THE CHRONOLOGY OF INDIA:
From Mahabharata to Medieval Era

Volume II

THE CHRONOLOGY OF INDIA:
From Mahabharata to Medieval Era

Volume II

VEDVEER ARYA

ARYABHATA PUBLICATIONS
Hyderabad

Published by

Aryabhata Publications
Hyderabad
Email: aryabhatapublications@gmail.com

© Vedveer Arya 2019

All Rights Reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission in the writing from the copyright owners and publishers.

First Edition : Oct 2019

Sponsored by :

ITIHASA
इतिहासः पञ्चमो वेदः

ITIHASA
(International True Indian History Association with Scientific Approach)
Email: itihasaorg@gmail.com
www.itihasa.org

Typeset by: Vinod Yadav, ARTOGRAPH®

Printed by: Balaji Offset, M 28, Naveen Shahadara, Delhi-110032

Dedicated to my father...

Transliteration (ISO 15919)

अ	a	आ	ā	इ	i	ई	ī
उ	u	ऊ	ū	ऋ	ṛ	ॠ	ṝ
ए	e	ऐ	ai	ओ	o	औ	au
अं	ṁ	अः	ḥ				

क	ka	ख	kha	ग	ga	घ	gha	ङ	ṅga
च	ca	छ	cha	ज	ja	झ	jha	ञ	ña
ट	ṭa	ठ	ṭha	ड	ḍa	ढ	ḍha	ण	ṇa
त	ta	थ	tha	द	da	ध	dha	न	na
प	pa	फ	pha	ब	ba	भ	bha	म	ma
य	ya	र	ra	ल	la	व	va		
श	śa	ष	ṣa	स	sa	ह	ha		

Volume II

Chapters 16 - 30

Contents

Transliteration ix

Abbreviations xi

16. The Dakśiṇāpatha Kingdoms 1

17. The Chronology of Muslim Rulers in India 73

18. The Chronology of Vijayanagara Empire 117

19. The Chronology of Jammu, Kashmir and Uttarakhand 201

20. The Chronology of Sindhu-Sauvira Kingdom 245

21. The Chronology of Tamilnadu 255

22. The Chronology of Kerala 311

23. The Chronology of Kaliṅga 329

24. The Chronology of Andhras 349

25. The Chronology of Bengal, Assam, Manipur and Tripura 377

26. The Chronology of Nepal 403

27. The Chronology of Sri Lanka 429

28. The Chronology of Burma 463

29. The Chronology of Tibet 487

30. A Brief Chronological History of Sanskrit Literature 515

References 533

Appendix IV 555
Appendix V 567
Appendix VI 571
Appendix VII 577
Appendix VIII 587
Biliography 595

Abbreviations

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

JRAS	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society
KI	Karnataka Inscriptions
MAR	Mysore Archaeological Report
MJLS	Madras Journal of Literature and Science
OHRJ	Orissa Historical Research journal
QJMS	Quarterly Journal of Mystic Society
SII	South Indian Inscriptions
SMHD	Sources of Medieval History of Deccan (Marathi)
BCE	Before Common Era
CE	Common Era
CV	Chaitradi Vikrama era
KV	Karttikadi Vikrama era
LS	Laksmanasena Samvat

16

The Dakśiṇāpatha Kingdoms

Sanskrit poet Rājaśekhara mentions that the region of Jambūdvīpa (Indian peninsula) lying south of Narmada River or Mahiṣmatī city was called Dakśiṇāpatha. It consisted of many janapadas like Maharashtra, Mahiṣaka, Aśmaka, Vidarbha, Kuntala, Śūrpāraka, Krathakaiśika, Kānchi, Kerala, Kāvera, Murala, Vānavāsaka, Simhala, Chola, Dandaka, Pāndya, Pallava, Gānga, Nāsikya, Konkaṇa, Kollagiri and Vallāra, to name the prominent ones. The modern Maharashtra and Chhattisgarh states consist of Maharashtra, Vidarbha, Krathakaiśika, Dandaka, Śūrpāraka, Nāsikya and Konkaṇa janapadas and Karnataka state consists of Kuntala, Vānavāsaka, Murala, Mahiṣaka (Mysore) and Gānga Janapadas. Telangana and Andhra Pradesh were part of Aśmaka janapada. Kerala state consists of Kollagiri and Kerala janapadas. Tamilnadu comprises Kānchi, Pallava, Chola, Pāndya and Vallāra (Velir) janapadas. The chronological history of Tamilnadu, Kerala, Kaliṅga and Telangana & Andhra Pradesh will be discussed threadbare in upcoming chapters. We will discuss primarily the chronological history of Maharashtra and Karnataka in this chapter.

Seemingly, Vidarbha, Śūrpāraka, Kuntala and Mahiṣaka janapadas existed since Rigvedic era. Rigvedic Rishi Agastya's wife Lopāmudrā was the daughter of a Vidarbha king. Chandrahāsa was the king of Kuntala and a contemporary of Devakiputra Krishna as indicated in Jaiminiya Aśvamedha. Paraśurāma came to Śūrpāraka region in the Vedic era. Mahiṣāsura was the king of Mahiṣa mandala (Mysore). The central Karnataka was known as Kishkindha during the Rāmāyaṇa era. Mahābhārata refers to Kuntala, Vanavāsi, Mahiṣaka, Konkaṇa, Śūrpāraka and Vidarbha kingdoms. Sahadeva subjugated the king of Śūrpāraka,

king of Kishkindha, Vānara kings Mainda and Dwivida and king of Talavanapura during the Rājasūya Yajna.

After Mahābhārata war, the cities of Pratiṣṭhāna and Vanavāsi emerged as coveted political capitals of Kuntala kingdom. Undoubtedly, Kuntala janapada was extended up to Pratiṣṭhāna during ancient times. Rajaśekhara's *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* relates the story of Kuntala King Chanḍa-Mahāsena alias Virapāla and his daughter Kuvalayamālā who was a contemporary of Kalachuri or Chedi King Vidyādharamalla alias Karpūravarṣa and Lāta King Chandra Varmā. Seemingly, Kuntala King Chanḍa-Mahāsena might have flourished around 2500 BCE. Soḍhala's Udayasundarīkathā relates the story of King Malayavāhana of Kuntala, whose capital was Pratiṣṭhāna. He was the contemporary of Nāga King Śikhanḍatilaka, father of Udayasundarī.

According to Guṇāḍhya's *Brihatkathā* and Someśvara's *Kathāsaritsāgara*, King Dīpakarṇi was ruling in Pratiṣṭhāna. He found an abandoned child close to the den of a lion and adopted him. Probably, Śāta was a synonym for lion in a Prakrit dialect. Thus, the child came to be known as "Śātavāhana". King Dīpakarṇi placed his adopted son Śātavāhana on the throne of Pratiṣṭhāna. Thus, the Śātavāhana dynasty came into existence around 2500 BCE. *Kathāsaritsāgara* mentions that King Śūdraka I (2300-2200 BCE) gave Karṇāta kingdom to Vīravara and his son Sattvavara. One Śātavāhana king was the contemporary of Guṇāḍhya, the author of *Brihatkathā* and Śarvavarmā, the author of *Kātantra Vyākarana* around 2200-2100 BCE. One of the pillar inscriptions of King Aśoka I (1765-1737 BCE) has reference to the Śātavāhanas.

Seemingly, Mahāpadma Nanda annexed the kingdom of Śātavāhanas and also the Aśmaka kingdom around 1650 BCE. Therefore, the Śātavāhanas migrated to Telangana region and became the vassals of Andhra kings (*Andhrabhrityas*). A branch of Śātavāhanas known as Chutu Śātakarṇis established their kingdom in Vanavāsi roughly around 1400-1300 BCE. Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasutra* (1000 BCE) mentions a Śātakarṇi king of Kuntala. Some coins found in Karwar region refer to Chutu Śātakarṇi kings Chutukulānanda, Mulananda and Śivananda. The Nāgārjunakonda inscription of the Abhira King Vasuṣeṇa refers to King

Vishnurudraśivalānanda Śātakarṇi of the city of Vanavāsa (*Vanavāsakena ca Vishnurudraśivalānanda Śātakarṇinā…*).[1] The Chutu Śātakarṇis reigned over Vanavāsi of Kuntala till the rise of Kadaṁba dynasty around 500 BCE.

King Simuka of the Śātavāhana dynasty (826-803 BCE) re-established his kingdom in Pratiṣṭhāna but also extended up to Magadha. The rise of Vikramāditya I (719-659 BCE) and Śālivāhana (659-630 BCE) led to the decline of the Śātavāhanas in Pratiṣṭhāna but Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (439-418 BCE) again re-established the power of Śātavāhanas for a short period. King Vindhyaśakti (385-365 BCE) founded the rule of Vākāṭaka dynasty in the 4th century BCE. The Vākāṭakas reigned over Vidarbha and Vatsagulma regions of Maharashtra around 385-150 BCE.

The Kadaṁba Dynasty of Vanavāsi

The Kadaṁba dynasty was founded by Mayūraśarman in the beginning of the 5th Century BCE. He was the descendant of a Vedic Brahmana family *"Hārīti"* and belonged to the *"Mānavya"* gotra. The rulers of this family were called Kadaṁbas as they would take special care of a "Kadaṁba" tree blossoming near their house. The Kadaṁbas were the rulers of the Kuntala region (North-west of Karṇātaka) and Vanavāsi (also called as Vaijayantī) was their capital. The Talagunda (Sthānakundura) pillar inscription[2] narrates the history of the Kadaṁba dynasty.

"Once Mayūraśarman, along with his teacher Viraśarman went to the capital of the Pallavas (Kāñchipuram) in order to complete his Vedic studies. There he had a fierce quarrel with a Pallava official, who was riding a horse *(tatra Pallavāśva-saṁsthena kalabhena tīvreṇa roṣitaḥ)*. He was enraged by the helplessness of Brahmanas against Kśatriyas and decided to adopt the life of a Kśatriya. He overpowered the Pallava guards of the frontier and occupied the inaccessible forests around Śriparvata (Śriśailam in Kurnool District). He established himself as the powerful ruler of the area and also levied tribute on the Bāṇa King Bṛhad Bāṇa. The Pallavas sent an army to eliminate him but he inflicted heavy losses on them. Ultimately, the Pallavas accepted him as an ally and recognised him as the king of a territory between Amara Ocean (Western Ocean) and Premara country (unidentifiable, but very likely, an eastern landmark)."

Thus, the Brahmana Mayūraśarman became a Kśatriya Mayūravarman and founded the kingdom of the Kadaṁba dynasty. Only the Candravalli inscription[3] written in Mahārāṣtrī Prakrit belong to the reign of Mayūraśarman. He was succeeded by his son Kaṅgavarman. Bhagīratha, the son of Kaṅgavarman, had two sons, Raghu and Kākustha. The Halsi plates of Yuvarāja Kākusthavarman I[4] are dated in the eightieth victorious year. Probably, the 80th year was counted from the commencement of Mayūravarman's reign. Kākusthavarman I became a powerful ruler and married off his daughters to the royal families of the Guptas and other dynasties. It appears that he was a contemporary of Mādhavagupta and his son Ādityasena of the Krishnagupta dynasty (wrongly identified as the Later Guptas). The Shāhpur inscription of Ādityasena is dated in Śri Harsha era 66 (391 BCE) considering the epoch of Śri Harsha era in 457 BCE. Śāntivarman I was the son of Kākusthavarman I. Talagunda pillar inscription was written during the reign of Śāntivarman I. It is also recorded in the inscription that Kākusthavarman I constructed a great tank near a Śhiva temple of Sthānakundura at which, Śātakarṇi (probably, Chutu Śātakarṇi kings) and other kings had worshipped.

The recently unearthed Gudnapur inscription[5] tells us that Viraśarman was the grandfather of Mayūravarman. Mṛgeśavarman I was the son of Śāntivarman I who married the daughter of the king of Kekaya. Ravivarman I was the son of Mṛgeśa who killed the King Viṣṇudāsa *(nihatya Viṣṇudāsam)*. This inscription also mentions the *Nītiśāstra* (*Arthaśāstra*) of Viṣṇugupta. Interestingly, this inscription is a grant to "*Kāmadevālaya*" and refers to *"Madanotsava"* (festival of love) during the season of Vasanta. *"Kāmadevāyatana"* in *Mṛccḥakaṭikam* of Sūdraka and *"Kāmadevagṛha"* in *Kādambarī* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa also indicate the existence of such social institutions. The Gudnapur inscription probably carries the earliest reference to *"Kāmadevālaya"*.

The chronology of the Kadaṁbas up to Ravivarman I:

	Śaka era (583 BCE)	**In CE**
Mayūraśarman	103-123	480-460 BCE
Kaṅgavarman	123-143	460-440 BCE
Bhagīratha	143-163	440-420 BCE

Raghu	163-173	420-410 BCE
Kākusthavarman I	173-203	410-380 BCE
Śāntivarman I	203-223	380-360 BCE
Mṛgeśavarman I	223-243	360-340 BCE
Ravivarman I	243-268	340-315 BCE

The Ammānikā grant of Śāntivarman II[6] tells us that Śarvavarman, who was born in the dynasty of Mayūraśarman, became the king and thereafter, his son Siṁhavarman I took over the reins. Śāntivarman II, the son of Siṁhavarman I, issued the Ammānikā grant in Śaka 232 (352-351 BCE), that elapsed in his 7th regnal year *(Dvātriṁśaduttara-dviśateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsare saptame varttamāne Vanavāsyām adhivasati vijayaskandhāvāre Śrāvaṇa-sita-dvādaśyām)*. Thus, Śāntivarman II ascended the throne in Śaka 226 (358-357 BCE). However, Historians rejected the Ammānikā grant because Śaka 232 cannot be accommodated in the distorted chronology of the Kadaṁbas. In fact, they are ignorant of the Śaka era that commenced in 583 BCE.

	Śaka era (583 BCE)	**In CE**
Śarvavarman	203-213	380-370 BCE
Siṁhavarman I	213-226	370-357 BCE
Śāntivarman II	**226-258**	**357-325 BCE**

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

Krishnavarman I had two sons namely Viṣṇuvarman and Devavarman. According to the Bālāghāt plates,[7] the Vākāṭaka King Narendrasena married Ajjhita Bhaṭṭārikā, a daughter of the lord of Kuntala. The lord of Kuntala referred to was very likely Viṣṇuvarman. In the Birur grant,[8] Viṣṇuvarman tells us that Śāntivarman III was the elder brother of his father Krishnavarman I. Siṁhavarman II was the son of

Viṣṇuvarman and Krishnavarman II was the son of Siṁhavarman II. The Bannahalli grant[9] of Krishnavarman II was issued in his 7th regnal year and on the 5th tithi of Śukla pakśa of Kārttika month and Jyeṣṭha nakśatra. The Tagare grant[10] tells us that Ajavarman was the son of Krishnavarman II, Bhogivarman was the son of Ajavarman and Viṣṇuvarman II was the son of Bhogivarman.

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

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

1.	2nd Regnal year[11]	10th day of fourth pakśa (fortnight) of Hemanta.	Written by Naravara Senāpati
2.	4th Regnal year[12]	Full moon day of eighth fortnight of Varṣā (Rainy season).	Written by Naravara Senāpati
3.	6th Regnal year[13]	Full moon day of fourth fortnight of Hemanta.	Written by Kīrtivara
4.	7th Regnal year[14]	10th day of bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa month.	Written by Kīrtivara

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

5.	3rd Regnal year[15]	In Pauṣa saṁvatsara, on 10th tithi of the dark fortnight of Kārttika month and Uttarabhadrā nakśatra.	Written by Dharmakīrti Bhojaka
6.	8th Regnal year[16]	On the full moon day of Vaiśākha month.	Not mentioned
7.	8th Regnal year[17]	In Vaiśākha saṁvatsara, on the full moon day of Kārttika month.	Name of Dharmakīrti Bhojaka mentioned.

Mṛgeśavarman, the author of inscriptions 1 to 4 does not mention his father's name or genealogy whereas Mṛgeśavarman, the author of inscriptions 5 to 7 mentions that he is the son of Śāntivarman and the grandson of Kākustha. Moreover, the names of the engravers of the inscriptions also do not match. Thus, Mṛgeśavarman of inscriptions 1 to 4 was a different person, who flourished before the Mṛgeśavarman of inscriptions 5 to 7. Probably, Mṛgeśavarman I reigned around 360-340 BCE.

It appears that Śāntivarman III's elder son Mṛgeśavarman II started ruling during the reign of his uncle Krishnavarman I. Ravivarman II, the son of Mṛgeśavarman II, ruled for more than 35 years. The Ajjibal-Sirsi plates[18] of Ravivarman II are dated in his 35th regnal year. Harivarman was the son of Ravivarman II. The Sangoli grant[19] of Harivarman was issued in his 8th regnal year and on the occasion of Sāyana Tulā saṅkrānti (viṣuva) and the new moon day of Āśvayuja month, which regularly corresponds to 16th Sep 141 BCE. The Halsi grant[20] of Harivarman was issued in his 5th regnal year at the request of the Sendraka King Bhānuśakti. One grant of Nikumbhāllaśakti,[21] the grandson of Bhānuśakti is dated in Kalachuri year 404 (0-1 CE). Therefore, the date of Bhānuśakti can be fixed around 145-90 BCE. It may be noted here that the Kalachuri-Chedi era commenced in 402 BCE.

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

Māndhātṛvarman,[22] the son of Kumāravarman, also ruled for some time, and so did Madhuvarman[23] and Dāmodara[24] but more information

Kākusthavarman II
Śaka 268-303 (315-280 BCE)

	Śaka era (583 BCE)	**In CE**		**Śaka era (583 BCE)**	**In CE**
Śantivarman III	303-353	280-230 BCE	Krishnavarman I	323-353	260-230 BCE
Mrgesavarman II	353-393	230-190 BCE	Vishnuvarman I	353-378	230-205 BCE
Ravivarman I	393-434	190-149 BCE	Simhavarman II	378-401	205-182 BCE
Harivarman	434-463	149-120 BCE	Krishnavarman II	402-423	181-160 BCE
			Ajavarman	423-448	160-135 BCE
			Bhogivarman	448-468	135-115 BCE
			Visnuvarman II	468?	115?

is not available in the inscriptions. The early Chālukya King Kīrtivarman I invaded Vanavāsi in the second half of the 2nd century BCE, bringing the rule of the Kadaṁba dynasty came to an end. The Kadaṁbas could not re-establish themselves due to the rise of the early Chālukyas of Badami and subsequently the rise of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

It appears that a branch of the later Kadaṁbas was ruling in Goa around the 11th century CE. Two grants of Jayakeśi I are dated in the Śaka era (583 BCE). The Panjim grant[25] of Jayakeśi I was issued in Śakānta 981 (1059 CE) *[Candra-vasu-graha-nimite śāke varṣe vikāriṇi prāpte, Āṣāḍha-kṛṣṇa-pakśe vāre śaśalakśmaṇas-tathāṣṭamyām ।]*. Raya viragal[26] of Jayakeśi I was written in Śaka 993 (1071 CE), Virodhikṛt saṁvatsara and on the 14th tithi of the dark fortnight of Jyeṣṭha month, Monday, on the occasion of Saṁkramaṇa. The date regularly corresponds to 30th Jun 1071 CE. The day was indeed Monday according to the epoch of Maya's Sūrya Siddhānta, i.e., 22 Feb 6778 BCE, Sunday and the epoch of Śakānta era, i.e., 1 Apr 78 CE, Sunday (It was Thursday in Julian calendar).

The Kaikeya Kings of Karnātaka

A stone inscription from Anaji in the Davanagere Taluk of Chitradurga district refers to the Kekaya King Sivānandavarmā *(Parama-Māheśvaraḥ … Ātreyagotraḥ Soma-vaṁśhodbhavaḥ Ikśvākubhirapi Rājarśibhiḥ kṛtāvāhavivāhānām Kekayānām kule Jātaḥ Sivānandavarmā…)*. Prabhāvatī, the queen of Kadamba King Mrigeśavarman and the mother of Ravivarman was born in the Kaikeya family. Seemingly, some royal families of Kekaya janapada had migrated to Karnataka during the period 1500-500 BCE when Yavanas, Kushanas and Śakas dominated over Kekaya janapada.

The Bāṇa Dynasty

Bāṇas were the one of the earliest rulers of Kolār region of Karṇātaka and some parts of Andhra Pradesh. They claimed to be descendants of King Bāṇa who was the son of Mahābali. They might have been connected with Mahābalipuram. Koṅgani Varman, the founder of the Gaṅga dynasty, had possibly conquered some parts of the Bāṇa kingdom in the 5th century BCE. Many inscriptions of the Bāṇa kings were found in the Kolār region.

The Mudyanur grant of the Bāṇa King Malladeva Nandivarmā tells us that after many Bāṇa kings had passed away, there was a king named Nandivarmā (400-375 BCE) whose grandson Malladeva Nandivarmā was ruling in Śaka 261 (322 BCE). Malladeva Nandivarmā, the son of Vijayāditya (375-344 BCE), issued the Mudyanur grant in his 23rd regnal year, which means he ascended the throne in Śaka 239 (344 BCE).

