CHAPTER III

HISTORY
SECTION I: ANCIENT PERIOD

Geography led to isolation or seclusion of the region under study. Due to dense forests styled Kántara or Mahakan-tard it was usually inaccessible. Despite such difficulties the conquerors like Asoka and Samudragupta did penetrate the heart of the Atavikas. Many local dynasties rose and fell. Their history is an interesting chapter of ancient Indian annals and it forms the inseparable part of the cultural current of the whole country. Even in the medieval and modern times the region under study witnessed many important episodes in its history.

The district of Bastar, formed by combining the princely states of Bastar and Kanker, has a considerably wide extension. The Kotpad, Podagarh, Raigarh, Churchenda and Umarkote tract of the present Koraput district in Orissa formed a part of Bastar State till 1811 A.D.¹ Similarly, the Sihawa Region of the Raipur district was also a part of former Bastar State till 1830 A.D.² Surprisingly, this large area remained neglected for a very long time. It has made the reconstruction of the history of this region a difficult task.

The early history of the region is more or less obscure. Stray references about the history of Bastar are available

2. Ibid.
in the works of Anthropologists like Grigson and Elvin. The pioneering work was done by Kedar Nath Thakur, Baj Nath Panda and Hiralal.

BASTAR BHUSHANA gives an account of the history and culture of the former Bastar State. Indeed, the work is of immense value and is the pioneer attempt in this venture, so far as the Bastar region is concerned. Colonel Glasfurd and Panda Bajnanth, the then Diwan of the Bastar State, discovered a number of inscriptions from various parts of the Bastar district. These inscriptions, edited by H. Krishna Sastri and Hiralal, throw valuable light on the history and culture of the region. In the year 1906-07 Panda Baj Nath excavated the buried ruins of Garh Dhanora near Keshkal (Bastar), and unearthed a jivalinga and remains of a mediaeval temple. Since then, scholars have brought forth fresh interpretations and new data about the history and Archaeology of the region.

   (2) Maria Murder and Suicide, Bombay, 1943.
   (3) Tribal Art of Middle India, London, 1951.
5. Kedarnath, Thakur; BASTAR BHUSHANA, Benares, 1908.
7. E.I., IX, p. 160
8. Ibid., 111, p. 314 ff.
9. Ibid., IX, pp. 160 ff; 311 ff; DLIEPB, pp. 144-60.
Mention may be made of the work done by Krishnaswami, Tripathi, B.C. Jain, P.C. Agarwal and Praveer Chandra Bhanja Deva, the late ruler of Bastar State.

Sources For the History of Bastar District:

As already pointed out earlier, the sources for the early history of Bastar are very meagre. The position of this region during the Vedic Age cannot be ascertained at the present state of our knowledge. However, it appears that, the region remained untouched from the wave of the early Aryan civilization. This part of the country was included within the DAKSHINADIK (South) during the later -Vedic period. According to the Aitareya Brahmana and the Taittariya Samhita the Aryan culture spread over this region during the later-Vedic period. Bastar and its adjoining region was known as DANDAKARANYA during the age of the epics and the Puranas. It has been referred to as KANTARA in the Mahabharata (Mbh., Sabhaparva, II, 3112-13). Stray references of this country in the epics and Puranas (Padma Purana, 34,5-7,14-59) indicate that the region was inhabited by the Sabaras and other tribal people.

13. Jain, B.C.; Utkirna Lekha
14. Agarwal, P.C., HGBD.
16. A.B., 8, 14; 7, 34.
17. T.S., 4, 2, 1, 3.
Archaeological Sources:

Coins and epigraphs are the significant archaeological sources which throw valuable light on the history of this region. According to the Prayaga Prasasti of Samudra Gupta, he subjugated Mahakantara along with its adjoining regions. Mahakantara has been identified with the present Bastar region. Coins and inscriptions of the Nalas and the Kalachuris establish their association with the Bastar region. Similarly, the suzerainty of the Chalukyas and the Cholas over this region has clearly been indicated by their epigraphs. The social, economic, religious and political history of Bastar during the Naga-regime has been reconstructed with the help of their inscriptions, coins and monuments. Rock-paintings, proto-historic and early-historic pottery has not been found so far. Megalithic monuments, extant in the region, are the only remanence of the early historic period.

Literary Sources:

Unfortunately we do not get sufficient literary evidence relating to this area. In the Ramayana of Valmiki, the


19. (a) For Nala records see:
J.N.S.I., I, p. 31 ff; E.I., XXI, p. 153 ff;
Ibid. XXVIII, p. 12 ff; XIX, pp. 100 ff; XXVI,

(b) For Kalachuris rule over Bastar see:
E.I., I, p. 38 ff; X, pp. 29-31; Inscriptions of Kalachuri-
Chedi Era, IV, p. 450 ff; Utkirna Lekha, No. 18, verse 18;

20. E.I., IV, p. 266; IX, p. 49; VI, p. 4; E.H.D., I, pp. 330-32;
Vikr., 4-23, 23, 30.

region has been referred to as Dandakaranya. Bastar region has been identified as a part of Dandakaranya by R.B. Hiralal, Prof. Bajpai, Tripathi and others. The country has been named so after the King DANDAKA of the Ikshvaku-dynasty. The story of DANDAKA is narrated in the Pāṇḍava-Purāṇa (34, 5–6, 14–59), Rāmacāṇa (7, 107–08), Kāma-Sūtra, Artha Sastra (I, 6), Rāghuvṛtā (5.39, 7.2, 13.20) and in the Jātakas and Jaina literature. The Purāṇas and the Rāmacāṇa associate Dandaka with Ikshvaku family, while the Kāma-Sūtra, the Artha Sastra and the Rāghuvṛtā State that he was borne in BHOJA KULA. According to the Jātakas, the kingdom of the Dandaka extended for sixty YOJANAS.

The Bastar region along with the adjacent country of the South Kosala has been referred to as KĀNTARA in Mahābhārata in the context of the Southern conquest of Sahadeva. The Kāntara mentioned in Mahābhārata may be identified with the Mahakāntara, i.e. Bastar and adjoining regions of the Prayagra Prasasti of Samudragupta.

According to Shri Tripathi this part of the country has been described in the Rāghuvṛtā and the Meghaduta of Kālidāsa.

25. Mah. Sabha, p. 31. 12–13
26. Rāghuvṛtā (Ed.R.P. Dwivedi), 13, 47–48
Bastar During the Ramayana Period

According to the Ramayana the Dandakaranya-region was inhabited by the Sabaras and other indigenous tribes. The Aitareya Brahmana (7, 34) also refers to Sabaras as one of the tribes of the Dakšinapatha. The Matsya and Vayu Purāṇa describe them as DAKŚINAPATHVASINAH.\(^{26A}\) The Sabaras mentioned in the epic and the Aitareya Brahmana may be identified with the present Saora tribe of the Bastar and the Koraput - Ganjam districts. D.C. Sircar has identified Sabaras with the Saoras of the Ganjam and Vishakhapatnam districts.\(^{27}\)

It is interesting to note that almost every tribe in Bastar and in the neighbouring regions of Orissa (which once formed a part of Bastar State) associate it with Rama in some form or the other. Their faith and traditions also suggest their association with Rama. The Bondo highlanders in the Koraput district believe that Sita, the wife of Rama, stayed with their ancestors in their own country during the Rama's exile. This has a remarkable impact on the culture of the Bondos. According to the traditions, prevalent among the Bondos, Bondo woman remains naked with the head shaven because they have been cursed by Sita to remain so. Sita

\(^{26A}\) Matsya P., 144, 46-8; Vayu P., 45, 126; cf. Law, B.C. Tribes in Ancient India, p. 172.

\(^{27}\) GAMI, p. 30.
cursed them when some of them laughed at her while she was bathing naked in the river Tamasa. It should be borne in mind that a hill known as Rama is located in the Koraput district, a part of the abode of the Bondos. Prof. Bajpai and Tripathi identify the Rama of Koraput with that of the Meghaduta, which was sanctified by Sita's ablutions in its water-pools.

It appears that Rama reached Dandakaranya of the present Bastar district by passing through the districts of Satna, Sahdol, Siriguja, Bilaspur and Raipur after leaving Chitrakuta of the Kantanathgiri. A number of Ramayana—episodes carved in stone at Sirpur, Jajgir, Fall, Ratanpur, Shabrarayan and Kharod in Raipur and Bilaspur districts also suggest Rama's close association with this region.

According to the theory, propounded by Shri Tripathi, the Chitrakuta water-fall of the Bastar district has been referred to in the Aranyakanda of the Ramayana of Valmiki. In his opinion reference of the two separate Chitrakuta are available in the Ramayana. One, referred to in Ayodhyakanda may be identified with that of the Kantanathgiri, while the other mentioned in the Aranyakanda should be identified with the Chitrakuta of Bastar. Prof. Bajpai also agrees with the

28. BAIH, No. 111, p. 29.
Bajpai, K.D., op.cit., p. 31.
view of Shri Tripathi, who holds that the Chitrakûta of Aranyakanda is mentioned immediately after the Āśrama of the sage Atri in Dandakâranya. In any case the Chitrakûta of Kamthankgirî cannot be placed within the Dandakâranya region. It may be identified with that of the Bastar.

The description of the Chitrakûte in Râghuvamsha also suggests its location in Dandakâranya. Rama on his way to Ayodhya from Lanka, seated on Puspha Vîmâna, points and narrates the beauty of the Chitrakûta Pranâta to his consort Sîta in the following manner:

पारारथनेश्वरीरा पुलोकैः / श्रावणगानमा मुनि यो / लक्ष्मीनिये विन्ध्यक : / अमृतसारस्वती विन्ध्यापन्नात / न वासुदेववत्सित सुधाकारवात / भृगवासिष्यवद्वत्तान्तरं / सयंतिके नक्षत्रिय कौशलयीसू मूले। ।

The waterfall and the nature of the country narrated in the verse, above mentioned, do not tally with that of the Chitrakûta of Kamthankgirî. On the other hand, it very much corresponds with the waterfall and the geography of the Chitrakûta of Bastar. It may be mentioned here that R.P. Dwivedi, the noted Sanskrit scholar, also opines that the Chitrakûta and the Mandakini, mentioned in the above verse of Râghuvamsha are undoubtedly associated with Dandakâranya.

32. Bajpai, K.D., op.cit.
The Ramayana of Valmiki also mentions about two Mandākinīs. One of the Mandākinīs referred in Aranyakanda appears to be located in Danda Karanya, where sages like Atri, Sarbhanga, Sutikṣṇa and Agastyā were performing penance in their respective Ashramas. The following statement of Sarbhanga showing Shri Rama the path, leading to the hermitage of Sutikṣṇa, testifies the existence of Mandākini in Danda Karanya.

"वाचम् मन्दाकिनि राय प्रविष्ठो नामनुवः।
नावं गृहोद्धारयाः कल्स्यं गोसिथ्यायि।"

There are three well known Mandākinīs: 1. The Svarganga, 2. The Mandākini, a tributary of Gaṅga flowing in the Faurs-Carnwalt region, and 3. The Mandakini, flowing through the Chitrakuta region of Bandā, mentioned in Ayodhyakand of Ramayana. The Mandakini referred to in the above mentioned verse may be identified with the river Indravati flowing through the present region of Bastar and Koraput. Indravati was known as Indra Nadi (the river of INDRA - LOKA i.e. heaven) during the ancient and mediaeval period.

According to the Hindu mythology the Svarganga, known as Mandākini, descended from the heaven. In fact, a river providing ample of fertile land, water and other

35. Ramayana (Cr.), Aranya Kanda.
36. Vayu Puran, 43.26; E.I., I, pp. 25 ff; DLKP, p. 147.
means of living as well is a divine boon to the region and its people. On account of these characteristics some of the larger rivers like Mandakini, Ganga, Yamuna and Narmada are being worshipped and are mentioned to have divine origin. Likewise, Indravati, the only river, serving as life line of a very large tract in Baster region, was regarded as divine river and called INDRA NADI — the river of heaven i.e. the Mandakini.

It should be noted that apart from the three well-known Mandakinis there are other rivers denominated as Mandakini. A small stream flowing in the vicinity of Jairur in Orissa is known as Mandakini. The Dhenkanal grant of Jayasimha also refers to a river Mandakini. B. Mishra identifies Mandakini of Jairur (Orissa) with that of the Dhenkanal grant.

Bastar During the Mahabharata-Period:

The region of Bastar, included in Dandakaranya during the Ramayana-Age, is referred as KANTARA in Mahabharata. It appears that the present Bastar district formed a part of KANTARA of the Mahabharata came to be known as MAHAKANTARA during the Gupta period. It may be suggested

37. Ganguly, D.K.; Historical Geography and Dynastic History of Orissa, p. 95.
39. MBh. Sabha, 31.12-13
40. API, Verse 19.
that the region around Bastar was known in the age of the Mahābhārata under the name of Niṣadha Desā, which was a part of Kantaka. The Mahābhārata,41 the Satpath Brahmaṇa,42 and the Kathasaritsagara43 record the episode of King Nala, the ruler of Niṣadha country. The country is referred as Naḍadha in the Asṭadhyayi.44 The Vayu45 and the Viṣṇu46 Puranas also mention about the rulers of Niṣadha Desā, as the descendants of King Nala.

The Niṣadha country has been identified with Berar by Jaiwana.47 Wilson48 locates this country in the region near Vindhya and Payoani, while Puranas49 include the upper and lower Vindhyan regions within the Niṣadha Desā. According to Burgess50 it was located to the South of Malwa. Lassen51 locates the Niṣadha country along the Satpura-hills to the North-west of Berar. Giriprastha was the capital of Niṣadha according to the Mahābhārata.52

41. Mbh., Nalo, 3-53-70
42. S.Bṛ., 3, 3, 2, 1, 3.
43. Kathā. Ch. 56.
44. Asṭadhyayi. 4, 1, 172.
45. Vayu P., Ch. 59, 376.
46. Viṣṇu P., IV. 24, 17.
47. History of India, Nāga-Vakataka Imperial Power, p. 47.
49. Law, B.C., T.A.I., p. 100.
51. T.A.I., p. 100.
52. MBh. III, 324, 12.
The Rithapur copper plate of Bhavadatta, the Nala king, states that the Nalas of Puskari are the descendants of King Nala. The later may be identified as the well-known Nala of Nisadha, referred to in the epic and Puranic literature.

A king Nisadapati Prithvi-Vyaghra is recorded in the Udayendiram grant of Pallavamalla. According to D.C. Sirca, the Nisadapati Prithvi Vyaghra may have some connection with Niṣadhapati Nala. In that case, the former may be identified with Prithvi Raja, a later Nala ruler of the Rājivalochana temple inscription at Rajim.

