MONARCHS OF DEVAGIRI

[POLITICAL HISTORY PART-III]
Chapter Six
MONARCHS OF DEVAGIRI
(Political History-Part II)

Bhillama V, the Founder of Devagiri

The eclipse of the Yadava kingdom after Mallugi was no beginning of an end. On the contrary, the glory of the Lunar race was now destined to fill the annals of the Deccan for more than a century. In politics anarchy often becomes opportunity for men of action - and Bhillama V was a man of action.

Political Background:

The Kalacuri suzerainty over the Deccan proved a temporary phenomenon as the successors of Bijjana were incompetent rulers. Tailapa's son Somesvara IV who was having a dormant existence at Annigiri in Dharwar district made a bid to conquer his ancestral crown and succeeded in it by c.1181 A.D. Yet Somesvara's conquest was neither complete nor firm. The Yadavas and Hoyasalas, the two most important of the Calukya feudatories were aspiring for independence. The Hoyasalas had almost thrown away the Calukya yoke by c.1180 A.D. when Ballala began assuming imperial titles. The other personality to rise on this background was Bhillama V.

Preparatory Exploits:

The Yadava kingdom was already on the decline under the feeble successors of Mallugi. The condition was further accentuated by the political revolutions at Kalyani. Bhillama V was planning to turn the entire situation to his advantage. He was not a regular successor to the Yadava throne, as seen in the last chapter. He must have held
some fief under his cousins. He started expanding his possessions in Konkan and the Southern Deccan. Hemadri describes his early exploits. He defeated the king of Srivardhana in Konkan, ruler of Pratyandaka (Pracandagada in Poona dist.) and one Billana or Vajrina king of Mangalaveshtaka (Mangalavede in Sholapur dist.). The third king seems to be some Kalacuri subordinate.

The Suktimuktavali quotes one Mallugi defeated by Bhillama. This Mallugi is likely to be the Kalacuri ruler of the Mardi inscription as suggested by G.H. Khare. This shows that Bhillama acquired the Sholapur region from the Kalacuris while the rest of their territory was re-conquered by Somesvara. Thus Bhillama carved out for himself a kingdom in the Poona-Sholapur and Konkan region which could serve as a base for his further designs.

Coup at Sinnar:

The next inevitable step was to overthrow his cousin Amaramallugi and obtain the throne of Srinagara. Hemadri describes how the 'Laxmi of the Lunar race, enamoured of Bhillama's qualities, left the legitimate heirs of the family and resorted to him'. The date of this coup is not known. Dr. Altekar places it in c. 1180 A.D. But it could be even later.

Overthrow of the Calukyas:

The third step in Bhillama's rise was to overthrow Somesvara IV who was the de jure sovereign of the Deccan. Though not a general himself, Somesvara had a competent commander Brahma under him. Skilled in elephant warfare, he was the real upholder of the Calukyas. So the victory was certainly not easy for Bhillama. Moreover, Hoyasalas Ballala was another formidable rival for the supremacy of the Deccan. Ballala was the first to invade the Calukya kingdom and
defeat Somesvara. It was at this juncture, when the Hoyasala army was probably rejoicing the victory, that Bhillama invaded the Calukya territory and his general Raya Peyaya Sahani drove the Hoyasalas back up to the Hassan district. (Muttage insc.App.no.12). The Calukyas were also simultaneously overthrown.

By 'obtaining the Laxmi of Kalyana' (कल्याणे लक्ष्मीसागर) Bhillama became the master of the Deccan. With this victory he acquired, apart from Kalyani, Kisukad, Tardavadi, Belvola and adjoining regions. The exact date of this victory is not known but it must be earlier than 1187 A.D. — the date of the foundation of Devagiri which marks the culmination of Bhillama's power.

Northern Campaign:

After having dealt with the enemies in the South, Bhillama undertook his northern campaign in Malwa, Gujarat and Rajputana. Though the claims made in the Mutugi inscription are hyperbolical, the record shows that the Yadavas did overrun Malwa and Lata.

At this time Malwa was ruled by Vindhyaavarman who had recovered the country from the Caulukyas (Solankis) but had weakened his own position. Lata formed a part of the Caulukya kingdom under Bhima II. Bhillama must have first invaded Dhar and then come down upon Broach and clashed with the forces of Bhima II. Bhillama’s commander of the elephant corps, Jalha is said to have obtained an easy victory by leading a maddened elephant into the Gurjara army. The Sunda Hill inscription of Cahamana Chachigadeva (EI-9) also refers to this fight and it claims that Bhillama was defeated by Cahamana Kelhana. So the further Yadava advance towards the north seems to have been checked by Kelhana.
This invasion took place sometime before 1189 A.D. when it is recorded in the Mutugi inscription. It must have been undertaken after the defeat of the Calukyas and Hoyasalas i.e. sometime in c.1187-88 A.D. Dr. Altekar has placed it between 1180 and 1185 A.D. on the ground that Bhillamas hands were full with the southern expeditions after 1185 A.D. But the argument is not convincing. Such a distant northern expedition is not likely to be undertaken by a general like Bhillama without having given at least a temporary blow to the two enemies at the back — Calukyas and Hoyasalas. By 1187 A.D. the Calukyas were no more and Hoyasalas had suffered a retreat. So Bhillama must have felt powerful enough to undertake an ambitions expedition at that time.

Struggle with the Hoyasalas:

The reverses suffered by the Hoyasalas were only temporary. Ballala II was too formidable a foe to be reconciled with the situation. Within a couple of years after his first defeat Ballala re-organised his forces and began his northward march against the Yadavas. He confronted them at Ingalakupe (modern Ingalaguppe in Seringapatam taluk, Mysore dist.). Bhillama suffered his first defeat in the battle of Ingalakupe in c.1188-89 A.D. and he had to withdraw from the Hoyasala territory. This defeat was a great achievement for Ballala and he commenced an era of his own probably to commenorate this victory.

Ballala was now planning to conquer all the land between the Hoyasala country and the Krishna river. Bhillama was not unaware of this and he organised a large scale expedition to meet Ballala. In June 1191 A.D. he came upto Gadag in Dharwar district. The Yadava army under Jaitrasimha confronted the Hoyasalas at Soratur
12 miles south of Gadag. The battle of Soratur marked the second defeat of the Yadavas and they had to withdraw to Lokkigundi. But Ballala pursued them and at Lokkigundi, in the third and the last decisive battle, defeated them completely. This victory of Ballala was really glorious and his court poets sung it with lavish praise.

Ballala reconquered all the provinces of Huligere, Belvola, Kisukad etc. and reached the Krishna. The Hoyasala victory proved to be of lasting value because the Krishna-Malaprabha remained the boundary between the two rival kingdom for twenty years thereafter. Thus Bhillama's career had a tragic end and he does not seem to have lived after 1193 A.D. His son Jaitugi who was already associated with the Government from 1191 succeeded him by c.1194 A.D.

Jaitrapala, The Establisheof Telangaraya (1194-1200 A.D.)

Jaitrapala or Jaitugi ascended the throne at a very critical period. His father had founded a sound empire but it had suffered a severe set-back at the hands of the Hoyasalas. So Jaitugi's task was really difficult. Yet, it must be noted that during his reign Ballala could not press his victories further north of the Krishna-Malaprabha line. This itself speaks for his abilities. A balance of power was reached between the two kingdoms.

