CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF MĀLWA SINCE 6TH CENTURY B.C.
CHAPTER - 1

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INTRODUCTION

The geographical unit, which was known as Mālwa in ancient times, has constituted, in the present map of India, the western part of Madhya Pradesh, comprising the Vindhya in the south, Sagar-Damoh Plateau and Bundelkhand in the east, Guna-Shivpuri region and Rajasthan in the north and Gujrat and Aravallis in the west. Under the British rule it was an administrative unit known as Mālwa Agency. It was bounded on the north and west by Rajputana and on the south by Bhopavar and Indore Residency. The same administrative unit with much addition was known as the Subah of Mālwa during the Mughal rule in India. The Subah of Mālwa included in addition to the territories included in the Mālwa Agency during the British rule, the Nimar district on the south, between the Vindhya and Satpura ranges, Mewar (now in Rajputana) on the west, Hāratī (the Hara States of Bundi and Kotah in Rajputana) on the north and much of the present Central Provinces on the south-east, including even Gar-Mandla. According to Abul Fazl, whose authority most European geographers have followed, "its length from the extreme point of Garha (Mandla) to Banswarah was 245 kos. Its breadth from Ghanderi to Nandurbar was 230 kos. To the east lay Bandhun (Rewa); to the north Narwar; to the south Baglanadi; to the west Gujrat and Ajmer".

1. K.C. Jain, Mālwa through the ages (Delhi, 1972), P.14.
3. Ibid. P.100.
The term 'Málwa' was not applied to such an extent of territory in ancient times. Málwa proper consisted solely of the plateau lying between 20°30' and 24°30' N and 74°30' and 78°10' E, which was terminated on the south by the great Vindhyan range, on the east by the arm of this same range that struck north from Bhopal to Chanderi (the Kuśchala Parvata of the Purāṇas), on the west by the branch which reached from Amjhera to Chitor (in Rajputana) and on the north by the Mukandwara range which struck east from Chitar to Chanderi. Málwa, therefore, extended from the Vindhya Mountains in the south to the Chittora and Mukundra range in the north, and from Bhopal in the east to Mundissore, Ratlam and Dohud in the west.

The physical features of Málwa, according to a modern observer, present a high table land, consisting of a gently undulating inclined plain, in general open, and highly cultivated varied with small conical and table crowned hills and low ridges, watered by numerous rivers and small streams, and favoured with a rich and high productive soil, and a mild climate alike conducive to the health of man and liberal supply of his wants and luxuries.

Málwa is watered by several rivers which are fed by numerous tributaries. These streams in every direction intersect

5. Imperial Gazetteer, XVII. P.100.
and fertilize the Province. Amongst the principal rivers we may enumerate the Chambal, the great and lesser Kāli Sindh, the Māhi, Śīpṛā, Pārvatī. To these must be added, though strictly within the limits of the province, the Narmadā which runs nearly east and west and a few streams which run into it.\(^7\)

The principal cities which fall within this geographical limit are principally - Ujjayini, Vidiśā, Sānchī, Eraṇ, Mandasor, Dhār, Tumain which along with less important cities constituted the Mālwa territory in the early period.

**Antiquity of Avanti**

The geographical region, later known as Mālwa, is referred to in the indigenous literary texts of the 6th century B.C. as 'Avanti'. The territorial name of Avanti seems to have originated from the tribal name of "Avanti". The Matsya Purāṇa\(^8\) has traced the origin of the tribe 'Avanti' to the Haihaya dynasty of which Kārttaviryārjuna was the most glorious ruler and added that 'Avanti' was the name borne by one of the sons of this powerful monarch. The tribal name 'Avanti' originated from this ruler named 'Avanti'. In the Linga Purāṇa,\(^9\) as well as in the Mārkandeya Purāṇa\(^10\) we also find reference to the 'Avanti' tribe.

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8. Matsya Purāṇa, Ch. 43, Verses, 45-46, 48-49.
9. Linga Purāṇa, Ch. 66.
10. Mārkandeya Purāṇa, Canto 57, Vs., 52.
Avanti - one of the Sodasa Mahajanapadas of 6th century B.C.