Puskari was the capital town of the early Nalas. Podagadh in Koraput district of Orissa has been identified as Puskari. Podagadh which lies in the bordering region of Bastar, was within the jurisdiction of former Bastar State.

It appears that the Bastar-Koraput region, occupied by the early Nala rulers, was the abode of their ancestors, i.e., the Niṣadhapati Nala. The inscriptions and numismatic evidences prove that the early Nala rulers, claiming their descent from Naisadha Nala, occupied the present region of Bastar and Koraput for a very long period. Their coins

53. E.I., XX, p. 102.
54. Ibid., XXVI, p. 49
have been discovered in Durg district (M.P.) also.

The *Kathasaritasagar*\(^{56}\) states that the King Nala, having lost his kingdom - NISHADHA - in gambling, proceeded towards Kosala to serve the house of Rituparna, the lord of Kosala. According to Raychoudhury and Law the story of Nala seems to have been much older than the *Mahabharata*, because the story has been referred in the *Ramayana* by Sītā.\(^{57}\) It may be noted that the name of Rituparna does not find place in the genealogy of the kings of Ayodhya, stated in the *Ramayana* of Valmiki. On the other hand, the *Mahabharata* and the *Apastambha Dharma Sutra*\(^{59}\) calls Rituparna the lord of Suphala. He has been stated as Bhagasuri or Bhangasura in *Mahabharata* and the son of Bhanga Yashvina in the *Apastambha Dharma Sutra*.

The absence of the name of Rituparna in the genealogy of the kings of Ayodhya suggests that he was not the lord of Kosala (*Uttara*), instead he ruled over Dakśina Kosala i.e. the present Chhattisgarh region. His capital Suphala remains unidentified.

According to the *Mahabharata*, King Nala reached in to the kingdom of Rituparna on the 10th day after leaving

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56. Kath. p.56  
57. T.A.I., p. 100, Fn. 3.  
his own capital. It may be suggested that the Nisadhaka country was located in the proximity of South Kosala. Otherwise, it would not have been possible for Nala to reach the kingdom of Rituparna (South Kosala) within 10 days from Giriiprasta. As he was left with nothing he had no conveyance and he must have travelled on foot to South Kosala from Giriiprasta.

As early Nala rulers, the descendants of King Nala, had their suzerainty over the Bastar-Koraput tract with their Nilaya at Puskari, the Nisadhaka Desa may be located in and around the present Bastar district. It is only a tentative suggestion.

Bastar During the Time of the Buddha:

According to the Kurma Purana the Amarkantaka lay to the West of Kalinga desa (Kalingadesa Paschardhe Parvata Amarkantaka) which thus seems to have included the whole of South Kosala with its territories. The Matsya Purana also refers to Jalesvara kirtti in the Amarkantaka hill of Kalinga. Yazdani holds that South Kosala was included in the Kalinga country during the age of the Buddha. It appears that Bastar region also formed a

60. Mbh. Nala., 3-6, 10, 19, 13, 1.
63. Matsya Purana, 186, 15-38; 187, 3-52.
part of Kalinga during that period.

However, the region of Bastar remained isolated immediately after the Buddha-period, though the Nandas of Magadha extended their sway upto Kalinga and the Godavari. It exhibits that their sway extended upto Bastar-region.

Asoka and the Bastar Region:

It may be speculated that Bastar along with Kalinga was under the jurisdiction of Magadha, during the reign of Chandragupta Maurya. It seems to have assumed independence during the reign of Bindusara. So, Asoka had to crush Kalinga. He passed through Bastar on his way to Kalinga (Tosali and Jamapa). The rock-edict of Asoka found at Roopnath in Jabalpur, and a huge Mauryan brick stupa (8.00 meter high) near Mawai in Mandla (M.P.) suggest that the Mauryan monarch camped at these places on his way from Vidissa to Kalinga via Chhattisgarh-Bastar.

The Chhattisgarh region, which adjoins Bastar, had centres of Buddhism at Malhar (district Bilaspur), Sirpur 67 and Turturia (district Raipur) during the early mediaeval-period. The Buddhist-Stupa and buildings erected by


67. Malhar (Sagar) 1978, p. 35.


AŚOKA RĀJA in the capital of South Kosala are referred by Yuan-chang.\(^70\) The records of Yuan-chang and a minor rock edict of Aśoka at Tevateka in Chandrapur (Maharashtra) suggest the spread of Buddhism with Aśoka's power in South Kosala. It appears that Buddhism was initially introduced in Chhattisgarh along with Kalinga during the Mauryan period. The Bastar region, located amidst Chhattisgarh and Kalinga, also formed a part of Mauryan territory.

Post-Mauryan history of Bastar district does not suffer from the paucity of sources. The region seems to have been formed part of the empire of Satakarni I of the Satavahana family, for the Hāthi Gūmpha inscription of Kharavela refers to Satakarni's sway towards the west of the capital of Kharavela.\(^72\) Professor R.D. Banerjee also holds that "Most probably the country (Kalinga) was subjugated by the Satavahanas...".\(^73\) Hence, it is evident that Satavahanas had their supremacy over the Chhattisgarh region. A terracotta sealing of Satavahana Vedasri, unearthed in the excavations at Malhar\(^74\) (district Bilaspur) and Satakarni's (I) epithet DAKSHINAPATI\(^75\) also suggest

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\(^70\) Barrates, C. and Dixit, M.C., Temples at Mukhalingam, Sirpur and Raipur.
\(^71\) Proceedings of All India Oriental Conference, 1938, p. 116 ff.
\(^72\) Hāthigūmpha Inscription, Cunningham, C.I.I. I, pp. 27
\(^74\) Malhar (Jagar) 1978, p. 6.
\(^75\) Junagarh Rock Inscription of Mahakṣatrapa Rudradāmanā I.
the rule of Śātakarni I over the Chhattisgarh region.

It is probable that the Kuśanas had their hold over Bastar, Chhattisgarh, and Orissa.

Samudragupta and the Bastar Region:

From the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta we learn that Samudragupta liquidated Mahakantara by defeating Vyaghra Raja. Mahakantara has been identified with Bastar-Korarut region. The Bastar area was occupied by the imperial Guptas along with the adjoining countries of Orissa and Chhattisgarh. The Sumanālā copper plate (district Ganjam), the Fanchipīr hord of 79 Gupta gold-coins (district Mayurbhanja), and TRILOKA-PRAJNAFTI of YATI VRASABHA prove Gupta's rule in Orissa. Similarly, the Frayaga-Praśasti recording subjugation of Mahendra the king of Kosala (South); the inscriptions of Chhattisgarh region dated in Gupta era; and Gupta-art-relics at Tālā and Malhar (district Bilaspur) are suggestive of Gupta's suzerainty in Chhattisgarh.

76. J.N.S.I., XVII, p. 109; Malhar (Sagar), p. 421.
78. E.I., XXVII, pp. 73–85; Sircar, D.C., op. cit., p. 141.
79. J.N.S.I., IX, p. 106.
81. Malhar (Sagar), 1976, pp. 31, 37; Plates XI, XII, XIV.
THE NALAS

The Nalas were ruling over the Bastar-Koraput region during the 5th-6th century A.D. with their capital at Puskari. 82 Pargiter places Nalas in the 3rd century A.D., while Dr. D.C. Sircar places them in the 6th century A.D. 84 On the basis of Inscriptional and Numismatic evidences Nalas of Bastar may be placed roughly in between A.D. 430 to 567 A.D. The Bithapur copper plates of Bhavadatta Varman, the Kesaribeda copper plates of Arthapati, the Padagadh inscription of Skandavarman, the Balaghat plates of Vakaṭaka Prithviśena II, the Aihole inscription of Kīrtivarmanā I and the characters of the gold-coins of the Nalas play important part in establishing the chronology of the Nalas.

A hoard of gold-coins of the Nalas has been found at Adenga in Bastar. 85 Besides, Kesaribeda and Padagadh, the find-spots of the inscriptions of Nala rulers, were included in the former Bastar State till 1811 A.D. The major part of the present Koraput district was an integral part of Bastar State from the very beginning.

83. Pargiter, P.E.; Purana-Texts of the Dynasties of the Kali Age; p. 61 ff.
84. E.I., XXVIII, pp. 12-16.
85. JRSI, I, pp. 20-25.
It appears that Varāharāja was the first Nala ruler. His coins - 20 in number - are the earliest coins among those of the Adena hoard. It has been ascertained by the Palaeography of the coins that Varāharāja was the predecessor of Bhavadatta.

Nalas dominion extended undoubtedly from the Koraput region of Orissa to the present district of Durg and Bairur in Chhattisgarh, M.P. The Kulā hoard of Durg district contained gold-coins of Nala Kings Bhavadatta and Arthapati. The Rajim inscriptions of Vīlasatunga, a later Nala ruler, also testify to the suzerainty of Nalas over Chhattisgarh region. According to Mirashi, the region of Berar was also included within the Nala dominion.

The early Nala rulers were the devout worshippers of Śiva while their descendants expressed their devotion towards Viṣṇu by erecting Vaishnava shrines. The figure of Couchant bull, the vehicle of Śiva, and the word MAHESVARA MAHAŞENA occurring in the coins and inscriptions of Bhavadatta and Arthapati indicate their devotion towards Saivism.

86. According to Misser Ahmed (JNSI, 1963, Vol. XXV, Part I) Arthapati of the Edena hoard was the predecessor of Varāharāja. His theory is untenable.
87. Mirashi, V.V.; JNSI, I, pp. 31 ff.
89. E.I., XXVI, pp. 48 ff.
The opinion of Prof. Mirashi and Ramdas regarding the meaning of MAHÉśVARA MAHAŚEŠNA is hardly compatible. According to D.C. Sircar MAHÉśVARA and MAHAŚEŠNA refer to two different deities, i.e. Siva and SKANDA-KĀRTIKEYA. Gupta also agrees with Dr. Sircar.

SKANDAVARMAN, the successor of ARTHAPATI, on the contrary, was a worshipper of Visṇu. A shrine of Visṇu was erected by him at Puṣkari. Likewise, VILASATUNGA claiming himself to be a descendant of the celebrated King Nala, was also a VAIS NAVA RULER. His inscription found at RAJIM speaks of the construction of a Visṇu-temple.

In all 37 gold-coins of the Nala rulers of Bastar have been found so far. The Adēṅga hoard contained 29 coins of VARAHARAJA, two of ARTHAPATI, and one of BHAVADATTA. The KULIA hoard revealed three coins of the Nalas while four of their coins are displayed in Lucknow Museum. These single die coins having the device and legend embossed in relief are circular in shape. The couchant humped bull, the crescent and the legend appear on the obverse side of the coins, while the reverse side is blank.

92. S.I. Vol. I, pp. 192-93
93. E.I., XXVIII, p. 13; The Classical Age, p. 188.
94. F.E.I, XIX, p. 104.
95. I.E.I, XXI, pp. 153-56 - नामकृति मोहन
dūkṣa
96. I.E.I, XXVI, pp. 48 ff.
97. JNSI 33 II, 115
These coins may be divided into two main classes:
(1) The larger variety of coins with 20 to 21 mm. in diameter;
(2) and the smaller coins about 15 mm. in diameter. An attempt has been made to locate the NL̄IADHA country in and around Bastar-Koraput region in the preceding pages. Accordingly, we may assume that this region was the abode of the early Nalas. However, the genealogy of the Nalas still remains, more or less, unknown. Varaharāja is the first known ruler of the Nala-dynasty.

VARAHAṆAṆA:

According to Prof. Mirashi Varaharāja was the predecessor and probably father of Bhavadattavarmā. Thus, he may be regarded the first known ruler of the Nala-dynasty.
Dr. Nissar Ahmed on the contrary, identifies Arthapati, whose coins have been revealed in Adenga-hoard, as predecessor of Varaharāja. According to him Arthapati of Adenga-hoard cannot be identified with the Arthapati of Rithapur copper plates. The difference in the spelling of the name Arthapati, and in the character of the letters, both in coins and copper plates, led him to propound this theory. But, in the absence of any corroborative evidence his assumption seems to be far from the truth.

The reign of Varaharāja may be assigned tentatively in between A.D. 430 to 443. Balaghat copper plates of

98. JNM, I, p. 31 ff.
Vākāṭaka Prithvīśena II refers that Narendrasena, the father of the former carried away the fortune of the family which was ultimately restored by Prithvīśena II. Prof. Mirashi opines that Narendrasena was subdued by Nala Bhavadattavarmanā during his first regnal year. As Bhavadattavarmanā was contemporary to Narendrasena (445-460 A.D.), the reign of his predecessor may be assigned before 445 A.D.

It appears that Varāharāja was an independent sovereign, for he had issued a large number (29) of gold-coins. The couchant bull figuring on his coins suggests that he was a worshipper of Śiva. His name Varāharāja, on the other hand, indicates that his father was a devout follower of Vaisnavism, as Varāha is an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Except his coins, we do not have any evidence or record of him. His name does not occur in the inscriptions of his successors. A good number of his gold-coins suggests that he was a powerful ruler and the economic condition of the country during his reign was very good. The legends found in his coins are – *Śri Varāharāja* and *Śri Varāha*.  

Bhavadattavarmanā:

It appears that Bhavadattavarman succeeded Varāharāja. It is conjectured that he was the son of the latter. His

name occurs in the coins and inscriptions of the Nala-dynasty. The legend BhavadattaJaya occurs in his coins, while the Rithapur copper plates refer to Maharaja Bhattacharaka Arthapati Bhavatta Varman. 103 The Podagadh inscription of Skandavarman also mentions about Bhavadatta. 104 In fact, Bhavatta is the prakritised form of Bhavadatta.