Triumph over Kakatiyas (c.1195 to 1198 A.D.):

As all was quiet on the Hoyasala front Jaitrapala turned towards a new direction. To the south-east of the Yadava territory extended the Kakatiya kingdom of Warangal. The Kakatiyas were also feudatories of the old Calukya empire. Jaitugi's expectation that they should now accept the Yadava suzerainty was bound to create friction. It seems that the Kakatiyas had exploited the critical period of Yadavas
during their war with Hoyasalas. Now it was Jaitrapala's turn to take revenge and he launched a severe attack upon the Kakatiyas in c.1195 A.D. In the battle that followed, the Kakatiyas were completely defeated and their king Rudra was killed. One Kakatiya record describes the chaos resulted in their kingdom after this event.

The nephew of the Kakatiya king was one Ganapati. Jaitugi succeeded in taking him as a prisoner. Rudra's brother Mahadeva who succeeded to the Kakatiya throne in 1196 A.D. began resisting the Yadavas but soon met his doom. The Yadava victory was complete.

Jaitugi then assumed full control of the affairs at Warangal and decided to place Ganapati who was a captive in his hands, on the Kakatiya throne. As suggested by Dr. Altekar, Ganapati must have been reinstated on the throne in 1198 A.D. which is his first regnal year according to his later inscriptions. With this achievement Jaitugi's glory as the establisher of Telangaraya is sung in many Yadava records, like the Kalegaon copper-plate of Mahadeva (App.Insc.no.335). This victory was held as a matter of great pride by the Yadavas and even Jaitugi's successors often adopted the title, 'Establisher of Telangaraya' as a traditional one.

Northern Expedition c.1197 A.D.:

Jaitrapala's Mangoli inscriptions (App.no.36) attributes a number of victories to him, most of them being mere eulogies. But the claim of the record that he defeated Malavas, Latas, Gurjaras and Turukshas seems to be justified. The association of the four is significant. When could all of them — Malavas, Latas, Gurjaras and Turukshas be met with? It could be only by 1197 A.D. when Qutb-ud-din Aibak invaded Gujarat. It is quite likely that Jaitrapala with a view to exploit the critical situation in Gujarat caused by
the Muslim invasion, invaded the country via Malwa. It is possible that he must have come in clash with the forces of Aibak at that time. The Malwa king was Subhatavarman (1193-1210 A.D.) and Gujarat was then ruled by Bhima II (1197-1242 A.D.).

A.K. Majumdar feels that the Yadava invasion mentioned in the Vasanta Vilasa (canto V) which is claimed to have been repelled by 17 Samkha the ruler of Broach, is this invasion of Jaitrapala. But this view needs to be revised. The reference is in connection with Simghana's first invasion as would be seen later.

No other events of Jaitrapala's reign are known. His minister was Murari Kesava (App.Insc.no.37) and the brothers Mallideva and Sahadeva were his commanders (App.Insc.no.36). Sanga and Tanga two other brothers were commanders of his cavalry, (App.Insc.no.28). Jaitugi was the patron of Laxmidhara Pandit the son of the famous Bhaskaracarya.

The last date of Jaitrapala is a problem. Here also we get overlapping dates of this king and his successor. His latest dated records are of 1199 A.D. (App.Insc.no.32,33). So he may be taken to have ruled upto 1200 A.D. After that date the power is actually welded by Simghana though Jaitugi might have lived in the first decade of the 13th century.

Simghana, the Conqueror (c.1200-1247 A.D.)

Simghana was the mightiest ruler of his dynasty having the longest reign of about 48 years with the maximum numbers of inscriptions of his period, amounting to 225. His records give several dates of his accession ranging between 1192 A.D. and 1211 A.D. But as pointed out by Dr. Sreenivasachar (JOR-12), Simghana's accession must be placed sometime between 26th Dec.1199 and 19th Feb.1200 A.D.
Further attempt to solve this problem with the help of the new inscriptions fails to throw any conclusive light on the point. Simghana’s career may be conveniently discussed with reference to his political activities rather than mere chronologically.

Southern Expansion:

(a) Expedition against Hoyasalas:

Simghana made extensive preparation to expand his empire. His first task was to avenge the defeat inflicted by Hoyasalas upon his grand father. He could no longer accept the Krishna-Malaprabha line as the southern limit of his empire. With his able general Bicana, Simghana launched his expedition against Ballala II in 1211 A.D. He started subduing the Hoyasala feudatories that ruled to the south of the Krishna.

From 1211 to 1217 A.D. was a period of retreat for Hoyasala Ballala II. The Kadambas of Hanugal under Kamadeva, had started invading the northern districts of Ballala. Simghana took advantage of this situation and captured Belvola from Ballala. This brought a large area around Gadaga and Annigari from the Dharwar district under Simghana (App.Insc.nos.55,56). Then probably he must have taken Kusukad and Masavadi thus extending his possessions in Raichur district. Hanugala and Guttala also fell before him (App.Insc.no.57). After conquering a large area in the two districts Simghana came down upon Banavase and Satalinge provinces in the Shimoga district. As early as 1212 A.D. we get inscriptionsal references to Simghana’s raids in the Sorab taluka of that district (App.Insc.nos.54,55). Simghana himself led the forces because at Hurali his horse is known to have been stabbed by one Hoyasala hero (App.Insc.no.53). The eight inscriptions of Simghana found in the Shimoga district attest
to his conquest of Banavase, Satalinge and adjoining territories. This region was handed over to Sarvadhikarin Mayideva who was one of his trusted lieutenants (App.Insc.no.61).

The Southern expansion of Simghana did not stop here. His inscriptions have been noted in the Anantapur district of Andhra (App.Insc.nos.85,107,113). These records show that Simghana must have over-run Ballary and then Anantapur district. The Hoyasala feudatories in these districts must have transferred their allegiance to Simghana.

(b) Clash with Kakatiyas:

With the conquest of Ballary and Anantapur Simghana's frontiers touched the Kakatiya kingdom under Ganapati. Somewhere in these region Simghana came in clash with Ganapati in which victory is claimed by both the parties in their records. But Simghana seems to have achieved some success in pushing his frontiers into the Kakatiya territory because one Telugu inscription of Simghana (App.Insc.no.222) is found in the Nalgonda district and another Kannada one in the Kurnool district (App.Insc.no.109).

In view of the positive inscriptive evidence testifying to the extent of Simghana's empire, Derret's statement that Simghana had not crossed Tungabhadra does not hold good.

Conquest of Kolhapur:

The second great achievement of Simghana next to his Karnatak campaign was the annexation of Kolhapur. Kolhapur has existed as a Silahara principality since the beginning of 11th century. Bhoja II (1175-1215 A.D.) of this line, was too ambitious a king to be neglected by Simghana. He had defied the Kalachuris and given a blow to the Colas. It seems that Bhoja had proved dangerous to the Yadavas
when they were engaged in the Karnatak campaign, because Simghana found it necessary to annex his kingdom completely rather than only compelling to acknowledge the suzerainty. Bhoja seems to have been first defeated at Kolhapur whence he took refuge in the fort of Parnala or Panhala where he received the final blow. The Tilivalli inscription of Simghana (App.Insc.no.138) describes him as one 'who caused the Bhoja of Panhala to fly'. Other records state that Bhoja was imprisoned by Simghana (App.Insc.nos.384,483). Hemadri also sings this victory of Simghana in glorious words.