The Buddhist text "Anguttara Nikaya" which related the political condition of India in the 6th century B.C. included 'Avanti' in its list of 'Sodasa Mahajanapadas', the sixteen states of considerable extent and power. These sixteen states were as follows: Kasi (Kasi), Kosala (Kosala), Anga, Magadha, Vajji (Vrjji), Malla, Chetiya (Chedi), Vaosha (Vatsa), Kuru, Panchala, Machchha (Matsya), Surasena, Assaka (Asmaka), Avanti, Gandhara and Kamboja. It is further stated in the same text that Ujjayini was the capital of Avanti.

Avanti and Avanti Dakshinapatha

It is, however, difficult to determine the geographical boundary of Avanti without referring to texts other than the "Anguttara-Nikaya". While Ujjayini is referred to as the capital of 'Avanti' in the "Anguttara-Nikaya", Mahismatī is found to be mentioned in the "Digha-Nikaya" as the capital of the same country. The information derived from the former text is thus different from that of the latter. The reference to "Mahismatī" as the capital may have some connection with the placement of "Avanti" in 'Dakshinapatha' in some early Buddhist texts.

The term "Dakṣināpatha" in the Buddhist texts does not refer to South India. In the Buddhist texts we find three divisions of India - Uttarāpatha, Majjihimadesa and Dakṣināpatha. Incidentally, the boundaries of Madhyadesa (called Majjihimadesa in Buddhist literatures) were, according to the Buddhist writers, marked by the city of Kajaṅgala in the east, by the river Salavati in the South-East, by the town Setakamika in the south and the mountain called Usviddhaja in the north. It was with reference to this middle country that the term Dakṣināpatha seems to have come into use. "Dakṣināpatha" accordingly, the term meant the country to the south not of Vindhya so much as that of Madhyadesa. 'Avanti Dakṣināpatha' of the Buddhist texts may have represented the southern part of Avanti itself, where Māhismatī, identified with Nimar in Central Provinces, was situated.

Presumably Avanti was divided into two parts - northern and southern. The northern part, drained by the river Śiprā, had its capital at Ujjayinī while the southern part, drained by the river Narmadā, had its capital at Māhismatī. The northern division of the country was simply known as 'Avanti', while the southern division as 'Avanti-Dakṣināpatha'.

15. Ibid. PP.45-46.
According to Dr. D.C. Sircar,16 Ujjayini was originally the capital of Avanti and later on, the political exigencies necessitated the transfer of the capital from Ujjayini to Mahismati in southern part of Avanti - 'Avanti Dakṣināpatha'. This analysis made in the light of the 'Mahāgovinda Suttanta' does not go against the geographical concept of the country of Avanti with its northern and southern divisions. It simply brings to prominence the rise and fall of the two capitals in the south and the north respectively.

According to Dr. B.C. Law, Avanti proper was bounded on the north by the river Charmanvati and Pāripātra mountain, on the south by the Narmadā, on the east by the Vindhyā Mountain and on the west by the kingdom of Surāśṭra including Ānartta and the rest.17

In the "Mahāvastu" we find separate mention of Avanti and Daśārma. From numerous references to Daśārma in Indian literature like the 'Mahābhārata' or 'Meghadūta' of Kālidāsa,19 it appears that the term denoted the eastern part of ancient Mālwa, with its capital at Vidiśā (modern Beñnagar, near Bhilsa in Madhya Pradesh) and with the rivers Daśārma (modern Dhasan) and Vetravatī (modern Betwa) running through it.20

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17. B.C. Law, Ujjayini in Ancient India (Gwalior, 1944), P.5.
19. Mahābhārata, Sabhāparva; Ch. 23, Vs., 4-5.
The Jain 'Paríśiṣṭaparvan' includes within the boundaries of Avanti Tumbavana identified with modern Tumain in Guna District of old Gwalior State, about 50 miles to the north-west of Éran in Saugur District, Madhya Pradesh. The inclusion of Tumain within Avanti seems to imply an expansion of its boundary to the north-east at a later period to which probably the Jain text in question may be assigned.

Buddhist and Jain writers mention several other cities of Avanti, viz. Kuraraghara, Makkara-Kata and Sudarsanapura. The cities have not been satisfactorily identified and therefore, it is difficult to determine the limits of Avanti with their help.