The Rithapur copper plates mentioning Maharaja Bhattacharaka Arthapati BhavattaVarman led many scholars to hold that Arthapati is an epithet of Bhavadatta. 105 It has been clearly indicated by the Kesaribeda plates, the Podagadh inscription, and the coins of Arthapati that Bhavadattavarman and Arthapati were two different rulers. In all, probability, Arthapati was the son and successor of Bhavadattavarman. 106

Bhavadattavarman extended his sway over a large tract stretched from Koraput-Baster to the present Chattisgarh (South Kosala), and issued his Rithapur copper plates from Nandivardhana, the capital of the Vakatakas. The coins of Bhavadattavarman and his successor Arthapati, found in Kula-board, also prove Nalas suzerainty over the Chhattisgarh region, which was known as Kosala (South) during the early-

103. E.I., XIX, p. 100 ff.  
104. Ibid, XX, pp. 153-54.  
106. The Rithapur grant (E.I., XIX, p. 100 ff) of the eleventh regnal year of Bhavadatta refers to Arthapati. Besides, both the grants i.e. Rithapur and Kesaribeda (issued in the 7th regnal year of Arthapati) were drafted by one and the same official Rasyadhimitra Culla. This suggests that Arthapati was the successor of Bhavadatta.
mediaeval period. It is evidenced from the inscriptions of
the Vakatakas that South Kosala was ruled by them. 107

As Vakatakas were contemporary to the Nalas, it
appears that Nala Bhavadattavarman annexed to his dombion
Nandivardhana along with the Kosala after defeating them.
Prof. Mirashi holds that the Vakataka king, defeated by
Bhavadatta, was no other than Narendrasena. 108 This assump-
tion is corroborated with the Balaghat plates of Vakataka
Prithvisena II, the son of Narendrasena. It is stated in
the plates that Narendrasena, the lord of Kosala, Mekala and
Malava carried away the fortune of his own family. 109
Narendrasena, the lord of Kosala was driven away from Kosala
by Bhavadattavarman. Bhavadattavarman occupied a large
part of Vakataka kingdom in his campaign and captured their
capital Nandivardhana.

Nandivardhana was, for sometime, the capital of the
Vakatakas, is an established fact. The identification of
Nandivardhana, referred to in the Rithapur plates of
Bhavadattavarman is a matter of keen controversy among the

107. (i) Balaghat Copper Plates of Prithvisena II,
E.I., IX, pp. 267-71.

scholars of Ancient Indian History. Hiralal identified Nandivardhana with Nagardhan near Ramtek in Nagpur,\textsuperscript{110} while Gupta with Nandur in Yeotmal district.\textsuperscript{111} Altekar identifies Nandapur in Nagpur district with Nandivardhana. According to Sunder Lal Tripathi, Nandapur in Koraput district of Orissa should be identified with Nandivardhana.\textsuperscript{112}

Bhavadattavarman may be regarded the foremost ruler of the dynasty who not only defeated the powerful Vakatakas but extended his paramountcy upto the heart of their kingdom, - Nandivardhana. His Rithapur grant was made during his visit to PRAYAGA. It indicates, according to Dr. R.C. Majumdar, that Bhavadatta would have gone to PRAYAGA, which was comprised within the Gupta dominions, to marry a princess of Allahabad.\textsuperscript{113} The plates, issued during his 11th regnal year, record the grant of a village KADAMBAGIRI to one - Matradhyāryya and his eight sons for 'the blessings of the king himself and his queen.'

The verse SRI MAHARAJA ARTHAPATI BHATTARAKEN of the Rithapur grant indicate that Arthapati, the YUVARAJA (BHATTARAKA), served as Governor to his father and attained the title of MAHARAJA BHATTARAKA. Otherwise, he would have not acquired the epithet of MAHARAJA since his father Bhavadattavarman was till on the throne. This suggests that

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{110} E.I., IX, pp. 43-44.
  \item \textsuperscript{111} Ibid., XXI, p. 103.
  \item \textsuperscript{112} B.A.F.H., No. 111, pp. 14, 23, 26, 29.
  \item \textsuperscript{113} The Classical Age, p. 188.
\end{itemize}
Bhavadatta was the mighty sovereign of a very large dominion. 
By subjugation Vakatakas he automatically acquired a vast 
country and emerged as paramount power. It appears that 
his elder son and successor Artapati was appointed by him 
to assist in the management of the kingdom.

Gold-coins of this ruler have been found in Edengā 
and Kulīn-boards. The legend on the coins as SRI BHAVA-
DATTARĀJASTA in Brahmi script of 5th century A.D., and 
couchant bull along with the crescent are found on the 
obverse of these coins. 114

It is indicated by his coins and inscriptions that 
Bhavadatta followed his father so far as the religion is 
concerned. The expression Mahēsvara Mahāśeṇa = atisrata-
raiva = Vībhavah has been interpreted in various ways by 
scholars. 115 According to Ramdas the expression should be 
taken to mean — who has created the supreme authority of 
administration of the dominion with officers such as 
Mahēshvara and Mahāśeṇa. 116 This is not tenable because 
Ramdas has mistaken the word ATISRATA (bestowed) as SRSTA 
(created). Mirashi states that the expression means that 
Bhavadattavarmā acquired his kingdom and prosperity through 
the grace of god Mahēsvara. 117 D.C. Sircar opines that the

115. E.I., XIX, pp. 100 ff. 
expression should mean that either Bhavadatta obtained royal fortune through the grace of Śiva (Mahēśvara) and Skanda Kartikeya (Mahasena) or that he dedicated his kingdom to them.118

Bhavadatta has been placed in the 5th century A.D. on the basis of palaeography. It is not possible to ascertain his absolute date at the present state of our knowledge. However, his reign may be assigned tentatively in between 443 to 455 A.D.

Arthapati

Bhavadatta, the devout worshipper of Śiva, was succeeded by his elder son Arthapati. The Rithapur grant indicates that Arthapati served as governor to his father. D.C. Sircar opines that Arthapati was the son and successor of Skandavarma. 119 According to him Kesaribeda-copper-plates of Arthapati, issued from Puśkari, suggest that the charter was issued after Skandavarma repopulated Puśkari. Otherwise it should have been granted from Mândivardhana. This view is not convincing. On the contrary, it can be proved that Arthapati succeeded Bhavadatta. The following facts should be taken into consideration:

1. The verse Mahārāja Bhattāraka Arthapati Bhavattavarma of Rithapur grant suggest that Arthapati succeeded Bhavadatta.

119. The Classical Age, p. 139.
The above mentioned facts indicate that Arthapati was the immediate follower of Bhavadattavarman.

In fact, Arthapati inherited a vast kingdom from Bhavadatta which included the territories of the Vakātakas. It seems that Arthapati, apart from being a powerful ruler, could not face the fury of the invasions and he had to lose major part of his dominion. It may be assumed that he had to face two attacks and that he was reduced to submit during the second invasion. The first invasion was launched before his seventh regnal year in which he suffered a heavy defeat, and was cornered in the small principality of Baster and Koramut. It was after this episode that the copper plate of Kesaribedā was granted from Puskarī (on the seventh regnal year of Arthapati). Had he been occupying the inherited dominion, probably he would have also issued Kesaribedā-charter from Nandivardhana like his predecessor. During the second invasion his capital Puskarī was devastated, which was ultimately repopulated by his successor Skandavarman. 120

**First Invasion** : It appears that Prithvisena II regained the Vakātaka-territory and restored the tottering fortune of his family by subjugating Arthapati. He avenged the humiliation of his father by expelling Arthapati from the Vakātaka-dominion. Arthapati was impelled to retire to

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120. E.I., XXI, p. 155.
Puṣkari. This assumption is corroborated by Belaghat Copper Plates of Prithviṣena II. In all probability, Prithviṣena II (A.D. 460-480) subdued Arthapati, during his early reign. As suggested above, the Kesariṣedā charter of Arthapati, issued in his seventh regnal year, was granted after his defeat at the hands of Prithviṣena II. Accordingly, Arthapati's accession to the throne may be assigned round about 455 A.D.

Second Invasion: It may be conjectured that the second invasion on the Nala-kingdom, during the reign of Arthapati, was led by Vakāṭaka Harisena (A.D. 475-510) of the Vaiṣāṃ branch. The Ajanta inscription states Harisena as the lord of Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kosala, Trisūkta, Lāṭa and Andhra.

It should be borne in mind that at this conjecture major part of Kosala was occupied by Vakāṭaka Prithviṣena II of the main branch. It appears that Harisena extended his paramountcy over Kosala by defeating Prithviṣena II. It may be argued that territories of the Vakāṭakas of main branch passed into the hands of Harisena after the death of Prithviṣena II. But, it has no corroborative evidence. In

121. E.I., II, p. 270.
122. Pāṇini वर्णवश विशेषतः
(ii) Vakāṭaka-Gupta, pp. 114, 116, 117.
122. Ajanta Inscription, op.cit.
fact, Harisena was the natural enemy of Prithvisea II, as he had rivalry with the king of Kuntala, the maternal grandfather of Prithvisea II. The Ajanta inscription refers to Harisena as the lord of Kuntala. Undoubtedly he had conquered Kuntala.

It seems that Harisena launched a campaign against the allied forces of Kuntalaraja and Prithvisea II, defeated them, and went straight towards Kalinga to conquer it. Nala Arthapati, still occupying parts of Kalinga and Kosala, sustained heavy defeat at the hands of Harisena. Harisena captured and destroyed Puskari, the capital of Arthapati. Later devastated Puskari was repopulated by Skandavarman, the successor of Arthapati:

'bhrismam-akrisya rajardhim sunyam-avasya Puskarima'.

It may be assumed that Arthapati lost his life in the battlefield. Skandavarman, who also fell victim to it, somehow saved himself and fled away from the scene. Harisena ascended the throne in 475 A.D. His military expeditions over Kosala and Kalinga resulting the end of Arthapati's reign may be assigned about 476-77 A.D. Chalukya Kirtivarman I is credited with the devastation of Puskari as he has been referred to as the annihilator of Nalas in Aihole inscriptions. It appears to be untenable, for Puskari was destroyed prior to the regime of Skanda-

123. Ajanta Inscription of Dr.
Kirtivarmanā. Kirtivarmanā I flourished after Skandavarmanā.

It is evident from the coins and inscription that Arthapati was a devout Saiva. His coins have been revealed in Edenga and Kulia-boards.

Skandavarmanā:

After the death of Arthapati, the Nala-dynasty remained out of the political scene for a brief spell of time till Skandavarmanā revived Nala glory and repopulated Puskari round about 480 A.D.

Skandavarmanā, who succeeded Arthapati may be regarded his younger brother. He remained unknown for sometime after the death of Arthapati. In the meanwhile probably, Prithvisena II retrieved his position, established himself and regained the lost territory from Hariṣena sometime during the end of his regime, i.e. 480 A.D. * Thus Prithvisena II raised his sunken family twice—

(DVIMA)VANASYA = ODDMARTUR)

once by expelling Arthapati from Vakataka-country, and then by regaining the lost territory from Hariṣena. It appears that Skandavarman reoccupied Puskari and proclaimed

* According to G. Yazdani (Early History of the Deccan, I, p. 187) Hariṣena occupied Nala territory during the reign of Skandavarmanā or shortly afterwards.

Krishna Rao (Early Dynasties of Andhradesha, Madras, 1942, p. 487) is also of the same opinion.
himself an independent sovereign when Hariṣena and Prithvi-
seṇa again indulged in war.

Skandavarmāṇa ascended the throne in 430 A.D. Probably, he grasped the opportunity of political cata-
trophe and reoccupied the lost Nala capital without indul-
ging himself into any sort of war. Gradually he extended
his paramountcy over the ancestral kingdom and probably,
acquired some part of Vakātaka country after the death of
Prithviṣeṇa. According to Krishna Rao, Skandavarmana sub-
dued Vakātaka Devasena, the predecessor of Hariṣena.125 His
assumption does not appear tenable. Firstly because it is
not corroborated with any other evidence, and secondly,
Devasena (455-475) was already dethroned when Skandavarmāṇa
came into power.

According to the Podagadh inscription, composed in
his 12th regnal year, Skandavarmana was a noble son of
Bhavadatta who erected a shrine of Viṣṇu and gave donations
to it. He is referred as the foremost among the descendants
of Nala and the KRITI of his parents and ancestors.126

No coin of this Vaisnava king has been found so far.
It may be argued that probably he refrained from issueing
his currency because mints of the Nalas located at Puskari
were destroyed for ever by the invaders during the reign of

125. Early Dynasties of Andhradesa, p. 665; Shukla,
Arthapati. Not much is known about the life and achievements of Skandavarmanā. Probably, his regime came to an end soon after the incision of Podagadh inscription. Had he conquered the neighbouring countries or attained distinguished position he would have undoubtedly made it public through his charters.

THE LATER NALAS:

Though, genealogy of the Nalas after Skandavarmanā is not known, it is evident from epigraphic records that they continued to reign for some generations. The Aihole inscription which extols Chalukya Kirtivarmanā I (567-597 A.D.) as the annihilator of the Nalas, and the Rajim inscription of Vilastunga, the descendant of the celebrated Nala king, clearly indicate the suzerainty of the successors of Skandavarman over Bastar-Koraput and Chhattisgarh region.

It appears that the immediate successor of Skandavarmanā suffered defeat at the hands of Pānduvamsi king Narna (A.D. 475-500). After this, Nalas probably served as feudatories to the Pānduvamsi kings of South Kosala till the latter were defeated by Chalukya Pulkesin II about 634 A.D.

127. (i) According to D.C. Sirkar (E.I., XXVIII, pp. 12,14) their (Nalas) northern possessions soon appear to have passed to the Pānduvamsi kings of Kosala.

According to the Aihole inscription, Nalas were finally ousted from their abode (Puskari in Bastar-Koraput region) by Kirtivarman I (A.D. 567-597). The total annihilation of the Nala-power by Kirtivarman I, as met in this epigraph, is not acceptable because of the Rajim stone inscription which mentions three Nala kings. In all probability, Chalukya king defeated Nalas when they were ruling as feudatories of the Panduvarsī kings of South Kosala. This act of Kirtivarman I, ultimately initiated the struggle between Panduvarsī kings and Chalukyas which lasted till the former were defeated by Chalukya Pulkesin II, about 634 A.D., the date of the issue of Aihole inscription.

The Rajivalochana temple inscription at Rajim records the erection of a Visnu temple and mentions three kings viz. Prithvīrāja, Viruparāja and Vilastumga. According to the record, Vilastumga was the son of Viruparāja and grandson of Prithvīrāja. These kings claim their descendence from the celebrated king Nala. Evidently, they may be regarded as later descendents of Skandavarmana. This undated inscription is placed, on palaeographic evidence, in 8th century A.D. by Bhandarkar and Cunningham. According to Mirashi, the epigraph may

129. E.I., XXVI, pp. 49-58
be assigned to the later part of the 7th century A.D. 132

Recently, gold-coins of two hitherto unknown kings \textit{Sri Nandanaraja} and \textit{Stambha} have been discovered in Kulia hoard. 133 These coins are similar to those of the early-Nala rulers, viz. Varaharaja, Bhavadatta and Arthapati, so far as device, shape, size, weight and metal is concerned. The coins are struck in the pattern of the coins of the Nalas of Baster. Moreover, they have been found in the hoard which contained coins of Arthapati and Bhavadatta. The coins have the legend \textit{Sri Nandanaraja} and \textit{Stambha} respectively in box headed character of Brahmi.

