau..... Kalachuri-saṇivatsare 885 Āśvina śudi 1 budhe....</i>	885 (482 CE)	Ibid. pp. 622-626.
7. Daikoni Plates of Pṛthvideva II <i>Rāhugraste rajani tilake Kārttike pañcadaśyām..... Saṇivat 890 Mārga vadi 11 ravau....</i>	890 (487 CE)	Ibid. pp. 443-446.
8. Ratanpur Inscription of Pṛthvideva II <i>Saṇivat 1207....</i>	1207 (488 CE) <i>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)</i>	Ibid. pp. 483-490.
9. Kugda Inscription of Pṛthvideva II <i>Kalachuri-saṇivatsare 893....</i>	893 (490 CE)	Ibid. pp. 446-449.

10.	Rajim Inscription of Pr̥thvīdeva II <i>Kalachuri-saṁvatsare 896 Māghe māsi śukla-pakṣe rathā�ṭamīyām budhadine....</i>	896 (493 CE)	Ibid. pp. 450-457.
11.	Bilaigarh Plates of Pr̥thvīdeva II <i>Sūryagrahaṇa-parvaṇī..... Saṁvat 896....</i>	896 (493 CE)	Ibid. pp. 458-462.
12.	Paragaon Plates of Pr̥thvīdeva II <i>Saṁvat 897 Phālguna śudi 15 budhavāre....</i>	897 (494 CE)	Ibid. pp. 626-631.
13.	Koni Inscription of Pr̥thvīdeva II <i>Rahumukhasthe bhānau..... Saṁvat 900....</i>	900 (497 CE)	Ibid. pp. 463-473.
14.	Amoda Plates of Pr̥thvīdeva II <i>Saṁvat 900....</i>	900 (497 CE)	Ibid. pp. 474-478.
15.	Amoda Plates of Pr̥thvīdeva II <i>Saṁvat 905 Āśvina śudi 6 bhaume....</i>	905 (502 CE)	Ibid. pp. 491-495.
16.	Ratanpur Inscription of Pr̥thvīdeva II <i>Kalachuri-saṁvatsare 910....</i>	910 (507 CE)	Ibid. pp. 495-501.
17.	Ratanpur Inscription of Pr̥thvīdeva II <i>Saṁvat 915....</i>	915 (512 CE)	Ibid. pp. 501-511.
18.	Mallar Inscription of Jājalladeva II <i>Saṁvat 919....</i>	919 (516 CE)	Ibid. pp. 512-518.
19.	Sheonarayan Inscription of Jājalladeva II <i>Chedi-Saṁvat 919....</i>	919 (516 CE)	Ibid. pp. 519-527.
20.	Amoda Plates of Jājalladeva II <i>Saṁvat 919</i>	919 (516 CE)	Ibid. pp. 528-533.
21.	Kharod Inscription of Ratnadeva III <i>Chedi-Saṁvat 933</i>	933 (530 CE)	Ibid. pp. 533-543.
22.	Pendrabandh Plates of Pratāpamalla <i>Saṁvat 965..... Māgha śudi 10 maṅgaladīne....</i>	965 (562 CE)	Ibid. pp. 543-549.
23.	Bhilaigarh Plates of Pratāpamalla <i>Saṁvat 969....</i>	969 (566 CE)	Ibid. pp. 549-554.
24.	Ratanpur Inscription of Vāhara <i>Saṁvat 1552....</i>	1552 (833 CE) <i>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)</i>	Ibid. pp. 554-557.
25.	Kosgain Inscription of Vāhara <i>Saṁvat 1570 Vikrama-nāma-saṁvatsare.... Āśvina vadī 13 some....</i>	1570 (851 CE) <i>Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)</i>	Ibid. pp. 563-518.



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Key findings

- The epoch of the Saka era (the coronation of the Saka king) and the epoch of the Salivahana era (the end of the Saka era or the death of the Saka king) are not identical. The Saka era commenced in 583 BCE whereas the Salivahana era commenced in 78 CE.
- The Karttikadi Vikrama era and the Chaitradi Vikrama era are also not identical. The Karttikadi Vikrama era commenced in 719-718 BCE whereas the Chaitradi Vikrama era commenced in 57 BCE.
- The Indian king “Sandrokottus” mentioned by the ancient Greek historians was Samudragupta and not Chandragupta Maurya.
- The Yavanas mentioned in ancient Indian literature were the immediate north-western neighbours of India and not the Greeks; they have been a part of Indian civilisation much before the date of the Mahabharata war i.e.3128 BCE.
- The epoch of Gupta era and the epoch of Valabhi era are not identical. The Gupta era commenced in 335 BCE whereas the Valabhi era commenced in 319 CE.
- The epoch of the Sri Harsha era commenced in 457 BCE and not in 606 CE.
- The epoch of the Kalachuri-Chedi era commenced in 403-402 BCE and not in 248-249 CE.
- Buddha attained nirvana not later than 1658 BCE; the date was very likely to have been 2134 BCE as recorded in the tradition of Tibetan Sa-sky-a-pa scholars.
- Mahavira attained nirvana on 22nd Oct 1189 BCE and not in 527 BCE.

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