The 'Sonānanda Jātaka' closely associates Assaka or Asmaka with Avanti. Assaka was situated on the banks of Godāvari. Its capital was Potali which accords with its position between Mūlaka (district round Pāṭhāna) and Kalīṅga to which Pali texts bear witness. It has already been shown that Māhismatī was included within Avanti. Thus, on the south, Avanti was extended at least up to the river Narmadā. But it is difficult to ascertain whether the geographical limit of Avanti extended so far south as to include within itself Asmaka situated on the banks of the river Godāvari. The reference to Asmaka and Avanti together in the 'Sonānanda Jātaka' does not necessarily indicate that the former

was included within the latter. Rather, it appears more probable that the two were neighbouring territories and were mentioned together in the Buddhist text, although, according to some scholars the country of Avantī lay extended on both sides of the Narmadā river reaching up to Rajputana on the north and perhaps Tāpti on the south. 23

It is difficult to extend the northern boundary of the Avantī country up to Rajputana where was situated the Matsya country, one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas of the 6th Century B.C. The Matsya country during the period or from an earlier period was an extensive territory having its southern boundary up to Pāriyātra Mountain or the river Parnasa.

Geographical limit of Avantī in the Mahābhārata

It has already been shown in the light of the Buddhist texts that Māhiṣmatī, lying in the southern part of Avantī, served as one of the capitals of the country. In the 'Mahābhārata', Māhiṣmatī is regarded to be the name of a kingdom. It is stated in the 'Sabhāparvan' of the 'Mahābhārata' that Sahadeva (brother of Arjuna), having received wealth, marched towards the city of Māhiṣmatī and fought there a battle with King Nila.

Tato ratnānyupādāya purī Māhiṣmatiḥ yasyau
tatra Nilana Rājā sa chakre yuddham nararṣabhaḥ

Sl. 20 (Sabhāparva, Chapter XXX).

It is found that King Nila was the ruler of the kingdom of Māhīṣmatī, whereas in the preceding slokas of the same parvan we find that the mighty son of Aświni (Sahadeva) vanquished in battle the two heroic kings of Avantī, named Vinda and Anuvinda, who were surrounded by a large number of soldiers.

Vindānuvindāvāvantyausainyena mahata vṛtau
Jigāya samare vīrāvāśvineyāḥ pratāpavān

Sl. 10 (Sabhāparva, Chapter XXX)

The implication of the epic statement seems to suggest simultaneous existence of two separate kingdoms of Māhīṣmatī and Avantī almost at the same period. The position of Nila in relation to that of Vinda and Anuvinda cannot be ascertained from the epic evidences.

As regards the location of Avantī, the Mahābhārata places it in western India and speaks of the Narmadā on which Avantī is situated. Avantī is mentioned along with Surāśṭra and Māntī in western India. In the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Avantī is described as comprising the regions of the source of the Chambal and the country south-westward as far as the Satpura range. This appears to agree with the geographical limit of Avantī as indicated in the 'Mahābhārata' and though not mentioned Vīśaḷā or Ujjayinī was the capital of it. In view of the above definition of the boundaries.

of Avanti, it may be assumed that Māhismatī, lying on the bank of the river Narmadā, formed a separate political unit within the geographical boundary of Avanti.

**Ākaraśantī**

The division of the country of Avanti in the western and eastern part is implied by a statement in the Mahābhārata where we find Vinda and Anuvinda sharing the kingdom of Avanti between them. The existence of the eastern part of Avanti seems to have been corroborated by a statement in the 'Rāmāyāna' where both 'Avanti' and 'Abravanti' are referred to separately.

Abravantīśavantīṇca sarvameśbanupasyātya

Rāmāyāna - IV, 41,10.

It may be suggested that Avanti itself signified that western part of the country, while 'Abravanti' stood for the eastern part of it. The tendency towards the expansion of the country towards the east is evident from the epigraphic records. 'Abravanti' mentioned in the 'Rāmāyāna' may be taken to be the precursor of 'Ākara' of later times. The reference to 'Ākaraśantī' suggesting one geographical unit with two divisions, is categorically mentioned in the records of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas. The growth of 'Ākaraśantī' seems to have

27. Mahābhārata, Sabhāparva, Ch. XXX, Vs., 10.
been the result of the political factors contributing gradual rises to prominence of the cities like Vidisā and Ujjayinī.