The gold-coin of Nandanaraja, 20 mm. in diameter, has beaded circular border in obverse. The coin is divided in two parts by a horizontal line. The upper half of it has a figure of couchant bull facing a crescent, and the lower half bears the name of the king. The coin of Stambha is similar to preceding excepting the diameter—16 mm.

Nandanaraja and Stambha may be regarded descendants of Skandavarman. According to the character of the script on the coins, Nandanaraja and Stambha may be placed in between Skandavarman and Prithviraja. Preferably, they may be regarded the immediate predecessors of Prithviraja. However, the names of the Nala rulers

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flourished after Skandavarman and before Nandanarāja, are unknown.

It appears that the dominion of the later Nala kings was confined to the present districts of Raipur and Durg. Probably, they were supplanted from Puskari by Kirtivarman I during the last quarter of the 6th century.

Nandanarāja:

As suggested by the newly discovered coins of the later Nala kings, probably Nandanarāja preceded Stambha. It appears that Nandanarāja proclaimed his independency during the political instability caused due to the struggle between Chalukyas and Pânduvamsis about 634 A.D.

Excepting a single coin we do not have anything to record about this king. The gold-coin indicates his independent status. His regime may be assigned provisionally in between c. 634 to c. 670 A.D.

Stambha:

In all probability, Stambha succeeded Nandanarāja. The relationship in between them cannot be ascertained. His name has been known for the first time, like his predecessor, through his gold coin. As he issued his own currency he may be regarded an independent sovereign. He may be placed tentatively in between c. 671 to c. 700 A.D.
Prthvirāja (c. 701—c. 737 A.D.):

It may be conjectured that Stambha was succeeded by Prthvirāja. The Rajim epigraph of Vilāsatunga refers about Prthvirāja, the grand-father of Vilāsatunga and father of Viruparāja.

Nigadapati Prthvivyaghra referred in the Udayendiran grant of Pallavamalla (A.D. 730-80) may be identified with Prthvirāja of Rajim inscription, according to D.C. Sircar. In that case we may assume that he was a very powerful ruler who extended his sway as far as Nellore in South, performed Asvamedha Yajña and occupied the territory of Chalukya Viraqvardhana III (709-46 A.D.). Later, he was expelled from the Chalukyan country by Udaya Chandra, the general of Pallavamalla.

King Prthvirāja has been praised like anything in the Rajim inscription of Vilāsatunga.

Viruparāja:

Viruparāja, the son and successor of Prthvirāja was a famous king. According to the Rajim epigraph, a brave, just and handsome person flourished in him. The inscription remains silent so far as his achievements are concerned. His epithets suggest his paramountcy over a

135. I.A., op. cit.
vast country:

KHYĀTO HIMAVĀNIVA DAH PUTTRAH
PATIRBHUBHŌTAM DHATĒ NĀM VIHŪPARAJA

(Epigraphia Indica, XXVI, pp. 49-56)

The extent of his kingdom cannot be ascertained at the present state of our knowledge. However, it is conjectured that his lasted for a spell of 14 years from c.737 to c.751 A.D.

VILĀSATUNGA:

According to the Rajim inscription, incised during his regime, Vilāsatunga was being prayed by enemies for his bravery. This indicates his supremacy among the contemporary rules of present Chhattisgarh.

The reign of Vilāsatunga has been assigned in the later part of 7th century A.D. by Mirashi\(^{137}\) on palaeographic evidence. Bhandarkar,\(^{138}\) Hiralal\(^{139}\) and Cunningham\(^{140}\) place him in the 8th century A.D. on the basis of the script of Rajim epigraph. According to Bhandarkar and Hiralal, the inscription should be placed in the middle of 8th century A.D. The later view appears to be more convincing which is further corroborated by the contents of the inscription. Name of the engraver Durgahastina, the son of Jalahastina, occurs in Rajim inscription. According to the contents of Gandheswara Temple inscription of the time of Balarjuna, it is incised by the son of Durgahastina...

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137. E.I., XXVI, p. 51
138. Cousens; op.cit.
139. R.B.Hiralal; DLICPB, p. 103.
140. Cunningham, A.; op.cit.
According to Rajaguru, Durgahastina referred in the above two epigraphs was one and the same person. In that case Vilasatunga may be regarded contemporary to Mahasivagupta Balarjuna (760-820 A.D.). Accordingly, he may be placed roughly in between c.750-c.770 A.D.

Vilasatunga proved himself a follower of Vaishnava pantheon by erecting a Vishnu temple at Rajim.

Mirashi opines that the later Nala rulers, responsible to some extent, for the extermination of Somavamsi Pandavas from South Kosala opted to shift their capital at Sirpur (Sirpur in Raipur district). His conclusion is based mainly on the findings of Cousens. According to Cousens Rajivalochana temple at Rajim seems to be a replica of Laxman temple, Sirpur, so far as architectural style is concerned. Mirashi states further that Rajivalochana temple was erected during the reign of Vilasatunga. For this purpose, Vilasatunga employed those persons from Sirpur who were the architects of Laxman temple.

The history of Naladynasty after Vilasatunga is a matter of speculation. We do not have any record of the immediate successors of Vilasatunga. It appears that they were ousted from South Kosala by Kalachuris sometime in the 9th century A.D. Of course, there was a king named Bhimasena, flourished in the beginning of 10th century, who claimed himself a descen-

143. E.I., XXVI, pp. 51-52
144. Cousens, op.cit.
dant of the Nala-dynasty. He may be regarded a later descended of Vilasatunga.

BHIMASENA:

The Pāndiyapathar copper plate of Bhimasena (Epigraphia Indica, XXXIV, pp. 233-38) refer that the king is bourn of the Nala-dynasty. The epithets of Bhimseena, the lord of Khingirisrangamandala, are MAHARAJA DHIRAJA PARMEŚVARA and PARAMA MAHESVARA. The Khingirisrangamandala comprised present districts of Koraput and Ganjam in Orissa.

On palaeographic grounds the grant may be placed about 920 A.D. Accordingly Bhimseena's regime may be assigned during the first quarter of the 10th century A.D.

It appears that later Nalas, who were ousted by Kalachuris from South Kosala established themselves in the Ganjam district of Orissa. The former rulers of Gumsur state in district Ganjam trace their origin from Nalas.

PUSKARI:

Puskari, the capital town of the Nalas may be located within the present region of Bastar and Koraput. D. C. Sircar and N. K. Sahu locate Puskari in the Podagarh tract of Koraput district. Podagarh itself has been identified as Puskari by Ramdas and Tripathi.

145. Re Jagann, S. N.; CHRJ, 6, pp. 97-120.
148. Orissa District Gazetteer, - Koraput, P. 1, 46.
149. Ramdas, G. JBRS, Vol. 34, p. 34.
The present Podagarh has a remanance of ancient fort, which is surrounded by ponds. The word 'Poda' means 'Burnt' in Oriya, Bengali, Malvi and Bhatri. Accordingly PODAGARH means 'BURNT FORT'. The sculptures and ceramics found in Podagarh indicate that the place was inhabited during the early mediaeval-period. Ponds dug around the fort, during that period, served the purpose of secondary defence. It may be surmised that the city was named Puskari as it was full of ponds (Puskar). Later, the city and the fort as well were devastated by repeated invasions. It should be borne in mind that Skandavarmana repopulated the destroyed Puskari and the locality came to be known as Podagarh because of its fort, burned during the aggressions.

The Vakatakas

As pointed out above the present region of Bastar comprised parts of Kalinga and Kosala from the remote past. The ruling dynasties of Kalinga and Kosala extended their suzerainty over Bastar which was known as Kanta, Mahakanta and Chakrakuta or Chakrakotya in different ages.

The inscriptive evidences suggest that the kings of Kosala and Kalinga ruled over Bastar under the vassalages of the Vakatakas during the 7th century A.D. It may be assumed that Vakataka Narendrasena, who was being prayed by the lords of Kosala, Mekala and Malava, occupied the Bastar-Koraput

151. Balaghat Copper Plates, op.cit.
region. It should be noted that the Sihawa tract of the present Raipur district (which formed a part of South Kosala) was within the territory of former Bastar State till 1930. It was Nala Bhavadattavarma who not only expelled Narendrasena from Bastar-Koraput region but conquered Vakataka-territories as well.

Soon after the death of Bhavadattavarma the Bastar region again passed into the hands of the Vakatakas. Prthvíšena regained the lost territories of Vakatakas by depriving Arthapati of his dominion. Mirashi opines that Arthapati was driven away from Vidarbh by Prthvíšena II.

Vakataka Harisena was responsible to exterminate Nalas from Puskarī. According to Yazdani and Krishna Rao, Harisena captured Nala-territory during the reign of Skandavarma or shortly afterwards. However, the author is inclined to suggest that Harisena launched his successful military expedition over Nala kingdom during the reign of Arthapati.

The Vakataka paramountcy over the Bastar country came to an end after the death of Harisena as none of his successors proved himself competent enough to manage the task successfully.

153. E.I., XXVI, p. 52.
SECTION II: SOME DYNASTIES IN BASTAR

BASTAR AND THE SOMAVAMI PANDUVAMI
KINGS OF SOUTH KOALA

The Somavami Panduvami kings, ruling over South Kosala, extended their sway as far as Bastar-Koraput in South. It is interesting to note that the early rulers of this dynasty call themselves Panduvami while the later rulers have been referred to as Somavami in their records. It has been suggested that the Somavami Kings of Grissa were the successors of Mahasivagurta Balarjuna of South Kosala.

The chronology of the early rulers of this dynasty is a matter of controversy. In case the reign of Tivardeva, the third in the genealogical order, is ascertained in the second half of the sixth century A.D., beginning of the dynasty's rule may be placed in the early sixth century. However, Mirashi and D.C. Sirsrar assign Tivardeva to the later half of the 6th century A.D. Hiralal and A. Ghosh place him in the 7th century while Kielhorn, Fleet, D.R. Bhandarkar and R.D. Banerjee assign him to the 8th century A.D. According to M.G. Dixit, Tivardeva flourished in 9th century A.D. A.M. Shastri is inclined to opine that Tivardeva's reign began at the closing years of the sixth century, A.D.

155. E.I., VII, pp. 106 ff; Baloda Plates of Tivardeva,

(b) Malhar Plates of Mahasivagurta, Prachya Pratibha, Vol. V, I, p. 51 - वध करते है नाम वाले नाम आबाद शस्त्र पक्त;

158. E.I., X, p. 84.
Indrabala, the son of Udayana is supposed to be the founder of Panduvamśi-rule. B.P. Sinha and Mirashi hold that Indrabala served as Mahāsāṅkucita or Sarvākhārābhikṣita (Chief Minister) under Sarabhapuriya king Sudevarāja. He proclaimed independency during the regime of Pravararāja, the successor of Sudevarāja.

It may be conjectured that Bastar region was occupied by Panduvamśi king Nanmaraja at the close of 5th century and the beginning of 6th century A.D. It appears that the immediate successor of Nala Skandavarmaṇa, ruling over Bastar-Korapur country, sustained a reverse at the hands of Nanmaraja. Hereafter, Nalas ruled as subordinate kings to the Panduvamśis till the latter were supplanted by Chalukya Pulkesin II, sometime before 634 A.D. However, Panduvamśis' suzerainty over Bastar-Korapur came to an end, even earlier, with the Nalas' ouster from Puskari by Kīrtivarman I (567-97 A.D.)

As pointed out earlier the Somavamśi rulers of Suvarnapura in Orissa are supposed to be the successors of Panduvamśi-Somavamśi kings of South Kosala. It has been suggested that Somavamśis had their paramountcy over Chakrakūta (Bastar-Korapur) in the first quarter of the 11th century A.D. According to this view Sakkarkottam (Chakrakūta) was

comprised within the kingdom of Indraratha, who was defeated by Rajendra Chela I (1014-40 A.D.)\textsuperscript{164}. According to D.C. Sirkari, Indraratha was the Somavamsi king of Yavatnagara.\textsuperscript{165} However, Panigrahi differs with the above view and holds that Indraratha was a local ruler of Oddra Desa.\textsuperscript{166}

The Somavamsi kings of former Kanker State (now a part of Bastar district) trace their origin from Orissa. According to the traditions, prevalent in the former Rai family of Kanker, their first ancestor migrated from Orissa at about 1093 A.D. (Epigraphia Indica, IX, p. 124, 134.

**BASTAR AND THE RAŚTRAKUTAS**

The Bastar-Koraput region, acquired by Kirtivarman I from the Nalas of Puskari, continued to remain within the Chalukyan territory till the first half of the 8th century A.D. After that Raśtrakuta Dantidurga (c.754-58 A.D.) extended his power in this part of the country at the expense of his former masters - Chalukyas. As is evidenced by Samangada inscription, Dantidurga overthrew the yoke of Chalukya sovereignty before 754 A.D.\textsuperscript{167}

It appears that both Dantidurga and his successor Krisna I defeated Chalukya Kirtivarman II in their turns.\textsuperscript{168}

\textsuperscript{165} JBORS, XXI, p. 206.
\textsuperscript{166} Chronology of Bhaumkar and Somavamsi of Orissa, p. 34.
\textsuperscript{167} Samangada Inscription; I.A., 9, p. 111.
\textsuperscript{168} Pandeya, V.C.; Prachin Bharata Ka Itihasa (250-1200 A.D.), pp. 501-02.
The Rastrakutas emerged as paramount power in South during the reign of Dhruva and Govinda III. The successors of Dantidurga may have ruled in Bastar region till Krishna II was supplanted by Chalukya Vijayaditya III.

It may be assumed that the present Bastar region formed a part of the dominion of Govinda III who's paramountcy extended in the neighbouring countries of Kosala, Kalinga and Oddra. His successor Krishna II inherited vast territories including Bastar. Chalukya Vijayaditya III burnt Bastar (Chakrakuta) in his military expeditions launched against Krishna II, because it formed a part of the latter's kingdom.

Soon after the death of Vijayaditya III (c.844-88 A.D.) Krishna II regained his lost territories with the help of Kalachuri Sankargana. The tug of war continued in between Chalukyas and the Rastrakutas. The Bastar-Koraput region saw a succession of short-term rule of the Rastrakutas, till the first quarter of the 11th century, when the country passed into the hands of the Sindaka Nagas.

D.C. Sircar is inclined to suggest that the Naga rulers of Chakrakuta were the feudatories of the Rastrakutas. The names of the Naga rulers such as Bharavaraha and Kanbar-
also suggest their close association with the Rastrakutas.  