The earliest inscriptionsal reference to this conquest is in 1217 A.D. (App.Insc.no.74) yet the Khidrapur inscription (App.Insc. no.59) in Kolhapur district shows Yadava rule there as early as 1214 A.D. It only suggests that Khidrapur area had come under Simghana even before the final defeat of Bhoja in c.1215 A.D.

Northern Expeditions:

The Southern campaigns of Simghana made permanent additions to his empire. But the marshallry of this general, full of grandure and terror was really exhibited in his expeditions across the Narmada. Yet the sources are not adequate to give an unimpeachable account of these expeditions. Simghana invaded his Northern neighbours for a number of times in his career. Three literary works from Gujarat, Hammira-mada-mardanam (HMM), Vasanta Vilasa (VV) and Kirti-Kaumudi (KK) throw valuable light on his attacks. The occasional references to these invasions from these works reconciled with those from the inscriptions, enables us to reconstruct their history.

These invasions have been variously counted by different scholars. Dr.R.G.Bhandarkar mentioned only two invasions. Dr.Durgashankar Sastri has given four invasions but not fully discussed them. Dr. A.K.Majumdar has nicely analysed all the data from the three works
but has not arrived at any specific number of the invasions. It is a problem of co-relating the scattered facts and fitting them in their reasonable contexts. A clear appreciation of all the scattered data actually shows five attempts of Simghana to invade the northern neighbours as discussed below.

First Invasion: c.1210-11 A.D.

Simghana first of all, invaded Lata i.e. South Gujarat at the time of Subhatavarman’s attack on Gujarat. This is clear from VV which states that Samkha the ruler of Broach repelled the Yadava army ‘which came like deadly poison from the ocean churned by the power of Sribhata’ (Subhatavarman). Now, the date of the attack of this Malwa king on Gujarat is c.1210-11 A.D. as arrived at by Durgashanker Sastri. It is obvious that the Yadavas under Simghana exploited the critical condition in Gujarat caused by the invasion from Malwa. So Simghana’s first invasion has to be placed by c.1210-1211 A.D.

A.K. Majumdar has taken the invasion mentioned in the VV canto 5 to be the invasion of Jaitrapala. But it cannot be so. Jaitrapala had invaded Gujarat in c.1197 A.D. and the association of this particular invasion with Subhatavarman cannot be lost sight of. An inscription of Simghana dated 1215 A.D. (App.Insc.no.61) claims Simghana’s victory over Malwa. It can only be in connection with this invasion, when Simghana might have clashed with the forces of Subhatavarman. During this campaign again, a subordinate of Simghana seems to have defeated some Muslims, as claimed in the Patan inscription (App.Insc.no.48).

This campaign of Simghana seems to include still more achievements. According to Hemadri Simghana is known to have conquered Jajjala and Kakkula kings. Jajjala is a name from the Kalacuris of
Ratnapur but he was an earlier ruler. The contemporary king could be Pratapamalla (1200-1225 A.D.). But as suggested by Dr. Altekar Jajjala should be taken to mean only a contemporary Chedi i.e. Kalacuri ruler. Kakkula might be another Cedi ruler in Jabalpur area. The Cedi kingdom at this time was in chaotic condition and Simghana is quite likely to have defeated it. This claim is actually strengthened by the discovery of Simghana's gold coins in the Raigarh state and at Sonpur. While discussing the coins Dr. Altekar has opined that Yadavas must have occupied the Cedi country for 2 to 3 decades until displaced by the Muslims.

Now if the Yadavas have occupied the Jabalpur area it is not unlikely that they might clash with the forces of the Northern kings of Kasi and Mathura. The Patan inscription of 1210 A.D. claims Simghana's victory over these two kings (App.Insc.no.48). The Ambe inscription no.3 (App.Insc.no.224) also quotes victory over Rampala of Kasi i.e. some king of Kasi. If such a claim is valid at all, in 1210 A.D. then it means these victories were a part of Simghana's first Northern campaign. They might be some minor achievements represented in exaggerated terms.

Second Invasion:

By c.1216-17 A.D. Simghana again invaded Malwa and also most probably Lata. Arjunavarma of Malwa (A.D.1210-17) is known to have been defeated and probably killed by Simghana. Hemadri describes Simghana as नेता त्यमण्युदासीौ मार्गीता नीति: अनुशासी ज्ञानाः। Also in the two other records (App.Insc.nos.384,483) he is styled as अनुभूति शिखिति तैतत्त्वया This shows that Simghana invaded Arjunavarma by the end of the latter's career, though Arjunavarma's death in that battle might be doubtful.
This defeat of the Malwa king caused great alarm in Lata and consequently Simha the ruler of Broach, is known to have allied himself with Lavanaprasada of Anhilvad. We learn from HMM that the minister Vastupala could succeed in winning over Simha when the latter was afraid of Simghana's invasion and had lost hopes of getting help from Malwa. This account obviously refers to the situation when Arjunavarman was defeated. The earliest inscriptive reference to this victory is found in the Bahal inscription of 1222 A.D. (App.no.91).

The Lila Caritra seems to throw some light on this invasion. Some later pothis of this work record that Simghana invaded Lata when Haripaladeva (Cakradhara of earlier life) was 22. If the birth date of Haripala is accepted as c.1194 A.D. as suggested by Bala-krishna Sastri (Vividha-janana-vistara, Dec.1932) then the invasion exactly falls at his 22 i.e. in 1216-17 A.D. It is not impossible that this Haripala who must be a hereditary subordinate under the rulers of Broach (Sindhuraja and his successors), must have played some part in repelling Simghana's army on its way back from Dhar to Devagiri via Lata. This could be the only historical probability in account of the Lila Caritra. The details of the battle given by the Lila cannot be taken seriously as it is found only in the later versions of the Lila Caritra (Vaindesakar Patha). The account is worthwhile only as an interesting description of a mediaeval battle.

Third Invasion:

The third invasion of Simghana on Gujarat is the famous expedition undertaken by his distinguished general, Kholesvara. It is known from the Ambe inscriptions (App.nos.116,224). Lata at
this time was completely overrun. Three facts known from three different sources seem to be events of this very victorious campaign. First, is the killing of Sihadi the king of Bragukacha (obviously Simha) by Kholesvara as known from one of the Ambe inscriptions (App.no.116); Second is the death of Sindhuraja, as known from the VV. How triumphant this victory must have been for the Yadavas can be judged not only by the language of the Ambe inscriptions but also by the teasing words with which Vastupala reminds Simha of his disgraceful imprisonment.

The victorious Yadava army then advanced towards Anhilwad. It was a critical time in Gujarat. Four Marvad kings had taken opportunity to revolt against Lavanaprasada as learnt from HMM. In their march towards Anhilwad the Yadavas seem to have been guided by Sankha who must obviously have been released from prison for that purpose. HMM states that Sankha had invited Simghana when Lavanaprasada and Viradhavala were engaged against the four Marvad kings (HMM,p.5 & 17).

The news of Simghana's invasion spread in Gujarat with a great terror and anxiety. Somesvara in his KK gives a graphic description of the panic that spread among the people. His account is so vivid as could be given only by an eye-witness. 'Nobody could think of constructing a house, nor of storing grains. Everything was insecure due to the fear of invasion and people were in search of conveyance only for the purpose of running away'.