Ujjayinī Capital of Avantī

The name 'Ujjayinī' meaning "the victorious", is the Sanskrit equivalent of Pali 'Ujjeni', 'Ujeni' of the Inscriptional Prākṛt and 'Ozene' of Classical writers. Hemchandra gives Viśālā, Avanti and Puṣpakaṭarāṇī as synonyms of Ujjayinī. 'Puṣpa Karandakajironodyaṇa' is mentioned in the 'Mṛichhakaṭika' of Śūdra. The Āvantya Khanda of Skanda Purāṇa mentions eight different names of the city with reasons that led to the ascription of the particular name. According to the Āvantya-Khanda of Skanda Purāṇa, Āvantipura, the capital of the Avantis, was called Ujjayinī to commemorate the great victory attained by Mahākāla, the presiding deity of Avanti, over the powerful demon Tripura who was the presiding deity of Tripuri. Ujjayinī was one of the seven sacred cities of the Hindus and first meridian of their astronomers. It is said that there

29. Allan's Catalogue (London, 1936), P. CXLV.
31. Skanda Purāṇam, Āvantyakhaṇḍam, Ch. 43.
32. Ptolemy, P.154.
was a well at Ujjayinī in which the sun reflected vertically upwards at a certain moment. It was famous for its celebrated Temple of Mahākāla, also called Kālapriyanātha by Bhavabhūti in his dramas, which is mentioned as one of the twelve Jotirlingas, situated on the river Śipra. According to the Purānic view, Ujjayinī is a Kshetra, a pītha and a tīrtha. It is a 'Kshetra' because it brings about the destruction of sins, a 'pītha' because it is the seat of mātris and the numerous sacred shrines of the place make it a tīrtha. It was the field of literary activity of Kālidāsa. Ujjayinī was the capital of Pradyota, father of Vāsavadattā and his family, and then of the viceroys of the Mauryas. It was the capital of the King Vikramāditya of Indian tradition. The Periplus states that it was formerly a royal capital, indicating perhaps that it had lost her importance as a capital city. The position of the city was revived after the advent of the Western Kshatrapas.

In Ptolemy's 'Geography' (C. 140 A.D.) 'Ozene' is referred to as the capital of Tiaantenes, Chastana, the Western Kshatrapa ruler.

35. Vikram Volume, Ed. by R.K. Mukherjee, P. 471.
37. Periplus, Sec. 49.
38. Ptolemy, P. 154.
Vidiśā ; Capital of Ākara

The growth of the cities like Vidiśā and Sāñchī seems to have brought into existence a new political unit known as 'Ākara', probably an eastern extension of Avanti. Vidiśā is identified with Bhilsa on the bank of the river Vetravati, that is, Betwa. Sometimes its identification with Daśārma is suggested in the light of the Purānic evidences. Vidiśā finds mention in early Indian literature. According to the 'Rāmāyana', the city was given to Satrughna by Rāmchandra. The Garuḍa Purāṇa describes it as a city full of wealth and happiness. It was an abode of many religions. The temple of Bhailswami which was situated on the Vetravati may have given rise to the name of Bhilsa town.

Although Vidiśā was not unknown in the time of the Maurya emperor Aśoka who halted at Vidiśā on his way to Ujjayini, it sprang into political limelight during the time when Pushyamitra Śuṅga had come to power in Magadha and his son Agnimitra was put in charge of the western frontier with his seat of authority at Vidiśā. Large number of donative or votive records styled as 'Bhilsa Tope Inscriptions' by Cunningham help us to trace the mercantile prosperity of the city from the 2nd Century B.C. on-wards.