BASTAR AND THE GANGAS

The traditions around Barsura in Bastar district relate that the Gangas ruled over the present areas of Dantewara tahsil including Kuakonda, Katakalyana and Barsura. According to the tradition, a Ganga King of Jagannathpuri appointed a illegitimate son of his as his crown prince. The legitimate sons of the king, five in number, expressed their annoyance by leaving their parental kingdom. One of them, along with his nephew and followers occupied the Barsura region of Bastar district.

A similar story is prevalent among the members of the former Rai-family of Kanker. The former princely state of Kanker is comprised within the Bastar district. According to the story, the other successors of the Puri King, who declared his illegitimate son as his successor, quitted the place, reached the wild tracts of Chhattisgarh and ruled over the local tribes.

A variant of the above story is that the Puri King suffering from leprosy reached Jhawa in Raipur district after giving up the throne. Cured with the water of a spring at Jhawa he was installed ruler of that country by the local

170. Bastar Bhrusana, p. 129.
171. E.I., IX, pp. 124, 184.
The traditions relate that the architects accompanying the Ganga prince constructed a number of shrines and ponds at Barasura. The loftiest and best among the shrines erected by his own nephew somehow made the king jealous and worried. The king who was afraid of his competent, popular and ambitious nephew conspired to kill him. But the latter somehow, smelled it and took the initiative to kill the king himself. Later, the stone-model of the head of his uncle-king was placed on the top of the temple erected by him.\(^{173}\)

A village Gangalūr (Ganga + Ur = meaning the village of the Ganga), in the Bijapur revenue inspector's circle, is situated in a close proximity of Barasura. Besides, the art-relics of Barasura and Tirathgarh in Bastar (where Gangas are said to have ruled) has much affinity with that of the Eastern India.

The traditions prevalent in various parts of Bastar and the other evidences mentioned above, suggest that a branch of Ganga kings ruled over some parts of Bastar at least for some period.

The Bilāigāra copper plate of Kalachuri Prthvīdeva II (A.D. 1135-65) records that Prthvīdeva II invaded and

\(^{172}\) E.I., IX, pp. 124, 124.
\(^{173}\) Bastar Bhūsana, pp. 129-30.
destroyed Chaktrakuta (Bastar). The Ganga king terrorised
with the invasion opted to flee across the sea. It may
be conjectured that the Ganga king, referred to in the record
was ruling over some part of the Chaktrakuta (Bastar).
Otherwise he would have not bothered about this invasion
over Chaktrakuta. It appears quite plausible that the
Gangas occupying the major part of Orissa extended their
paramountcy over a part of the adjacent country of Bastar.

The literary and the epigraphic sources indicate the connection of the Parmaras with Chakrakuta (Bastar-Koraput). The Navasahsāṅka--charita of Pādmapaṇḍita states that Paramara king Sindhuraja married Sasiprabha, the daughter of Sankhapāla, a Nāgar king of Bhogavati.\textsuperscript{175} It is evident from the description of the Navasahsāṅkacharita that Sindhuraja conquered South Kosala.\textsuperscript{176} The association of Sindhuraja, the sovereign of South Kosala, with the adjoining region of Bastar seems to be quite plausible. The Nāga-king Sankhapāla of Bhogavati may be identified with the Nāga ruler of Chakrakuta (Bastar).

It may be conjectured, and conjectured only, that the Bhoja Parmara captured some portion of Bastar during his military expedition of South India, launched against Chalukya-Tāḷapaka. Defeating Indraratha of Adinagara in Orissa, he would have subjugated the adjacent region of the present Bastar district.\textsuperscript{177}

R.B. Hiralal opines that Parmara king Laksmanaratna

\textsuperscript{175} Navasahsāṅkacharita, pp. 159 ff.

\textsuperscript{176} a) Ibid, Purandhraya, 10, p. 161.

\textsuperscript{177} Udaipur Prasasti, E.I., I, pp. 222-38.
heading towards south, after reducing the Kalachuris of Tripuri to submit, sustained heavy defeat at the hands of Kulottunga Chola at Bastar. 178

The Jayanāda inscription records that the king of Kākaraya was subdued by Jagadeva. 179 Jagadeva joined hands with Paramāra Jayasimha and Chalukya Vikramaditya VI in a military expedition against their enemies. It appears that the king of Kākaraya (present Kānkēr of Bastar district) was defeated by Jagadeva during the above mentioned expedition.

Thus, it is evident that Paramāras extended their sway in Bastar-region during the early medieval period.

178 M.P. Iti., p. 39.
179 E.I., XXII, p. 54.
Western Chalukya Kirtivarman I is said to have destroyed the NILAYA (abode) of the Nalas.¹⁸⁰ The Pușkari (Poțiagadh, in Koraput district of Orissa) is supposed to be the NILAYA of the Nalas.

It appears that Kirtivarman I (A.D. 567-97) ousted Nalas from Pușkari and annexed the present Bastar-Koraput districts to his kingdom - during the later part of the 6th century A.D. Gradually, Chalukyas became the supreme lord of South Kosala and Chakrakuta (Bastar - Koraput) as they overpowered Pânduvamsis.

In all probabilities Bastar-Koraput country passed to the hands of the Rāstrakūtas during the later part of the 8th century A.D. when Rāstrakūta Dantidurga extirpated Chalukya Kirtivarman II.¹⁸¹ The suzerainty of western Chalukyas of Badami came to an end, when Rāstrakūta Krīṣṇa I again subdued Kirtivarmana II. According to the Chalukyan records it was Kirtivarman who carried away the fortune of the family.¹⁸²

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¹⁸⁰ Aihole Inscription, E.I., VI, p. 4.
¹⁸¹ Samangada Inscription, I.A., 9, p. 111.
¹⁸² तद्दौ विनिमयिण्यः कोऽस्मि वाचल्यः।
पैन चापुज्जयरः ककिक्षत्वायिणि-मृदू मुनिः॥
The Chalukyas of Vengi conquered Chakrakuta (Bastar-Korapur) in the later part of the 9th century A.D. The Pithapuram inscription of Mallapadeva states that Chalukya king Vijayaditya III of Vengi (A.D. 949-92) burnt Chakrakuta along with other countries and defeated Sankaragana (Sankila), Krishna II, and Mangiraja.183 Time and again Chalukyas of Vengi were expelled from Chakrakuta by the Rastrakutas till it was occupied by the Nagas in the first quarter of the 11th century.

The later western Chalukyas reoccupied the country of Chakrakuta in the 11th century. The Nander inscription, (dated 1047 A.D.) records that Nagavarma, the general of Chalukya Somesvara I, destroyed the pride of Chakrakuta Kalakuta Dharavrasha.184 The Kalakuta Dharavrasha of the above record may be identified with the Naga-king Dharavrasha of Chakrakuta.185

The conquest of Vikramaditya VI, the successor of Chalukya Somesvara I, over Chakrakuta has been recorded in Vikramankadevacharita.186 The episode is further corroborated by the tradition prevalent in village Bastar, that one of the extant mediaeval temples has been erected by king Vikramaditya.

186 Vikramankadeva Charita, 1 - 29, 30.
Vikramaditya of the tradition may be identified with Chalukya Vikramaditya VI.

It appears that Vikramaditya VI did not annex Bastar to his dominion and the Nagas reestablished themselves as soon as the former turned his back. In all probabilities Vikramaditya VI defeated Dhāravāraṇa.
THE CHOLAS

The Cholas, mentioned in the Asokan edicts as well as in the epics and the Puranas, occupied an important kingdom which played an unique role in the ancient Indian annals. They had reestablished their sovereignty in South during the later part of the 9th century A.D. They had hostile relations with western Chalukyas. Kundawai, the daughter of Rājrāja Chola was married to Vimalāditya, the younger brother of Eastern Chalukya Saktivarman.

Rajendra I, the successor of Rājarāja was the first Chola king who occupied Sakkarkotṭam (Chakrakuta - Bastar). It has been suggested that the Chakrakuta was liquidated by him during 1028 A.D.

It appears that after the reign of Rajendra Chola I, the Bastar region passed to the hands of western Chalukya Somesvara I. The latter not only expelled the Chola army from his kingdom but also subdued Chola Rajaraja and Dharavarsha. Soon after, Rajendra Chola II achieved victory over Somesvara I. We donot have any record indicating the supremacy of Rajendra Chola II over Bastar. The Chālukya monarch

187 E.I., IX, p. 233.
188 E.I., IX, p. 233.
189 a) E.H.D., op. cit.
   b) Vikramāṅkadeva Charita, op. cit.
sustained a reverse at the hands of Vīra Rajendra Chola (1064–70 A.D.) in the battles at Baijwāda and Tungabhadrā. Cholas regained the Chakrakuta-territory.\footnote{\textit{E.I., XXI, p. 226; South Indian Inscriptions, III, p. 70.}}

The literary and the epigraphic evidences indicate that the Chakrakuta-region saw a succession of invasions from south during the 11th - 12th centuries. Though the Sinda Naga kings of Bastar had not acknowledged Chola-Chalukya suzerainty, it may be concluded that the early Nagas ruled over Bastar under the vassalage of the Cholas and the Chālukyas.
THE KALACHURIS OF RATANPUR AND BASTAR

The Kalachuris of Ratanpur and the Nagas of Chakrakuta were the natural enemies for they were ruling in the adjoining principalities. Besides, they inherited it from their predecessors. The predecessors of the Nagas were subordinates to the Chalukyas of Kalyani, while the other dynasty acknowledged the suzerainty of the Kalachuris of Dehala. 191

According to his Ratanpur inscription, Jajalladeva I subdued and captured Somesvara, his ministers and family members. Later, they were set free on the request of the king's own mother. 192 The Somesvara of this epigraph has been identified with Nagavamsi Somesvaradeva of Chakrakuta. D.C. Sircar 193 and B.C. Majumdar 194 identify this Somesvara with Kumara Somesvara of Sonapur grant. Their assumption appears to be untenable.

The inscripntional and Numismatic evidences are indicative of Jajalladeva's rule over Chakrakuta. The Kuruspal inscription of the Naga-king Somesvaradeva records his victory over South Kosala including Ratanpur. 195

192 E.I., I., p. 38.
193 Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society of India, 44, p. 6
194 E.I., XII, p. 23 ff.
195 Ibid., X, p. 29, 31 ff.
Jajalladeva I (A.D. 1090-1115) and Naga Somesvaradeva (A.D. 1069-1109) were contemporaries. As suggested by the latter’s inscription they were in feud. Both of the kings claims their overlordship over one another. This leads one to assume that Somesvara, referred to in the Ratanpur epigraph of Jajalladeva I, was no other than Somesvaradeva of Chakrakuta.

It appears that Naga Somesvaradeva acquired a part of Kalachuri dominion during his early reign. His paramountcy over Ratanpur Lanji and Lavana, (comprised within the Kalchuri territory) is evident from the Kuruspal inscription. Jajalladeva I, in his turn, did not remain satisfied with the reoccupation of the lost territories, but appears to have captured Somesvaradeva with his ministers and family members. His suzerainty over Bastar is attested to by his gold coins found at Narayanpāl in Bastar district. Narayanpāl, the famous temple site of the Naga-period, is located at the distance of 33 kms. from Jagdalpur. The coins, 8 in number, are of the common variety. These coins bearing the legend "Sri-mad Jajalladeva" were found at Narayanpāl in the year, 1975.\(^{196}\)

\(^{196}\) Coins registered under the head LAVAR DE MAL (Registration No. 9/75) at the Tahsil office Jagdalpur, are deposited in the district treasury, Jagdalpur, Bastar.

\(^{111}\) See Prachya Patrika, Vol. 1, No. 2, P 101, Plate IV.
Kalachuri Prthvideva II (A.D. 1135-65) was also in feud with the Nagas of Chakrakuta.\textsuperscript{197} His general Jagapala-
deva liquidated parts of the Naga-territories. Bhramaravadra and Kakaraya mentioned in the Rajim inscription of Jagapala-
deva have been identified with Bhramarakōtya and Kākār.\textsuperscript{198} Bhramarakōtya, forming a part of present Bastar district has been referred to in the Rajapur copper plate of Madhurantaka-
deva, the Naga-king\textsuperscript{199} of Bastar. Similarly, Kākār is also comprised in Bastar district.

It appears that the Naga-king of Chakrakuta who suffered defeat at the hands of Kalachuri king and his general soon retrieved his position.

\textsuperscript{197} Utkirna lekha, No. 18, verse 18.


\textsuperscript{199} E.I., IX, pp. 176, 180.
SECTION III: MEDIEVAL PERIOD

THE SIND NAGAS OF BASTAR

The first known Naga-ruler of Bastar - Nagavamsi Maharaja Nripatibhusana - has been placed in the first quarter of the 11th century A.D. He is referred in the Errakote inscription dated 1023 A.D. 200 Jagadekbhusana Maharaja Narasimhadeva of Dantewara pillar inscription may be regarded the last ruling king of the dynasty. 201 The above inscription, dated Saka year 1147 (1224 A.D.), is supposed to be the latest record of the Nagavamsis of Bastar. 202 The history of the Naga-dynasty after Narasimhadeva is obscure.

According to Hiralal, Harischandra deva of Temra Sati stone inscription, dated Saka year 1246 (A.D. 1324), was the descendent of the Naga rulers of Bastar. 203

The Antiquity of the Naga of Bastar:

It appears that Nagas were occupying a part of Bastar before the advent of the rule of the famous Sinda Nagas of Chakrakuta. The Navasaahasanka charita records the marriage of Parmara Sindhuraja (A.D. 995-1000) with Tasibrabh, the daughter of Naga king Sankhapala. 204 Sankhapala, the lord

201-202 Ibid., p. 150-51; S.I., X, p. 40
204 Navasaahasankaharita, pp. 159 ff.
of Bhogavati, is supposed to be the predecessors of the Śinda Nagas of Chakrakuta. Probably Chakrakuta was under the rule of the Nagas during the invasion of Rajendra Chola I (1014-1044 A.D.). P.K. Bhattacharyya is inclined to suggest that Maśuni - Desam, mentioned in Tirumali Inscription was a part of Bastar. According to him the Nagas of Maśuni Desa were the predecessors of Śinda Naga rulers of Bastar.205

It may be assumed that this part of the country was under the rule of the Nagas even before the 10th century A.D. The Bhaumakara king Santikara-lalitahara I (829 A.D.) married Tribhuvana Mahādevī, the daughter of Nagavamsi king Rajamalla or Rāisalla of the Southern country (Dakṣīṇa-mukha-tīlakā). K.C. Panigrahi206 and D.C. Sircar208 identify this Rajamalla with Western Ganga king Rajamalla I and with Rajamalla II, the predecessor of Irmadi Rāimalla respectively.