At this juncture when Lavanaprasada was preparing to face the Yadavas he was also required to meet the said attack of the Marvad kings. It is also referred to in KK, but mysteriously (as it looks from the account of KK) the Yadava army turned back and the alarming invasion did not materialise. The court poet obviously gives
the credit to his patron Lavanaprasada. But the situation needs explanation. The peace-treaty between Lavanaprasada and Simghana known from the specimen in the Lekhapaddhati must obviously have been signed at this time. It is a pact of mutual help and non-aggression. Yet what exactly made Simghana abandon such a promising undertaking all of a sudden, is not made clear. It is likely that he must have agreed to return on acceptance of a large booty. But the greater possibility is that of the part played by Vastupala's statesmanship in averting the danger. This is suggested by the statement in HMM (act I,p.5) that on a former occasion Vastupala had spoiled Samkha's attempt to invade Gujarat with the help of Simghana. This must be taken to refer to the averting of this particular situation.

Fourth Invasion:

This invasion is also known from the HMM which states that Simghana attempted one more invasion under the incitement of Samkha who wanted to avenge his earlier defeat brought by Vastupala (HMM, act. I,p.6). Samkha must have attempted this invasion after facing a failure in capturing Cambay from Vastupala (VV,canto 5). At this time again Gujarat was facing a crisis. The king of Malwa (Devapala) and the Muslims were invading Gujarat. Moreover, three Marwad kings also had revolted against Lavanaprasada (HMM,act II,p.11). But we further learn that Vastupala succeeded in bringing a split between Simghana and Samkha through his spy and thereby in returning the former from the Tapi (HMM,act 2,p.15), while Viradhavala repelled the Muslim invasion.

This Muslim invasion of Gujarat is a problem. Dr. Bhandarkar suggested that it must be some defeat of Iltutmish. But Dr. A.K.
Majumdar has rightly pointed out that this invasion cannot be any one of Aibak or Iltutmish, and has treated it as an unidentified one. Here one point may be suggested. The Muslim principality of Sind is known to have invaded Anhilwad in 1224 A.D. It is not unlikely that the author of HMM had this invasion before his eyes as a source of his imagination, when he wrote the drama to glorify Vastupala.

Fifth Invasion:

The fifth and the last invasion of Simghana on Gujarat was undertaken by Kolesvara's son, Rama who lost his life in that undertaking. This is known from the Ambe inscription no.4 (App. no.147) dated 1240 A.D. So it may be placed by c.1237-38 A.D.

Visaladeva, son of Viradhavala claims to have defeated Simghana because his Kadi Grant (IA-6.212) describes him as the fire that dried up the ocean of Simghana's army (सिंघानं सेत्य समारकाचः गोपालकालययः). The mutilated Dabhoi inscription (EI-1.20) also seems to claim Visaladeva's victory over Dakshinesvara (i.e. Simghana). This victory claimed by Visaladeva obviously refers to the defeat of Rama which he must have inflicted before coming to the throne (Chalukyas of Gujarat, p.153,174).

These five invasions sum up the protracted struggle between Simghana and Gurjaras that lasted for about 30 years. But these recurrent attacks do not seem to have been fruitful. Lata could not come under the Yadavas. It could at the most, be said that because of these invasions, the Caulukyas could not annex Lata until c.1242 A.D. Lata had the misfortune of remaining a buffer state between the Caulukyas and Yadavas.
Estimate of Simghana:

The Yadava empire almost reached its zenith in the reign of Simghana. He could prove himself the mightiest ruler among all the neighbouring contemporaries — the Caulukyas, Paramaras, Hoyasalas, Kakatiyas and Cedis. He could at one time or other, overpower every one of them. Even his claims of distant victories over Mathura and Banaras cannot be easily dismissed. He was probably the first Yadava ruler to begin striking of gold coins, which was the 'coveted insignia of sovereignty in the mediaeval period'. The Yadava empire under him extended from Narmada in the north to Shimogha and Anantapur districts in the south. In the east it seems to have gone upto Chanda and Adilabad districts. Even a part of Cedi kingdom of South Kosala seems to be occupied by Simghana for some decades. His inscriptions numbering 225 have been found from 19 modern districts.

Simghana's empire actually consisted of a number of feudatories who were made to acknowledge his suzerainty. Only in two cases he resorted to complete annexation - the Silaharas of Kolhapur and the Rattas of Saundatti. The latter were annexed by about 1230 A.D. (BG,p.558). Only the Silaharas of North Konkan continued to remain independent until the destroyed by Mahadeva in 1260 A.D.

The success of Simghana was actually due to the number of trusted lieutenants he could create. The government of his empire depended upon the loyal servants like Mahapradhana Marga Murari (App.Insc.nos.40,72,94 etc.), Purushottama dandanayaka (App.Insc.no.95), Sahadeva dandanayaka of Tardavadi (App.Insc.nos.42,86,126), Mayideva dandanayaka of Banvase (App.Insc.nos.61,62,68,74) followed by Honna-Bommi Setti (App.Insc.nos.90,118,119,121,141) and Vanka
Rauta (App.Insc.no.93). The famous Malli Setti ruled Karnata Visaya (App.Insc.nos.112,114) and his brother Bica or Vicana (App.Insc.no.137) was one of the most renowned generals of Simghana like Kholesvara. These Settis played an even more important role under Simghana's successor, Krishna.

Simghana was not only a conqueror but also was a patron of learning. He died by the end of 1246 A.D. He had a son named Jaitugi who is known from a number of inscriptions (App.nos.272, 276, 280, 283, 384). As Jaitugi died before his father, Simghana was succeeded by his grand-son Krishna.

Krishna (1247-1260 A.D.)

Krishna began his career in 1247 A.D. After coming to the throne the young king revived the northern policy of his grandfather, which was given up after the last defeat in c.1238-39 A.D. The Paramara power in Malwa had already been undermined since the raids of Iltutmish in 1235 A.D. Moreover Jaitugideva (1243-56 A.D.) who ruled Malwa at that time was a weak king. So Krishna must have decided to invade Malwa. He claims to have defeated the Malwa king in his Mamdapur and Munoli inscriptions (App.nos.276,283). This must be his first military exploit and as such must be placed by 1247 A.D.

The invasions of Malwa and Gujarat (Lata) often go together because of the geographic location of the two on a single circular route. So in this campaign Krishna seems to have clashed also with the forces of Visaladeva Vaghela, Hemadri and the Paithana and the Kalegaon records (App.nos.384,335) claim Krishna's victory over Visaladeva. This claim seems to be justified because Visala's claim of victory over Yadavas refers to earlier defeat of Rama.
In the same campaign Krishna seems to have defeated the Abhiras and some chief Hendariraya as recorded in the Udri inscription (App.no.289). Krishna also claims to have captured Tripuri, the Kalacuri capital (Munoli inscription, App.no.283) which is quite possible after the Malwa victory. Simghana had already subdued that region. Moreover, the discovery of Krishna's gold coins from Sonpur and Raigarh has strengthened the claim.