39. Rāmāyana, Uttarkhandā, Ch. 121.
43. Cunningham, Bhilsa Tope (Vārānasi, 1966).
Archaeological discovery has also brought to light a great Buddhist stūpa of Sāñchī, not very far from Vidiśā. It is situated at a distance of about 9 kilometres south-west of Vidiśā. We have now at our disposal a large number of short inscriptions from the Sāñchī stūpa, signifying the gradual growth of the city as a centre of Buddhist Culture and commercial prosperity since the days of Mauryas. An explicit reference to the Śatavāhana ruler Śatākāsika in a votive inscription 44 found on the south gateway of the great stūpa is, no doubt, significant. The discovery of the Buddhist Image Inscription 45 of the Kuśāna period at Sāñchī is likewise significant. The available evidences do suggest that the growth of the two cities Vidiśā and Sāñchī was caused by political, economic and religious factors.

Pūrvāparākaravanti

Although the process leading to the rise of cities of Vidiśā and Sāñchī had its beginning in the 2nd century B.C. or still earlier, it is difficult to ascertain the date from which 'Ākara' associated with Avanti, came into existence. The earliest known reference to 'Ākara' is to be found in the Nāsik Cave Inscription 46 of Vasiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi's 19th regnal year,

44. Lüders, Inscription No. 346.
45. Ibid. No. 161.
46. Bühler, ASWI., IV, PP.180f.
   Senart, Nāsik Cave Inscriptions (No.2), E.I., Vol.VIII, PP.60f.
commonly known as "Nāsik Praśasti" recording the achievements of his father Gautamiputra Sātakarni. In this record we find mention of Gautamiputra Sātakarni's conquest of the countries named as "Āsika-Asaka-Mūlaka-Surātha-Kūkūra-Aparānta-Ānūpa-Vidarbha-Ākaravanti". The country Ākaravanti is thus distinguished from Āsmaka on the Godāvari, Mūlaka, a district around Paithan, Surātha i.e. South Kathiwar, Kūkūra situated near the Pāriyātra or the western Vindhya, Aparānta i.e. north Konkan, Ānūpa a district around Māhismati on the Narmadā, and Vidarbha or Berar. The record under our discussion is probably to be assigned to about the middle of the 2nd century A.D.

The Junāgad Inscription of Rudradāman of the year 72(C. 150 A.D.) refers to the Saka King's conquest of the countries named as "Pūrvāparākaravantya-nūpanivridānarta-Surāshṭra-Śvabhra-Maru-Kachchha-Sīndhu-Sauvīra-Kūkūrāparānta-nishidīdinām". In this case also, Ākaravanti mentioned at the very beginning of the list of countries is clearly distinguished from Ānūpa or Māhismati, Ānarta (north Kathiwar), Surāshṭra (south Kathiwar), Māru (Rajputana), Kachchha (Cutch), Sīndhu (West of lower Indus), Sauvīra (east of lower Indus), Kūkūra (near the western Vindhya), Aparānta (north Konkon),

47. E.I., VIII, P.60f.
48. Ibid. PP.44, L-ll.
and Nishāda which extended from Bīnosana to Pāriyātra (Western Vindhya and Aravalli). 'Ākarāvanti' of the Nāsik record is further explained by an addition of an expression 'Pūrva-pāra' (Pūrva + Apara) with it in the Jūnāgadh record. While 'Pūrva' (east) being associated with Ākara indicates its position in the east, Apara (west) qualifying Avanti, suggests its traditional location in the west. The boundaries of 'Ākarāvanti' may be clearly determined in the light of the epigraphic evidences. The country seems to have been bounded by Rajputana on the north, on the west by the country called Kūkūra near the western Vindhyas and on the south by Anūpa (Māhismatī) on the Narmadā. Ākara and Avanti ultimately formed the eastern and western divisions of ancient Mālwa.

Mālava: a tribal name

The territorial unit known as "Mālwa" was most probably named after the 'Mālavas', an ancient tribe of indigenous origin. According to Douglas, the name 'Mālava' is derived from the word 'Malaya'. D.C.Sircar suggests that the name of 'Mālava', like that of the 'Malaya mountain range', is probably derived from the Dravidian word 'Malhi', meaning hill. R.B.Pandey suggests that the Mālavas branched off from the Malla people of