Tribhuvana Mahādevī, the daughter of Rajamalla, has been called Śinda Gaurī which is a synonym of a tiger's daughter.209 The original ancestor of the Naga-dynasty brought up on the milk of a tigress, was regarded like a tiger.210

205 Historical Geography of Madhya Pradesh, p. 131.
208 Journal of Indian History, XXXIV, p. 298.
209 Sircar, D.C., E.I. XXIX, p. 83.
210 Mysore Inscriptions, p. 60.
The descendant of such ancestor is ably styled SINDAGAURI.

In all probabilities, Nagavamsi Rajamalla of DAKSHINACHALA was ruling over Chakrakuta during the first half of the 9th century A.D. Probably his successors witnessed the burning of Chakrakuta by Eastern Chalukya Vijayaditya III (A.D. 849-92). 211

The Naga-dynasty of Bastar is said to be connected with the Sānd family of Yelburga. Both the dynasties claim to be Nagavamsadôbhava, and the lord of Bhogavati. The Nagas of Bastar had two distinct branches. The one, represented by Dharavarsha, Somavaradēva and others had tiger and a calf as the crest. They had the snake-banner. The branch claims to be the Nagavamsi of KASYAPA GOTRA, and the lord of Bhogavati. It should be regarded as the main branch:

...NAGAVAMSODBHAVA - BHOGAVATIPURVARAVARA
SAYATSA - VYÄGHA L Anchhana - KASYAPA GOTRA. 212

Madhurantakadeva of the other branch, ruling over Bhramarkotya mandala, had same birudas, but his lanchhana (crest) was Dhanur-vyäghra (bow and tiger). The lotus flower and plaintain leaf (KAMALA-KADALI) was his banner — DHANUR-VYÄGHRA Lanchhana ... ERAYAT - OPRAI - LABDA - LAMBA - KAMALA - KADALI DHVAJA. 213

211 E.I., IX, p. 178; I.A., 1884, p. 50.
212 E.I., IX, p. 314.
213 Ibid., p. 179.
It seems that Madhurantakdeva of the second branch was closely related to the main branch.

It has been suggested that Nripatibhusana, the first known ruler of the dynasty, accompanied Rajendra Chola I in his military expedition to Chakrakuta (Bastar) and settled down there as the latter's subordinate. But it is not supported by any historical evidence. On the other hand, Nagavansi king Sankhapala, mentioned in Navasahsankacharita, and Nagavansi Rajamalla of the Dhenkanal plates may be assumed as Nagavansi kings of Chakrakuta. Thus, it may be conjectured that Nagas had their paramountcy over Chakrakuta even before Rajendra I invaded this region.

The Nagas of Chakrakuta served as feudatories to Rastrakutas, Chalukyas and Cholas one after another. The Samangada inscription\(^214\) and the Pithapuram inscription of Mallapadeva\(^215\) suggest Rastrakuta's suzerainty over Bastar. (Chalukya Vijayaditya III burnt Chakrakuta (E.I. IV, 266) only because it was within the Rastrakuta territory). According to D.C. Sircar, the similarity of the names of the Naga kings Dharavarsha and Kanhara with those of the Rastraka\(^\text{tu}\) kings is suggestive of former's subordinate position under the Rastrakutas.\(^216\) Western Chalukya Somesvara I and

\(^{214}\) I.A., 9, p. 111.

\(^{215}\) E.I.IV, p. 266; I.A., 1884, p. 50.

\(^{216}\) Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society of India, 44, p. 2-3.
Vikramaditya VI also ruled over Chakrakuta with Nagavamsis as their subordinates. Similarly, the Chola records are also indicative of their supremacy over the Nagas.

So far names of eight Nagavamsi rulers have been known through epigraphic and numismatic records. Harischandradeva of the Temrā Sati Stone Inscription is supposed to be a descendant of Nagas of Chakrakuta. But, as the epigraph does not mention as to which dynasty he belonged, his relation with the Nagas remains uncertain.

COINS:

A hoard containing 23 gold-coins of the Naga kings of Chakrakuta has been found at Kodinga in Koraput district of Orissa. 220 26 coins of the hoard bear the name of Rajabhusana and one each of Prapaganda Bhairava and Rapabhusana in old Telugu script of 11th, 12th centuries. The sword as a śīla, flanked with dots, and a tiger have been depicted on almost every coin. It is worth mentioning that these symbols occur in the inscriptions of the Naga kings of Bastar.

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218 E.I., IX, p. 233; Ibid., XXI, p. 236; South Indian Inscriptions, III, p. 70.


220 CHRJ, VIII, I, pp. 75-82.
Rajabhūsana of the coins may be identified either with Rajabhūsana Dharavāra or with his son Rajabhūsana Rayabhūsana Somesvaradeva of the Naga-inscriptions. It appears that like Rajabhūsana and Rayabhūsana, Ranabhūsana was also one of the cognomens of Somesvaradeva. In all probabilities the coin bearing the legend Ranabhūsana was also issued by Somesvaradeva. Prapaganda Bhairava of the coin may be identified with Pratiganda Bhairava Somesvaradeva of Narayanpal inscription.

The Chronology:

According to H. Krishna Sastri and Dr. B.C. Jain, Dharavāra, mentioned in the Barsur Inscription (1060 A.D.), is a cognomen of king Jagdekbhusana of the same epigraph. Rajaguru holds that Dharavāra and Jagdekbhusana of the Nagavamsi records are two different rulers of Chakrakuta. His view appears to be more convincing. The following chronological table of the Nagavamsi kings of Chakrakuta has been prepared by him.

221 Narayanpal Inscription of Gunda Mahādevī, E.I., IX, p.314.
222 a) Ibid.
223 E.I. IX, p. 314.
   b) Utkirna lekha, pp. 29-31.
Nripatibhusana (Saka 945)
Jagdekbhusana (S. 983)
Madhurantakadeo (S. 987)
Kanhardeo I
Rajabhūsana I
alias
Pratigandhabhairava
alias
Somasvaradeo, queen - Ganga Mahadevi (S. 1010)
Dharna Mahadevi (S. 991)
Kanhardeo II (S. 1033)
Rajabhūsana II (son)
Jayasimha
Jagdekbhusana III
alias
Narasimhadeva (SS. 1140 - 1147)
Harishanchandradeo (S. 1246)

The chronology suggested by Rajaguru has not been accepted entirely. The epigraphic and numismatic evidences indicate that Jagdekbhusana was not an epithet of Dhāravarga. They were the two different rulers instead. The Barsura inscription226 (S. 983) and the Potinar inscription227 (S. 983) record the grant of villages and the construction of temple and tank by Mahāmandalēśvara Chandrāditya Mahārāja during the reign of Jagdekbhusana Mahārāja of the Nagavamsa. It may be

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226 Madras Report on Epigraphy for 1908-09, p. 111 ff.;
noted that no epithet or cognomen has been attached with Jagadekabhusana in the above records.

The following evidences would show that Jagadekabhusana was different from Dhāravarsa:

1. Not a single epigraph, issued during the regime of Jagadekabhusana, mention his epithet as Dhāravarsa. On the other hand, Dhāravarsa bears the epithet of Rajabhusana is evident from the Narayanapala inscription of Gundamahadevi and the Kuraspūl inscription.

2. In Bārsura inscription (S. 983), the feudatory chief Chandraditya acknowledges the suzerainty of Maharāja Jagadekabhusana of Nāgavamsa. Again, the same epigraph records the purchase of a village - Govardhanandū - by Maharāja Chandraditya from king Dhāravarsa. According to the epigraph, the transaction took place in the presence of the ruling king. The point to be noted is that a king mentioned as Maharāja Jagadekabhusana in one verse cannot be referred with the epithetical name of Dhāravarsa in another verse of one and the same inscription unless it (Dhāravarsa) carries some meaning.

3. Purchasing of a village by a feudatory chief from his own lord appears to be odd and untenable.

228 E.I., IX, p. 314.
229 E.I., X, p. 25 ff.
4. The coins of Koldinga-hoard, bearing the legends such as 'Rajabhushana', 'Ranabhushana' and 'Prapagandabhairava', suggest that Rajabhushana (Dhăravarṣa) was an independent ruler having issued his own currency. Likewise, Jagadekabhūsana was also an independent ruler. Hence, Jagadekabhūsana cannot be identified with Rajabhushana (Dhăravarṣa) of the Koldinga-hoard.

I feel inclined to suggest that king Dharavarṣa referred to in the Bārsur epigraph of Chamdraditya was also serving as feudal chief to Jagadekabhūsana Maharaja of Naga-dynasty. He has been referred to as a king in the epigraph because he was also of the status of Chamdraditya. Chamdraditya, the feudal lord, has also been recorded as Maharaja Chamindrity in the same epigraph.

In fact, Dharavarṣa preceded Jagadekabhushana as a sovereign of Chakrakuta later, Dharavarṣa was somehow overpowered by Jagadekabhūsana and was reduced to rule as his subordinate.

If we place Dharavarṣa before Jagadekabhushana, the vast gap between Nripatibhusana (A.D. 1023) and Jagadekabhushana (A.D. 1060) can very well be filled in. Besides, the verse - CHAKRAKUTA KALAKUTA DHARAVARṢA DARPṬPĀDANAH - in Nander (Hyderabad) inscription clearly indicates that Dharavarṣa was ruling over Chakrakuta in the year 1047 A.D., the date on which the epigraph was issued.230


* Three copper plates, published recently by Ch. Tripathi (Prachya Pratibhasa Vol. 5, 1963), Plates V and VI, bear the legend - "Nipatibhusana Jagadekabhushana Maharaja, the Plates are dated in Saka year 285 (A.D. 1063)."
The Dynastic History of the Nagas of Bastar:

The political, social and religious history of the Nagas has been reconstructed mainly on the basis of the inscriptions. In all 21 inscriptions and one copper plate, of the Naga kings of Bastar have been found so far. The economic condition of the period may be speculated on the basis of their coins found.

Nripatibhusana:

Nripatibhusana is the first known Nagavamsi king of Bastar. We have only one record which mentions the name of this Naga ruler. As the record in itself is incomplete, we do not get any information about his reign. The epigraph dated Saka year 948 (A.D. 1023) has been found at Errakot, about 16 kms. from Jagdalpur.

It may be speculated that probably it was Nripatibhusana who had to face the invasion of Rajendra Chola I. In all probabilities he served as feudatory chief to the Chola monarch. The duration of his tenure is not known. It appears that he was followed by Dhāravarsa who was ruling over Chakrakutā certainly before A.D. 1047. Hence, the tentative data

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231 The Kesarpala inscription of Jayasimhadeva, reported recently, has also been included in the list.


of Nripatibhusana may be ascertained in between the third-fourth decades of the 11th century A.D.

Rajabhushana Dharavarśa:

Three of the Nāgavamsi epigraphs refer about Dharavarśa. According to the Nārāyanpala inscription and the Kurupāla inscription of Somesvaradeva, Rajabhusana was an epithet of the king Dharavarśa, the father of Somesvaradeva.234

... SRIHAD RAJABHUSANA MAHARAJA DHARAVARSADEVA...

Some of the gold-coins of the Kodingā-hoard, bearing the legend Rajabhusana may be attributed to this king. Dharavarśa has been identified with Maharāja Jagadekabhusana of Barsur inscription (1060 A.D.) by H.K. Sastri235 and B.C. Jain.236 But, as pointed out earlier, this identification appears to be untenable.

It may be conjectured that Dharavarśa succeeded Nripatibhusana sometime after 1023 A.D. Presumably he ascended the throne after the invasion of Rajendrachola I. Its a matter of speculation whether he ruled as subordinate king of the Cholas or as an independent sovereign. In case, some of the coins of Kodingā-hoard are attributed to him.

234 E.I., IX, p. 314; Ibid., X, p. 25 ff.
(which is likely to be) his independent status may be assumed. However, he sustained a reverse at the hands of Nāgavarman, the general of Chalukya Somesvara I during 1047 A.D.237 It appears that Dharavarsa proclaimed independency as soon as Nāgavarman turned his back. Once again, he was subdued by Chalukya - Vikramādiya VI during his military expeditions at about 1055 A.D.238 This time, Dharavarsa was not only reduced to submit, but was compelled to serve under the suzerainty of Jagadekabhusana. It has been speculated that Vikramādiya VI, having been helped by Jagadekabhusana, against Dharavarsa, appointed the former to coordinate king at Chakkakuta.

Thus Chakkakuta passed into the hands of one who was not a successful heir. This assumption is further corroborated by the Gangala inscription of Somesvaradeo, where it has been stated that Somesvaradeva claimed to be the hereditary king of Chakkakuta.239

In addition to these evidences it may be assumed that Dharavarsa, though being the Chalukya conqueror, failed to retrieve his independent position as feudatory chief of Jagadekabhusana, and consequently to the Chalukyas. He has been mentioned as Dharavarsa in Barasa epigraph (1060 -

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A.D.) which refers itself to the reign of Mahārāja Jagadeka-
bhusana of the Sind Naga family. This shows that Dharavarsa
was alive in the year 1050.

According to the Narayanpāl inscription Gunda Mahadevi
was his wife and Someśvaradeva was his son. He was a devout
worshipper of Śiva.240 His wife Gundamahādevi was a follower
of Vaishṇava Pantheon.

His tenure as a reigning king may be ascertained in
between A.D. 1047 - 1055. The time of his death is not known.

**Jagadekabhusana:**

Mahārāja Jagadekabhusana succeeded Dharavarsa as the
former was deposed from the throne by Chalukya kings.
Probably, he occupied the Naga-throne after 1055 A.D. with
the help of Chalukya Vikramaditya VI. He ruled under the
Vassalage of the Chalukyas till the advent of the reign of
Madhurāntakadeva.

Excepting two epigraphs, issued by his feudatory chief
Chandrāditya, we do not have anything to record his reign.*
According to the inscriptions Barasuru (present Bāṣura)

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240 E.I., IX, p. 314, verses 4-5, 8-9.

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... विश्वविश्वम् परशुस्म गमयं दशमां वराण... 
   धारावर्ण महेश्वर अयं पारितुष्य त्रांगणा
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* The incomplete and undated Bhairamgarh inscription (DLICPB,
p. 186) stating about one Mahārāja Jagadekabhusana of Naga-
vamsa may be attributed to this king.