The Setti Family and the Southern Kingdom:

The Setti family which arose to prominence under Simghana played a vital role in the Southern expansion of the Yadava kingdom under Krishna. Bicana and his elder brother Mallisetti continued to govern Karnatak as loyal feudatories of Krishna. Bicana claims to have defeated Pandyas sometime before 1253 A.D. (App.Insc.no.283). Krishna claims for himself the title 'Establisher of Telangaraya' (App.Insc.nos.276,283). If this title had any justification at all, it might be in some help rendered by this Bicana to Kakatiya Ganapati. But this title seems more a traditional one acquired by Jaitrapala, who really deserved it. Bicana is also known to have defeated the Silaharas of North Konkan under Somesvara. He also claims victory over the Pandyas who must be those of Nolambavadi (App.Insc.no.284).

Mallisetti or Malla continued under Krishna as a minister. He was made governor of the Kundi country which was formerly a Ratta principality (App.Insc.nos.272,273). But his son Caundisetti or Camunda it was, who made real name under Krishna. He was a vice-roy of the southern countries like Belvola, Banavase, Hanungal, Tardawadi and Kogali. His name occurs in at least seven records. He fought against Somesvara Hoyasala and obtained portions
of Bellary and Chitaldurg districts (App.Insc.no.276). He raised the prestige of his lord at the cost of Colas, Pandyas and Hoyasalas. His glory is sung in the Mamdapur record (App.no.276).

Krishna also had other trusted lieutenants. Sindavadi was ruled by Jogama Rahuta (App.Insc.no.285). Jalhana the author of Sukti-muktavali was the commander of elephant corps under him. The Kadamba ruler Sivachitta Shasthadeva II was his feudatory. One Candra of a Gujarat Brahmin family held a fief under him in the Tasgaon taluka of Satara district (App.Insc.no.277). Though Krishna could not much expand his kingdom he definitely kept it in tact. He was a follower of Vedic Hinduism and is even praised by a non-conformist like Cakradhara for being a theist. Krishna seems to have died by the end of 1259 A.D.

Mahadeva and the Annexation of North Konkan: (c.1260-1270 A.D.)

Krishna was succeeded by his younger brother Mahadeva who was already chosen heir-apparent as stated in the Mamdapur inscription of 1250 A.D. (App.no.276). Krishna's son Ramacandra must have been a minor at that time and hence probably Mahadeva was chosen to become king. The relations between the two brothers were quite cordial, as recorded in the said inscription. So Krishna might have expected that Mahadeva would hand over the kingdom to Ramacandra when the latter attained majority. But the arrangement was destined to result in something else as would be seen later. Mahadeva came to the throne by the beginning of 1260 A.D. but he celebrated his coronation on August 29, 1261 and issued the Kalegaon copper-plate grant on that very occasion (आत्मन: पद्यात्मक्षः समय्ये) (App.Insc.no.335).
Prior to this coronation Mahadeva had made the greatest political achievement of his reign. It was the annexation of North Kinkan which had been under the Silaharas for over four hundred years. Even Simghana had not conquered that kingdom though he claims to have given a blow to Kesiraja (App.Insc.no.116). Krishna's general Malla claims victory over this principality yet it made no territorial gain. It was left for Mahadeva to complete the task and he vanquished Somesvara the last Silahara ruler in a naval battle. Hemadri hyperbolical words indicate how Somesvara who held supremacy over the sea had to flee from the elephant corps of Mahadeva and had to meet his doom by drowning in the waters. So the ultimate defeat must be in a naval engagement.

Henry Cousens had published a group of seven hero-stones from Borivali (District Thana) illustrating deaths of heros in naval battles. He had further suggested that these stones must be representing the heros who died in the famous naval battle in which Somesvara was defeated by Mahadeva. The argument is convincing because the battle illustrated is definitely some major naval event.

It is evident from the panels showing lines of vessels, propelled with banks of oars and the setting up of a number of similar stones.
Elephants are also represented and they are known to have played part in Somesvara's defeat. Stylistically the hero-stones belong to the early mediaeval period and there is nothing that goes against Cousens' conjecture.

The defeat of Somesvara was considered important by Mahadeva himself and is found recorded in an inscription as early as Saka 1183 (App.Insc.no.336). So the battle must have been fought by c. 1260 A.D. This event was really significant because of its wider implications. It also meant a blow to Visaladeva Vaghela, a fact which has not been fully appreciated. North Konkan had been a bone of contention between the Yadavas and Gurjaras. Kumarapala (1144-1173 A.D.) actually held suzerainty over Konkan but later it had become independent as learnt from Marco Polo (1290 A.D.). Yet there is every possibility that Somesvara and Visaladeva must have been allies against their common Yadava enemy, though there is no satisfactory evidence to prove Visaladeva's suzerainty over Konkan at that time.

This inference is supported by the fact that Mahadeva claims victory over Visaladeva as early as 1261 A.D. (App.Insc.no.335). No campaign of Gujarat seems to have been undertaken by Mahadeva immediately after coming to the throne. So the defeat is implied in the annexation of North Konkan. Dr. Altekar has suggested that Mahadeva's claim of victory over Visala refers to the campaign undertaken by him during Krishna's reign (Yazdani, EHD, p.547) but it should be actually understood in connection with the conquest of North Konkan.

Mahadeva is also known to have invaded the Telugu country. The poetic account of Hemadri only shows that there was a woman
on the Kakatiya throne who was defeated by Mahadeva but treated with grace. This Kakatiya queen must be Rudramba who came to the throne in 1261 A.D. and was required to face Yadava invasion.

The Hoyasala kingdom at this time was a divided house. Narasimha III inherited its northern part in 1262 A.D. Mahadeva took opportunity to invade that kingdom but could not achieve any success. The fact is clear from two things. The Hoyasala records claim to have triumphantly repelled Mahadeva whereas Hemadri is silent on the point. (Yazdani EHD, p.547). The Kadambas had once revolted against Mahadeva but the uprising was successfully suppressed by the Yadava general Balige-deva in 1268 A.D. (App.Insc. nos.364,367).

Mahadeva also seems to have invaded Malwa. Hemadri claims that Mahadeva defeated the Malwa king but did not kill him as the latter was a child. This Malwa ruler could be Paramara Jayasimha II (1269-74 A.D.) and hence if at all Mahadeva had invaded him it must be by 1269-70 A.D. — i.e. by the end of his own reign and at the beginning of the latter's.

Mahadeva was a benevolent ruler. Cakradhara described him as one who knew how to rule. Tipparasa was his great minister (App.Insc.nos.368,369). Other Mahapradhanas known are Sirala Mahideva (App.Insc.no.377), Devaraja (App.Insc.no.344) and Vitthala danadanayaka (App.Insc.nos.348,358). Hemadri who compiled the Caturvarga Cintamani under him was his Srikaranadhipa (a secretary). He was a person of minister's influence. May-June 1270 A.D. is the last known date of Mahadeva.
Ammana (1270-71 A.D.)

Mahadeva ruled up to the middle of 1270 A.D. and was followed by his son Ammana whose succession resulted in a revolution at Devagiri. Ammana was not destined to enjoy the crown and was immediately overthrown by his cousin Ramacandra who obtained the throne for himself.

The Paithan and the Purushottampuri copper-plates (App.Insc. nos.384 and 483) of Ramacandra clearly state than Ammana had come to the throne but Ramacandra deprived him of his kingdom and forcefully obtained the throne for himself. This act of violence is stated in the king's own records without any attempt at rationalization. So its reliability is beyond doubt. The Purushottampuri plates describe the dramatic way in which the coup de etat was staged. Ramacandra and his trusted lieutenants entered the fort of Devagiri in the guise of a dancing party and staged a performance before the king. And when Ammana and his retinue unaware of the situation, were fully absorbed in the programme, Ramacandra's actors suddenly disclosed their identity and captured the fort by surprise.