The selected text from the Mudyanur Grant:[27]

> *"Ekaṣaṣṭṭuttara-dvaya-śate Śakābdaḥ Pravardhamānātmanaḥ trayo-viṁśati-vartamāna-Vilambi-saṁvatsare Kārttika-śukla-pakśe trayodaśyām Somavāre Aśvinyām nakśatre...."*

Śaka 261 (323-322 BCE) elapsed, *Vilambi* saṁvatsara, 23rd regnal year, 13th tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika month, Aśvinī nakśatra and Monday. This regularly corresponds to 18th Oct 322 BCE and the weekday was Monday (Thursday in Julian calendar). The year 322-321 BCE was Vilambi Saṁvatsara. Interestingly, the backside of the first plate of the Mudyanur grant is an erased Gaṅga grant. The genealogy of the Gaṅga kings is given up to the time of Harivarman on the erased side which also validates the date of the Mudyanur grant. The Gaṅga King Harivarman ruled around 415-365 BCE and the Mudyanur grant was issued in 322 BCE. Therefore, Malladeva Nandivarmā was a contemporary of the Gaṅga King Vishnugopa.

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

The Early Chālukyas of Badami

Vātāpi or Badami (in Bagalkot district of Karṇātaka) was the capital of

the early Chālukya dynasty. Ptolemy mentions Badami as "*Badiamaioi*" indicating that Badami was a place of some significance. Pulakeśin I, the founder of the Chālukya Empire in Vātāpi, according to the Altem or British Museum copper plates, was the grandson of Jayasiṁha and son of Raṇarāga. The Aihole inscription[28] also gives a similar lineage of the Chālukyas. Pulakeśin I ruled from Śaka 411 (172 BCE) to Śaka 466 (117 BCE).

Here is the selected text from the Altem or British Museum copper plates:[29]

> *"Śaka-nṛpābdeṣvekādaśottareṣu catuś-śateṣu vyatīteṣu Vibhava-saṁvatsare pravartamāne, Kṛte ca ye,Vaiśākhodita-pūrṇa-puṇya-divase rāho (hau) vidhau (vidhor) mandalam śliṣṭe....."*

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

Considering 583 BCE as the epoch, Śaka 411th year, i.e., 173-172 BCE elapsed and 172-171 BCE current, the day of 19th Apr 172 BCE was the full moon day of Vaiśākha month and the moon was also in Viśākhā nakśatra. A penumbral lunar eclipse was visible at Badami starting at 19:44 hrs and ending at 21:32 hrs. If 78 CE had been the epoch, 1st May 489 CE was the full moon day of Vaiśākha month but no lunar eclipse was visible at Badami nor was the moon in Viśākhā nakśatra.

Pulakeśin I was also known as "Vallabheśvara". He constructed the fort in Badami in Śaka 465 elapsed as mentioned in a Badami inscription.[30] Pulakeśin I had two sons; Kīrtivarman I and Mangalīśvara. Pulakeśin I was succeeded by his elder son Kīrtivarman I. According to Chālukya inscriptions, Kīrtivarman I defeated the rulers of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Gaṅga, Magadha, Madraka, Kerala, Kadaṁba etc. His younger brother Mangalīśvara succeeded him as the ruler of Badami in Śaka 489 (95 BCE).

Here is the selected text from the Badami cave inscription of Mangalīśvara:[31]

> *"Pravardhamāna-rājya-saṁvatsare dvādaśe Śaka-nṛpati-rājyābhiṣeka-saṁvatsareṣu-atikrānteṣu pañcasu śateṣu mahā-Kārttika-paurṇamāsyām"*

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

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

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

Pulakeśin II defeated Harsha, the king of Uttarāpatha by Śaka 530 (53 BCE) as stated in the Kurtakoti grant of Vikramāditya; it was the greatest achievement of Pulakeśin II. He also defeated the Pallava king and won more than 100 wars against neighbouring kings between Śaka 515 and Śaka 531 (69-53 BCE) and laid strong foundations to Chālukya kingdom. He was referred to in the Hyderabad copper plates as "*Samara-śata-saṁghaṭṭa-paranṛpati-parājayopalabdha-parameśvarāparanāmadheyaḥ*" which meant that Pulakeśin II achieved the title of "*Parameśvara*" by defeating other kings in hundred wars.

Pulakeśin II took over the reins of Badami in Śaka 532 (52 BCE) from his older son Kokkulla Vikramāditya and appointed him as Viceroy of the Lāta region. Buddhavarasarāja, the younger brother of Pulakeśin II and the uncle of Vikramāditya, was also placed there to support Kokkulla Vikramāditya. The Sanjan grant of Buddhavarasarāja[32] indicates this clearly. This grant was issued on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new moon day of Pauṣa month but the Śaka year is not mentioned. There was

only one solar eclipse which occurred on Pauṣa Amāvāsya, i.e., 5th Jan 28 BCE between Śaka 515 and Śaka 602 (69 BCE-19 CE). Śaka 515 was the 1st regnal year of Kokkulla Vikramāditya whereas Śaka 602 was the last regnal year of Vikramāditya I. Thus, the date of the Sanjan grant can be conclusively fixed on 5th Jan 28 BCE. This means Kokkulla Vikramāditya was ruling the Lāta region in Śaka 555 (28 BCE).

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

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

Pulakeśin II had three younger brothers namely Kubja Vishnuvardhana, Buddhavarasarāja and Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarmā. As stated above, Buddhavarasarāja was supporting Kokkulla Vikramāditya in the Gurjara region. Pulakeśin II appointed Kubja Vishnuvardhana, who later founded Eastern Chālukya dynasty at Veṅgi as Viceroy of coastal Andhra region. It seems that Pulakeśin II also appointed his brother Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarmā as Viceroy near Balegrāma (Belgaum). The Nirpan grant of Nāgavardhana,[33] issued by Tribhuvanāśraya Nāgavardhanarāja, the son of Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarmarāja, clearly tells us about the brother of Pulakeśin II. Pulakeśin II had at least six sons, namely Kokkulla Vikramāditya, Chandrāditya, Raṇarāgavarmā, Ādityavarmā, Vikramāditya I and Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarmā.

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

Pulakeśin II was ruling in Śaka 557 (26 BCE) as mentioned in the Aihole inscription.[34] Śaka 577 (6 BCE) was the first regnal year of Vikramāditya I. The Nerur grant[35] and Kochre grant[36] of Queen Vijayabhaṭṭārikā (the wife of Chandrāditya, the elder brother of Vikramāditya I) were probably issued between Śaka 561 and Śaka 577. The Nerur grant was issued in the 5th regnal year of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā on the 2nd tithi of the dark fortnight of Āśvayuja month and on the occasion of "Viṣuva". Viṣuva or Viṣuvatkāla means Sāyana Meṣa Saṅkrānti (21st Mar) or Sāyana Tulā Saṅkrānti (23rd Sep). Therefore, the Nerur grant was issued on Sāyana Tulā Saṅkrānti, on kṛṣṇa-pakśa dvitīyā of Āśvayuja corresponding to only one date, i.e., 23rd Sep 18 BCE between Śaka 561 to Śaka 577. Thus, Vijayabhaṭṭārikā's 1st regnal year was Śaka 562 (22-21 BCE). It appears that Pulakeśin II was alive up to Śaka 561 (23-22 BCE).

Vijayabhaṭṭārikā's grant clearly mentions that Vikramāditya I was the successor of the Chālukya Empire (*Sva-vamśajām lakśmīm prāpya ca parameśvaram nivārita-Vikramādityaḥ*). Probably, Vikramāditya I had to encounter internal conflicts for succession as well as invasions from neighbouring kings after the death of Pulakeśin II. It is likely that Vikramāditya I took the responsibility of re-establishing the supremacy of the Chālukyas. He allowed Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, the wife of his elder brother Chandrāditya to take over the reins in Vātāpi and he himself led the army to counter aggressive neighbouring kings. Vijayabhaṭṭārikā ruled between

Śaka 562 (22-21 BCE) and Śaka 576 (8-7 BCE). Vikramāditya I ascended the throne in Śaka year 577 (6 BCE).

Here is the selected text from the Talamanchi (Nellore) plates of Vikramāditya I:[37]

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

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

The Savnur plates[38] of Vikramāditya I are dated in Śaka 597 (14 CE). Vikramāditya I was succeeded by his son Vinayāditya in Śaka 602 (18-19 CE).

Here is the selected text from the Dayyamdinne plates of Vinayāditya:[39]

> *"Caturddaśottara-ṣaṭccẖateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣu atīteṣu pravardhamāna-vijayarājya-saṁvatsare dvādaśe varttamāne..... āṣādha-paurṇamāsyām dakśiṇāyana-kāle" (Śaka 614 elapsed, 12th regnal year, full moon day of Āṣāḍha month, on the occasion of Dakśiṇāyana Saṅkrānti).*

The current year is 30-31 CE and 31-32 CE is elapsed. The date regularly corresponds to 22nd / 23rd Jun 31 CE. This date cannot be explained in the epoch of Śakānta era (78 CE).

Here is the selected text from the Kendur plates of Kīrtivarman II:[40]

> *"Viditamevāstu vosmābhiḥ dvisaptatyuttara ṣaṭccẖateṣu Śakavarṣeṣvatīteṣu pravardhamāna-vijayarājya-saṁvatsare ṣaṣṭhe varttamāne..... Vaiśākha paurṇamāsyām Somagrahaṇe" (Śaka 672 elapsed, 6th regnal year, lunar eclipse on the full moon day of Vaiśākha month)*

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

Vijayāditya, Vikramāditya II and Kirtivarman II ruled from Śaka 619 (36 CE) to 680 (97 CE). The Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Dantidurga and Krishnarāja

defeated Kīrtivarman II and Chālukya empire came to an end by Śaka 680 (97 CE).

The chronology of the early Chālukyas:

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

A comparative analysis of verifiable epigraphic evidence:

		The Epoch : 583 BCE (Śaka era)	**The epoch : 78 CE (Śakānta era)**
1.	Lunar Eclipse on full moon day of Vaiśākha month and moon in Viśākhā nakśatra.[41] (411th year elapsed, 412th year of Śaka was current)	Lunar eclipse was visible on 19th Apr 172 BCE and Moon in Viśākhā nakśatra.	No Lunar eclipse on 1st May 489 CE.
2.	Total solar eclipse on new moon day of Vaiśākha month (between Vaiśākha and Jyeṣṭha months) and moon was in Rohiṇī nakśatra.	Total solar eclipse was visible on 9th May 53 BCE, Sunday.	No Solar eclipse in the year 608 CE.

	Sun and Moon was also in Vṛṣabha Rāśi, i.e., Taurus sign and Sunday.[42] (530th year elapsed, 531st year of Śaka was current)		
3.	Solar eclipse on new moon day of Bhādrapada month.[43] (534th year elapsed, 535th year of Śaka was current)	Solar eclipse was visible on 21st Aug 49 BCE.	No Solar eclipse in the year 612 CE. Only in 613 CE which was 536th year of Śaka and the month was Śrāvaṇa not Bhādrapada. (*Technically, only elapsed or current year should be acceptable*)
4.	Solar eclipse on the new moon day of Śrāvaṇa month.[44] (6th regnal year of Vikramāditya I, i.e., 583rd year of Śaka)	Solar eclipse was visible on 31st Jul 1 BCE.	No Solar eclipse on 11th Aug 660 CE.
5.	Śaka 591 elapsed, 15th Regnal year of Vikramāditya I. The 8th tithi of the dark fortnight of Āśvayuja month and "Viṣuvatkāla".[45] (Sāyana Tulā Saṅkrānti)	Considering Śaka 591 current, the date was 22nd/23rd Sep 7 CE.	Regular. The date was 23rd Sep 669 CE.
6.	Uttarāyaṇa ended in Jyeṣṭha month.[46] (Śaka 594 elapsed & 17th regnal year of Vikramāditya I)	Uttarāyaṇa ended on 17th Jun 11 CE and Jyeṣṭha month ended on 20th Jun 11 CE.	This cannot be explained in 672 CE.
7.	Full moon day of Āṣāḍha month during Dakśināyana period.[47] (Śaka 614 elapsed, 12th regnal year)	The date was 23rd Sep 31 CE.	The date is irregular in 691 CE or 692 CE.

8.	Kārttika Paurṇamāsi, Lunar Eclipse, Thursday.[48] (Śaka 627 elapsed, 10th regnal year).	The date corresponds to 7th Sep 43 CE.	Irregular.
9.	Āśvayuja Paurṇamāsi, at the time of autumnal equinox.[49] (Śaka 630 elapsed, 13th regnal year)	Sāyana Tulā Saṅkrānti occurred on 22nd/23rd Sep 47 CE.	The date is irregular in 708 CE.
10.	Chaitra Paurṇamāsi, Saṅkrānti, Monday.[50] (Śaka 640 elapsed, 22nd regnal year)	The date corresponds to 18th/ 19th Mar 56 CE.	Regular. The date was 21st Mar 718 CE.
11.	Lunar eclipse on full moon day of Vaiśākha.[51] (672 years elapsed, 673rd year of Śaka)	Lunar eclipse was visible on 24th Apr 88 CE. (considering the 672nd year as current)	No Lunar eclipse on Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsi of 749 CE, or 750 CE or 751 CE.

All verifiable details from the 12 inscriptions above exquisitely correspond to the dates in Śaka era (583 BCE) as explained, whereas the details of only two inscriptions can be explained in the epoch of Śakānta era (*Śaka-kālātīta era*), i.e., 78 CE. The strongest epigraphic evidence, i.e., one total solar eclipse and two partial solar eclipses cannot be explained in the Śakānta era. Thus, it is evident that the early Chālukyas used the epoch of the Śaka era that commenced in 583 BCE.

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

1.	Lunar eclipse on the full moon day of Jyeṣṭha? (Āṣāḍha) month.[52] (Śaka 594 year elapsed & 17th regnal year of Vikramāditya I)	Considering the month as Jyeṣṭha, the date was 4th Jun 11 CE and the total lunar eclipse was visible from 18:52 hrs to 21:00 hrs.	Considering the month as Jyeṣṭha, the date was 17th May 672 CE and the lunar eclipse was visible but month needs to be verified.

	Tembhurni plates of Vikramāditya I, (JESI, Vol 10, 1983) were found in damaged condition. It seems that "Jyeṣṭha" month has been assumed with reference to 672 CE. Probably, the month was Āṣāḍha not Jyeṣṭha. It needs verification from the original plates.		
2.	Lunar eclipse on full moon day of Bhādrapada month.[53] (Śaka 645 elapsed, 28th regnal year of Vijayāditya) *Actually,* Śaka *646 elapsed is the 28th regnal year of Vijayāditya. It needs verification from the original plates.*	Partial Lunar eclipse was visible on 7th Sep 62 CE.	Regular in case Śaka 645 elapsed is correct but regnal year cannot be the 28th. Total Lunar eclipse was visible on 20th Aug 723 CE.

The chronology of the early Chālukyas given by JF Fleet and his followers consists of many distortions. In fact, JF Fleet appears to be obsessed with his concocted idea that Pulakeśin II and Harshavardhana were contemporaries of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang. According to JF Fleet, Hiuen Tsang visited the court of Ho-li-sha-fa-t'an-ha or Harshavardhana, otherwise called Shi-lo-o'-t'ie-to or Śīlāditya and apparently visited a capital of the kingdom of Mo-ho-la-ch'a or Maharashtra, the king of which was named Pu-lo-ki-she or Pulakeśin II.[54] Since Hiuen Tsang sojourned in India from 629 CE to 645 CE, JF Fleet argued that the date of defeat of Harshavardhana cannot be earlier than 630 CE. Thus, he distorted the entire chronology of the early Chālukyas by rejecting the Altem plates (Śaka 411), the Kurtakoti plates (Śaka 530) and the Kanadalgaon plates (issued in the 5th regnal year of Pulakeśin II or Śaka 537) as spurious or forgery.

The Kurtakoti and Kanadalgaon plates refer explicitly to the defeat of Harshavardhana that means Pulakeśin II defeated Harshavardhana at

prior to Śaka 530 (53 BCE). This date in Śakānta era should be before 608 CE but JF Fleet argued for the date 630 CE. Truly speaking, the idea to link Pulakesin II and Hiuen Tsang with Harshavardhana of Sthāṇvīśvara is not only baseless speculation but also a palpable forgery because Pulakeśin II flourished in the 1st century BCE whereas Harshavardhana lived in the 5th century BCE because Harshavardhana founded the Sri Harsha era in 457 BCE. In fact, Harsha or Harshavardhana mentioned in the Chālukya inscriptions was Harsha Vikramāditya of Ujjain and not Harshavardhana of Puṣpabhūti dynasty. Pulakeśin II might have defeated Harsha Vikramāditya of Ujjain. Thus, Pulakeśin II and Harsha Vikramāditya lived in the 1st century BCE. As the Chinese chronology explained in the third volume, Hiuen Tsang sojourned in India around 30-15 BCE. Therefore, Hiuen Tsang can be their contemporary.

Interestingly, another historian James Fergusson speculated that Pulakeśin II was a contemporary of Khusru II of Persia. He referred to an Arabic chronicle, which records the fact that in the 36th regnal year of Khusru II of Persia (74-36 BCE), gifts and letters were exchanged between him and Pulakeśin II.[55] He also speculated about a painting in one of Ajanta caves depicting the presentation of a letter from a Persian king to an Indian king, supposedly Pulakeśin II. Since Pulakeśin II and Khusru II were contemporaries, they might have exchanged gifts and letters in 38 BCE.

The Early Chālukyas of Gujarat

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

Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarmā, the youngest brother of Kokkulla Vikramāditya, succeeded him. He had three sons namely Śryāśraya Sīlāditya, Jayāśraya Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa and Avanijanāśraya Puṇakeśirāja. The Navasāri grant of Puṇakeśirāja[56] was issued in

Kalachuri year 490 (87-88 CE). This establishes that the Gujarat branch of the Chālukyas was ruling right up to 88 CE. The rise of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas ended the rule of the early Chālukyas.

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

Here is the selected text from the Pimpalner Plates of Chālukya Satyāśrayadeva:[57]

> *"Svasti Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śateṣu tri (tri) ṣu*
> *daśottareṣvasyām saṁvatsara-māsa-pakśa-divasa-pūrvyāyām tithau"*

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

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

The chronology of early Chālukyas of Gujarat:

	Śaka era (583 BCE)	***Kalachuri-Chedi era (402 BCE)***	***Śakānta era (78 CE)***	***In CE***
Kokkulla Vikramāditya (elder son of Pulakeśin II)	532-573	352-393	—	51-10 BCE
Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha	573-616	393-436	—	10 BCE-33 CE
Śryāśraya Sīlāditya	601-623	421-443	—	18-40 CE
Jayāśraya Vinayāditya	593-653	413-473	—	10-70 CE
Avanijanāśraya Puṇakeśirāja	653-670	473-490	—	70-87 CE
No inscriptions available between 78 CE to 388 CE				
Satyāśrayadeva	—	—	310	388 CE

The verifiable epigraphic evidence:

The Sanjan plates of Buddhavarasarāja:[58] Solar Eclipse on the new moon day of Pauṣa month. Considering the epoch of the Śaka era in 583 BCE, a solar eclipse was visible on 5th Jan 28 BCE (there was only one solar eclipse occurred on Pauṣa Amāvāsyā between Śaka 515 and Śaka 602).

The Nasik plates of Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha:[59] The 10th tithi of the bright fortnight of Chaitra month and "Viṣuva" or Sāyana Meṣa Saṅkrānti. The date corresponds to 18th Mar 34 CE (the 436th year of the Kalachuri-Chedi era, i.e., 33-34 CE is current and 34-35 CE is elapsed considering the epoch in 402 BCE).

The Pimpalner plates of Satyāśrayadeva:[60] Solar eclipse in Śakānta era 310 elapsed. The year was 388-389 CE considering the epoch in 78 CE. A solar eclipse was visible on 18th Aug 388 CE between 13:30 hrs to 16:20 hrs.

It is evident that Western historians and many Indian historians too were ignorant of the different epochs of the Śaka era and the Śakānta era. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji opined that Navasāri grant of Śīlāditya is a forgery because he could not understand the date of the grant and thought that the name "Śīlāditya" cannot be a Chālukya.[61] JF Fleet also declared some grants of the early Chālukyas of Gujarat spurious. Actually, these Indologists were ignorant of the real epoch of the Kalachuri-Chedi

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

Inscriptions of the Early Chālukyas Prior to Pulakeśin I

It is evident from certain inscriptions that Jayasiṁha I, the grandfather of Pulakeśin I, was not the earliest king of the Chālukyas. It appears that the Kaira grant of Vijayarāja,[62] the Maruturu grant of Satyāśraya Śri Pṛthivīvallabha,[63] the Nerur and Huli grants of Mangalarāja,[64] the Godachi grant of Katti Arasa[65] and the Mudhol grant of Pugavarman[66] were issued in periods prior to the reign of Jayasiṁha I. Interestingly, all of the above grants except Mudhol grant mention the phrase *"Svāmi-Mahāsena-pādānudhyātānām"*, a common feature in the grants of the Kadaṁba Dynasty. None of the Badami Chālukya grants from the time of Pulakeśin I mention "*Svāmi-Mahāsena-pādānudhyātānām*" but Veṅgi Chālukyas used it occasionally.