Three copper plates from Bhairamgarh (Prachiya Pratibha, Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 34) also
belong to the reign of Jagadekabhusana.
was the capital of this king. Although he was ruling as subordinate to the later Western Chālukyas his kingdom comprised a vast territory, which was being looked after by two feudatory chiefs namely Maharāja Chamrāditya and Maharāja Dharavarsa. It appears that Madhurāntakadeva, who succeeded him, was probably his son.

As the coins of Jagdeka-bhūṣana and his successor Madhurāntakadeva have not been found so far, it may be speculated that both of them refrained from issuing their currency owing to their subordinate position. They may be regarded the kings of second branch of the Nagavamsis in Chakrakuta.

Madhurāntakadeva was ruling over Chakrakuta in 1065 A.D. is evident from his Ṛajapura copper plates. So the regime of Jagdeka-bhūṣana may be placed in between A.D. 1055 to 1065.

Madhurāntakadeva:

Jagdeka-bhūṣana was succeeded by Madhurāntakadeva. He may be regarded the son of the former. The date of his accession is not known. Ṛajapur copper plates is the only record which throws light on his activities.

At the accession of this king the position of the ruling house appears to have changed considerably. It appears that soon after the death of Jagdeka-bhūṣana, Somesvaradeva,
captured the major part of Chakrakūta and cornered Madhuran-
takadeva in to the small principality of Bhramarkotya Mandala.

"Yavach = Chandras = Cha Suryas = Cha yavat tishthati
medini Yavat = tu Bhramarākotya rāja - Vamso = pi
tavat."

Madhuranatakadeva belonged to the separate branch of the
Nāgavamsi kings of Chakrakūta. His crest was tiger and bow, and
the banner lotus and plaintain. The other branch, represented
by Dharavarsa, Somesvaradeva and others, had a tiger-calf crest,
and snake-banner.

The political activities of this king are not known.
It appears that he ruled for a very short spell of time.
According to his charter, Madhuranataka deva was a devout
follower of Saiva pantheon and was devoted to Rama. "- Mahā-
Mahēsvara Charana - Kamala Sevī... Siva nirmāyam vaditaṁ
... Vanarasyaṁ Sahra linga bhagane..."

and

Sarvan evam bhavinaḥ pṛthivendraḥ bhuro bhu yachate
Ramachandram."

According to the charter he was a cheritable king and
showed compassion towards all creatures.

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242 E.I., IX, Rajapur copper plates, p. 179-80, verses 4,
17-18.
243 Ibid., verses 22-23.

As indicated by the Kuruspal epigraph Madhurantakadeva was killed in battle-field by Somesvaradeva, the son of Dhāravarsa. The incident took place sometime after A.D. 1065 (the date of the grant of Rajapura copper plates of Madhurantakadeva) and before 1069. The first known epigraph of the reign of Somesvaradeva is dated 1069 A.D. 244

Somesvaradeva:

Somesvaradeva, the foremost ruler of the Naga-dynasty of Bastar was the son of Dhāravarsa. After having slain Madhurantakadeva he acquired the sovereignty of Chakrakuta of which he claimed to be the hereditary ruler. 245 It appears that Somesvaradeva ascended the throne sometime in between A.D. 1065 - 1069. It is highly probable that he joined hands with Vīra Rajendra Chola in subduing the allied forces of the Chālukya king and Madhurantakadeva, who continued to rule over Chakrakūta under the vassalage of Chālukyas, after Jagdekabhusana.

244 Kuruspal Inscription of Dharamamahadevi, E.I., X, p.31ff.
245 Kuruspal Inscription of Somesvaradeva, E.I., X, p. 25ff.
This episode seems to be corroborated by Tirummukkudal inscription of Vira Rajendra Chola, which credit the Chola king with the destruction of the large Chalukya army at Chakrakuta; His chief feudatories at Chhakkrokottam and destroyed by heavy fire the elephant (forces) of the Chalukya king which appeared in great numbers at Chhakkrokottam in the north.

(Tirummukkudal Inscription, Verse 3)²⁴⁶

The Chalukya monarch defeated by Vira Rajendra Chola and Somesvaradeo Naga may be identified with Chalukya Somesvara I, who was an arch enemy of the Cholas. The Tirummukkudal inscription, issued on the 6th regnal year of Vira Rajendra, may be ascribed to A.D. 1067, for 1062 has been calculated, by Professor Keilhorn, as the accessional year of Vira Rajendra Chola.²⁴⁷ Since, Somesvara I was the reigning king in 1067 A.D., his identification as Chalukya monarch, defeated at Chakrakuta, seems to be plausible.

Somesvaradeva, appointed vassal by Chola king, soon gained independent status.

This Naga-king is endowed with many victories. His Kuruspal inscription speaks about his military attainments. That he conquered the principalities of Vengi, Bhadrapattam (Bhandaka in Chandrapur), Vajra (Vairagarh in Chandrapur)

²⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 266; South Indian Inscriptions, V, No. 976.
Kosala (south), Lāṇji (Lāṇji in Balaghat) Ratanapur (Ratanpur in Bilaspur) Lemna (lavan a village in Raipur) and killed Madhurantaraka deva is proved by above epigraph. 248

कश्चि प्रतिगणणमेव ह्वति स्थाति नुपर्यङ्गभवति भवाः
इत्यालेविति च राज्यमयणं ह्वति (स्थाति सङ्क्षेपः) कस्य ॥
उद्राय नवनागमिति
वारशौम्य गुस्वेबं नाम ॥

लक्षणं ओऽस्य - यं च चुर्गे
तीज रत्नपुर नवमन्महेशः ॥

विनश्त्य वाणे नवशारसः नुमस्थ्र
मशवलसः मदुहरिस्त्र रणे ॥

वंडक्षेित्वा नुक्तातन्त्रवाचरात्र
हृदासराज्याताध्यययः ॥

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वाणाष्ट्रं जग्नावल्क्ष्या लवं
गुरवाण्य तद् नौश्च नाप्लस्मरुः ॥

(Kurupāl inscription, E.I., V, pp. 29-30 ff.)

Someśvaradeva's victory over Ratanpur and other parts of the Kalachuri dominion viz., lemna and lāṇji is remarkable. It appears that he extended his sway up to Ratanpur during his early reign by defeating either Jajalladeva I or his immediate predecessor Jājalladeva I soon avenged the humilia-

248 E.I., X, p. 25 ff.
tion, reoccupied the lost territories and captured Someśvara-
deva along with his dependents. His victory over Someśvara-
deva is recorded in Ratanpur epigraph, where the latter has been
referred as Someśvara.249 Probably this episode took place
in the last regnal years of Someśvara. By the time,
Someśvara appears to have gone old and weak and proved
himself unequal to the task of facing Jajalladeva. The latter's
victory over Someśvara deva is corroborated by his gold coins
found in Bastar.

It may be surmised that Someśvara deva was a very strong
and victorious king of a considerably large dominion. His
suzerainty extended as far as Vengi in south, as he defeated
Virachoda the son of Kulöttunga I. As regards liquidation of
6 lakhs villages of the Kosala, it appears an exaggeration.
The Ratanpur epigraph either refers to the ruler of Kanyakubja,
the friend of Jajalladeva, or narrates the victory of the
latter over Someśvara deva. It is an indicative of the dis-
tinguished position which Someśvara deva enjoyed among the
contemporary rulers.

He had two wives, namely Dharana mahādevi and Ganga
mahādevi. Both of them issued their charters in his regime.
One of the two Kuruspal inscriptions of Dharana mahādevi,
dated 1069 A.D. may be regarded the first known record of
his reign. The other Kuruspal inscription (E.I., X, p. 35 ff)
has also been ascribed to the same date on the basis of its

249 E.I., I, p. 38.
contents. The Barasur epigraph of Gangamahadevi, dated Saka year 1030 (A.D. 1108) is the latest record of the reign of Somesvaradeva. Both of his consorts, being the follower of Saiva pantheon, dedicated land and money to the temples of god Siva. The name of his son Kanharadeva, who succeeded him, is known from the Narayanapala inscription of Gundamahadevi. Gundamahadevi, the wife of Dhara varaa, was the mother of Somesvaradeva. Presumably, Masakadevi, who issued Dantewara notification - (D.L.I.C : P.B., pp. 152-3), was the sister of Somesvaradeva. The Rajabhushana referred to in Dantewara epigraph was, in all probabilities, Somesvaradeva. It may be noted that Rajabhushana, Rayabhushana and Pratigandabhairava were the epithets of Somesvaradeva.

Somesvaradeva was a devout worshipper of Vindhyavasini (Mangykadevi) and was devoted to Siva also. He claims to have

250 E.I. IX, p. 162-63. The date Saka year 1130, of the epigraph has been taken as S.1030 by the scholars. According to Hiralal (E.I., IX, p. 152) "there has apparently been a mistake in engraving the date, which should be 1030 and not 1130, and that is perhaps the reason why the week days does not correspond with the Tithi given there". According to Professor Keilhorn (E.I., IX, p. 163, fn.) the Tithi given on inscription regularly corresponds to 14th Feb. A.D. 1109 if we read it S.1030. In this context Dikshit remarks (E.I., III, p. 315) that "In Saka Samvata 1130 expired phalguna sukla 12 ended on Wednesday, the 18th Feb. A.D. 1209. This is not the given date.

251 E.I., IX, p. 312, 314.

252 According to Rajaguru (H.R.J., VIII, No. 1, pp. 75-82) Rajabhushana II, the son of Kanharadeva II, was the brother of Masakadevi. His contention appears to be far from the truth.

acquired the sovereignty of Chakrakuta through the favour of goddess Manikya Devi.

His queens were the worshipper of Śiva while his mother Gandamahādevī worshipped Narayana (Vishnu). The evidences indicate that he had a liberal religious policy.

Most of the religious monuments in Bastar district may be attributed to his reign. His queen Gangamahādevi erected the shrines of Gangādharesvara and Virasomesvara and constructed a tank Gangasagar at Barasura during his reign.254 A good number of art-relics have been discovered at Kuruspala and Manota. It appears that a large-scale building-activities took place in these adjoining villages during the reign of Somesvaradeva. Rājapura, Narayanapala and Garh-Bodhra are also in the proximity of Kuruspala. The art-relics, epigraphs, coins of Jājalladeva II (found in Narayanapala), and ruined forts at Rājapura and Garh-Bodhra suggest that the capital of Somesvaradeva existed in this locality in his early reign. later he opted to shift his capital at Barasura, the old capital of Jagdēkabhusana. It may be assumed that Garh-Bodhra, protected from three sides by rivers Indravati and her tributary Narangi continued to serve as headquarter of the northern

254 E.I., IX, p. 162.
territory of Somesvaradeva. The fort of Garh-Bodhra, situated
at the confluence of the above mentioned rivers was protected
by a mud rampart on its fourth side. In all probability,
Madhuranâtkâdeva was overthrown from Garh-Bodhra by Some-
svaradeva.

The gold-coins issued by Somesvaradeva have been found
in Kōdinga-hoard. The coin, bearing the legend Prapagandabhairava,
is undoubtedly issued by him as Pratigandabhairava
was one of his epithets. Some of the 26 gold coins, having
the legend Rajabhūsana may also be attributed to him. It has
been pointed earlier that Rajabhūsana was the epithet of
Dhārāvāsa and Somesvaradeva as well.

The reign of this king may be assigned tentatively from
C. A.D. 1069 to 1108. The Bârsura inscription of Gângamahâdevî
dated 1108 A.D. was issued during his reign, while the Nârayana-
pâla inscription of Gundamahâdevî dated 1111 A.D. was ascribed
after his death. 255 It appears that Somesvaradeva died in
between A.D. 1108 and 1111.

255 E.I. IX, Nârayanapâla Inscription of Gundamahâdevî,

...Somesvaradeva śivar ggate teshām putrasya āśam naptuh
samasta-rajâvali-śi (rajyaśa) na-srimad Vīra Kanhara-
devasya kalyāṇa - vijaya - rājye...
Kanharadeva:

The illustrious Somesvaradeva was succeeded by his son Kanharadeva who has been referred to in the Narayanapala inscription of Gundamahadevi.\textsuperscript{256} The record issued in the regime of Kanharadeva is dated 1111 A.D. It may be assumed that this king ascended the throne slightly before A.D. 1111, for the Barsura inscription of Gangamahadevi shows that Somesvaradeva was the reigning king in the year 1108 A.D.\textsuperscript{257}

It appears that Kanharadeva inherited Kalachuri subordination from his father. He has been mentioned in the epigraph as 'Vira Kanharadeva', whereas his predecessors have been referred to as "Paramesvara - Paramabhattacharya - Maharaja". This shows that he was not an independent king. Besides, the coins (which testify the independent status of a king) of this king have not been found so far. It seems that probably he did not issue his coins.

The political events of his reign are unknown. The Narayanapala epigraph of Gundamahadevi, his grandmother, states that she granted the village Narayanapura to god Narayana (Visnu) and the land near tank Kharjuribandha to god Lokesvara during his reign.\textsuperscript{258} The village Narayanapura

\textsuperscript{256} E.I., IX, pp. 312, 314.
\textsuperscript{257} E.I., III, p. 154; Ibid., IX, p. 162.
\textsuperscript{258} E.I., IX, p. 162.
of the inscription is apparently Narayanapala where the epigraph has been found. Similarly, the Kharjuribandha may be identified with the present Karjuli Talaba or Karjuli Bandha, which is located about ½ km. east to the ancient temple-site.

His devotion towards a particular deity is not known. As his grandmother dedicated lands to god Visnu and Siva during his reign, it appears that he was also devoted to Siva and Visnu.

The Naga-records do not speak of the duration of his reign.

THE LATER ŚIND NAGAS OF BASTAR

The chronological history of the Naga-dynasty after Kanharadeva is nearly unknown. Even the end of the reign of Kanharadeva is also a matter of speculation. None of the sources speak about the immediate successor of Kanharadeva.

It appears that the Nagas of Chakrakaṭa were reduced to powerless feudatory chiefs after the reign of Kanharadeva. Kalachuris of Ratanapur may be held responsible for their decline.

The names of the two later Naga-kings viz., Jaya-Simhadeva and Narasimhadeva have been known through the inscriptions found. They may be regarded the descendents
of Kanharadeva. Hariśchandradeva of the Temra-inscription (E.I., X, pp. 39, 40; DLICPB, p. 152) and Kanharadeva of the fragmentary inscription of Bārsur (DLICPB, p. 157) have also been included among the later Naga-rulers of Bastar by R.B. Hiralal. 259

The hirudas of the former two kings indicate that they were, beyond doubt, the descendants of Nagavamsi kings of Bastar. As the inscription of Jayasimhadeva is undated, it is not easy to ascertain his place in the genealogy of the later Naga rulers of Bastar. However, he may be regarded the successor of Narasimhadeva. This has been tentatively calculated on the basis of the contents of their inscriptions.