49. Select Ins., P.172, fn.1.
52. R.B.Pandey, Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī (Banaras,1954), P.78.
the famous Mallarashtra situated in the Gorakhpur Division of Uttarpradesh. The first derivative from 'Malla' was 'Malava', or 'Malaya', which subsequently became 'Mālava'. The Mallas were the descendants of Ikshvāku of the Solar race. According to the Vālmīki 'Rāmāyana' the epithet of Chandraketu, the son of Lakshmana, was Malla, and he founded the Malla Rashtra and his descendants were called Mallas. The NandSa Yupa Inscription suggests that the Mālavas originated from the Ikshvāku race or that they were as famous as that of the Ikshvākus.53 But there is little evidence to associate the Mālavas with Malla-Rāṣṭra. Whatever might have been the origin of the tribal name 'Mālava', scholars are unanimous in deriving the territorial name 'Mālwa' from the tribal name 'Mālava'.

Mālava in the Jain Bhagavatī Sūtra

The earliest reference to 'Mālava' is to be found in the 'Jain Bhagavatī Sūtra'.54 The text includes 'Mālava' (Ka) in its list of sixteen great States. Reference has already been made to the list of sixteen Mahājanapadas mentioned in the 'Buddhist Aṅguttara Nikāya' where 'Mālava' is conspicuous by its absence. The list of sixteen States contained in the Jain Bhagavatī Sūtra is as follows:

Aṅga, Baṅga (Vaṅga), Magaha (Magadha), Malaya, Mālava (Ka), Achchha, Vachchha (Vatasa),

54. H.C. Roychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India (Calcutta, 1953), PP.95-96.
Kochchha (Kachchha?), Pādha (Pāṇḍya or Pauṇḍra),
Lāḍha (Lāta or Rādha), Bajji (Vajji), Mali (Malla),
Kāsi, Kośala, Avāha, Sambhuttara (Sambottara?).

The list in the 'Bhagavatī Sūtra' contains the names of Magadha, Vatsa, Kośala which were regarded as more powerful kingdoms among the sixteen 'Mahājanapadas' during the period of ascendency of Magadha. The omission of Avantī, another powerful kingdom of the time, apparently baffles any explanation. The question naturally arises whether 'Mālava' (Ka) in the list actually referred to Avantī of the 'Āṅguttara Nikāya'. In the opinion of Mr. E.J. Thomas the Jain author of the 'Bhagavatī Sūtra' wrote in south India and compiled his list from countries that he knew. In that case the author was really ignorant of the northern peoples and his Mālava (Ka) as it is suggested by H.C. Roychoudhuri, could not have been in the Punjab and is to be located in central India. The suggestion of Thomas is based on the Jain author's reference to some countries of the far south like 'Pādha' (Pāṇḍya). Equally important is the mention of the countries in eastern India like 'Vanga' and 'Lāḍha' signifying east and west Bengal respectively. On this ground it is difficult to associate the Jain author, following the line of arguments as put forward by Thomas, with Eastern India. At best, it can be held that the list of the 'Bhagavatī Sūtra' indicates a knowledge

of the far-east and far-south of India. Without associating the author with any particular part of India, it may, however, be safely assumed that he wrote his work at a date later than that of the 'Anguttara Nikāya'. Whatever that might be, it is not safe to identify Mālava (Ka) of the 'Bhagavati Sūtra' with Avantī, although the omission of Avantī in the list remains to be a problem.

**Different Territorial Units known as Mālava or Mālwa : Punjab**

It is to be noted that the Jain author incorporated in his list not only the names of prominent countries, but also the famous peoples of his time. The Mālava (Ka) of the Jain author, therefore, may have stood for the Mālava tribe, mentioned in the early indigenous texts like the 'Mahābhārata' and 'Aṣṭādhyāyī' of Pāṇini. They were probably the 'Mallol' of the classical authors57 whose varied accounts have placed them somewhere in the Punjab. It was from this settlement of the Mālavas over a large part of the Punjab comprising the districts of Ferozepur and Ludhiana, and the old states of Jind, Patiala, Nabha and Malerkotla, that the territory became known as Mālwa.58 The dialect used in the region extending from Ferozepur to Bhatinda is also known by the name 'Malawai'.59

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A large part of Rajputana is also famous as 'Mālava-gaṇa-Vishaya' as the country of the Mālavas. The settlement of the Mālavas over a large part of Rajputana is proved by both numismatic and epigraphic evidences. In Uniyar, a tributary jagir of Jaipur State, a distance of 25 miles, a little east of south from Tonk in Rajputana at a town called Nagar a large number of very small copper coins bearing the tribal name or the name of the tribal chiefs have been found. The dates suggested for those coins range from the 3rd century B.C. to 3rd century A.D. The Mālavas thus settled in this part of Rajputana for a long time.