The coup was a success because Ramacandra must have had sympathies of influential persons in the court, like Hemadri, Tipparasa and others. This must be partly due to the incompetancy of Ammana but mainly because in the very succession of Ammana, injustice was done to Ramacandra. It has already been noted that Mahadeva was chosen heir by his elder brother Krishna even though the latter had a son Ramacandra. This obviously must have been on an implied understanding that the kingdom would be handed over
to Ramacandra in due course when he attained majority. But Mahadeva overruled the claim of Ramacandra and passed on the crown to his own son. This gave a moral sanction to the action taken by Ramacandra.

The Mahanubhava sources throw further light on this event. The Lila Caritra states that Ramadeva blinded his cousin Ammana and obtained the crown for himself. This account seems to be reliable in spite of the fact the Mahanubhava sources are prejudiced against Ramacandra. The Lila describes the panic that spread among the people immediately after the palace-revolution and records the news of Ammana's blinding as it prevailed at that time. So there is no motive for falsehood at least in recording the news.

Another Mahanubhava work Smriti-stala, at one place calls Ramacandra a sinner who killed his own cousin and further attributes his discomfiture at the hands of the Muslims to this sin. But this is a deliberate attempt to condemn the king and has no historical value. One more Mahanubhava work Bhanuvijaya or Bhanuvilasa gives further created account of this incident is a spurious document and must be discarded in toto.

Ramacandra (1271-1311 A.D.)

Thus Ramacandra or Ramadeva ascended the throne in 1271 A.D. after deposing his cousin. The reign of this ruler saw both the climax and the anti-climax of the Yadava empire. So his career may be divided into two periods. The first period is a record of rise and achievement and the second one is a lamentable story of dependence and down-fall.
The Period of Rise:

(a) Northern Campaign

The earliest exploit of Ramacandra seems to be an expedition of Malwa and Gujarat. The Thana copper-plates of 1272 A.D. (App. Insc. no.36) describe him as तालवप्रहीपशाकन मलवानिष्ठेन और जुजरकुजररगरहन कवीरते. The Paithan copper-plates also refer to his Malwa exploit. But the Udri inscription (App.no.392) throws exact light on it as it mentions that Arjuna of Malwa was defeated by Ramacandra. (Ramacandra is described by the title हलवे-गालवि-नक्षित्रिपति मलवातांगरद्रवण-पञ्चानन).

This Arjuna is Arjunavarman II of Malwa who had come to the throne in c.1270 A.D. On his way back Ramacandra must have fought with the Gurjaras under Arjunadeva Vaghela (1267-75 A.D.). Sarangadeva (1275-97 A.D.), the successor of Arjunadeva also claims to have defeated the Yadavas in his Cintra-prasasti inscription dated 1287 A.D. (EI-1,p.271). This must have been some minor border skirmish because Sarangadeva's inscriptions do not refer to this victory often as they refer the victory over Malwa.

(b) Expedition against Hoyasalas

Ramacandra then turned towards his another hereditary enemy. Under Mahadeva, Yadavas had suffered a defeat at the hands of Hoyasalas. Ramacandra must have thought of avenging the defeat. The Hoyasala king Narasimha III was at that time engaged in a civil war with his brother Ramanatha. So Ramacandra sent his eminent generals like Tikkama, Jaideva, Haripala against the Hoyasalas.
The Yadava kingdom already extended up to Shimoga and Chitaldurga districts (App.Insc.nos.381,382,383,387). So from Banavase-Kadambalige region the Yadava army advanced towards the Hoyasala capital and reached Belavadi only 4½ miles north of Dorasamudra where a major battle was fought and the Hoyasalas were defeated in 1276 A.D. Tikkama further entered into the heart of the Hoyasala territory with a huge force but was completely defeated by Narasimha and he had to retreat to the border of Simoga and Chitaldurga districts. This was the last Yadava invasion against the Hoyasalas.

But in spite of the retreat the Yadavas did acquire a large booty in the Hoyasala campaign. The Laxminarayana temple at Harihara constructed by Tikkama was a symbol of the wealth and victory acquired in the Hoyasala campaign (App.Insc.no.407).

(c) Reaching the Zenith

Now, under Ramacandra the Yadava empire was passing through its best period, politically as well as culturally — though its downfall was not late to follow. Ramacandra's inscription prove that in his early year he could not only maintain the empire in tact but also extended its frontiers for the first time in the eastern part of Vidarbha by conquering Bhandagara and Vajrakara (App.Insc.no.483). He also invaded the Dahala country of the Kalacuris which at that time was probably under the Candellas (App.Insc.no.483). The Yadava coins discovered from Sonpur and Raigarh already noted substantiate this claim.

From Tripuri Ramacandra seems to have undertaken the most distant and ambitious expedition of his career. He thence invaded Banaras. As known from the Purushottampuri record he freed the holy
city from the Muslim hands and constructed there, a temple of Sarangadhara. This claim need not be doubted. Such an invasion is quite possible during the period between 1286 A.D. (death of Balban) and 1290 A.D. (accession of Jalaluddin Khilji). During this period not only the Muslim power in the North was weak but Ramacandra was also sufficiently strong to be aggressive. This was the last best period in his career. Hence it is not surprising if Jnanesvara writing in 1290 A.D. praises Ramacandra as a king of justice and an abode of arts.

The empire was ruled by a number of feudatories and servants. Hemadri was now an important minister and not merely a secretary. Moreover great ministers like the famous Raghava (App.Insc.no.516), Tipparasa (App.Insc.no.391), Sridhara (App.Insc.no.433), Ranganatha (App.Insc.no.481), and Purushottama (App.Insc.no.483) conducted the government. Mahamandalesvara Tikkama was a great general (App.Insc. nos. 398,407,467). Bhimadeva Rane ruled Sindavadi and Vasudevanayaka, Kisukad. North Konkan was governed by Acyutanayaka (App. Insc.no.386), Krishna (App.Insc.nos.446,451) and Jaideva (App. Insc.no.473) in succession.

Beginning of the End:

The Yadavas were undoubtedly at the height during 1290 and 1294 A.D. but the clouds of the cyclone which was soon to sweep over the entire kingdom had begun gathering in the north. The vigorous Khilji dynasty that had established at Delhi in 1290 A.D. produced one remarkable ruler who 'though a megalomanaic was destined to carry the Muslim arms down to the extreme South'. He was Malik Garshasp, governor of Kara under his uncle Furuz Shah Khilji. He undertook a well-planned expedition of the Deccan.
The invasion was mainly but not only predatory. 'His aim was also to reduce the then existing Hindu kingdoms to the position of tributary states' and pave his own way to the throne. According to Khrusrau who is reliable in this respect, Malik Garshasp left Kara on Feb.26, 1296. Wassaf writes that Garshasp ascertained through spies the most favourable time for his attack. He marched via Ellichpur with an astonishing rapidity and came down upon Devagiri. Isamy writes that Ramacandra could not appreciate the magnitude of the danger, though one of his subordinates in the north gave him the news of the invading army.