Historians have erred in identifying the Satyāśraya of Maruturu grant to be Pulakeśin II, the Katti Arasa of Godachi grant to be Kīrtivarman I, the Maṅgalarāja of Nerur grant to be Maṅgalīśvara and the Pugavarman of Mudhol grant to be the son of Pulakeśin I. There is no evidence to prove them as such. Unfortunately, these inscriptions are not dated. Only the Kaira grant of Vijayarāja mentions a date in unknown era as

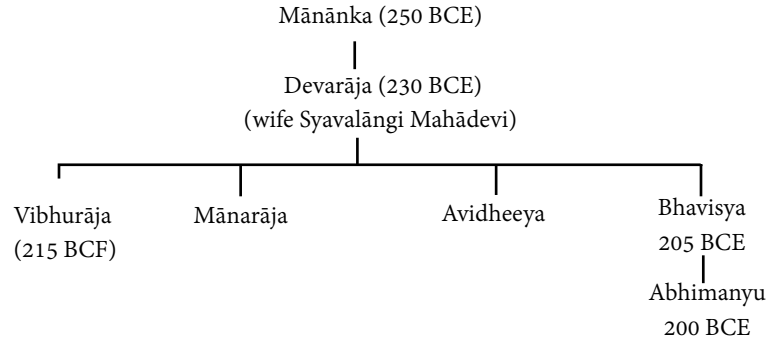
"Saṁvatsara,394,Vaiśākha śu 15". Thus, the Kaira grant was issued on full moon day of Vaiśākha month in the year 394. The Kaira grant also tells us that Vijayarāja was the son of Budhavarmā and the grandson of Jayasiṁha.

It is certain that the date of the Kaira grant was not recorded in the Śaka era. In my opinion, the Kaira grant probably refers to the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE), also known as "Kṛta era" and "Mālava-gaṇa era". Western historians concocted the theory that the Kṛta, Mālava-gaṇa and Vikrama eras have the same epoch that commenced in 57 BCE. However, the Kārttikādi Vikrama or Kṛta or Mālava-gaṇa era commenced in 719 BCE. Thus, the Kaira grant was probably issued in 326-325 BCE. Most probably, early Chālukya kings Vijayarāja, Satyāśraya Śri Pṛthivīvallabha, Maṅgalarāja, Katti Arasa, Maṅgalarāja and Pugavarman reigned around 350-250 BCE. The Huli grant mentions Ravishakti, son of Kannasakti who belonged to Phanikula and who was the king of the Sendrakas. Interestingly, the seal of Huli grant contains the figure of a standing tigress, suckling its cub which was probably the emblem of the early Sendrakas. A comprehensive list of important inscriptions of the early Chālukyas of Badami is provided in **Appendix IV**.

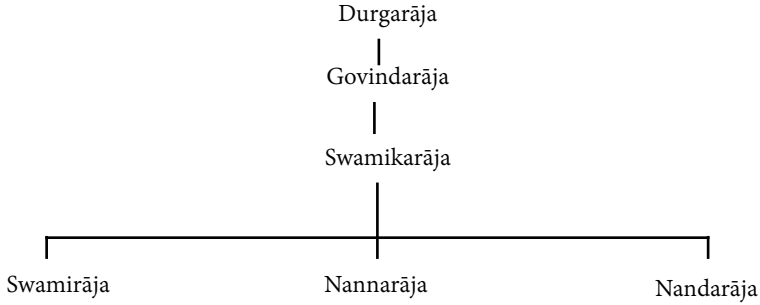
The Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas

Seemingly, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were the descendants of Raṣṭrikas or Raṭhikas mentioned in the edicts of Aśoka. According to a Tamil chronicle namely "*Koṅgu-deśa-rājakkal*", seven Raṭṭa kings ruled over the Koṅgu region before the rise of the Ganga dynasty. The Uṅdikavāṭikā grant of Abhimanyu[67] is the earliest available copper plate inscription of early Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The emblem of this grant bears a Siṁha (lion). Mānāṅka was the founder of the early Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty of Mānapura (later Mānyakheṭa or Malkhed). The Hiṅgni Berdi plates of Vibhurāja[68] and the Paṅḍuraṅga-palli grant of Avidheya[69] also belong to the same lineage of Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Avidheya also claimed to be ruling over Kuntala (Northern Karṇātaka). Unfortunately, these inscriptions are dated either in the regnal years or undated.

The genealogy of the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas:



The Nagardhan plates of Swāmirāja[70] and the Tiwarkheda plates of Nannarāja[71] indicate that the early Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Achalapura ruled over the region of Vidarbha around Śaka 553 (30 BCE). It appears that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas shifted their base to Vidarbha following the establishment of the Chālukya kingdom in Northern Karṇātaka. Thus, the date of Mānāṅka, Devarāja and Abhimanyu must be fixed as being prior to Chālukya Pulakeśin I (172-117 BCE). The Gokak plates[72] of Sendraka King Indrananda mention a Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Dejjā Mahārāja. These plates are dated in Āguptāyika era 845 elapsed. Considering the epoch of the Āguptāyika era in 950 BCE, the year, in which these plates were issued, was 105 BCE. Thus, one Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Dejjā Mahārāja was ruling in the 2nd century BCE.



The Nagardhan, Tiwarkheda and Multai plates[73] provide the genealogy of the Achalapura branch of the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty.

The chronology of the Achalapura branch of the early Rāṣṭrakūṭas:

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

The Main Branch of Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas

The inscription at Daśāvatāra cave at Ellora gives the genealogy of Dantidurga and indicates that Govindarāja was the son of Indrarāja and the grandson of Dantivarmā. Govindarāja was succeeded by his son, Karkarāja. The Bhindon grant of the feudatory of Karkarāja[74] tells us that Karkarāja was also called "Pratāpaśīla". Indrarāja was the son of Karkarāja. Indrarāja defeated the Western Chālukya king and married his daughter.[75] Dantidurga, the Son of Indrarāja, was the first founder of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire. He built the Daśāvatāra temple at his capital Elāpura (Ellora). He defeated the Chālukya King Vallabha, i.e. Kīrtivarman II, the kings of Kāñchi (Pallava), Kerala, Chola, Pāṅḍya, Śri Harsha, Vajraṭa and Karṇāṭaka between Śaka 671-675 (88-92 CE) [*Kāñchiśa-Keralanarādhipa-Chola-Pāṅḍya-Śri-Harsha-Vajraṭa-vibheda-vidhāna- dakśam, Karṇāṭakam*].[76] He defeated the kings of the Gurjara dynasty in Ujjain and made them his "*Pratīhāra*" or door keepers. He also extended his empire up to the Konkan region.

Three copper plate grants of Dantidurga:

The Ellora Plates:[77] *Śaka 663 current, Āśvayuja month, Śuddha trayodaśī, Somavāra (Monday)*. The date corresponds to 8th Oct 78 CE.

The Manor Plates:[78] *Śaka 671 current, i.e., 88 CE.* No details for verification.

The Samangad Plates:[79] *Śaka 675 elapsed, Māgha month, Rathasaptamī (7th day in bright fortnight)*. The date corresponds to 4th Jan 92 CE.

After the untimely death of Dantidurga, Krishnarāja or Krishna I, the son of Karkarāja and the uncle of Dantidurga, took over the reins.

He annexed the kingdom of the early Chālukyas and Manna-nagara (Mānapura) from the Gaṅgas.[80] His son Govindarāja II was appointed as Yuvarāja in Śaka 692 (109 CE).[81] Govinda II subjugated the Eastern Chālukya King of Veṅgi Vishnurāja or Vishnuvardhana IV. He and the Pallava King Nandivarmā also played a role in the coronation of Gaṅga King Śivamāra II.

The copper plate grants of Krishnarāja I & Govindarāja II:

The Manne Plates of Krishnarāja I:[82] *Śaka 680 current, "Hemalamba" saṁvatsara, new moon day of Āśvayuja and solar eclipse.* Probably, the day was 24th Oct 97 CE).

The Barsi Plates of Krishnarāja I:[83] *Śaka 687 current (103-104 CE), "Śubhakṛt" saṁvatsara, new moon day of Jyeṣṭha month and solar eclipse.* The date corresponds to 22nd Jun 103 CE.

The Talegaon plates of Krishnarāja I:[84] *Śaka 690 current (106-107 CE), "Plavaṅga" saṁvatsara, new moon day of Vaiśākha month and solar eclipse.* Vaiśākha amāvāsyā occurred on 21st Apr 106 CE and a solar eclipse was visible between 16:56 hrs and 18:28 hrs.

The Alas Plates of Govindaraja II:[85] *Śaka 692 current, "Saumya" śamvatsara, Āṣāḍha śuklapakśa saptami.* The date corresponds to 3rd Jun 108 CE.

Govinda II also known as "*Vallabha*", was referred to as "*Jagattuṅga-Prabhūtavarṣa-Pratāpāvaloka-Śrivallabha*". The Pimpri plates of Dhārāvarṣa-Dhruvadeva[86] clearly mention that Govindarāja was called "*Vallabha*" (*Vallabhākhyaḥ..... Śrigovindarājo*). The Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings were in general called as "*Vallabha*". In the concluding *Praśasti* of a Jain Purāṇa "*Harivaṁśa*", Jinasena states:

> *"Śākeṣvabdaśateṣu Saptaṣu diśam pañcottareṣūttarām,*
> *Pātīndrāyudhanāmni Kṛṣṇanṛpaje Śrivallabhe dakśiṇām,*
> *Pūrvām Śrimadavanti-bhūbṛti nṛpe vatsādhirāje'param,*
> *Śauryānāmadhimandale Jayayute vire varāhe'vati"* [87]

"During the Śaka year 705 (121-122 CE), Śrivallabha (Govindarāja or his brother Dhruvarāja) ruled in the South, Indrāyudha in the North, Vatsarāja of Avanti in the East and Varāha or Jayavarāha of Śaurya territory (Saurāṣṭra) was ruling in the West." These directions are given

with reference to Vardhamānapura (*Śripārśvālaya-Nannarāja-vasatau*), probably Wadhwan in Jhālāvad division of Kāṭhiāwād. Only one inscription of Pratīhāra Vatsarāja that was issued in *Śaka kāla* 717 elapsed (134-135 CE), is available.

Muni-śaśi-naga-saṁsthe yāti kāle Śakānām ।
Surabhi-charama māse śukla-pakśe daśamyām ॥[88]

The date referred to is the 10th tithi of the bright fortnight of Surabhi-charama (last month of Vasanta ritu i.e. Vaiśākha) month in Śaka year 717 elapsed corresponding to 21st Apr 134 CE. This inscription mentions the victories of Vatsarāja over the Karṇāta, Lāṭa rulers, Jayāpīda of Kashmir and the king of Gauda *(avajitāśeṣa-Karṇāṭa-Lāṭair bhaṅgtvā dikśu kśatārir-jjaya-janita-Jayāpīda-pīdasya yasya)*. The Jayāpīda mentioned in this inscription was Chippata Jayāpīda who ruled over Kashmir around 102-114 CE. Kuvalayamāla of Uddyotana Sūri[89] was composed in Śaka 700 (116-117 CE) at Jāvālipura (Jalor) during the reign of Vatsarāja. Thus, Vatsarāja was a contemporary of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda II and Dhārāvarṣa Dhruva.

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

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

"Tasyānujaḥ Sri-Dhruvarāja-nāmā mahānubhāvo-vihata-pratāpaḥ prasādhitā'śeṣa-narendra-cakraḥ krameṇa vālārka-vapur-babhūva"[90]

The verb "*babhūva*" is used only in the narration of events that took place in the remote past and certainly would not have been used for the

reigning King Dhruvarāja. Therefore, it is evident that Dhruvarāja II of the Pimpri grant refers to his ancestor Dhruvarāja I. Thus, the reign of Dhruvarāja, the younger brother of Govindarāja, flourished in the 2nd century CE, whereas Dhruvarāja II of the Pimpri grant ruled in the 8th century CE.

It appears that Dhruvarāja I was coronated by the ministers around Śaka 700-706 (117-123 CE) as Govindarāja became increasingly addicted to women and shirked from his responsibilities. Dhruva, who was also called "Nirupama", imprisoned the powerful Gaṅga king (Śivamāra II) and defeated Vatsarāja who attempted to seize the Gauda (Bengal) kingdom.[91] Dhārāvarṣa's son Govinda III, who ascended the throne as Yuvarāja around Śaka 720 (137 CE), ensured the release of the imprisoned Gaṅga King (Śivamāra II).

Three copper plate grants of Govinda III:

The Manne plates:[92] *Śaka 724 (140-141 CE), Lunar eclipse and Puṣya nakśatra.* Total Lunar eclipse was visible on 11th Dec 140 CE from 19:57 hrs to 1:22 hrs. (The nakśatra was Ārdra according to modern Sūrya Siddhānta; needs verification.)

The Manne plates:[93] *Śaka 732 elapsed (148-149 CE), Full moon day of Pauṣa month, Puṣya nakśatra and lunar eclipse.* The lunar eclipse was visible on 11th Jan 149 CE.

The Kadaṁba plates:[94] *Śaka 735 elapsed, 10th tithi of the bright fortnight of Jyeṣṭha month, Puṣya nakśatra.* The date corresponds to 12th May 151 CE. (The nakśatra was Uttara Phālguni not Puṣya.)

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

"Akālavarṣa-bhūpāle pālayatyakhilānilam..... Śaka-nṛpa-kālābhyantara-viṁśatyadhikāṣta-śata-mitābdānte Maṅgala-mahārtha-kāriṇi Piṅgala-nāmani samasta-jana-sukhade l"

"Śrī-Pañcamyām budh-ārdra-yuga-divasa kare Maṅtri-vāre Budhāṁśe,

pūrvyāyām Siṁha-lagne Dhanuṣi Dharaṇije Vṛścike Kau Tulāyām
sarpe śukle kulīre gavi ca Suraguruḥ niṣṭhitam bhāvyavaryaiḥ,
prāpte jyām sarvasāram jagati vijayate puṇyametat purāṇam ॥"[95]

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

The Eastern Chālukya inscriptions refer to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas as Raṭṭas. The grant of Ammarāja I[96] tells us that Vijayāditya Narendra Mrigarāja fought 108 battles in 12 years against the forces of the Raṭṭas and Gaṅgas. Narendra Mrigarāja (141-180 CE) was a contemporary of Govinda III & Amoghavarṣa I. This grant also tells us that Guṇagāṅka Vijayāditya (182-226 CE), at the instigation of the king of the Raṭṭas, conquered the Gaṅgas and cut off the head of Maṅgi in battle field. He also terrorised Krishna (Akālavarṣa Krishnarāja II) and burnt his city. Later, the province of Veṅgi was overrun by the new Raṭṭa claimants, probably, during the reign of Chālukya Bhīma (227-256 CE).

Two Inscriptions of Akālavarṣa Krishnarāja II:

The Saundatti Inscription of Pṛthivīrāma, a feudatory of Krishnarāja II:[97] *Śaka 797 elapsed, Manmatha saṁvatsara.* 213-214 CE elapsed and 214-215 CE is current; no details for verification.

The Mulgund Inscription of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Krishnavallabha:[98] *Śaka 824 elapsed, and Dundubhi saṁvatsara.* 240-241 CE elapsed and 241-242 CE is current; no details for verification.

The Chronology of the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dynasty:

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

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

According to the Pulivarru grant of Ammarāja I, Indaparāja was the king of Mānyakheṭa *(Śri-Mānyakheṭādhipatirindaparāja nāmā vidita-mahāraṭṭavaṁśajaḥ prakaṭaguṇaḥ).*[99] Ammarāja ruled for seven years around 257-263 CE. The author of "*Jwālā Mālini Kalpa*" stated that he completed the work in Śaka 861 elapsed (278-279 CE) during the reign of Krishnarāja *(Aṣṭa-śata-saika-ṣaṣti-pramāṇa-Śaka-saṁvatsareṣu atīteṣu Śri-Mānyakheṭa-kaṭake parvaṇyakśaya-tritīyāyām.... Śri-Krishnarāja-rājye samāptametat....).*[100] The Chedi King Krishnarāja was probably ruling around Śaka 861 (278-279 CE). According to the Shravanabelagola inscription,[101] Indrarāja III died in Śaka 904 (320-321 CE). The rule of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas ended due to the rise of Western Chālukyas in the beginning of the 4th century CE.

The Date of Ellora's Kailash Temple

Kailash temple of Ellora is the largest single monolithic structure and one of the greatest manmade wonders of the world. This Śiva temple is located close to the famous Ghrishneshvara Jyotirlinga temple. Evidently, Ellora is an ancient center of Śaivism. There are total 34 rock-carved temple-monastery caves excavated out of Ellora hills. Out of 34 caves, 12 are Buddhist caves on the southern side (Caves,1-12), 17 are Hindu caves in

the middle (13-29) and 5 are Jain caves at the northern end (30-34). These caves have been serially numbered from 1 to 34 starting from southern end of the hill to the northern end. The Kailash temple is the 16th Cave.

Archaeologists and historians generally agree that these caves of Ellora were built in the following three phases:

- Early Hindu Phase - 400-600 CE (Caves 17-19)
- Buddhist Phase - 600-730 CE (Caves 1-12)
- Hindu and Jain Phase - 730-950 CE (Hindu Caves 13-16 & Jain Caves 30-34)

It is evident from the chronological history of Ellora that Hindu temple caves are the earliest structures in the hills of Ellora. Buddhist and Jain caves have been excavated later. But historians unreasonably date the Daśāvatāra temple (Cave 15) and the Kailash temple (Cave 16) in the later phase citing epigraphic evidence. According to them, Daśāvatāra temple cave was excavated during the time of Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Dantidurga and Kailash temple cave was excavated during the reign of King Krishna I. Ferguson and Burgess speculated that "All the superfluous wealth of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince (Krishna I) was placed at the disposal of the Brahmanas, to commemorate their triumph over the Buddhists, the Kailash must always remain a miracle of patient industry applied to well defined purpose."

German scholar Hermann Goetz says[102]: "The Kailash is generally dated into the middle of the 8th century approximately, on the evidence of reference in inscriptions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty which attribute its erection to Krishnarāja I (757-772 CE). However, on the closer inspection the problem appears not so simple. The Kailash is not a homogenous building erected under one ruler. Its very size alone excludes the possibility of its having been excavated and sculptured within the fifteen years of Krishnarāja's reign. For the narrowness of space and the technical resources then available had to keep in bounds even the ambitions of such a strong ruler." Goetz made an exhaustive study of Kailash temple and speculated its development through eight architectural phases. According to Goetz, the lion and elephant frieze on the lower plinth of the Kailash temple was carved during the first half of the 11th century.

According to historians, the general design of the Kailash temple is inspired by the architecture of the Virūpākśa temple of Pattadakal. It is also observed that there are a number of panels which belong to the period of early Chālukyas. Historians thought that Chālukyan artists were present at Ellora because the Kailash temple was being carved out on a Chālukyan prototype, i.e., Virūpākśa temple of Pattadakal. Thus, the historians have propounded the following three main hypotheses:

1. *Kailash temple (Cave 16), Daśāvatāra temple (Cave no. 15), Cave no. 13 and 14 have been excavated after the Buddhist phase. These caves cannot be erected without having advanced skills of rock-carving. Therefore, the Caves from 13 to 16 must be dated after the Buddhist phase.*

The monoliths of Cave no. 13-16 are situated prominently in the hill of Ellora and the best monoliths among the available ones for rock-cut temples. It is evident that whoever occupies the hill first, he would naturally select these monoliths for excavation of caves. For the sake of argument, let us assume that Hindus occupied the hills first but Buddhists took over the hill before Hindus could plan a temple on this best monolith. Now the question arises that why Buddhists neglected this best monolith and erected the caves only on the southern end of the hill? Why everyone had conspired to reserve or earmark this monolith for the future construction of the Kailash temple? It seems highly unlikely that Buddhists left this monolith untouched though it was available. In reality, Kailash temple and Daśāvatāra temple had been already erected on this monolith before the Buddhist occupation of the hill. Therefore, Daśāvatāra and Kailash temple caves must be dated in the earliest phase.

2. *The Daśāvatāra cave inscription, Kailash temple inscription, Kadamba copper plates and Bagumra copper plates clearly indicate that the Caves 13, 14, 15 and 16 were excavated during the time of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings Dantidurga and Krishna I.*

The inscription of Daśāvatāra Cave (No. 15) opens with an address to Śiva and Parvati.[103] It contains 29 4/3 ślokas. This inscription eulogizes the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty and gives the following genealogy of King Dantidurga:

1. Dantivarmā
2. Indrarāja
3. Govinda
4. Karka
5. Indra
6. Dantidurga

The contents of the inscription clearly indicate that this inscription was written after the death of King Dantidurga. This inscription is a eulogy of Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Dantidurga and it does not give any information about the construction of Daśāvatāra temple. Moreover, it is written in early Devanagari characters which unambiguously indicates that this inscription was written at least 150-200 years after the date of Dantidurga.

Kailash Temple has a small inscription as "*Svasti Kannaradeva*"[104] there were three Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings, having the name of Krishna or Kannara. Moreover, this inscription simply mentions the name of Kannaradeva. This cannot be the evidence to establish that King Kannaradeva erected the Kailash temple.

The Kadamba copper plates also simply eulogize King Krishna I and metaphorically state that King Krishna I was like a Kanneshvara temple.[105] The Bagumra copper plates clearly indicate the existence of the Śiva Temple in Elapura before the time of King Krishna I. These plates' record; "when King Krishna saw this wonderful temple, he admired it to be the real Kailash of Shiva. He had full praise for the Śilpi (Sculptor). King Krishna also wondered that even the Śilpi might have been surprised after seeing what he had created." These plates also say that the people have great admiration for this wonderful edifice since ancient times (*satatam bahu carcayanti*).[106]

Evidently, the epigraphic evidence unambiguously suggests that the Kailash temple was excavated at least a few hundred years before the time of King Krishna I. Therefore, historians have wrongly concluded that the Ellora caves (13 to 16) were excavated during the reign of Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Dantidurga and Krishna I.