Further, corroborative evidence can be derived from the Nāsik Cave Inscription of Uṣavadāta, son-in-law of Nahapāna. It is stated in the record that Uṣavadāta, after having won victory over the Mālavas in alliance with the Uttambhadras, bathed in the Pushkar lake near Ajmer. This seems to suggest that the Mālavas were somewhere not very far from Ajmer.

The fact, gleaned from the numismatic as well as epigraphic evidences, again finds corroboration by the Nandsa Yupa Inscription.
of the year 282 of the Kṛta era i.e. 225 A.D. Nandsa is a village situated in the Sahara District of Udaipur State, South Rajputana. The Inscription referred to a Mālava King who performed sacrifices. The findspot of the record naturally leads us to conclude that the Mālavas were at that time living in south Rajputana.

Thus from the 3rd century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D. or still later the Mālavas were in Rajputana and the territory became known as 'Mālava-gana-Vishaya' or the country of the Mālava tribe.

The designation 'Mālava Janapada' is thus found to be applied to different geographical units from time to time. This gradual shifting of the Mālava Janapada from one region to the other is explained by the migration of the Mālava tribe from their original settlement in the Punjab to Rajputana and ultimately to Madhya Pradesh.

Madhya Pradesh

By the middle of the 5th century A.D. the territorial designation 'Mālava' is found to be applied to that part of Central India which formerly was known as 'Ākarāvanti'. The Mālavas had already begun to settle in the western part of the said Mālwa

63. E.I., XXVII, P.252.
territory at least from the beginning of the 5th century A.D. This is proved by the Mandasar Inscription of Naravarman, the Aulikara king, referring to the Kṛta or Malava era of 461 i.e. 403 A.D.\textsuperscript{64} The Aulikaras were probably a branch of the Mālavas, as it may be inferred from their use of the Kṛta or Mālava era in contradistinction to the Gupta era which was prevalent at the time. The settlement of the Mālavas in the western part of the said Mālwa country is proved by a few epigraphic records of the Mālava era found at Mandasar.\textsuperscript{65} Due to long association of the Mālavas with the country newly adopted by them, it gradually came to be permanently known as Mālwa.

Mālava and Avantī:

A clear reference to the country of 'Mālwa' is to be found in the Balaghat Plates of Prithvīseṇa, the Vākāṭaka king.\textsuperscript{66} It is stated in the record that the Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena, father of Prithvīseṇa II, established his suzerainty over the lords of Kośala, Mekalā and Mālava.

A reference to 'Avantī' in the Ajantā Cave Inscription of Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena has led some scholars\textsuperscript{67} to distinguish 'Mālava' from 'Avantī'.

\textsuperscript{64} Select Ins., P.377.
\textsuperscript{67} R.S. Tripathi, History of Kanauj (Benares, 1937), P.46.
According to them, 'Avantī' of the Ajantā Cave Inscription should be identified with western Mālwa, whereas 'Mālava' of Balaghat Plates should be identified with the eastern part of Mālwa.

In this case, reliance has been laid upon the statement of Jayamaṅgala, a commentator on Vātsyāyana's 'Kāmasūtra', according to whom Ujjayinī of the text should be identified with apara Mālava, whereas 'Mālava' with Pūrva Mālava.

'Ujjayinidesabhāvyāstā evāparamālavyāḥ
Mālavya iti pūrvamālavashavāḥ'

The statement of Jayamaṅgala gives us to understand that the connotation of 'Pūrva-ākara-avanti' was still accepted. But the whole of the country referred to by the epigraphic expression had become 'Mālava' by the 5th - 6th centuries A.D. It is difficult to believe that a designation standing for a whole unit might be applied for a part of it.