So by easily overcoming whatever opposition he met on the way Garshasp reached Devagiri and took Ramacandra by surprise, whose forces were busy with some distant expedition. So Ramacandra withdrew into the fort and prepared to stand a siege. But due to the lack of provisions he could not stand it for more than a week. The city outside was sacked and plundered by the enemy. So Ramadeva had to sue for peace.

Garshasp obtained immense wealth and resources. According to Isamy one daughter of Ramadeva was also married to Garshasp. But the arrival of Ramadeva's son Simghana II with a large Yadava army created problem. Yet as Ramacandra was a captive in the hands of Garshasp, Simghana had no alternative but to submit to him. Ramacandra and Garshasp swore that they would remain like father and son. Ramacandra seems to have remained true to this promise until his death. Thus this as his Udri inscription (App.no.392) calls him, became a permanent satellite of the Turukshas!
Malik Garshasp after returning to North did not remain a governor of Kara. He acquired for himself the throne of Delhi and began a new career of conquests under the title Ala-ud-din Khilji by which name he is famous. But among his conquests he did not envisage the annexation of the southern Hindu kingdoms from which he expected only the annual tribute. For about a decade Ala-ud-din remained fully occupied with his activities in the north.

Hastening of the End:

(a) Lack of Appreciation

But the period that passed between the first Muslim invasion of 1296 A.D. and the coming of the second in 1307 A.D. is a commentary on the short-sighted policies of the Hindu kingdoms of South India. They could never 'appreciate' the situation both militarily and politically, and the Indian outlook as such was totally absent. The discomfiture of the Yadavas was fully exploited by Kakatiyas and Hoyasalas. Kakatiya Prataparudra sought opportunity to annex Anantapur and Raichur districts and Ballala III took Santalige in 1299 A.D. and invaded Banavase in the following year.

(b) Provocation

In the Yadava court, not all had been reconciled with the policy of Ramacandra and the crown-prince Simghana was a leader of the opposition. He prevailed upon his father to stop the payment of the tribute which was sent up to 1303 A.D. So the payment was discontinued. But the stopping of the tribute though justified, was a sentimental action without adequate preparation for the consequences. This no doubt provoked the Sultan, and invited the second invasion.
The situation was further complicated due to certain delicate developments. Simghana desired to marry Deval Devi, the daughter of Karan Vaghela of Gujarat, whose wife Kamala Devi was lost to the Sultan's harem and had become favourite queen of Ala-ud-din. She probably reconciled with her fate, desired union with her daughter. So Ala-ud-din was making efforts to secure Deval Devi and restore her to her mother. An expedition was sent to that effect. Karan Vaghela was arranging to send his daughter to Simghana. This situation made an invasion of Devagiri inevitable. Ramacandra probably realised the danger. Isamy states that he secretly informed the Sultan that he was no party to his son but only a prisoner in his hands. But we do not know if it was a diplomatic action.

The Catastrophe:

So Ala-ud-din sent his second expedition under Malik Kafur and in a tough battle that was fought at Devagiri on March 24, 1307 A.D. The Yadava army was utterly defeated. Simghana fled for life, innumerable Yadava soldiers were massacred and the capital was plundered and sacked. Ramacandra was taken into custody and his kingdom was distributed among Malik Kafur's men.

This actually marks the real end of the Yadava power that had produced an epoch in the history of the Deccan. Now it had ceased to be that factor. One Mahanubhava work refers to a Turkish invasion and the terror it created. As it mentions the imprisonment of Ramadeva, it seems to refer to this invasion.
The Aftermath:

Ramacandra was taken to Delhi as a prisoner but was treated with great honour by Ala-ud-din Khilji. After six months he was reinstated at Devagiri with the title of Ray-i-Rayn in appreciation of his loyalty to the Sultan. Ferishta says that the district of Navsari was added to his dominions at this time but an inscription (App.no.475) found at Navsari shows Ramacandra's rule there as early as 1303 A.D. So it seems that Ferishta's statement refers to some confirmation found necessary in 1307 A.D.

Thus Ramacandra began a new career of loyalty and dependance. He rendered valuable service to the Sultan in 1309 A.D. when his army marched upon Warangal and again in 1311 A.D. when another expedition was undertaken against Dvarasamudra. This way, Ramacandra took revenge against his hereditary enemies at the cost of his own independence. Ramacandra issued the Furushottamapuri grant in September 1310 A.D. and is known to have received Malik Kafur in February 1311 A.D. This is the last known date of him and he seems to have died sometime in the same year.

The Futile Attempts and Annexation (1311-1318 A.D.)

Ramacandra had two sons, Simghana II and Billama, out of which the former succeeded his father in 1311 A.D. Simghana after coming to the throne repudiated the over-lordship of the Sultan. This brought the second expedition of Malik Kafur in 1313 A.D. and in the battle that was fought Simghana was severely defeated and slain. The Yadava kingdom now became a part of the Sultanate of Delhi. Malik Kafur remained at Devagiri for three years but he returned to Delhi in 1315 A.D. due to Sultan's illness. Devagiri was then left under Alp Khan who also was soon called back.
This gave one more opportunity to Haripaladeva probably a son-in-law of Ramacandra, to restore the Yadava power. With the help of his minister Raghava he became independent. But Haripala hardly managed to hold Devagiri for a couple of years and Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah the new Khilji emperor completely vanquished the vestiges of the Yadava power in 1318 A.D.

Thus the Monarchs of Devagiri who held the supremacy of the Deccan for more than a century were no more. The Lunar race was crushed by the Cresent and Devagiri was dead — for what it stood. Under its new masters the fort was fast undergoing a metamorphosis and as Daulatabad it was destined to play a new role in history — before being handed over to Archaeology.
References

1. Rajaprasasti-I

2. SMHD-I, p.46.

3. Rajaprasasti-I


5. Suktimuktavali.V.11.


8. EC-XIV, no.225.


10. Annigiri Inscription, EC-V,Cn.179.


15. कः त्रिविन्दकार्बौरी कसुरनुस्सुलक्यः ।
श्रीयन्त्रासमकोसरसस्तत्कृणापलिं पतिः । ॥ ३ ॥

(Kalegaon Cp.Pl.V.13.EI.32.).


20. पुनः विषिष्ठद्ध भोजनपतित्वमिति: ।
Paithan and Purushottampara Plates.

21. Rajaprasasti-I

चैलोकामुज्जने भोजनपतिति: कालकुमार्कितः । ॥ ४ ॥

Bhandarkar, EHD, 158.

22. Bhandarkar, EHD, p.119-121.


24. Chaulukyas of Gujarat, Chapt.IX.

25. आयुर्वेद कालाप्रयोक्तमां वर्णानु संक्षेपा निमित्तावधेः ।
कालकुपुत्री मृगाचार्यास्त्रोते नक्षत्रविम्वो नन्द संभितः । ॥ ३ ॥

VV,Canto 5.


27. Chaulukyas of Gujarat, p.150.

28. चैलोकामुज्जने सत्य शृणुकुम्ना हृणार्यसिंहति: ।
Patan inscription (App.no.48) Verse 7.
29. Rajaprasasti-I

योनारिथतं मतनारिपत्यं ।
युजनन्दृत्वं गृहः ।
कुकु ।

Bhandarkar, EHD, p.158.


31. Altekar, A.S. A New find of Gold coins in Raigarh state,
JNSI, VIII, p.147.

31a. Nath B.V., A Hoard of Yadava Coins from Sonpur, OHRJ, Vol.II,
nos. 3-4.