3. *Kailash temple was erected during the time of Rāṣṭrakūṭas because the Kailash temple was being carved out on a Chālukyan prototype, i.e., Virūpākśa temple of Pattadakal.*

Since historians wrongly dated the Kailash temple, it is, therefore, speculated that the Ślipi (sculptor) of Kailash temple has copied the design from Virūpākśa temple of Pattadakal. If we correct the date of Kailash temple, it is more likely that the architect of Virūpākśa temple has copied the design from Kailash temple.

In view of the above, we can conclude that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings did not excavate the Daśāvatāra and Kailash temples in Ellora hills but these Hindu temple-caves were erected at least a few hundred years before the time of the early Rāṣṭrakūṭas. When Dantidurga and his uncle Krishna I defeated the Chālukya kings and took control over northern Maharashtra, they established their capital in Elāpura (Ellora and Devagiri fort). A copper plate inscription of Dantidurga dated Śaka 663 is also found in Ellora.[107] In all probability, an inscription was engraved on the west side of a mandapa in front of Daśāvatāra temple when a considerable time could have elapsed after the death of Dantidurga because this inscription was written in early Devanagari characters. The Bagumra copper plates unambiguously inform us that Kailash temple was in existence since ancient times and King Krishna himself admired this wonderful edifice and the Śilpi (sculptor).

Kokāsa : The Sūtradhāra (Architect) and Śilpi (Sculptor) of Kailash Temple

According to the later Kalachuri inscriptions of Ratanpur, Chhatisgarh, Kokāsa was the great Sūtradhāra (architect) and Ślipi (sculptor) of ancient times.[108] These inscriptions refer to the descendants of Kokāsa living in Chhatisgarh. The medieval literary sources of Maharashtra clearly record that Kokāsa was the architect of the Kailash temple. This temple was known as Manikeshwar temple in ancient times.

MK Dhavalikar writes; "There is considerable literary evidence of the medieval period which refers to this rock temple as the Manikeshwar cave temple because it was built by a centain queen Manikavati of the king of Elapura. The story goes that a certain king of Alajapura (Achalapur in

Amaravati, Maharashtra) had committed a certain sin in his previous birth, and as a result, was suffering from incurable disease. Curiously enough, the king suffered from the disease only during the night whereas during day time he was his normal healthy self. Once the king went on a hunting expedition to Mahisamala (Mahisamala near Ellora) and bathed in the tank at that place. After bath he found that he was cured of the disease probably because the sin which he had committed in his previous birth was washed off. The queen, who had accompanied the king, worshipped the god Ghrishneshwar at Elapura and took a religious vow that if the king was cured, she would build a temple in the honour or Shiva. Naturally therefore when the king was cured, she requested the king to build the temple immediately. She decided to observe fast until she saw the sikhara of the temple. The king agreed, but no architect on earth would have been able to build the temple is such a short time. The king summoned many artists, but they all said that it would take at least sixteen months to build a temple with its sikhara. There was, however, one shilpi who would do the job; he was one Kokāsa, a resident of Paithan (ancient Pratishthana), but he would not start his day without a bath in the Godavari River. He was summoned and the king told him his predicament. Kokāsa accepted the challenge and assured the king that the queen could have the darshana of the sikhara within a week's time. Kokāsa then began to carve out the sikhara within a week and saved the royal couple from their predicament. The temple was then named after the queen as Manikeshwar and the king established a settlement at the site."[109]

Evidently, the architect of the Kailash temple was Kokāsa. Medieval literature eulogizes Kokāsa to be the incarnation of Viśvakarmā. He erected the Kailash Cave-temple on the request of the King Ela or Aila of Achalapur and his queen Manikavati. Since the Kailash temple was erected following the religious vow of queen Manikavati, the Kailash was called "Manikeshwar Temple" in ancient times.

The Date of Queen Manikavati of Achalapura

Achalapura (close to ancient Amaravati, Maharashtra) was the ancient kingdom of central India. It appears that Achalapura was the capital of a clan of the Aila dynasty. Sanskrit poet Dandi records that Bharavi's

ancestors migrated from Anandapur of north-western India and settled in Achalapura. According to an excerpt published in 1801 in the sixth volume of the Asiatic Researches or Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the name of the king was Ela or Aila who built the city of Elapura. He also excavated the temples, and built the fortress of Devagiri (Daulatabad). According to Purāṇas, the Aila kings belonged to the lunar dynasty.

Unfortunately, there is no information about the time of the Aila king and his queen Manikavati. In all probability, they lived before the rise of the later Śātavāhanas (828-334 BCE) in Maharashtra. Therefore, Kailash temple might have been erected before the 9th century BCE. It may also be noted that the Kailash temple was the first cave-temple of the hills of Ellora. In view of the above, we can summarize the following chronology of Ellora caves considering the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE):

- Early Phase [Hindu Caves (13-29)] : 1000-830 BCE.
- Middle Phase [Buddhist Caves] : 800-500 BCE.
- Later Phase [Jain Caves] : 100 BCE-300 CE.

The Later Rāṣṭrakūṭas

Interestingly, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were ruling till they were conquered by the early Chālukya Jayasiṁha I (225-200 BCE). The Miraj plates[110] tell us that Chālukya Jayasiṁha I defeated one Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Indra, the son of Krishna to establish the Chālukya kingdom.

> *"Yo Rāṣṭrakūṭa-kulamindra iti prasiddhaṁ*
> *Kṛṣṇāhvayasya sutamaṣṭaśatebhasainyaṁ ।*
> *nirjitya dagdha-nṛpa-pañca-śato babhāra*
> *bhūyaśchālukya-kula-vallabha-rājalakśmīṁ ॥"*

Two Bijapur inscriptions[111] of Vīranārāyaṇa dated in Śaka 1109 (17th Oct 525 CE) and Navasāri grant[112] tells us that Vīranārāyaṇa regained and re-established the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire which was lost to the Chālukyas.

> *"Nimagnām yaschālukyābdhau Raṭṭa-rājya-śriyam punaḥ,*
> *Pṛthvīmivoddharan Dhīro Vīranārāyaṇo'bhavat ।"*

It is evident that the early Chālukya Jayasiṁha I dethroned Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Indra, the son of Krishna and founded the early Chālukya kingdom.

Dantidurga and Krishnarāja established the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire by defeating the early Chālukyas at the end of the 1st century CE. It appears that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas again lost their kingdom to the Chālukyas in the beginning of the 4th century CE. Some later inscriptions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas claim that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were the Yādavas and the descendants of Yadu. It seems that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa-Yādava King Vīranārāyāṇa re-established the rule of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas again in the 6th century CE. The Tadakal (Gulbarga) inscription[113] of Amoghavarṣa, the earliest inscription of the later Rāṣṭrakūṭas to mention Vīranārāyaṇa, is dated in Śakānta 651 (729 CE). Interestingly, this inscription starts with the invocation "*Namastuṅga ciraścumbi....*" which is commonly found in Yādava inscriptions.

The list of inscriptions of the later Rāṣṭrakūṭas dated in *Śaka-kālātīta* era, i.e., Śakānta era (78 CE) is given in **Appendix VI**. We can easily reconstruct the chronology of the later Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Gujarat branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who ruled around the period from the 8th to 10th century CE.

The chronology of the later Rāṣṭrakūṭas

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

The Gaṅgas of Talakad (Tālavanapura)

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

modern districts of Salem, Dharmapuri and Coimbatore) Anantapur and Kolār districts and gradually established the empire of the Gaṅgas in Gaṅgavādi, i.e., Bangalore, Tumkur and Mysore districts. Elephant was the emblem of Gaṅga dynasty. The majority of Early Gaṅga inscriptions were found in this region.

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

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

Koṅgani Varman was the founder of the Gaṅga dynasty of Tālavanapura. Kudlapura stone inscription[114] gives a date as Śaka 25 elapsed (*Śakavarṣam gateṣu pañcaviṁśati 25 neya*), Śubhakṛt saṁvatsara, Phālguna śuddha pañcamī, Rohiṇī nakśatra and Śanivāra (Saturday) referring to Prathama Gaṅga (First Gaṅga) Koṅgani Mādhava Varman. This corresponds to 7th Feb 557 BCE; however, the weekday was Wednesday. No further information is available as to how Śaka 25 is linked to the first Gaṅga King Koṅgani Mādhava Varman but the nakśatra was Rohiṇī on 7th Feb 557 BCE. Possibly, the forefathers of Koṅgani Varman established the Gaṅga kingdom in Śaka 25 (557 BCE). According

to the Hebbata grant of Durvinīta,[115] Mādhava Varmā or Madivarmā was the father of Koṅgani Varman. A Tamil Chronicle[116] called "*Koṅgu-deśa-Rājakkal*" places the reign of Koṅgani Varman in Śaka 111 (473-472 BCE). Earlier, seven kings of Raṭṭa lineage had ruled over the Koṅgu region. Koṅgani Varman dethroned the last Raṭṭa king Śri Vikrama Deva Chakravarty and established the Gaṅga kingdom in Koṅgudeśa in Śaka 111.

The Sasanakota grant[117] was issued in the 1st regnal year of Mādhava Varman I, the son of Koṅgani Varman and the Kandasala grant[118] was issued in his 9th regnal year. He was a learned king, who had authored a commentary on the "*Dattaka Sūtra*". Mādhava Varman I had three sons – namely, Krishnavarman also known as Vijaya Krishnavarman, Āryavarman also known as Ayyavarman and Harivarman also known as Arivarman. The Tanjore plates (Śaka 169)[119] and the Tagadur plates (Śaka 188)[120] indicate that Harivarman was the one of the earliest users of the Śaka era (583 BCE) in South India. Possibly, the Śaka era calendar had become popular by then. These plates provide verifiable details of the reign of Mādhava Varman I.

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

The Tagadur Plates: *Śaka 188 elapsed, "Vibhava" saṁvatsara, the 10th tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna month, Punarvasu nakśatra and Guruvāra (Thursday).* 396-395 BCE elapsed and 395-394 BCE is current. 9th/10th Feb 394 BCE was the śukla daśamī of Phālguna month and the nakśatra was Punarvasu.

The Kudlur Plates:[121] Year *88? or 188? or 198? The era is not mentioned. Māgha māsa, Amāvāsyā, Svāti nakśatra, Sūrya grahaṇa, Somavāra* need verification. The Kudlur grant probably refers to the 88th year of Gaṅga rule from Koṅgani Varman (Śaka 111). Thus, the year intended is probably, 198th year of Śaka (386-385 BCE). A solar eclipse occurred on 25th Sep 386 BCE when the nakśatra was Svāti but the month was Āśvina. It is not possible to have Svāti nakśatra on Magha Amāvāsyā.

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

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

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

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

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

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

As shown above, the dates of inscriptions of Harivarman can be correctly calculated, considering the epoch of Śaka era in 583 BCE. Harivarman had two brothers namely Āryavarman and Krishnavarman. Historians generally accept that Āryavarman and Krishnavarman are the same personality but there is no concrete evidence to prove it. It appears that there was a succession struggle between the three brothers. The Pallava King Siṁhavarman coronated Āryavarman and later, the Pallava King Skandavarman coronated Mādhava Siṁhavarman, the son of Āryavarman as the successor of the Gaṅga kingdom in Kuvalāla or Kolār region.[122] Krishnavarman or Vijaya Krishnavarman[123] also ruled for some time and later, his son Siṁhavarman[124] became the king. There is no further information available about the descendants of Āryavarman and Krishnavarman.

Harivarman's son Vishnugopa succeeded him. It seems that Harivarman and Vishnugopa ruled for over a century. The Harihar grant of the unnamed son of Vishnugopa[125] was issued around Śaka 272

(311-310 BCE) in "*Sādhāraṇa*" saṁvatsara. Vishnugopa had two sons. According to Lewis Rice, Rāja Malla was probably the unnamed son of Vishnugopa who issued Harihar grant. Mādhava II was the second son of Vishnugopa. He married the sister of the Kadaṁba King Krishnavarman. Mallohalli plates[126] indicate that Mādhava II ruled for over 29 years. JF Fleet declared it spurious because his distorted chronology had not enough room to accommodate the rule of more than 29 years of Mādhava II. The Bannitalapura grant of Mādhava II was issued on the occasion of lunar eclipse on Mārgaśīrṣa Pūrṇimā in Śaka 280 (304-303 BCE). The date regularly corresponds to 1st Nov 304 BCE and it is quite likely that 304-303 BCE was the first regnal year of Mādhava II.

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

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

Avinīta was the successor of Mādhava II. It is evident from the Sringeri[127] and Kondinjeruru[128] plates that Avinīta was the youngest child. He was coronated while still in the lap of his mother (*Jananī-devatāṅka-paryaṅkatala-samadhigata-rājya-vaibhava-vilāsena*). Avinīta married the daughter of the Punnāta King Skandavarman. He had two sons namely Durvinīta and Nirvinīta. Based on the regnal years mentioned in the inscriptions, it is evident that Avinīta and Durvinīta, father and son, also ruled for over a century. Avinīta might have had the longer tenure because he became king when still a child. Thus, it seems that Avinīta ruled for 64 years from Śaka 325 to Śaka 389 (258-194 BCE).

The verifiable details of inscriptions of the Gaṅga King Avinīta:

The Śṛngeri Grant:[129] *2nd regnal year, Vaiśākha śukla 5 and Pauṣa śukla daśamī, Rohiṇī nakśatra with reference to Avinita's mother*

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

The Residency Plates:[130] *25th Regnal year, Kārttika śukla pañcamī, Uttarāṣāḍha nakśatra.* The date was 18th Oct 233 BCE and moon was at Uttarāṣāḍhā nakśatra.

The Kudunjeruvu Grant:[131] *25th regnal year, Bhādrapada śukla daśamī, Pūrvabhadrā nakśatra, Thursday.* Uttarāṣāḍhā was on daśamī (25th Aug 233 BCE) and Pūrvabhadrā was on Pūrṇimā (29th Aug 233 BCE).

The Merkara Grant:[132] *Śaka 388, Māgha month, śukla pañcami, Svāti nakśatra, Somavāra (Monday).* The date was 26th Dec 196 BCE, but the nakśatra was Pūrvabhadrā. The date was probably 10th Jan 195 BCE, Māgha kṛṣṇa pañcamī, Svāti nakśatra.

Durvinīta, the son of Avinīta and the daughter of the Punnāta King Skandavarman, succeeded his father. He was a great patron of learning. He wrote a commentary on the 15th Sarga (canto) of *Kirātārjunīyam* in his 20th regnal year (173 BCE). The great poet Bhāravi was the author of *Kirātārjunīyam*. Durvinīta authored a grammatical work known as "*Śabdāvatāra*" and translated "*Bṛhat-Kathā*" into Sanskrit. Guṇāḍhya (2200-2100 BCE) authored *Bṛhat-Kathā* in Paiśāchi dialect of Prakrit and it was known as "*Vaḍḍa-Kathā*". Bhāravi was a contemporary of Gaṅga King Durvinīta.

A Sanskrit work "*Avantisundarīkathā*" narrates an interesting story about Bhāravi. One day, Bhāravi met the Pallava King Siṁhavishnu as a stranger and recited a Sanskrit verse in praise of Narasiṁha, incarnation of Vishnu. Pallava Siṁhavishnu enquired of Bhāravi, who the author of this verse was. Bhāravi replied thus:

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

a pilgrimage and finally settled in the court of Durvinīta. He is the author of this verse."[133]

It is evident that Bhāravi was a contemporary of the Chālukya Vishnuvardhana, the Gaṅga Durvinīta and the Pallava Siṁhavishnu. The Cellur grant of Chālukya Vira Choda,[134] Kalpataru grant of Vijayāditya[135] and the inscription of Tribhuvanamalla[136] tell us that Chālukya kings were endowed with the special coronation names Vishnuvardhana and Vijayāditya *(Vishnuvardhana-Vijayādityādi-viśeṣa-nāmnām)*.

Vishnuvardhana - Jayasiṁha I
Vijayāditya - Raṇarāga
Vishnuvardhana - Pulakeśin I

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

The inscriptions of Durvinīta indicate that he ruled for over 40 years. Some inscriptions refer to him as "*Vṛddharāja*". Thus, the reign of Durvinīta can be fixed between Śaka 390 and Śaka 445 (193-138 BCE). Historians wrongly identified Nirvinīta as Durvinīta. The Tagare grant[137] of Polavīra mentions Nirvinīta as the son of Avinīta. The Serugunda stone inscription[138] also mentions Nirvinīta. It is more logical to conclude that Avinīta had two sons, i.e., Durvinīta and Nirvinīta. Polavīra was the son of Nirvinīta not Durvinīta.

The verifiable details of Gaṅga king Durvinīta's inscriptions:

The Kadagattur Grant:[139] *4th regnal year, Māgha śuddha Saptamī and Revatī nakśatra.* The date corresponds to 22nd Dec 190 BCE.

The Uttanur Plates:[140] *20th regnal year, Kārttika Pūrṇimā, Kṛttikā nakśatra and Abhijit muhūrta.* The date corresponds to 24th Oct 173 BCE.

The Hebbata Grant:[141] *31st regnal year, Phālguna Pūrṇimā, Uttara... nakśatra.* The date corresponds to 18th Feb 161 BCE, Phālguna pūrṇimā and Uttara Phālgunī nakśatra.

The Saliggame Grant:[142] *39th regnal year, Kārttika śuddha puṇya tithi, Śatabhiṣaj nakśatra.* The date corresponds to 30th Sep 155 BCE, Kārttika śuddha daśamī and Śatabhiṣaj nakśatra.

The Nallala Grant:[143] *40th regnal year, Vaiśākha prathama pakśa, parva (lunar eclipse?), Viśākhā nakśatra, brāhma muhūrta.* The date corresponds to 1st Apr 154 BCE, Vaiśākha Pūrṇimā and Viśākhā nakśatra. A lunar eclipse was also visible at 19:28 hrs.

Muṣkara, the son of Durvinīta, also had a very long reign though his records are very few. The British museum grant of Muṣkara[144] mentions him as "*Mokkara Vṛddharāja*". JF Fleet declared it spurious because he could not accommodate a "*Vṛddharāja*" in his distorted chronology. Kulagana grant[145] of Śivamāra I also refers to him as "*Śrimat Koṅgani Vṛddharāja*". Śrivikrama succeeded his father Muṣkara and married the daughter of Sindhurāja (*Śakala-digantara-prasiddha-Sindhurāja-duhitṛvaraḥ*). He also married the daughter of a Chola king descended from the reputed Karikāla. The Bedirur grant[146] tells us that Bhūvikrama was born to Śrivikrama and the daughter of a Chola king *(Kārita-kāverītīra-karikāla-kula-vaṁśotpanna-Chola-nṛpati-putrī-putraḥ)*. Bhūvikrama started ruling from Śaka 531 (52 BCE) because the Bedirur grant was issued in his 25th regnal year (Śaka 556). He defeated a Pallava king during his reign and ruled for a long period.

Śivakumāra or Śivamāra I, the youngest brother of Bhūvikrama, succeeded him. He was also known as Navakāma. The Hallagere grant[147] of his 34th regnal year is dated, Śaka 635 (51-52 CE) which means Śivamāra I ascended the throne in Śaka 601 (17-18 CE). Bhūvikrama's reign appears to be very long from Śaka 531(52 BCE) to Śaka 600 (17 CE) and is probably inclusive of his reign as Yuvarāja. Śivamāra I ruled up to Śaka 648 (65 CE) and lived a full life of hundred years. Śivamāra's grandson Śripuruṣa succeeded him. The Javali plates[148] give Śaka 672 (89 CE) as his 25th regnal year and the Nallamangala plates[149] give Śaka 698 (115 CE) as his 50th regnal year. Thus, Śaka 699 (116 CE) was probably the last year of Śripuruṣa's reign.

Interestingly, the reigns of all Gaṅga kings up to Śripuruṣa spanned long periods. The Kulagana plates[150] used the term "*Vṛddharāja*" (grand

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

Śivamāra II succeeded Śripuruṣa in Śaka 700 (117 CE). According to the Manne plates,[151] Śivamāra ventured to defeat the Vallabha army consisting of Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Chālukya, Haihaya and other brave leaders encamped at the village called Mudugudur. The Manne grant of Govinda III[152] tells us that Dhārāvarṣa Dhruva imprisoned a Gaṅga king and that the imprisoned Gaṅga was certainly Śivamāra II. Later, Yuvarāja Govinda III pardoned and released him. Thus, the Gaṅgas became the allies of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

The Manne plates of Śivamāra II inform us that Śivamāradeva was reinstated by Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govindarāja III and Pallava Nandivarmā *(Rāṣṭrakūṭa - Pallavānvaya - tilakābhyām mūrdhābhiṣikta - Govindarāja - Nandivarmā - bhidheyābhyām samanuṣṭhita - rājyābhiṣekābhyām)*. Yuvarāja Mārasiṁha ascended the throne in Śaka 719 (136 CE) because the Kottimba grant of his 3rd regnal year is dated, Śaka 721 (138 CE).