The use of the terms 'Avantī' and 'Mālava' for one and the same janapada seems to be more probable. 'Mālava' came to be applicable to the janapada presumably after the advent and settlement of the Mālava tribe. Inspite of that, 'Avantī' the ancient

nomenclature continued to be used signifying the ancient tradition of the land.

The separate mention of 'Avantī' and 'Mālava' or Ujjayinī and Mālava' does not necessarily indicate that the two denoted separate regions. Bāṇabhaṭṭa, a court poet of Harṣavardhana, refers to Ujjayinī and Mālava separately. But the women of Mālwa (Mālavi) referred to by him are associated with Ujjayinī in such a way that there is hardly any scope of doubt that the women of Ujjayinī were known as 'Mālavī' or women of Mālava in his time.

Hieung-Tsang referred to 'Mo-la-po' and 'Wu-she-yen-no' which have been identified by Cunningham with Mālava and Ujjayinī respectively. Hieung-Tsang described 'Mo-la-po' and 'Wu-she-yen-no' in such a way that it is very difficult to identify them with 'Mālava' and 'Ujjayinī' respectively.

By the term 'Mālava' the western part of the said Mālwa territory is indicated. This is evident from a record of the 7th century A.D. The Aihole Inscription dated 634 A.D. states

72. Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India (Vārāṇasi, 1963), PP. 412-413.
that the Chalukya King Pulakesin II, ruler of Badami, conquered the Lāṭas, Mālava and Gurjara territories. 'Mālava' of the record represented west Mālava, which was contiguous to both Lāṭa and Gurjara (central and eastern Rajputana). A Vālabhī record dated 639 A.D. reports that Ucयमāṇa bhukti and 'Ucयमāṇa vishaya' (modern Ratlam State about 35 miles west of Ujjainī) were in Mālavaka. There cannot be any doubt that 'Mālavaka' of the record is identical with 'Mālava' which is placed in the western part of the country rather than in the east.

It seems probable that the term 'Mālava' denoted both the eastern and western Mālwa. This is borne out by the Māndāśar inscription of Yasōdharmān of the Aulikara dynasty referring to the year 589 i.e. 532 A.D. The Aulikara king assumed the imperial title of 'Rājadhirāja Paramesvara' and claimed to have spread his suzerainty over the whole earth bounded by the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra), Mahendra (Mahendragiri in the Tirunelvelli District of Madras), the Himalayas and the western sea (Arabian Sea). There might have some exaggerations in the present epigraph which is a prasasti, but the probability of the suzerainty of Yasōdharmān, who defeated the mighty Hūnas, over both eastern

76. Select Ins., pp. 386f.
and western Mālwa cannot be ruled out. Yaśodharman's hold over both eastern and western Mālwa indicates the Mālava occupation over the whole region. It appears that henceforth the name 'Mālava' was applied to a wide region of Central and Western India including the old territory of Avantī (district round Ujjayinī) and Akara and Dāśāma (district round Vidiśā). 77

Thus, from a petty state of Avantī emerged the said Mālwa territory of the 6th Century A.D.

Sapta Mālava

The term 'Mālava' was applied to a wider region in a much later period. There was an early medieval tradition regarding the existence of no less than seven 'Mālava' countries. Anantapala, a feudatory of the later Chalukya King Vikramāditya VI (1076-1127 AD) of Kalyan, claims to have subdued the seven Mālava countries up to Himalaya. This seven Mālava countries, referred to as 'Sapta Mālava' in the epigraphic record, 78 are as follows: 79

1. The country of the Mālavas in the Western Ghats.
2. 'Ma-la-po' on the Māhī governed by the Maitrakas (Mālavakāhāra of Valabhigrunts).

77. D.C. Sircar, Ancient Mālwa & Vikramāditya Tradition (Delhi, 1969), P.12.
3. Avanti in the wider sense of the term ruled by the Kalachuris of the Abhona Plates and by a Brāhmaṇa family in the time of Hieung-Tsang.


5. District round Prayāg-Kausāmbī and Fatehpur in U.P.

6. Part of eastern Rajputana

7. Cis-Sutlej district of the Punjab together with some Himalayan territory.

Most of these territories gradually merged themselves with new ones. But Avanti and Purva Mālava together formed 'Mālava' which retained its existence even in the 19th century A.D.