32. वृत्तोत्सिते ममुराधिपो रघुमृत्ये काकशीपति: ।
पाले (तो) ।

Patan inscription (App.no.48),
Verse 7.

33. Viradhavala says:

"रूपाकृष्ट मुक्त्वेश्वरर्थ गुदरूप्तीपालसेनार्काचारः ।
शालसीमालोकायद्विधानाशिष्येनुमोक्षकासाहख्योविकं ।
"सुममविशेषाये निबोत्तिबायुक्तवर्थविवेकाधिनामां "
परसासम्प्रदेशवस्यण्याणितसमग्रकांशसाहित्ये "
हृदासिद्धंस्यम्।"


36. गुरुपुरुषभाग्नमेवं साधितोपथिकाशिरसः स्वाधिनः ।
भूमि ज्ञानाधिश्वराधिपको स्वमा गुरुपुरुषाधिपिसः ।

Ambe Inscription no.3, p.74.

Kholesvara is described as -

"तुम्हीविरसवृत्तिसिद्धिकालोऽस्मातः कर्मानि नावये रथरथः ।"

(Line 31).

Ambe Inscription no.2, p.64.
SMHD-I.
37. निमित्तकृत यात्रासेवाओं में भ्रमित स्थिति रोधात शासक ।
दूत ! रे लाहिव जस्पाति नैतिकत्वनाति यद्यं समवाच ॥

38. Ibid.

39. Kirtikaumudi, Sarga 4

40. Ibid

41. The specimen treaty runs as follows:

The date quoted is obviously not the date of the treaty as the same date occurs in most of the specimens in the text.


44. D.C. Ganguli points out that Simghana had one more son Samraapani who was forced by Krishna to leave the Yadava kingdom and had to take shelter under Kakatiyas (Struggle for Empire, p.192, 202).

45. OHRJ-II.

46. JNSI, VIII, p.147.

47. Purvardha-I, p.46, Lila 41

48. Mamdapur inscription:

50. Rajaprasasti-I

51. Gousens, MTD, p.21, Plates XV.

52. I am told by Dr. M.G. Dixit that an inscription also exists on one of these stones, which needs to be studied. If it is so, then it may throw some decisive light on this point.

53. Rajaprasasti-II

54. Rajaprasasti-II
55. *Parvardha-I*, p.46, *Lila* 41

56. परवर्धि (भन्का) तस्मादप्रहला भ्रुक्षे 
कृष्णानि से सार्व ॥ १३ ॥

57. आयो देवारीत्वाधिकारश्च नूतनकार्यकण
प्रभुक्तिप्रदानघीर्ज्ञकारनाध्यक्ष पिनाकम्।
अविवाद्यायिनोदितःकरणं तस्मादप्रहलादः
अवरा समशेषोऽततंततत्त्वत् इति। *दोक्षेयस* लेखकेन्द्रः ॥ १४ ॥

58. राज्यनन्दः आलोऽत्यान्तः सार्वेऽवधः राज्यी वैकल्यः
फातिरी उनादिलिङ्गः देवारी पालिकाहः तथा हा नहेष्ठ चैव च
पन्नु आस्ये हा होणे तत वालवी शोधः
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
आयुधर्जायने अथो वादिरे: सार्वे राज्य राज्यी वैकल्यः
हेतु शोधके आते ------- Purvardha-III, p.46.

59. ते मा धानेना परिदेवने भावहितः आने
सत्तामहंतायेऽनोस्मिष्ठा इत्यादिनि सर्वाधिकारी
राज्याला सिद्धिसंपन्ना स्वरूपिणि कृपालये धारितः

These lines from the manuscript are quoted by K.A.Pandhye (Hemadri,p.132). The published edition of Smriti sthala (V.N. Despande) does not refer this 'आत रहूँ' (See p.26, *Lila* 86).

60. V.B.Kotte has proved that Bhanuvijaya is an absolutely modern work and has no historical value (See Bhaskarabhatta Borikar; p.5). He has shown how K.A.Padhye has misunderstood the work (Hemadri pp.132-33; 201-2). Dr. Altekar has not taken this into consideration while referring to 'Bhanuvilasa' as a source. (Yazdani, EHD, p.549).

61. प्रुष्णिवांनाविविद्वाचरकृत्ति श्लिष्टलोके
रूपेन य:।—— Cintra Prasasti.V.13.

63. Purushottama Copper-plates. verse 18:


67. Isamy, Futuh-us-Salatin, p.223.

68. Ibid., p.228.

69. Ramacandra's son is usually known as Sankara. But the name should be Simghana as fully discussed by S.Roy - Sultanate of Delhi, p.48-49.

70. Isamy, Futuh-us-Salatin, p.228-31. Ferishta's account in this respect is not reliable.

71. The Devaladevi episode has been much controversial. But even if the accounts of Khusrau and Ferishta are not fully trusted, Devaladevi cannot be totally discarded as a myth.

72. Smritisthala, lilas, 83, 84, 85, 86. But Nagdeva claims prophetic knowledge about Ramdeva's future. This cannot be regarded as a statesman's fore-sight. The author of the Lila who is in the known of the later events seems to have tried to attach prophetic prudence to Nagdeva.


75. One Bimba is usually known as a son of Ramacandra and a ruler of North Konkan. But there is no convincing evidence to that effect. One of its main sources is the 'Mahikavatici Bukhara' (pub.1914) sponsored by V.K. Rajawade. But this legendary work is a spurious document. It has been rightly discarded by K.A. Padhye in his 'Hemadri' pages 250 to 260.
Haripala's Battle with Simghana : Account from Lila Caritra

(Refer foot-note 35)

मथासि हरिपला अनीस भरली तनं सिंध्या सहायनं कक्षु गुजरिवरी नाडिते: स्त्री सेव गर्भ गरे: अण्योनि सिंध्या चावी केली: तै गहरेल: वेदनेल: मायोसे: हे पाठ-बिलें: ते आर्कोनि निजावेलेन आवेल सुन्दरली कवलान पावह: तथेऽ उजाल्दु प्रधान्यु शैंत्यियाँ: मन एव्य एव्य ह्या उजाल्दु: सिंध्या चेति दुःख प्रधानां इत्यं भंगिते: मन प्रधान उवे कटकेली आविरो गांविली: घुण्डियाह राहनेला आहीरी दुसीं शाईकी: आल्पेती लकडिला भांत्वे: कोहे आदेश व्याहार: हस्ती बंगावित: बडा स्वामी परिवार साहित बोहे: तेथ नेपाली: तेऊती हस्ती बोहे: पार्वक: परिवार: प्रधानां निचाई दोलो सेवति: दुसीं शेव: ऐसी प्रधान उवा: कटकेली आविरो आकृति आधाराचे कटक उदकले: तनं प्रधान पुत्र संदेह न केले तेना कटका रंगानि नेह्या: मा अनवद्यासि: बीडवसासि सुधा वेळेल: तेना प्रधान उवें भंगिते: तो उनी बैस्ती योगापुर वेळोंत आला: सिंध्यां चेति दुःख प्रधानां इत्यं कटकेली: मन प्रधानां इत्यं कटकेली अवेलोंत ऐसी नो प्रधान पुत्र एसेनेला पारामाण्या होता आई: ११०१

-निविष्काणविद्याचा, डिसेंबर १५२९, चौथा