The verifiable details of Gaṅga inscriptions:

The Arekere grant of Śrivikrama:[153] *1st regnal year, Kārttika Pūrṇimā, Rohiṇī nakśatra, lunar eclipse and Somavāra (Monday).* The date corresponds to 27th Oct 81 BCE, Kārttika Pūrṇimā and Rohiṇī nakśatra. Lunar Eclipse was visible between 20:14 hrs to 1:06 hrs but it was Saturday.

The Bedirur grant of Bhūvikrama:[154] *Śaka 556, 25th regnal year, Chaitra śukla daśamī, Maghā nakśatra, Thursday.* The date corresponds to 13th Mar 28 BCE, Chaitra śukla daśamī and Āśleṣa/ Maghā nakśatra.

The Agali grant of Śripuruṣa:[155] *Śaka 669 elapsed, 22nd regnal year, Māgha śukla trayodaśī, Punarvasu nakśatra.* The date corresponds to 5th/6th Jan 87 CE and the nakśatra was Punarvasu.

The Javali grant of Śripuruṣa:[156] *Śaka 672 elapsed, 25th regnal year, Vaiśākha śukla daśamī, Uttara Phālgunī nakśatra, saṁkrānti in Vṛṣabha rāśi.* The date corresponds to 19th Apr 88 CE and the nakśatra was Uttara Phālguni.

The Hosur grant of Śripuruṣa:[157] *Śaka 684 elapsed, Vaiśākha śukla Pūrṇimā. Viśākhā nakśatra, lunar eclipse, Śukravāra (Friday).* Irregular. The lunar eclipse was on 25th Mar 99 CE but it was Chaitra Pūrṇimā and Viśākhā nakśatra; needs verification from the original text of the inscription.

The Manne plates of Mārasiṁha:[158] *Śaka 719, Āṣāḍha śukla? Pañcamī, Uttara bhadrā nakśatra.* Irregular; needs verification from the original text of the inscription.

The Kottimba grant of Mārasiṁha:[159] *Śaka 721, Śrāvaṇa, śuddha pūrṇimā, Dhaniṣṭhā nakśatra, Lunar eclipse, Somavāra (Monday).* The date corresponds to 29th Jul 139 CE, Śrāvaṇa Pūrṇimā and the nakśatra was Dhaniṣṭhā. A lunar eclipse was visible between 4:18 hrs to 5:51 hrs.

The Perjjarangi grant of Rājamalla I:[160] *Śaka 741 elapsed (158-159 CE), Solar eclipse.* The solar eclipse was visible on 13th Jul 158 CE between 14.03 hrs to 15.19 hrs.

The Narsapura grant of Rājamalla II:[161] *Śaka 824, Phālguna month, śukla pakśa, pañcamī, Rohiṇī nakśatra, Budhavāra (Wednesday).* Rohiṇī nakśatra was on Saptamī and not on pañcamī and the day was 6th Feb 241 CE.

The Gattavadipura grant of Rājamalla III:[162] *Śaka 826 elapsed, Mārgaśīrṣa month, full moon day, Mṛgaśirā nakśatra, lunar eclipse and Sunday.* A penumbral lunar eclipse was visible on 14th Dec 243 CE.

The chronology of the Gaṅga Kings from Avinīta to Mārasiṁha:

	Śaka era (583 BCE)	***In CE***
Avinīta	325-389	258-194 BCE
Durvinīta	390-445	193-138 BCE
Muṣkara	446-501	137-82 BCE

Śripuruṣa	501-531	82-52 BCE
Bhūvikrama	531-600	52 BCE-17 CE
Śivamāra I also known as Navakāma, Śrivallabha	601-648	18-65 CE
Śripuruṣa	649-699	66-116 CE
Śivamāra II also known as Saygotta	700-719	117-136 CE
Mārasiṁha	719-733	136-150 CE

Vijayāditya, the youngest brother of Śivamāra II, succeeded Mārasiṁha. No details are available as to how Vijayāditya, the uncle of Mārasiṁha, ascended the throne but the Sudi plates[163] of Butuga II tell us that he ruled for a short period *(Saṁkśipta-kāleya-carito'bhavat)*. Rājamalla I, the son of Vijayāditya, started his rule around Śaka 740 (157 CE).

According to the Galigakere plates, Nītimārga I, the son of Rājamalla I was ruling in Śaka 782 (199 CE). Also known as Eragaṅgadeva, he destroyed his foes in the battle of "*Rāmati*". The reign of Rājamalla II, the son of Nītimārga I, can be placed between Śaka 810 (227 CE) to 824 (241 CE) because the Narsāpura grant[164] is dated, Śaka 824 (241 CE). He was victorious in the battle of "*Samiya*". Butuga I, the younger brother of Rājamalla II, succeeded him. Butuga I, whose second name was "Guṇaduttarāṅga", married "Abbālabbā" the daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Amoghavarṣa and defeated a Pallava king.

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

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

According to the Sudi and Kudlur plates,[165] Butuga II, the younger brother of Rājamalla III, had migrated to the Dahāla region. He married

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

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

According to the Kudlur plates, the elder son of Butuga II married the daughter of the Chedi King Krishna who conquered the kings of Magadha, Kaliṅga, Pāṇḍya and Chola *(Magadha-Kaliṅga-Pāṇḍya-Chola-kśmāpālaiḥ abhinuta-pāda-paṅkajasya Kṛṣṇasya)*. His first name was Puṇuseya Gaṅga, Nītimārga, Koṅgani Mahārājādhirāja and also known as Marula & Kaliyuga Bhīma. The younger brother of Puṇuseya Gaṅga was Mārasiṁha, also known as Guṭṭiya Gaṅga. According to the Shravanabelagola lithic inscription,[166] Satyavākya Koṅgani Mahārāja (Mārasiṁha-Guṭṭīya Gaṅga) also became the king of the Gurjaras. Mārasiṁha-Guṭṭīya Gaṅga became like a forest-fire for lion Rājāditya, the crest jewel of the Chālukyas. It is evident that Guṭṭīya Gaṅga defeated a Chola-Chālukya King Rājāditya. Interestingly, this inscription tells us that Guṭṭīya Gaṅga entered Mānyakheṭa with the army of Chakravarti (Krishnarāja) and coronated Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indrarāja as King of Mānyakheta *(Bhujabala.... Mānyakheṭa-praveśita-chakravarty.... Śrimad Indrarāja-paṭṭabandhotsavasya)*.

Mārasiṁha-Guṭṭīya Gaṅga also conquered the king of Vanavāsi, the descendants of the Mathura dynasty and the Nolaṁba, Chera, Chola, Pāṇḍya & Pallava kings *(Bhayopanata vanavāsīdeśādi.... praṇata-Māthura-vaṁśajasya.... Śakala-Nolaṁbādhirāja-samara-*

vidhvansakasya.... Pratāpāvanata-Chera-Chola-Pānḍya-Pallavasya). He was titled *"Nolaṁbakulāntaka"* the destroyer of Nolaṁba Dynasty. The Śravaṇabelagola lithic inscription ends with the statement that Mārasiṁha-Guṭṭiya Gaṅga relinquished the sovereignty and died at Bānkapura by the Jain rite of *"Sallekhana"* (starvation) in the presence of the Jain monk Ajitasena-Bhattāraka.

The verifiable details of Gaṅga inscriptions:

The Narsāpura plates of Rājamalla II (Satyavākya):[167] *Śaka 824, 5th tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna month, Rohiṇī nakśatra, Budhavāra (Wednesday).* The date corresponds to 3rd Feb 241 CE, Wednesday but the nakśatra was Aśvinī.

The Sudi plates of Butuga II:[168] *Śaka 860, Kārttika śukla aṣṭamī, Ādityavāra (Sunday).* The date corresponds to 21st Oct 277 CE.

The chronology of the Gaṅga Kings from Vijayāditya to Guṭṭīya Gaṅga:

	Śaka era (583 BCE)	***In CE***
Vijayāditya (Youngest brother of Śivamāradeva)	733-739	150-156 CE
Rājamalla I (Satyavākya Koṅganivarman)	739-780	156-197 CE
Nītimārga I	780-810	197-227 CE
Rājamalla II (Satyavākya Koṅganivarman)	810-824	227-241 CE
Butuga I (Youngest brother of Rājamalla II)	824-825	241-242 CE
Nītimārga II (Eragaṅgadeva)	825-826	242-243 CE
Narasiṅghadeva (Satyavākya Koṅganivarman)	826	243 CE
Rājamalla III or Nītimārga III (son of Narasiṅghadeva)	826-830	243-247 CE
Butuga II (Brother of Rājamalla III)	830-863	247-280 CE
Puṇuseya Gaṅga, Son of Butuga II (also known as Marula)	863-870	280-287 CE
Mārasiṁha-Guṭṭīya Gaṅga (Younger brother of Puṇuseya Gaṅga and son of Butuga II)	870-890	287-307 CE

Guṭṭīya Gaṅga was probably the last sovereign ruler of the Gaṅga dynasty. Unfortunately, we do not have more information about the Gaṅgas of Tālakad from the 4th century CE to the 8th century CE. Evidently, Gangas lost their sovereignty by the 4th century CE. All early Gaṅga inscriptions are available in the form of copper plates and dated in *Śaka-kāla* era (583 BCE) except three grants (Kudlur,[169] Kadalur[170] & Kukkanur[171]) of Mārasiṁha which are dated in *Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta* era (78 CE). Most of the Gaṅga lithic inscriptions are dated in *Śaka-kālātīta* era (78 CE). It appears that the Gaṅgas re-emerged as feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas during the 9th & 10th centuries CE with control restricted to the regions of Kuvalālapura (Kolār) and Nandagiri (Nandidoorg) as the inscriptions of this period refer to the Gaṅga kings as *"Kuvalālapura-vāreśvara Nandagirināṭha"*.

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

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

"Āsīt jagad-gahana-rakśaṇa rājasiṁhaḥ
kśmā-mandalābjavana-mandanarājasiṁhaḥ ।
Śri-Mārasiṁha iti bṛṁhita-bāhu-kīrtiḥ
tasyānujaḥ kṛta-yuga-kśitipālakīrtiḥ ॥"

Evidently, Mārasiṁha-Guṭṭīya Gaṅga was not alive in Śakānta 884 (962 CE). The verb *"āsīt"* cannot be used for the ruling King Mārasiṁha, the author of the Kudlur grant. Therefore, Mārasiṁha-Guṭṭīya Gaṅga and Mārasiṁha of Kudlur grant were two different personalities. Guṭṭīya

Gaṅga ruled around Śaka 870-890 (287-307 CE) whereas Mārasiṁha of the Kudlur grant ruled in Śakānta 884-890 (962-968 CE). This also indicates that *Śaka-kāl*a era and *Śaka-kālātīta* era are two different eras with two different epochs.

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

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

- According to the Sudi and Kudlur plates, Krishna defeated the kings of Magadha, Kaliṅga, Pāṇḍya and Chola. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas never conquered Magadha and Kaliṅga at any point of time in their entire history.
- As stated in the Shravanabelagola lithic inscription, Satyavākya Koṇgani Mahārāja Mārasiṁha-Guṭṭīya Gaṅga coronated Indrarāja in Mānyakheṭa after defeating Chola-Chālukya Rājāditya. How could Guṭṭīya Gaṅga coronate Indrarāja while Krishnarāja was already on the throne?
- The Sudi and Kudlur plates do not provide even an iota of evidence to prove that Baddiga and Krishna were Rāṣṭrakūṭas.
- Who was Lalleya from whom Butuga II seized the kingdom to strengthen the rule of Krishna? There was no Rāṣṭrakūṭa descendant named Lalleya.

The answer to the above anomalies lies in the fact that the Sudi plates are dated in the *Śaka-kāla* era and not in the *Śaka-kālātīta* era. Thus, Butuga II cannot be a contemporary of Baddiga Amoghavarṣa. It appears that the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Gaṅgas of Tālakad became vulnerable around Śaka 833-850 (250-267 CE) due to the rise of the Chedi dynasty in the north and frequent aggressions from the neighbouring kings, the Eastern Chālukyas and Pallavas. The Chedi ruler of Tripuri, King Sri Vandyaga or Baddega consolidated his supremacy by conquering Magadha, Kaliṅga, Kuntala and probably, the Gaṅga kingdom as well. It may also be noted that the Kalachuri-Chedi era commenced in 402 BCE. It appears that the Gaṅgas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas became allies of the Chedis around 260-275 CE. Interestingly, all three dynasties were patrons of Jainism.

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

Gatavati Śaka-kāle maṅgaleṣvaṣṭa-saṅkhye,
Śaradi viṣadapakśe cāśvine śukravāre ।
Uḍuni Surapatīśe yoga Āyuṣmatīyam,
Tithirapi ca gatānām pañcamī yatra śuddhā ॥
Chedikularājadhānyām gatavati Śri Vandyage nihatyārīn ।
Taccḥāsanena vasudhām parirakśati Kṛṣṇarāje'pi ॥[172]

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

It is evident that Butuga II was the contemporary of Chedi Baddega and not Rāṣṭrakūṭa Baddiga because all inscriptions of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Baddiga are dated in the *Śaka-kālātīta* era. When the Gaṅgas lost their kingdom, Butuga II may have approached King Baddega at Tripuri and impressed upon him that he could be instrumental in strengthening the Chedi rule

in the Southern region. Baddega married off his daughter to Butuga II to ensure his loyalty to the Chedi kings. Thus, Butuga II became the patron of Krishnarāja, the Chedi king of Southern region and seized the kingdom from the possession of Lalleya. Lalleya may have been another Chedi prince or a disloyal feudatory.

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

All dated lithic inscriptions of the Gaṅgas belong to the Śakānta era and not the Śaka era. Most of these inscriptions were written in the 9th and 10th centuries CE. The Atakur inscription[173] is dated in *Śaka-kālātīta* era (Śakānta 872). Therefore, the Butuga III mentioned in the Atakur inscription cannot be Butuga II because they belonged to two different eras. Butuga III of Atakur inscription lived around Śakānta 872 (949-950 CE) and was a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas whereas Butuga II of the Sudi plates belonged to Śaka 860 (277 CE) and was the sovereign ruler of a larger kingdom including Gaṅgavadi 96000. Thus, the chronology of the later Gaṅgas must be reconstructed based on lithic inscriptions dated in the *Śaka-kālātīta* era. Only Mārasiṁha among the later Gaṅgas could become a sovereign ruler with the blessings of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Krishnarāja *(ahamiva nijarājyabhāra-samuddharaṇa-kśama iti svayam-kṛta-Gaṅgapati-paṭṭa-bandhotsavo Gaṅga-māṇḍalikaḥ)* around Śakānta 884 (961-962 CE). A comprehensive list of inscriptions of the Gaṅga dynasty is given in **Appendix VII.**

Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi

The early Chālukyas of Badami were dethroned by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas around Śaka 680 (97 CE). After two centuries, it appears that the descendants of the early Chālukyas defeated Rāṣṭrakūṭas and re-established the kingdom of the Western Chālukyas in the beginning of the 4th century CE. Tailapa Āhavamalla was the founder of the Western Chālukyas. The Nilgund inscription[174] tells us that Tailapa Āhavamalla defeated the Rāṣṭrakūṭas to establish his kingdom *(Yo'sau śri-vīramārttānda-Rāṣṭrakūṭa-nṛpa-śriyam prāpya pālitavān Samrāḍeka-ccḥatreṇa medinīm)*. He also defeated the Choḍa-Andhra, Pānḍya and Utkala kings. Āhavamalla appears to have engaged in a conflict with Rājarāja Choḍa due to his interference in the Veṅgi kingdom. The Nilgunda inscription is dated in Śaka 904 (*Śaka-nṛpa-saṁvatsareṣu caturadhika-navaśateṣu gateṣu Chitrabhānu-saṁvatsare Bhādrapadamāse sūryagrahaṇe sati*). A solar eclipse occurred in Śaka 904 current (320-321 CE) on 18th Oct 320 CE but the month was Āśvina and not Bhādrapada according to modern Indian calendar.

The Saundatti inscription[175] of Tailapadeva is dated in Śakānta 902 (980 CE) *[Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śatangal 902 neya Vikrama-saṁvatsarada Pauṣya śuddha daśamī bṛhaspativāradandi-nuttarāyaṇa]*. The Sogal inscription of Nurmmādi Tailapadeva[176] is also dated in Sakānta 902 (980 CE). It is evident that Āhavamalla Tailapa of the Nilgund inscription and Tailapa of the Saundatti and Sogal inscriptions were two different persons. Moreover, the Nilgund inscription is written in Sanskrit and old Kannada characters whereas Saundatti inscription is written in Kannada and mediaeval Kannada characters. Thus, Tailapadeva of the Saundatti inscription appears to have re-established the kingdom of the Western Chālukyas around 980 CE. Evidently, the Chālukya dynasty ruled mainly in three phases.

- Phase I : Chālukyas of Badami – from 225 BCE to 97 CE
- Phase II: Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa – from the beginning of the 4th century CE to the middle of the 6th century CE.
- Phase III: Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa – from 980 CE till the end of the 12th century CE.

The Miraj plates of Jagadekamalla,[177] the Tintini plates of Jagadekamalla,[178] the Narihalla plates of Trailokyamalla[179] and the Yewur

inscription of Tribhuvanamalla[180] chronicle the genealogy of Western Chālukyas. Generally, the genealogy of a dynasty contains only a listing of the sovereign rulers. The Chālukya genealogy given in these inscriptions simply skips the account of a dark period by stating *"tataḥ"* mean thereafter instead of *"tat-sutaḥ or tadātmajaḥ"*. For instance, *"Tato'pi Yuddhamallākhyo"* and *"Taila-bhūpas-tato jāto"*.

More than 500 inscriptions of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi have been published in various volumes of South Indian Inscriptions. Surprisingly, more than half of the solar eclipses mentioned in these inscriptions cannot be explained in the Śakānta era. The percentage of the number of irregular solar eclipses mentioned in the inscriptions dated in the Chālukya Vikrama era is even higher as explained in Chapter 7. There is a need to refer to the original text (unedited) of inscriptions to ascertain the actual verifiable details of the dates without any prejudice to a particular chronology. The chronology of the Western Chālukyas can only be reconstructed after proper identification of inscriptions dated in the Śaka and Śakānta eras.

Interestingly, most of the inscriptions of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi were written in the Kannada language. Generally, the same expression "*Śakavarṣa.... neya*" has been used to refer to the Śaka era or Śakānta era which complicates the identification of the era referred to in these inscriptions. Very few inscriptions mentioned *"Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta"* which clearly refers to the Śakānta era.

Interestingly, an inscription[181] at Lakśmeśvar in Dhārwar district, written both in Sanskrit and Kannada, records the dates of the death of Śrinaṇdi Panḍita and the death of Bhāskaranandi Panḍita by the rite of *Sallekhana* and clearly states that Bhāskaranandi was senior to Śrinandi.

The Date of the Death of Śrinandi Panḍita:

In Sanskrit: *"Bhūte Śakābdajāte nava-nava-nava Śri-Vikramāṅke dvitīye, Śvete pakśe ājñāvāre dinapa-mita-dine Piṅgale Śukra-māse"*

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

The Date of the Death of Bhāskaranandi Panḍita:

In Sanskrit: *"Sāhasrīṣu gatāsu Śākasamaye Chaitrasya kṛṣṇe caturdaśyām kālayuji...."*

In Kannada: *"Sahasrāntika Śaka-kāla-yuktābda madu-masāva-sānadol amāvāsiyu-mādityavāramumāga....."*

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

The Kashmiri poet Bilhaṇa (370-450 CE) was in the court of the Chālukya King Vikramāditya and authored a Mahākāvya named *Vikramāṅkadevacaritam*. According to him, Tailapa defeated the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and re-established the Chālukya kingdom. The Nilgund inscription of Tailapa is dated in Śaka 904 (320 CE). Satyāśraya succeeded him. Thereafter, Jayasiṁha and his son Āhavamalla Trailokyamalla became kings. Bilhaṇa mentions that Āhavamalla Trailokyamalla defeated the king of Dhārā. Āhavamalla Trailokyamalla had three sons, named Someśvara, Vikramāditya and Jayasiṁha. Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla, the second son of Āhavamalla Trailokyamalla, was the *nāyaka* (hero) of *Vikramāṅkadevacaritam* written by Bilhaṇa. He founded the epoch of Chālukya Vikrama era in 415-416 CE. The Kotavumachgi inscription of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya is dated in Śakānta 934 (1012 CE).[182] The Alur inscription of Vikramāditya is also dated Sakānta 933 (1011 CE) [*Śaka-Bhupāla-Kālākrānta-samvatsara-satamgal 933 neya Sādhāraṇa-samvatsara Vaiśākha punname Adityavāradandu…..*].

Interestingly, the *Śri Chālukyaraja Ayyanavaṁśa Caritam* written by Śyāmabhaṭṭa Bharadvāja in Śaka 1737 (1154 CE?) also gives the complete

genealogy of the Western Chālukyas. VV Mirashi discussed this work in Chapter XXVII of his book *"Literary and Historical Studies in Indology"*. Evidently, someone fraudulently inserted a few verses referring to the names of the Iranian King Khusro and Hiuen Tsang in this work. There is a genuine need to relook into the original manuscript of *Ayyanavaṁśa Caritam* but probably, no manuscript is available now. According to Dr. VV Mirashi, this work gives detailed information about the fifty five generations and the long period of 1355 years which elapsed from Śaka 358 till Śaka 1713. Considering the epoch of the coronation of Śaka king (583 BCE), probably, the genealogy may have been given from Śaka 358 (225 BCE) to Śaka 1713 (1130 CE).