Narasimhadeva:

According to the epigraphic evidences Maharāja Narasimhadeva ruled over a part of Bastar from A.D. 1218 to 1224. His Jatanpāla-epigraph is dated in Saka year 1140260 (A.D. 1218) while the Dantewāra inscription was issued in Saka year 1147 (A.D. 1224).261

As his records have been found in Dantewāra and Jatanpāla it appears that Nagas were ruling over southern central part of Bastar up to his regime. It was after him

261 E.I., IX, p. 163; DLICPB, pp. 150-51.
that the later Nagas were cornered in the small principality comprising the central part of Bastar. It is to be noted that both the inscriptions of Jayasimhadeva have been noticed at Sunarpal and Kesarpala in Central Bastar.

The Jatanpala record refers to the grant of a land by Kama Nayak who was the subordinate of a chief Somaraju under Maharaja Narasimhadeva. The king is mentioned in the Dantewara epigraphs as the ornament of the race of the best of serpents.262 Nothing is known about the achievements of this king.

Jayasimhadeva:

Two inscriptions of this Nagavamsi king have been noticed so far.263 The Sunarpal epigraph, recording the grant of a village Adhakada by his queen Mahadevi speaks about the race of the king. According to the record 'RAJADHIRAJA MAHARAJA SRI JAYASIMHADEVA' of the Nagavamsa was the supreme lord of Bhogavati. The king having the tiger and calf as his crest belonged to the Kasyapa gotra. Adhakada of the record is not traceable and the object of

262 E.I., IX, p. 163;
Sri bhujaga - vara - bhushana Maharajula dina Sriman - Narasimhadeva - Maharajula rajyamu.

263 The other inscription of Jayasimhadeva, the Kesarpala inscription (Information supplied by Sri G.L.Raikwar, Registration Officer, Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of M.P.) is yet to be edited.
the grant is also not mentioned. It appears that the rule of Jayasimhadeva was confined to the central part of Bastar district as his records have been discovered from that region only.

The identification of Kanharadeva and HarischandraDeva as the Nagavamsi kings of Bastar is unconceivable. The records do not mention about the dynasties to which they belonged. Their emblems and birudas are also not known. Hence they may not be regarded as later Nagavamsi kings of Bastar.

The Nagavamsi kings, who ruled over Bastar for more than two centuries, were the great patrons of art. A good number of shrines erected and sculptures carved during their reign testify it. Their prosperous reign is attested to from their gold coins and donations given by the charitable kings and their dependents.

Basically, Nagavamsi kings were the worshipper of Siva but were devoted to other deities also. All of the kings of this dynasty adopted a liberal religious policy.
The present Kanker Tahsil of Bastar district comprises the major part of the former princely state of Kanker. The state of Kanker was being ruled by a dynasty claiming its descent from the Somavamsa. The earliest of their records, the Sihawa stone inscription of Karnaraja, is dated in Saka Year 1114 (A.D. 1192).

The town of Kanker has been referred to as 'Kakaira' in the records of these rulers.

According to the traditions, prevalent in the former Raja family, its first ancestor migrated from Orissa about Vikrama Samvat:1150 (A.D. 1093). The original ancestor ruling at Jagannathapur, discontinued to rule and went out in search of a cure as he suffered from leprosy. Wandering in jungles he reached Sihawa and got rid of the disease as soon as he took bath in a spring of water. The spring of water, known at present as Amrita Kunda, is reputed to have cured the disease of the ancestor of the ruling dynasty of Kanker. Sihawa, which is close to Kanker, is a small township in Dhamtari (M.P.).

266. E.I., IX, p. 126, Verse 5, line 11-12.
267. E.I., IX, pp. 124, 184.
According to Hiralal, the original ancestor, who migrated from Orissa, was no other than Simharāja of the Sihāwa stone inscription of Karṇarāja, and Kanker inscription of Bhamudeva. He holds that the Sihāwa was named after Simharāja. Simha + avah = Simhavah meaning the comfort of Simha. 268

The cured king, according to the traditions stayed on at Sihāwa and, later installed king of that place by the local tribes. It appears that Sihāwa, for sometime, served as capital of the Somavamsi kings of Kāṅker. The art relics and the epigraph of Karṇarāja at Sihāwa testify this assumption. Devahradā mentioned in Sihāwa inscription may be identified with Sihāwa itself. As Sihāwa is the source of Mahanadi, it was regarded as a holy place from the time immemorial. During the medieval period it was known as Devahradā = the holy lake of the gods. As Karṇarāja has been referred to as the king of Kakaira, it is evident that the capital of the ruling dynasty shifted to Kāṅker prior to the reign of this king. 269 It appears that it was shifted during the reign of Vyāghrarāja or shortly after that. An small inscription referring to 'Sri Vāgharāja' has been noticed by Hiralal, on the wall of a ruined temple at Devakūta, about 16 kms. West of Sihāwa. 270 This

269. E.I., IX, p. 186, Verse 6, line 8-9
270. E.I., IX, p. 185, fn. 1.
suggests that probably Vagharaaja (Vyaghraaja) ruled over this part of the country with his capital at Sihawa.

The rulers of this dynasty were not all powerful sovereigns, but they owed allegiance to some other power is evident by their records. They have been mentioned in their epigraphs as 'Somavansi-Spruuta Mahamandalika' (feudatory chief of the Somavamsa). Their epithets also are not suggestive of their paramount sovereignty. It appears that they ruled over Kanker-tract as subordinates of the Kalachuris, for the Kalachuri era has been used in some of their records. It is highly probable that Siharaja and Vagharaaja served as feudatories to the Nagavamsi kings (presumably during the reign of Somesvaradeva) of Bastar. Somesvaradeva, the conqueror of Vengi, Ratanpur, Lenina and Lainji did not leave the neighbouring country of Kanker unconquered. Later, Jajalladeva extended his sway to the kingdom of Somesvaradeva. It appears that Kanker kings also bowed to Jajalladeva.

In all five records of the dynasty, mentioning the names of eleven kings, have been found so far. The records are:

1. Sihawa Stone inscription of Karnaraja, Saka Year 1114.
2. Kanker Copper Plate of Pamparaaja, Samvat 965.
3. Kanker Copper Plate of Pamparaaja, Samvat 866.
4. Kanker Stone Inscription of Bhamudeva, Saka Year 1242.
5. Small inscription referring to Sri Vagharaaja at Devakuta.
The genealogy of the Somvamsis of Kanker is as follows:

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simharaja</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vagharaja or Vyaghraraja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vopadeva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnaraja or Krishna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1192 A.D.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaitaraja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamparajadeva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1216 A.D.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somachandra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vopadeva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhanudeva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1320 A.D.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Karnaraja was the foremost ruler of this dynasty. He conquered the neighbouring kings and exacted tributes from them. It appears that Garh-Dhanora near Keskal in Bastar district was one of his capitals. According to the local traditions Dhanora (Garh) was ruled by a king named Karn. The place has ruins of several shrines and tanks and is enclosed by mounds on three sides. A ruined fort

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272. Ibid., p. 183.
reported by Brett can be seen on the nearby hill. It may be assumed that the fort was constructed by Karnaraja. 273

The political activities of the kings of Kānkera, excepting Karnaraja, are not known. Several shrines were erected at Sihawa (Devahrada), Devakuta and Kānkera by the rulers and their dependents. These relics indicate that they were the devout worshippers of Jiva but were devoted to Vaisnavism also. The temple of Kesava, erected at Devahrada by Karnaraja, testifies that he was devoted towards Vaisnavism also. Their coins have not been found so far.

The Kānkera inscription of Bhānu-deva dated 1320 A.D. is the latest record of this dynasty. The members of the ruling family of former Kānkera state belong to the lunar race and claim to have come from Orissa. They may be regarded as the descendants of Bhānu-deva.

ANNAMADEO — The Founder of the Last
Dynasty of Bastar

Annamadeo and his successors, the so called Kakatiyas, ruled over Bastar since A.D. 1424 to the first half of the present century. The dynasty to which Annamadeo belonged is a matter of controversy among the scholars.

It has been suggested by Venkataramaniyya that Annamadeo was the brother and successor of Prataparudradeo Kakatiya of Varangal. According to him Annamadeo moved away from Varangal after the death of Prataparudradeo and occupied the present region of Bastar after subduing the local chieftains. But, the span of time gap in between Prataparudradeo and Annamadeo creates anomalies.

Prataparudradeo crushed by Uluga Khan alias Mohd. Bin Tughulaka died in captivity in A.D. 1323. Annamadeo was ruling over Bastar in 1424 A.D. Apparently, Annamadeo cannot be regarded the brother of Prataparudradeo as there is a century's gap in between them.

The 'Pratapa Charitam', a later work, states Annamadeo as brother and Virabhadra as son and successor of Prataparudradeo. The work records that Annamadeo proceeded towards Vindhyan mountain after seeing that the coronation ceremony of his nephew Virabhadra is performed successfully.

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275. Pratapacharitam, Saiva Fracharini Granthamala, Varangal, p. 79.
As a matter of fact, Prataparudra was childless. The contemporary work Prataparudra Yasobhusana and the inscriptions (composed till 1357 A.D.) of the Kakatiyas and other contemporary dynasties do not speak about Annamadeo or any other successor of Prataparudra Kakatiya.

The Dantewara inscription of the time of Dikpaladeva dated 1703 A.D. 276; the other records of the last ruling dynasty of Baster, and the traditions prove that Annamadeo was the founder of the so called Kakatiya dynasty in Baster.

The problem in question is that how Annamadeo has been stated as brother of Kakatiya Prataparudradeo in Pratapancharitam. One has to go through the history of the Kakatiya dynasty in search of the truth.

The Kakatiya Ganapatidevo had two daughters. The elder one Rudrama or Rudramma, who was married to the Chalukya prince Virabhadra of Nidavolu, succeeded her father. Rudramma also had two daughters namely Mummadamma and Ruyamma. Prataparudra, the son of Mummadamma and Mahadeva, subsequently ascended the Kakatiya throne as he was adopted by her grandmother Rudrama 277. Ruyamma, the other daughter of Rudramma was married to Annaladeo alias Annaya of Induluri, who was the general of Rudrama. 278 There had been one Jagaddalu Annama Reddy, the Mahasamanta of Prataparudradeo. 279

276. E.I., IX, pp. 154-65; DLICPB, pp. 152-54.
It may be assumed that either of these two, viz. Annaladeo and Jagaddalu Annama Reddy has been wrongly incorporated as Annamadeo in Pratapcharitam.

The author of the Pratapcharitam again committed a blunder where he records Virabhadra as the son of Kakatiya Prataparudra. In fact, he has mistaken Virabhadra, the son of Gajapati king Prataparudra as the son of Kakatiya Prataparudra. It is to be noted that Gajapati Virabhadra, who conquered Koddaviddu Dandapatha in his youth, was ruling over a part of Telangana in the 16th century A.D.

The same mistake was once again repeated by Bhagavana Mishra while he composed the Dantewara inscription of the time of Dikpaladeva. The record states that Kakatiya Prataparudra, the king of Delhi and Mathura and the descendant of Pandava Arjuna founded his rule in Varangala. His brother Annamaraja conquered Bastar.

It appears that the composer of the record, Bhagavana Mishra, followed the version of Pratapcharitam. As regards the race of the Kakatiyas he was again misled by the above mentioned work. He, instead of narrating the ancestry of Prataparudra Kakatiya, stated that of Prataparudra Gajapati, who was born of the Pandava Arjuna.

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230. Pratapcharitam, Introduction, p. 16
The Prataparudra Yaśobhusana, and the Chebrolu epigraph of Jaya or Jayana clearly indicate that Kakatiyas were born of sun and the family of the Raghus. As a matter of fact, Kakatiya, since origin, were the local rulers of Telangana, having no contacts from Delhi and Mathura.

The Pratapacharitam and the Dantewara epigraph are full of irrelevancies, so far as the dynasty of Annamadeo and the origin of the Kakatiyas are concerned. Hence, the authenticity of these records, in many respects, is doubtful.

Relying on above records scholars took Annamadeva as the brother of Prataparudra Kakatiya. This ultimately led Śri Venkataramannaiyya to draw the same conclusion. Consequently, R.B. Hiralal propounded a theory that how Prataparudra Kakatiya of the Solar race had a brother Annamadeo of the lunar race. He holds that Prataparudra, adopted by her grandmother Rudramma, became a Kakatiya of Solar race, while his brother Annamadeo remained what his father was, that is, of the lunar race.

The vast time-gap in the reign of Annamadeo and the Kakatiya Prataparudra on the one hand; and the absence of

283. B.I., V, p. 149.
286. B.I., IX, pp. 164-65 fn.
Annamadeo's name from the Kakatiya-records on the other indicate the improbability of his being the brother of Pratāparudra Kakatiya.

The dynasty to which Annamadeo belonged still remains a problem. The theory propounded by Pandit Sunderlal Tripathi may be considered in this regard. Sri Tripathi holds that Telugu choda Annamadeo or Annamadeo of Rājamarindri Copper plates was the founder of the last ruling dynasty in Bastar. According to the record, Annamadeo, the son of Bhaktiraja or Bhaktisvara alias Kamaraja was a strong, generous and handsome king. Having defeated his enemies, he made donations and erected shrines.

Eduva Bhima, one of the ancestors of Telugu choda Annamadeo, conquered Chakrakuta along with Vengi, Kalinga and other countries sometime after 1256 A.D. Eduva was a small principality near Nellore, Kurnul and Gunti.

The ambitious and brave Annamadeo choda lost his kingdom in the year 1416 A.D. As none of his records is traceable after this date (A.D. 1416), Venkataramanmaiyya concluded that he died in 1416 A.D.

This view is not conceivable because it has not been corroborated with other evidences. On the other hand, the

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Bhimeswarapurana which refers to Annamdeo, his son Virabhadra and Allada; and the Palivela inscription (1417 A.D.) do not speak about his death. Thus, it is evident that Annamdeo Choda was very much alive in 1417 A.D., the date of the issue of Palivela epigraph. It appears that he remained out of the scene of South Indian Political activities after 1416 A.D.

It may be conjectured that after losing his kingdom Annadeo ultimately chose to follow his ancestor Eduva Bhima and proceeded towards Chakrakuta. The local chieftains of Chakrakuta, aware of his fame and glorious career soon acknowledged his suzerainty. Thus, the dynasty which was founded by him ruled over Bastar for more than five centuries.