The chronological genealogy of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa (Phase II) can be reconstructed based on Bilhana's *Vikramāṅkadevacaritam* and epigraphic evidence. King Tailapa was the founder of the Chālukyas of Kalyāna. An inscription of Chālukya King Trailokyamalla[183] found in Shikarpur Taluq gives the genealogy of Kalyāna Chālukyas. Bilhana also gives the similar genealogy of Kalyana Chālukyas. The inscription of Shikarpur Taluq records a solar eclipse that occurred on Mārgaśirṣa Amāvāsyā, Monday in (Sobhana?) Saṁvatsara (Śaka 1106?) and also refers to Śaka 1105 (522 CE), Śubhakrit Saṁvatsara. The date of solar eclipse regularly corresponds to 23 Nov 523 CE. According to historians, this inscriptions refers to a solar eclipse that occurred on 5 Nov 1184 CE considering the epoch of Sakānta era (78 CE) but it was Kārttika Amāvāsyā on 5 Nov 1184 CE.

Bhojaprabandha or Bhojacharitra indicates that Paramāra King Munja (308-324 CE) was captured and killed by Tailapa.

Kalyāna Chālukyas	**In CE**
Tailapa	300-325 CE
Satyāśraya	320-330 CE
Vikrama and his brother Dāsavarmā	330-340 CE
Jayasiṁha (son of Dāsavarmā)	340-376 CE
Āhavamalla Trailokyamalla	376-390 CE
Someśvara Bhuvanaikamalla	390-415 CE
Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla (Permādideva)	415-467 CE

Bhūlokamalla (Śaka 1047)	468-477 CE
Someshvara Jagadekamalla	477-510 CE
Trailokyamalla	510-530 CE

Jadcharla inscription of King Bhūlokamalla[184] is dated Śaka 1047(463-464 BCE) which refers to the occurrence of lunar eclipse on Phālguna Pūrṇimā. The date regularly corresponds to 19 Feb 463 CE. Seemingly, Bhulokamalla reigned as Yuvarāja during the period 462-468 BCE because his father Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla reigned for 51 years. The Miraj plates of Jagadekamalla, the Yewur inscription of Tribhuvanamalla, the Tintini plates of Jagadekamalla and the Narihalla plates of Trailokyamalla give the complete genealogy of early Chālukyas and Kalyāna Chālukyas.

The genealogy of early Chālukyas and Kalyāna Chālukyas

1. Jayasimha (defeated Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Indra, son of Krishna)
2. Raṇarāga
3. Pulakeśin I
4. Kīrtivarmā
5. Maṅgalīśa
6. Satyāśraya Pulakeśin II
7. Ādityavarmā
8. Vikramāditya
9. Yuddhamalla-Vinayāditya
10. Vijayāditya
11. Vikramāditya
12. Kīrtivarmā
13. .....
14. Taila-Vikramāditya I
15. Bhimarāja
16. Ayyanāryā (married daughter of Krishna)
17. Vikramāditya (married Bonthādevi, daughter of Chedi King Lakshmanarāja)

18. Tailapa (*Yo Rāṣṭrakūṭa-kuṭilairgamitam adhastāt uddhṛtya mādhava iva Adivarāha-rūpo babhre Chālukya-kula-vallabha-rājalakśmīm...*)
19. Satyāśraya and Dāsavarmā
20. Vikramāditya and Jayasimha Jagadekamalla
21. Āhavamalla
22. Someśvara, Permādi and Jayasimha
23. Bhūlokamalla
24. Jagadekamalla

The Later Chālukyas:

The Pimpalner (Pippālanagara) grant[185] dated in Śakānta or Śakakālātīta 310 (388 CE) indicates that Chālukya King Satyāśraya was ruling around 388 CE. This grant refers to the occurrence of a solar eclipse in the year 388 CE which regularly corresponds to 18 Aug 388 CE. Seemingly, King Satyāśraya of 388 CE belonged to the Gujarat-Khandesh branch of Chālukyas. The Itagi,[186] Pali,[187] Dharwar[188] and Boargaon[189] plates indicate that Chālukya King Vinayāditya was ruling in Northern Karnataka during the period from Śakānta 516 (594 CE) to Sakānta 520 (599 CE).

Recently, a grant of King Vinayāditya is found at Talagunda, Karnataka which is dated Sakānta 520 (599 CE). This grant refers to a solar eclipse occurred on Chaitra Amāvāsyā (*Viṁśatyuttara pañcaśateṣu śakavarish… Kālayukta-saṁvatsare vartamāne chaitra amāvāsyāyām vyatipāte vivasvatavāre Sūrya-grahaṇa tatkāle…*). The date regularly corresponds to 30 Apr 599 CE. Interestingly, this grant of Vinayāditya is found along with the grant of Kalachuri King Sankhama dated Śaka 1102 (518-519 CE). The grant of King Sankhama was issued in Śarvari saṁvatsara, on Chaitra Krishna Dvādaśī, Monday, Śatabhiṣaj nakśatra, vernal equinox (Viṣu Saṅkramaṇa), Śukla yoga and Kaulava karaṇa. The date regularly corresponds to 23 Mar 518 CE. Historians have considered the date in Śakānta 1102 (1180 CE) and calculated the date as 24 Mar 1180 CE but vernal equinox occurred on Chaitra Krishna Chaturdaśī i.e. 26 Mar 1180 CE and the Karaṇa was Taitula on 24 Mar 1180 CE not Kaulava.

Seemingly, there were many branches of the later Chālukyas. The Sogal and Saundatti inscriptions dated Śakānta 902 (980 CE) indicate that Chālukya King Nurmādi Tailapadeva killed the later Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Kakkala and founded his kingdom after 972 CE. There is a serious need of further research to establish the chronology of later Chālukyas based on epigraphic evidence.

The Kalachuri Kings of Kalyāna

The Bilhari inscription tells us that Kokalladeva I appointed his son Krishnarāja in the South. He got invaluable support from the Gaṅga King Butuga II in establishing a powerful kingdom as recorded in the Sudi plates. Thus, Krishnarāja founded his lineage, the Kalachuri dynasty in the southern region. Three inscriptions, i.e., the Nimbal grant,[190] the Kukkanur grant[191] dated in Śaka 1096 (513-514 CE) and the Behatti grant[192] dated in Śaka 1105 (522-523 CE), provide valuable information about this branch. Krishna was succeeded by his son Jogama and his grandson Paramardi. King Bijjana, the son of Paramardi, was an illustrious king of this branch. It is very likely that he subjugated the kings of the Pāndya, Chola, Vanga and Mālava kingdoms *(Jādyam Pāndyastyjati bhajate Cholabhupaścalatvam, bhaṅgam Vaṅgaḥ sarati bharate Mālavaḥ kālaśaṅkām । Bhupāścānye Jayati jagatim Bijjana-kśonipāle....)*.

It appears that the Kalachuris of Kalyāna lost their kingdom after Bijjana because the inscriptions simply mention the rise of King Soma *(Rājā Soma udait kalānidhi...)*. Historians wrongly concluded that King Soma was the son of Bijjana but there is no such information in the inscriptions. Probably, the Kalachuri King Soma re-established his kingdom with the help of his three brothers, i.e., Sankhamadeva, Ahavamalla and Singhanadeva. The Kukkanur grant tells us that Sankhama was ruling in 513-514 CE. According to the Behatti grant, Singhanadeva was ruling in 522-523 CE. It appears that Kalachuris established matrimonial relationship with the Chālukya King Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla. The rise of the Yādava dynasty probably ended the rule of the Kalachuris in the South.

The chronology of the Kalachuris of Kalyāna:

	Śaka era (583 BCE)	In CE
Krishnarāja	—	270-300 CE
Jogama	—	300-325 CE
Paramardi	—	325-370 CE
Bijjana	—	370-390 CE
Ammugi		390-416 CE
Jogama		416-450 CE
Bijjala	450-	
Soma	1075-1090	492-507 CE
Sankhamadeva	1090-1105	507-522 CE
Ahavamalla	1105	522 CE
Singhanadeva	1105	522 CE

The Yādava Dynasty

An inscription[193] of Govana III found in Khandesh (Jalgaon, Dhule, Nandurbar districts of Maharashtra and Burhanpur district of Madhya Pradesh) is dated in Śaka 1075 *(Varṣāṇām pañcasaptasya sahasre sādhike gate । Śaka-bhūpāla-kālasya tathā Śrimukha-vatsare ॥)*. It clearly refers to the Śaka era as *"Śaka-bhūpāla-kāla"* (583 BCE) and not the Śakānta era (78 CE). Therefore, this inscription was written in 491-492 CE (Śaka 1075). The Patna inscription[194] found near Chalisgaon in Khandesh was authored by Soideva and Hemādideva, the sons of Govana III in Śaka 1128 (544-545 CE) during the reign of the Yādava King Siṅghaṇa. This inscription was written on the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa month and on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. Considering the Śaka 1128 current or elapsed, the date intended would be 6th Sep 545 CE. The month is not Śrāvaṇa but Āśvina which needs verification from the original text of the inscription.

Interestingly, the Patna inscription mentions Chāṅgadeva, the chief astrologer of the Yādava King Siṅghaṇa. Chāṅgadeva was the grandson of the famous Bhāskarāchārya who was born in Śaka 1036 (452-453 CE) *[Rasa-guṇa-pūrṇa-mahī-sama-Śaka-nṛpa-samaye'bhavan-mamotpattiḥ]*.[195] Al Beruni (1030 CE) mentions Bhāskarāchārya and his book *"Karaṇa Kutūhala"* as a work of astronomy known in his own country for over a hundred years. It is evident that Bhāskarāchārya was

born much before Al Beruni. Śārṅgadeva authored *"Saṅgītaratnākara"* during the reign of the Yādava King Siṅghaṇa. He mentions about Yādava kings Bhillama, Siṅghaṇa and also the city of Jaitra.[196] Bhilama's son Jaitugi was also titled "Jaitrapāla" meaning a king ruling the city of Jaitra. The Jañjira grant (set I & II issued in Śakānta 915)[197] of Silāhāra Aparājita mentioned Khandesh as "Bhillamīya deśa" *(ā Lātadeśād bhuvi Bhillamiyadeśam vidhāyāvadhimātra yasya)*. Khandesh was well known as Bhillamīya deśa because Bhillama founded the Yādava kingdom in Khandesh in the 6th century CE.

Bhillama I was the first Yādava king and the founder of the Yādava dynasty in the 6th century CE. He ruled from Śaka 1107 to Śaka 1114 (523-530 CE). His son Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla I succeeded him and ruled from Śaka 1114 to Śaka 1124 (530-540 CE). The great Yādava King Siṅghaṇa, the son of Jaitrapāla I, ruled for 45 years from Śaka 1124 to Śaka 1169 (540-585 CE). He defeated King Ballala, the king of Andhra, Kakkalla the king of Bhaṁbhāgiri and imprisoned the Śilāhāra King Bhoja. The Puruśottampuri grant[198] of the Yādava King Rāmachandra informs us that Krishna, the grandson of Siṅghaṇa and the son of Jaitrapāla II, became king in Śaka 1169 (585-586 CE). It appears that Krishna subjugated the kings of Gurjara, Mālava, Chola and Kosala *(Re re Gurjara jarjara..... bhūpā yadvijaya-prayāṇa-samaye bandījana-vyaṅjanāḥ)*. After the death of Krishna, his younger brother Mahādeva ascended the throne. According to the Kalegaon grant[199] of Mahādeva, he was coronated on the 2nd tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada month in Śaka 1182 elapsed (599-600 CE), i.e., 29th / 30th Jul 599 CE. Mahādeva's son Ammaṇa succeeded him but the Puruśottampuri grant tells us that Krishna's son Rāmachandra forcibly wrested the kingdom from Ammaṇa (*prasahya tasmādapahṛtya bhuṅkte*). Rāmachandra ruled for more than 40 years from Śaka 1193 (609-610 CE) to Śaka 1232 (649-650 CE).

The chronology of the Yādava dynasty:

	Śaka era (583 BCE)	**In CE**
Bhillama	1107-1114	523-530 CE
Jaitrapāla I or Jaitugi	1114-1124	530-540 CE
Siṅghaṇa	1124-1169	541-585 CE

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

Puruśottampuri grant tells us that King Rāmachandra was the greatest ruler of the Yādava dynasty. Rāmachandra vanquished the king of the great, extensive Dāhala country within a moment *(Yenottāla-viśāla-÷āhala-mahīpālaḥ kśaṇānnirjito....)* and defeated the ruler of the country of Bhāṇḍāgāra *(Bhāṇḍāgāra-dharādhavaḥ paribhavam yenoccakairlaṁbhitaḥ.....)*. He subjugated the king of Vajrākara *(Yenonmūlitarājya eva racito Vajrākara-ksmāpati....)* and conquered the king of Gopa *(Yenājau vijitaḥ sa Gopanṛpatir....)* & the king of Palli *(Bhallībhiḥ Pallirājaḥ samarabhuvi jitaḥ....)*. He also defeated the king of Kānyakubja *(Kubjitaḥ Kānyakubjaḥ)*, the king of Māhima *(Māhimendraḥ parāstaḥ)* and captured by force the mighty king of Saṅgama *(Uttuṅgaḥ Saṅgameśaḥ prasabhamadhigato)* and crushed the lord of Kheṭa *(Kheṭanātho yena svenaiva dhāmnā....)*. He abrogated the conventional rules about tolls, exempted all *āgrahāras* from taxes, freed Vārāṇasi from Mleccḥas and constructed a golden temple of Śārṅgadhara *(Yah śulka-sanketalipim vyalopayat sarvāgrahāreśhu karān nyavārayat, Vārānasīm Mleccḥagaṇād vyamocayad hiraṇmayam Śārṅgadharālayam vyadhāt)*. Rāmachandra claimed himself to be *Prauḍha-pratāpa-chakravarti* and *Mahārājādhirāja*.

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

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

The Nimbal inscription of Bhillama's Feudatory:[200] 3rd Regnal year of Billama, i.e., Śaka 1110 (526-527 CE), the new moon day of Bhādrapada, Solar eclipse and Saṅkramaṇa (Tulā Saṅkrānti). The date corresponds to 22nd Sep 526 CE.

The Devur inscription of Jaitugi's feudatory:[201] Śaka 1118 (534-535 CE), solar eclipse during Uttarāyaṇa. The date corresponds to 29th Apr 534 CE.

The Devangav inscription of Jaitugi's feudatory:[202] Śaka 1121 (537-538 CE), Solar eclipse on the new moon day of Māgha month. The date corresponds to 15th Feb 538 CE.

The Khedrapur inscription of Singhana:[203] Śaka 1136 (554-555 CE), Solar eclipse on the new moon day of Chaitra month. The date corresponds to 19th Mar 554 CE.

The Jettigi inscription of Krishna:[204] Śaka 1178 (594-595 CE), Solar eclipse on the new moon day of Pauṣa month. The date corresponds to 16th Jan 595 CE.

The Hulgur inscription of Mahādeva:[205] Śaka 1189 (606-607 CE), Solar eclipse on the new moon day of Jyeṣṭha month. The date corresponds to 11th Jun 606 CE.

The rule of the early Yādava kings probably ended after the death of Rāmachandra. Later, it appears that the Yādavas became feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The Kalas-Bhadruka inscription[206] of Bhillama dated in Śakānta 948 (1026 CE) and the Bassein grant of Seunachandra II[207] dated in Śakānta 991 (1069 CE) clearly indicate this fact. It also appears that one family branch of the Yādavas evolved as a mixed Yādava-Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. The Bassein grant of Seunachandra II tells us that the Yādavas also had marital relations with the Western Chālukyas. A manuscript[208] collected by Mackenzie gives the list of 18 Yādava kings who ruled from Śakānta 730 (808 CE) to 1013 (1091 CE). This list needs further research. The Methi inscription of Kannara[209] dated in Śakānta 1176 (1254 CE) informs that a Yādava King Kannara was ruling around 1254 CE.

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

1. Dṛḍhaprahāra
2. Seunachandra I
3. Dhadipaka
4. Bhillama II
5. Rājā I
6. Vadugi
7. Bhillama III
8. Vāsugi
9. Bhillama IV
10. Seunachandra II
11. Rājā II
12. Mallugi
13. Krishna II
14. Bhillama V
15. Jaitra III
16. Siṅghaṇa II
17. Jaitra IV
18. Krishna III or Kannara

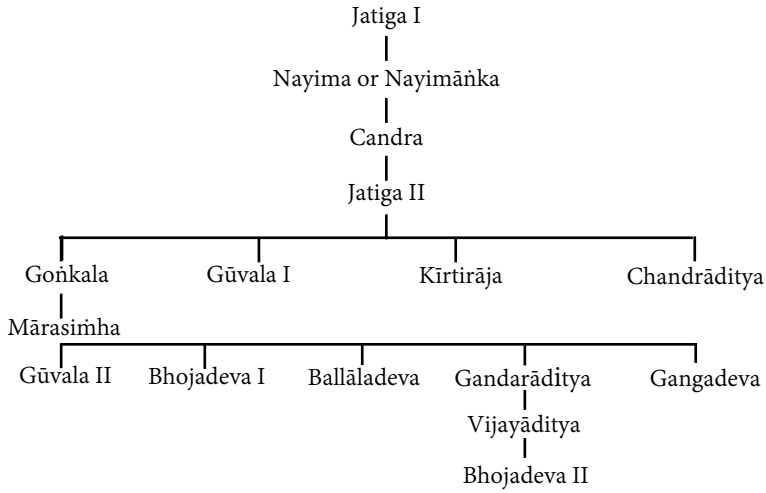
The Śilāhāras of Kolhāpur (Kśullakapurā)

The Kolhāpur family of the Śilāhāras ruled over Southern Maharashtra comprising the districts of Satārā, Sangli, Kolhāpur and Belgaon. The Early Chālukyas (up to 97 CE) and Rāṣṭrakūṭas (2nd - 3rd century CE) had previously ruled over the region. The Western Chālukyas defeated the Rāṣṭrakūṭas to re-establish themselves in the early 4th century CE. This family of Śilāhāras rose to power as an ally or a feudatory of the Western Chālukyas in the 4th century CE. Most of the inscriptions of the Kolhapur Śilāhāras are dated in Śaka era (583 BCE) except the Miraj plates of Mārasiṁha[210] which are dated in Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta or Śakānta era (78 CE). All inscriptions of the other families of Śilāhāras are dated in the Śakānta era. Thus, the family of the Kolhāpur Śilāhāras was one of the

earliest families of the Śilāhāra dynasty.

The Śilāhāra dynasty traces its descent from Jīmūtavāhana, the son of Jīmūtaketu. The earliest inscription of this family is the Kolhāpur grant[211] of Ganḍarāditya dated in Śaka 1037 (454 CE) *[Sapta-triṁśaduttara-sahasreṣu Śaka-varṣeṣu 1037 atīteṣu Manmatha-saṁvatsare Kārttika-māse śukla-pakśe aṣṭamyām budhavāre.....]*. According to the genealogy of Kolhāpur Śilāhāras given in this grant, Jatiga I was their earliest king who was the maternal uncle of the Gaṅga king (probably, Mārasiṁha Guṭṭīya Gaṅga, the second son of Butuga II who ruled around 287-307 CE).

The genealogy of the Kolhāpur Śilāhāras:



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

The inscrptions of Śilāhāra Vijayāditya:

The Kolhapur Stone Inscription:[212] Śaka 1065 elapsed (482-483 CE), Dundubhi saṁvatsara, Full moon day of Māgha month, Monday and a lunar eclipse *(Śaka-varṣeṣu Pañca-ṣaṣṭyuttara-sahasra-pramiteṣv-atīteṣu Pravarttamāna-Dundubhi-saṁvatsara-māgha-māsa-paurṇamāsyām somavāre, soma-grahaṇe).* The date corresponds to

10th Jan 483 CE. A penumbral lunar eclipse was visible at Kolhāpur from 4:34 hrs to 5:54 hrs.

The Bamani Stone Inscription:[213] Śaka 1073 elapsed (490-491 CE), Pramoda saṁvatsara, the full moon day in Bhādrapada nakśatra or Bhādrapada month, Friday and a lunar eclipse. *(Śaka-varṣeṣu Trisaptatyuttara-sahasra-pramiteṣv-atīteṣu aṅkato'pi 1073 Pravarttamāna-pramoda-saṁvatsara-Bhādrapada-paurṇamāsī sukravāre soma-grahaṇa-parva-nimittam).*The date corresponds to 14th Sep 490 CE. It was the full moon day of Āśvina month in Uttara-Bhadrā nakśatra and Friday. A penumbral lunar eclipse was visible from 22:50 hrs to 00:52 hrs.

The inscrptions of Śilāhāra Bhojadeva II:

The Kolhapur Stone Inscription:[214] Śaka 1104 elapsed (521-522 CE), Śubhakṛt saṁvatsara, 4th day of the bright fortnight of Pauṣa month, Tuesday and Uttarāyaṇa saṁkrānti. *(Śaka-nṛpa-kālādārabhya varṣeṣu caturuttara-śatādhika-sahasreṣu nivṛtteṣu varttamāna-Śubhakṛt-saṁvatsarāntargata-Puṣya-māsa-śuddha-caturthyām bhaumavāsare Bhānoruttarāyaṇa-saṁkramaṇa-parvaṇi).* The date corresponds to 19th Dec 521 CE.

The Kolhapur Stone Inscription:[215] Śaka 1112 elapsed (529-530 CE), Sādhāraṇa saṁvatsara, 12th day of the dark fortnight of Pauṣa month, Tuesday and during Uttarāyaṇa *(Śaka-nṛpa-kālādārabhya varṣeṣu dvādaśottara-śatādhika-sahasreṣu nivritteṣu varttamāna-Sādhāraṇa-saṁvatsarāntargata-Puṣya-bahula-dvādaśyām bhaumavāre Bhanoruttarāyaṇa-saṁkramaṇa-parvaṇi)*. The date corresponds to 12th Jan 530 CE.

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

The Kaseli Grant:[216] Śaka 1113 elapsed (530-531 CE), Virodhikṛt saṁvatsara, 4th day of the bright fortnight of Āṣāḍha month, Thursday and Dakśināyana saṅkrānti. *(Śaka-varṣeṣu sa-trayodaśa-śatādhika-*

sahasreṣu 1113 gateṣu varttamāna-Virodhikṛt-saṁvatsare Āṣāḍha-śuddha-caturthyām bṛhaspati-vāre Dakśināyana-saṁkramaṇa-parva-nimittam). Probably, there is an error in the date. 15th Jun 530 CE was the 4th day of Āṣāḍha but Dakśināyana saṁkrānti occurred on 21st Jun 530 CE which was 10th day of Āṣāḍha.

The Kutapur Grant:[217] Śaka 1113 elapsed (530-531 CE), Virodhikṛt saṁvatsara, Mārgaśirṣa month, amāvāsyā and solar eclipse *(Śaka-varṣeṣu sa-trayodaśa-śatādhika-sahasreṣu gateṣu 1113 varttamāna-Virodhikṛt-saṁvatsare Mārgaśīrṣa-māsi amāvāsyāyām tithau saumya-vāsare Sūryoparāge).* The date corresponds to 15th Jan 530 CE but the month was Pauṣa. A solar eclipse was visible from 17:30 hrs to 18:19 hrs. This date cannot be explained in the Śakānta era. The solar eclipse occurred on 18th Dec 1191 CE was not visible in the kingdom of Śilāhāras.

The Hoysalas of Dwārasamudra (Halebidu)

The Hoysala kings of Dwārasamudra were the descendants of the Yādava dynasty. Sala, Hoysala or Poysala was the progenitor of the Hoysala dynasty. According to legends, Sala encountered and killed a ferocious tiger near Vāsantikā temple at Angadi to save an ascetic called Sudatta muni. Eventually, Sala emerged as a hero and became a feudatory king under the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. Thus, Sala attacking the tiger with a dagger became the royal emblem of the Hoysala dynasty. Vinayāditya was the founder of the sovereign kingdom of Hoysalas.

Vinayāditya's son Ereyanga had three sons, Ballala, Bittideva and Udayāditya. Bittideva was famously known as Vishnuvardhana. He subdued hill country, Talavana, Kanchipura, Koyatur, Malenadu, Tulunadu, Nilagiri, Kolala, Kongu, Nangali, Uchchangi and Vallur, the city of the Virata kings. His son was Narasimha, whose wife was Echala Devi. They had a son Ballala Deva. Narasimha was the son of Ballala Deva and Vira Someśvara was the son of Narasimha.

The chronological genealogy of Hoysalas:

	The Hoysala dynasty	**In CE**
1	Sala	??
2	Vinayāditya	387-438 CE

3	Ereyanga	438-442 CE
4	Ballala I	442-448 CE
5	Vishnuvardhana (Bittideva)	448-492 CE
6	Narasimha I	492-513 CE
7	Vira Ballala II	513-560 CE
8	Vira Narasimha II	560-574 CE
9	Vira Someshvara	574-603 CE
10	Vira Narasimha III	603-632 CE
11	Vira Ballala III	632-682 CE

Verifiable inscriptional evidence:

1. **King Ballala I:** Chālukya Vikrama 55, Śaka 1053, Virodhikrit Saṁvatsara, Āśvija Amāvāsyā, Solar Eclipse. The date regularly corresponds to 21st Oct 469 CE.[218]
2. **King Vishnuvardhana:** Śaka 1063, Durmati Saṁvatsara, Āśvina Amāvāsyā, Monday, Solar eclipse and Saṅkramaṇa (Śaka *Varṣam 1063 neya Durmati saṁvatsarada Āśvayuja Amāvase Somavāra Sūrya Grahaṇa Samṅkramaṇadandu).* The date regularly corresponds to 20th Sep 480 CE and Tulā Saṅkrānti occurred on the day.[219]
3. **King Vishnuvardhana:** Śaka 1066, Raktākśi saṁvatsara, Puṣya Amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse and Saṅkramaṇa (Śaka *Varṣam Sasirad-aruvatteleneya (1066 or 1067) Raktākśi saṁvatsarada Pauṣyad Amāvāsye ....vāra Uttarāyaṇa Saṅkramaṅa vyatipāta grahaṇavum).* The date regularly corresponds to 14th Jan 484 CE.[220]
4. **King Vishnuvardhana:** Śaka 1072, Raktākśi saṁvatsara, Phālguna Amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse, Sunday (Śaka *varṣa 1072 deneya Pramoda-saṁvatsarada Phālguna māsad amāvāsye Ādivāra Sūrya grahaṇa vyatipāta*). The date regularly corresponds to 18th Mar 489 CE or 7th Mar 490 CE.
5. **King Ballala II:** Śaka 1096, Jaya saṁvatsara, Vaiśākha Amāvāsyā, Monday, Solar eclipse (Śaka *Varṣada 1096 Jaya sam.. Vaiśākha amāvase Somavāra vyatipāta Sūrya Grahaṇa*). The date regularly corresponds to 10th May 514 CE.[221]

6. **King Narasimha II:** Śaka 1155, Virodhi saṁvatsara, Phālguna Śuddha pañcamī, Thursday, followed by Solar Eclipse that occurred on Meṣa Saṅkrānti (Śaka *Varṣa 1155 Virodhi saṁvatsarada Phālguna Śuddha 5 Brihavāra Uttarāyaṇa Saṁkramaṇa Sūrya Grahaṇadandu*). The date regularly corresponds to 19th Mar 573 CE and Meṣa Saṅkrānti.[222]
7. **King Someśvara:** Śaka 1158, Durmukhi saṁvatsara, Śrāvaṇa Amāvāsyā, Sunday, Solar Eclipse (Śaka *varṣa 1158 Durmukhi saṁvatsarada Śrāvaṇa bahulada Amāvāsyā Ādityavāra Sūrya grahaṇadandu*). The date regularly corresponds to 1st Sep 574 CE.[223]
8. **King Someśvara:** Śaka 1172, Sādhāraṇa saṁvatsara, Vaiśākha Amāvāsyā, Solar Eclipse (*Sādhāraṇa saṁvatsarada Jyeṣṭha śu 5 Ādi, Ā-saṁvatsarada Vaiśākha māse Sūrya Grahaṇa*). The date regularly corresponds to 31st May 588 CE.[224]

The rise of Vijayanagara Empire around 660 CE led to the decline of the Hoysala dynasty. We will discuss the chronology of Vijayanagara Empire in Chapter 18. An inscription[225] of Hoysala King Ballāla is dated Śakānta 1919 (1336 CE) and the inscription found at the village of Bittaravalli,[226] Belur taluka, Karṇātaka is dated in Śakānta 2027 (1444 CE) *[Śakavarṣada 2027 neya Ānanda Saṁvatsara Bhādrapada śuddha padiva śukravāradandu]*. Seemingly, the later Hoysala kings reigned in the 14th and 15th centuries CE.

17

The Chronology of Muslim Rulers in India

Before discussing the chronology of Muslim rulers in India, it is pertinent to note here that I have conclusively established the epoch of the birth of Jesus in 660 BCE as discussed in detail in my book titled "*The Origin of the Christian Era: Fact or Fiction*". Accordingly, the epoch of Yazdajird era commenced around 32-29 BCE. There were two calendars of the Yazdajird era. The Zoroastrian Yazdajirdi calendar of Khurasan and Iraq was reckoned from the date of the ascension of Sasanian King Yazdajird III, i.e., 5/6 Jul 32 BCE. These Zoroastrians of Iraq and Khurasan traditionally celebrated Jamshedi Navroj during the month of Jul-Aug when Sun entered into Leo. The Zoroastrian Yazdajirdi calendar of Fars and Sogdia was introduced when sun entered into Aries. Seemingly, the Yazdajirdi calendar of Fars and Sogdia was reckoned from 30 Mar 29 BCE. Later, the Fasli calendar of the Yazdajird era was introduced on 22 Mar 631 CE under the influence the Jalali calendar. Thus, the Yazdajird era had three calendars:

1. **The Shahanshashi Calendar (32 BCE or 29 BCE):** In ancient times, the Shahanshahi calendar year consisted of 12 months and each month had 30 days. During the reign of Achaemenid and Sasaninan kings, the calendar of 360 days has been changed to 365 days. An additional month of 30 days was intercalated once in a cycle of 120 years. This calendar had two epochs of the Yazdajird era. Khurasan and Iraq followed the epoch of 32 BCE and celebrated Navroj or New Year in Jul as Pateti (the day of introspection), i.e., the 1st day of Farvardin month. Fars and Sogdia followed the epoch of 29 BCE and celebrated Navroj on the vernal equinox.

2. **The Kadmi I & Kadmi II Calendar:** The Zoroastrians of Fars had intercalated an extra month to the Shahanshahi calendar around 345 CE and 470 CE. This calendar came to be known as the Kadimi calendar.
3. **The Fasli Calendar:** This calendar year also consisted of 12 months, each month having 30 days plus five *Gatha* days but also had a leap day called *Avardad-sal-Gah* in every four years. This calendar was introduced on 22 Mar 631 CE. Al Beruni referred to the epoch of the Fasli calendar of the Yazdajird era.

Accordingly, the epoch of the Hijrah era also commenced around 44-34 BCE. The early Islamic amanta lunar calendar commenced on 29th Apr 44 BCE. Moharram was the first month of Islamic calendar and it was identical to Nisan, the first month of the Jewish lunisolar calendar. Later, the Muslims of Khurasan and Iraq had followed the solar calendar of Yazdajird era of 32 BCE and the Islamic lunar calendar of the Hijrah era of 42 BCE. A Mohammadan canon called Al-harkan indicates that the epoch of the Hijrah era commenced on 4th Aug 42 BCE. The Zoroastrian Muslims of Fars celebrated Navroj on the vernal equinox. They followed another epoch of the Yazdajird era that commenced on 30 Mar 29 BCE, i.e., 1 Farvardin. With an objective to reconcile the calendars in Yazdajird and Hijrah eras, the Muslims of Fars had reset the Islamic lunar calendar in 39 BCE considering 28 Oct 39 BCE as the first day of Muharram. The Persian authors of *Tarikh-i-Guzida* and *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* indicate that the epoch of the Hijrah era commenced in 34 BCE. Most probably, Al Tabari counted the lunar years from the epoch of 29 BCE. Evidently, it is not possible to fix one epoch of the Hijrah era because the Islamic sources had referred to the epoch of the Hijrah era differently but all different epochs of the Hijrah era fall between 44 BCE and 34 BCE. When the Fasli calendar was introduced on 22 Mar 631 CE, the epoch of the Yazdajird era has been reset commencing from 631 CE and accordingly, the Islamic lunar calendar has also been reset from 621 CE. Al Beruni referred to the epochs of the Fasli calendar of the Yazdajird era (631 CE) and the Islamic calendar (621 CE).

There are three Pahlavi inscriptions found dated in the year 378 of the Yazdajird era in Kanheri Caves located near Mumbai.[1] Historians

dated these inscriptions around 1009-1010 CE considering the epoch in 632 CE and stated that these inscriptions belong to Parsis who visited these caves. These inscriptions record the names of the visiting Pahlavi co-religionists and their genealogy. The script is Sasanian-Pahlavi. It is evident that Pahlavi Zoroastrian pilgrims visited Kanheri caves in the year 378 (348 CE) and recorded these inscriptions in the 4th century CE considering the epoch of the Yazdajird era in 29 BCE.

Prophet Mohammad was born in the 40th regnal year of Nusherwan, i.e., 100 BCE. Mohammad began to propagate his religion in the 20th regnal year of Khusru Parwej, i.e., 54 BCE and in the 30th regnal year, Mohammad fled Makkah to Madinah which is the epoch of Hijrah, i.e., 44 BCE. Mohammad died in 34 BCE during the reign of Turan Dukht, the daughter of Sasanian King Khusru Parwez.

According to Tarikh-i-Guzida, the Saffari dynasty reigned in Sistan or Sakastan (Baluchistan areas near Kandhar) during the period of Abbasids and Yakub was ruling around Hijrah 237-265. In Hijrah 253 (201 or 211 CE), Yakub defeats Tanbal the king of Kabul and also takes over Herat two years later. If we consider the epoch of Hijrah in 622 CE, Hijrah 253 was 867 CE. Al Beruni mentions that Laga Torman was the king of Kabul who was replaced by his Brahmana minister Kallar around 870 CE. Evidently, Tanbal was the king of Kabul around 201-211 CE whereas Laga Torman was the king of Kabul around 867 CE.

The Samani dynasty was ruling Samarkand and Bukhara. Alaptagin was the servant of King Ahmed and became commander-in-chief of King Nuh around Hijrah 343 (288 CE or 298 CE). Subuktagin was the slave of Alaptagin. Alaptagin fled from Khurasan to Ghazna and ruled for sixteen years. Subuktagin succeeded Alaptagin and also married his daughter. Thus, Subuktagin founded the Ghaznavi dynasty in Hijrah 367 (312 CE or 322 CE). He attacked India and took Indian King Haytal as prisoner but released him on his undertaking to pay tribute. Subuktagin died in Hijrah 387 (331 CE or 341 CE). On the extinction of the Samani dynasty in Hijrah 390 (334 CE or 344 CE), Mahmud, the son of Subuktagin, was recognised as king of Ghazna and Khurasan by Caliph Al-Qadir billah and conferred the title of Yaminudawla. Mahmud fixed his capital at Balkh. In Hijrah

392 (336 CE or 346 CE), Mahmud again invaded India. Having appointed his son to succeed him, Mahmud subdues Sistan, Multan and Kashmir and defeats Ilak Khan (a descendant of Ala Khan mentioned in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅginī*?). Ilak Khan died in Hijrah 403 and he was succeeded by his brother Tughan. Mahmud killed Suri king of the house of Ghur and the son of Suri king committed suicide. The Suri king was Mohammad bin Suri. Utbi calls him Ibn Suri and tells us that he was a Hindu. Mahmud attacked Qinnawj (Kanauj) in Hijrah 409 (334 CE or 344 CE) and grabbed huge booty. Mahmud wrests Iraq from the Buwayhids in Hijrah 416 (352 CE or 362 CE) and confers it on his son Masud. Mahmud sees the prophet in a dream. He died in Hijrah 421 (364 CE or 374 CE).

Mahmud had two sons, Masud and Mahmud. Iraq, Khurasan and Khwarazm were given to Masud and Ghazna and India were given to Mahmud. Masud defeats and blinds his brother. Masud was killed by Seljuqs in Hijrah 433. Thus, Ghaznavis were confined to Ghazna after Hijrah 430.

Indians generally referred to Khorasani Sultans as Turushka or Śaka or Yavana kings. The earliest reference of the conflict between Turushkas and Indian kings is found in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅginī*. These Turushka kings ended the rule of the Shahi kings of Udabhandapura in the first half of the 4th century CE. *Prabandhakośa* of Rājaśekhara Suri written in Kārttikādi Vikrama (KV) 1405 (683 CE) tells us that Jayantachandra's minister, Padmākara, on his return from Anhilapura, brought with him a beautiful widow named Suhavadevi. Being smitten with her love Jayantachandra kept her as his concubine and from her a son was born. When this illegitimate son came of age, his mother requested the king to declare him as Yuvarāja. But the minister Vidyādhara announced prince Meghachandra to be the rightful heir. Suhavadevi sent her secret agent to Takśaśilā and invited the Suratrāṇa (Sultan) of Turushkas to attack Kanauj because Jayantachandra rejected her son's claims for the throne. Though Vidyādhara timely informed about this conspiracy to Jayantachandra but he did not give any credit to it. Vidyādhara, being deeply hurt, plunged himself into the Ganga River. Shortly afterwards, Turushka king invaded Kanauj. Jayantachandra marched out to encounter him but got defeated. Jayantachandra plunged himself in the Ganga River. *Prabandhachitāmaṇi*

of Meruttunga written in KV 1362 (643 CE) discredits Suhavadevi for calling Turushkas.

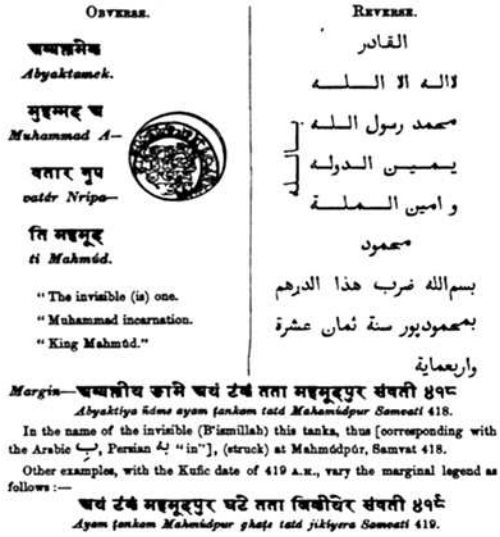
According to *Udayapura Praśasti*, Paramara King Bhoja (339-394 CE) subjugated Turushkas. Bhavishya Purāṇa also mentions that King Bhoja went to conquer all the directions of country with ten-thousand soldiers. He also crossed the river Sindhu and conquered over the Gandharas, Mlecchas, Śakas, Kashmir, Naravas, and Śaṭhas. He met Mahāmada, the guru of the Mlecchа dharma, who had arrived with his followers. Thereafter, King Bhoja went to worship Mahādeva Śiva situated in the Marusthal (most probably, the Kharan desert of Baluchistan). Some scholars speculated that King Bhoja met Prophet Mohammad but in all probability, Bhoja met Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni who might have declared himself to be the incarnation of Mohammad after seeing him in a dream.

The earliest numismatic evidence found is dated in the year Hijrah 418 and 419.[2] These silver coins were issued from Mahamudpur situated near Gujrawalan town of Punjab, Pakistan. It is evident that Sultan Mahmud established the city of Mahamudpur. It may be noted that many cities of India having Persian names ending with "Pur" or "Nagar" were either built or renamed by the Afghan and Persian kings of India.

Interestingly, Sultan Mahmud claims himself to be the incarnation of Mohammad in the coin inscription which would be blasphemous in Islam because Mohammad was the last prophet. Historians considered the epoch of the Hijrah era in 622 CE and concluded that these coins were issued by Mahmud Ghazni of the 11th century CE. But Mahmud Ghazni of the 11th century was a terrorist and destroyed many Hindu temples and killed lakhs of Hindus. He hammered the sacred Śiva Linga of Somanath himself and carried the rock pieces of Śiva Linga to Ghazni to construct the steps of a mosque. According to *Mirat-i-Masudi*, Mahmud carried off the idol of Somanath and dividing it into four pieces, one of which he reported to have placed on the threshold of the imperial palace, while he sent two others to Mecca and Madina respectively. Mahmud preferred to carry rock pieces of Śiva Linga because he believed that God will honour him for destroying the most sacred idol of infidels. It is extremely impossible that a terrorist, who immensely hated idol-worshippers, can

even think of using the sacred language of infidels in his coins and claim himself to be the incarnation of Mohammad.

Evidently, these coins were not issued by Mahmud Ghazni. These coins were issued by Sultan Mahmud of the 4th century CE. Possibly, this Sultan of Ghazna might have ended the rule of Shahi kings of Udabhanadapura as recorded in *Rājataraṅginī*. Most probably, the great Paramāra King Bhoja (338-394 CE) met Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni as mentioned in Bhavishya Purāṇa.



The author of Tarikh-i-Guzida and Utbi did not mention the invasion on Somanath at all. Evidently, Sultan Mahmud of the 4th century CE had invaded up to Kanauj only.

Utbi stated "And it happened that the Kadhi Abul-Ula-Said-bin-Mohammad in the year 420 determined to fulfil the pilgrimage".[3] It is evident that Utbi wrote his book after Hijrah 420 and the death of Sultan Mahmud. If Mahmud of Ghazna plundered Somanath temple, why Utbi and the author of Tarikh-i-Guzida had no knowledge of it? Utbi also mentions that Mahmud conquered Multan and Kanauj. He also mentions the construction of a Jama Masjid by Mahmud in Ghazna. Evidently, Mahmud of the 4th century only invaded once up to Kanauj whereas

Mahmud of the 11th century invaded India many times and plundered Somanath. Utbi had also no knowledge of the conflict with Hindu Shahi kings Anandapal and Trilochanapal and the confederacy of Hindu kings because these events belonged to the 11th century.

Utbi mentions that Mahmud defeated the king of Ghur Mohammad ibn Suri who was a Hindu. Tarikh-i-Guzida tells us that Suri, a Hindu was the king of Ghur who once defeated Sultan Mahmud. His grandson fled to India, where a son was born to him named Sam, who became a Muslim and went to Dilli where he became a rich merchant. Sam had a son named Husayn. Later, Husayn went to Ghazna and became chamberlain of Sultan Ibrahim. Afterwards, he becomes the governor of Ghur around Hijrah 545 (494 CE). Husayn had a son named Sam. Sam had two sons, Ghiyatuddin and Shihabuddin. Ghiyatuddin chose Ghazna as his capital and appointed his brother Shihabuddin as governor of Herat. Shihabuddin led a successful campaign against Indians. Ghiyatuddin died in Hijrah 598 (542 CE). Shihabuddin takes over Ghazna and also Multan. He makes peace with Khwarazm Shah, to whom he cedes Merv and Nishapur retaining Herat and Balkh (Interestingly, there were no Khwarazm Shahs during the time of Al Beruni). In Hijrah 602 (546 CE), Shihabuddin undertook a fresh campaign against India, but was finally assassinated by some Hindus after a reign of 4 years. It appears that Tarikh-i-Guzida supports the narrative of *Prithviraja Raso* which says that Prithviraj and Chand Bardai killed Shihabuddin.

Prithvirāja Vijaya mentions that Chāhamāna King Durlabharāja (312-330 CE) lost his life in a battle with the Garjana Mātaṅgas (Persian kings of Ghazni) and Ajayarāja (430-450 CE), the founder of the city of Ajayameru, defeated the Garjana Mātaṅgas. It is also stated in the 6th Sarga of *Prithvirāja Vijaya* that Arṇorāja (450-475 CE), the grandfather of Prithvirāja III, defeated and killed large number of Turushkas in heavy armour near Ajmer who had come through the desert, where for want of water they had to drink the blood of horses. Arṇorāja constructed a lake named Ana Sagar in celebration of his victory over Turushkas. A fragmentary Chauhan Praśasti inscription preserved at Ajmer Museum also informs us that Arṇorāja killed Turushkas near Ajmer and led his army up to the river Sindhu. Appendix II of *Prabandhakośa* of Rājaśekhara

Suri records that many Chāhamāna kings from Govindarāja to Visaladeva fought against Persian Sultans. It records that Govindarāja defeated Sultan Vegavarsa, Simharāja subjugated Sultan Hejivadina (Hejibuddin), Duryojana defeated Sultan Nisaradina (Nusaruddin), Gandu defeated Sultan Mahāmada (Muhammad), Chāmundarāja subjugated a Sultan, Prithvirāja II defeated Sultan Vagulishah, Alhanadeva defeated Sultan Sahavadina (Shahabuddin) and Visaladeva defeated Turushkas.

The Narhar inscription of Vigraharāja dated Kārttikādi Vikrama (KV) 1215 (496 CE) mentions that Vigraharāja III defeated Hammira (a Persian king). The inscription of Visaladeva on the Asokan pillar at Firojshah Kotla, Delhi dated 15th Vaiśākha, Chaitrādi Vikrama (CV) 1220 (19th April 501 CE) mentions that Visaladeva exterminated the Mlecchas from Āryāvarta. The Persian inscription on the same pillar also reports quite correctly that the writing on the column commemorates its re-inscription by Prince Visaladeva two centuries earlier, and notes the fact that it had once been associated with a temple. *Prabandhakośa* refers to Visaladeva as "Turushkajit" meaning a conqueror of the Muslims. The ancient chronicles of Mewar also mention that Visaladeva encountered the invasion of the Turushkas and defeated them. Interestingly, a historical work "*Visaladev Raso*" written by Narpati Nalha is available today.

The Gahadwala inscriptions mention that Govindachandra fought with the king of Turushkas. The inscriptions of Jayachandra tell us that Vijayachandra, the father of Jayachandra, not only successfully countered the expansionist Turushka King Hamvira but also defeated him. We also learn from the inscriptions that Gahadwalas imposed a tax (*Turushka-danda*) on Muslims. Historians have misinterpreted the "*Turushka-Danda*" as the tax collected from Indians to pay tribute to Muslims.

Prithvirāja Vijaya mentions that a King of Mlecchas captured Garjani (Ghazni) in the North-west border during the reign of Chāhamāna King Prithvirāja III. On hearing that Prithvirāja vowed to exterminate the Mlecchas, the Mleccha king of Garjani sent a messenger to Ajayameru. We learn from the 11th Sarga that the minister Kadambavasa played an intelligent move in this regard and ultimately, the king of Gujarat completely routs the army of the Mlecchas. Later, the massive conflict

between Chāhamānas and Gahadwalas in the first half of the 6th century gave a golden opportunity for the Persian kings.

According to *Prithviraja Raso*, after the conclusion of his conquests, Jayachandra wanted to perform Rājasuya Yajña, which was to culminate in the Svayamvara of his daughter Saṁyogitā. All the princes were invited but Prithvirāja III and Samarasimha of Mewar refused to attend the Rājasuya Yajña. Jayachandra ordered to make the effigies of both and placed in a position of doorkeepers. Prithvirāja III took the insult to heart. He suddenly attacked Kanauj and carried away the princess Saṁyogitā. This incident led to a full scale war between Jayachandra and Prithvirāja III. The battle continued for seven days in which Jayachandra lost his life.

We learn from *Prithvirāja Vijaya* of Jayānaka, *Prithviraja Raso* of Chandra Varadayi, *Bhavishya Purāṇa*, *Hammira Mahākāvya* of Nayachandra Suri, *Surajanacharitra* of Chandraśekhara and *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazal that Saṁyogitā's elopement with Prithvirāja III in front of many guest princes led to a war between Jayachandra and Prithvirāja resulting in massive losses to both the kingdoms. The Mleccḥa king took the advantage of this situation and invaded on Dilli. This Mleccḥa king was Shihabuddin who was referred to as Sahavadina in *Bhavishya Purāṇa*, *Hammira Mahākāvya*, inscriptions and various Indian literary sources.

Shihabuddin was the first Persian king who successfully annexed the kingdom of Dilli after defeating Chāhamāna King Prithvirāja III.

The Genealogy of the Śaka Kings (Persian Kings) of Dilli

Interestingly, the Palam Baoli (Palam, Delhi) inscription[4] of Uddhara dated KV 1333 (614 CE) [Śrāvaṇa Krishna 13 Budhavāra, i.e., 9th Aug 614 CE] and the Ladnu (Jodhpur, Rajasthan) inscription[5] of Sādhāraṇa dated KV 1373 (654 CE) [Bhādrapada Krishna Tritīyā, Friday, i.e., 5th Sep 654 CE] give the genealogy of the Śaka kings, i.e., Persian kings of Dilli. These inscriptions state that there is a city named Dilli in the region of Haritāna or Haryana (*tatra Śri-Haritāna-deśa-vimale Dilli iti nāmna Purī…*) and the city was earlier ruled by the Tomara and Chāhamāna dynasties and the same city is now being ruled by the Saka kings (*Yā purā Tomarair Bhuktā Chāhamānādhipaiḥ Purī, Gaja-vāji-narādhiśaiḥ sādhunā pālyate Śakaiḥ….*). The Ladnu inscription clearly states that Dilli was a centre of

learned men and Brāhmaṇas (*Ramyā Śakapurīva ratna-nichayā nityam Budhendra-priyā, Viprāḥ Śāstra-paramparā-śrutividāḥ….*).

According to these inscriptions, Sahavadina (Shihabuddin) was the first king. We can conclude that the Persian Sultan Shihabuddin was the contemporary of Prithvirāja III and Jayachandra. The genealogy given in the inscriptions as follows:

	Saka or Persian kings of Dilli	**Ladnu Inscr.**	**Palam Baoli Inscr.**
1.	Sāhavadina (Shihabuddin)		*Ādau Sāhavadinaḥ*
2.	Kutbuddina	*Śakeśaḥ*	*Bhūpālaḥ*
3.	Samasadina (Shamsuddin)	*Shashvan Niśśeṣitāriḥ Jagati*	
4.	Peroja Sahi (Firoj Shah)		*Bhūmipatiḥ*
5.	Alavadina (Allauddin) or Jalaladina Alauddin	*Nṛpa- Guṇa-Nipuṇaḥ*	
6.	Maujadina (Muizzuddin)		*Nṛpaḥ*
7.	Nasaradina (Nasiruddin) or Alauddin Nasaruddin		*Sriman Alavadino nṛpativaro Nasaradina-prithvindraḥ, Ā-Gaudāt-Gajjanāntam Dravida-Janapadat Setubandhāt samantāt antasmāt-toṣapūrṇe sakala-janapade Prājya-Saurājya-rājye,*
8.	Gayasadina (Gayasuddin) or Hammira Gayasuddin		*So'yam sapta-samudra-mudrita-mahī-hārāvalī-nāyakaḥ, Sri-Hammira-*

		Gayasudina-nṛpatiḥ Samrāt samujṛmbhate।
9.	Alavadina (Allauddin)	*Kśitiposti sadyaḥ. Alavadino nṛpatir mahinastvahinakarmā ripu-bhinna-marmā, Sahavadinasya suto'navadyaḥ samasta-ratnaiḥ prabhurasti sadyaḥ. Ratnavān so guṇaiḥ kānta kānteva gajagāminī, Kāmini balināenena dakśiṇāśā jitā purā. Jitvā vaṅga-triliṅga-gurjara-lasat-Karṇāta-Gaudādhipān, Garjadgarjana-Pārvatīya-nṛpatīn Pāndyān Payodhiśritān …. Sri-Hastyaśva-nareśvaro bhuvi mahān Allavadinaopamaḥ, saṅjāto na purā na chāsti bhavitā nāgre Śakeṣaḥ kvachit.*
10.	Kutbuddina (Kutbuddin)	
11.	Gayasadina (Gayasuddin)	

The Palam Baoli inscription was issued by Uddhara, the noble of Hammira Ghayasuddin and the Ladnu inscription was issued by Sādhāraṇa, the feudatory of Allavadina II. The list given in these inscriptions differs from that given by Firishta. Historians somehow reconciled with reference to the resemblance of names given in the inscriptions as details given under:

	As given by Firishta	Saka or Persian kings of Dilli as listed in the inscriptions
1.	Muizaddin Mohammad Ghori	Sāhavadina (Shahabuddin)
2.	Qutbuddin Eibak	Kutbuddina
3.	Aram Shah	……
4.	Altamish (Shamsuddin)	Samasadina (Shamsuddin)
5.	Ruknuddin Firoz	Peroja Shahi (Firoj Shah)
6.	Raziya Begam	……
7.	Muizuddin Bahram Shah	Alavadina (Allauddin I)
8.	Alauddin Masud	Maujadina (Muizzuddin)
9.	Nasiruddin Mahmud	Nasaradina (Nasiruddin)
10.	Ghiyasuddin Balban	Gayasadina (Gayasuddin)
11.	Muizuddin Kaikubad	……
12.	Jalaluddin Khilji	……
13.	Alauddin Khilji	Alavadina (Allauddin II)
14.	Shahabuddin Umar	……
15.	Kutubuddin Mubarak Shah	Kutbuddina (Kutbuddin)
16.	Khusru Khan Nasiruddin	……
17.	Ghiyasuddin Tughluk	Gayasadina (Gayasuddin)

The study of these inscriptions indicate the following;

1. Both the inscriptions refer to the Afghan and Persian kings as Śakas.
2. The names of six Muslim rulers are found missing in these inscriptions. Historians stated that the authors of the inscriptions did not have the complete knowledge of history and omitted the names of No. 3, 6, 11, 12, 14 & 16. But how can two different authors of the inscriptions of different eras and regions have forgotten the names of the same rulers? Moreover, Uddhara, the author of the Palam Baoli inscription, was the noble of Palam area of Delhi. He was the eye-witness of Dilli politics. In fact, the ignorance of the epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE) led the historians to speculate certain impossible possibilities.

3. The Palam Baoli inscription clearly tells us that Allauddin Nasaruddin conquered from Gauda (Bengal) to Gajjana (Ghazni), from the country of Dravida to the entirety of Setubandha (Rameshvaram) and all the contented provinces in the great kingdom of Saurājya or Saurashtra (Gujarat). Some Muslim chroniclers tell us that Allauddin Khilji was the first who invaded up to Devagiri around 1295 CE and his slave Malik Kafur could invade Madurai only in 1311 CE. Therefore, historians simply brushed aside the facts recorded in the Palam Baoli inscription.
4. The Palam Baoli inscription also informs that Hammira Ghayasuddin led a military expedition and subjugated the kings of Gauda, Andhra, Kerala, Karnata, Maharashtra, Gurjjara and Lāta. Clueless historians again brushed aside the claims of this inscription.
5. These inscriptions do not mention the name of Ghyasuddin Khilji, the founder of Khilji dynasty. Moreover, these inscriptions fail to mention the important names and surnames of the rulers of Delhi Sultanate.

These inscriptions also indicate the following important information;

1. The city of Dilli was part of the Haryana region in the 7th century.
2. Yoginīpura was another name of the city of Dilli.
3. Sultan Alauddin Nasaruddin was the first to invade up to Rameshwaram in the South and his successor Hammira Ghayasuddin also led a military expedition into South. Most probably, Hakka and Bukka were imprisoned and released by either Sultan Alauddin Nasaruddin or Hammira Ghayasuddin.
4. Hammira Ghayasuddin was on the throne of Dilli in the year 1333 (614 CE) of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE)
5. The Ladnu inscription tells us that Sultan Allauddin, the ninth ruler and the successor of Hammira Ghayasuddin, conquered Vanga, Tilinga, Gurjara, Karnata, Gauda, Garjana, Parvatiya kings and Pandyas. After Alavuddin, Kutbuddin and Gayasuddin ascended the throne. Gayasuddin was on the throne in the year 1373 (654 CE) of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era.

6. Possibly, Hakka and Bukka were imprisoned by Alavuddin Nasaruddin or Hammira Gayasuddin when they were working as treasury officials of Kākatiyas.
7. The first attack on Srirangam Temple might have occurred during the reign of Sultan Alavuddin (the 9th ruler) and Turukka Nancharamma was his daughter.
8. Most probably, the second attack on Srirangam took place during the reign of Gayasuddin.

Bhavishya Purāṇa and the Gahadwalas

Bhavishya Purāṇa gives the genealogy of the Gahadwalas which is also supported by the epigraphic evidence. Yaśovigraha was the father of Mahichandra and the grandfather of Chandradeva. Mandapāla or Madanapāla was the son of Chandradeva. Madanachndra had a son named Kumbhapāla (Govindapāla or Govindachandra) who was ruling in the north of Kānyakubja. Bhavishya Purāṇa mentions that Kumbhapāla was the contemporary of a Mleccḥa king or Persian king Mahāmoda or Mohammad. Devapāla (Vijayapāla or Vijayachandra) was the son of Kumbhapāla. Devapāla had two sons, Jayachandra and Ratnabhānu. Ratnabhānu ruled in the north whereas Jayachandra ruled in the east (*Jayachandro Ratnabhānur diśam pūrvām tathottarām....*). Lakshmana was the son of Ratnabhānu and died in Kurukshetra in a war against the Persian invaders.

Bhavishya Purāṇa states that Mleccḥa King Sahoddina (Shihabhuddin) dominated in the north and ruled for 20 years. In the meantime, Kutukoddina (Kutubuddin) made Dehali (Dilli) as his capital. The neighbouring kings made a united effort and evicted Kutubuddin from Dilli. Shahabuddin once again invaded and conquered Dilli. Thereafter, many Mleccḥa kings ruled over Dilli. Bhavishya Purāṇa mentions that the tenures of these Mleccḥa kings were very short (*Pañcha-Ṣat-Sapta-varṣāṇi rājyam kṛtvā layam gatāḥ…*).

Rani Kuramdevi

According to the traditional history of the Guhilot Rajputs, Kuramdevi was a Rani of Mewar and the wife of Vikram Singh, who died fighting against

Kutubudin. Rani Kuramdevi coronated her infant son on the throne and secured the regency for herself. She raised a new army including large number of women warriors. Rani Kuramdevi marched northwards from Chittorgarh and engaged Kutubuddin near Jaipur. She, herself, led the army and wounded him so severely that Kutubuddin fell from his horse and had to be carried from the field. Kutubuddin's army panicked and fled. Most probably, Bhavishya Purāṇa indirectly refers to this victory of Rajputs against Kutubuddin.

Brief History of Hindus Given by Firishta

Mohammad Kasim Hindoo Shah (Firishta) of the 17th century wrote a short note on the history of Hindus in the beginning of his work "Gulsan-i-Ibrahimi". He gives a rough chronological history of India from Mahābhārata period to the invasion of Mahmud Ghazni.

1. Kālayavana invaded on Matura before the Mahābhārata war. Al Beruni also mentions an epoch of Kālayavana era that commenced before the Mahābhārata war.
2. Interestingly, Firishta mentions that Rajput kings maintained friendly relations with the kings of Persia. Dunger Sen was one of the nephews of Persian King Furddin and took protection of him because Mahārāja denied his share of kingdom. Furddin despatched his son Gurshasp with a force to attack Punjab. The war lasted for 10 years and Mahārāja finally agreed to give a share of kingdom to Dunger Sen.
3. Furddin possessed the Punjab and the descendants of Gutshasp, down to the celebrated Rustam.
4. Munoo Chehr of Iran, the Persian king sent Sam, the son of Nureeman with an army to support Kesoo Ray. The Rājas of Deccan intimidated by the Persian troops acknowledged allegiance to Kesoo Ray.
5. Munere Ray succeeded Kesoo Ray. On the death of Munoo Chehr in Iran, Afrasiab Turk, the king of Turan succeeded. Munere Ray invaded Punjab and seized it from the officers of Zal, the son of Sam, making Jalandhar his capital.

6. After this, Punjab remained in possession of the kings of India till the reign of Keikubad who having deputed Rustam, the son of Zal to reconquer the province. Rustom conquered India and placed Suraj a Hindu on the throne and returned to Persia.
7. Persians traditionally worshipped the Sun and the stars.
8. Kedar Rāja was the contemporary of Kei-kaoos and Kei-Khoosrow to whom he used to transmit annual tribute.
9. Sunkul ascended the throne, laid the foundation of Lakhnowty in Bengal but being destroyed in the time of the Mogul empire, Tanda became the seat of government.
10. Sunkul Rāja refused to pay tribute to Afrasiab. Afrasiab sent a Persian army under the command of Peeranweisa but Sunkul Rāja successfully drove them away. Peeranwesia requested for reinforcement from Afrasiab who was in the city of Kunukdiz, situated between Thatta (Sindh) and Khotan (Xinjiang). Afrasiab defeated Sunkul Rāja and placed his son on the throne. Afrasiab returned back to Turan. The son of Sunkul Rāja used to send tribute to Afrasiab.
11. Mahārāja II was the contemporary of Gurshasp and paid tribute to Persia. His son Kedar Rāja succeeded.
12. Doorga having contracted alliances with the Gukkurs and Chowbea, the ancient zamindars of the Punjab, as also with the people, who resided in the hills between Kabul and Kandhar, marched against Kedar Rāja who fled from Punjab. These tribes, who were separate before, now formed one powerful state, and I imagine they are those whom we call Afghans.
13. Kedar Rāja's minister Jey Chand usurped the throne. He was the contemporary of Bahmun and Darab. Jey Chand left an infant son, whom his widow raised to the throne.
14. Raja Phoor of Kumaoon, collecting a considerable force, attacked Dilli and took him prisoner. Phoor marched to oppose the progress of Sikandar but Phoor lost his life in battle.

15. At this period, the Rajas of Deccan, having become powerful, established their independence. Among others, was Kulchand, the founder of Kulbarga, Merchand, the founder of Mirch; Vijayachand, the founder of Vijayanagar etc.
16. The Vikramaditya was the most illustrious king.
17. Raja Bhoj followed the steps of Vikramaditya and founded many towns.
18. One Vasudeva seized the province of Kannauj. He was the contemporary of Persian King Bairamgur. Vasudeva gave his daughter to Persian king and paid annual tribute.
19. Ramdev Rathore established his kingdom in Marwar. He deputed an embassy to Shiv Ray, Raja of Beejanuggur (Vijayanagar) soliciting his daughter in marriage. Ramdev was the contemporary of Feroze, a Persian king whose son Kaikubad succeeded him.
20. At this time, a Hindu named Maldev attacked and seized the cities of Dehly and Kannauj. After having reigned for 42 years, Maldev died. From that time till the Mohammadan invasion no single raja ruled over India.
21. When Mahmmod Ghizny invaded India, the country was divided into various kingdoms. Kannauj-Kuwar Raj, Meerut-Hurdut Raj, Mahavan-Goolchunder Ray, Lahore-Jaypal, the son of Hutpal. Malwa, Gujarat, Ajmeer and Gwalior had each separate kings.

Firishta wrote this brief history of Hindus based on whatever he heard from Hindus and understood. Evidently, he failed to understand the basics of Indian chronology and history but he indicates the following historical facts related to the period before the invasion of Mahmud Ghazni.

1. Interestingly, Firishta clearly tells us that Afghans or Pathans had established a strong kingdom in Punjab (extended up to Delhi) in the pre-1000 CE period. Historians either completely missed this fact or ignored it.
2. Firishta also indicates that Raja Bhoja, Jayachandra, Southern Bahmani kings, Persian King Firoz & Kaikubad, Vijayanagara Empire and Mogul Empire flourished in the pre-1000 CE period.

In fact, the available English translation of Firishta's work is an abridged translation which distorts the chronological framework presented by Firishta. Thus, there is a pressing need for literal translation (word to word translation) of Firishta's original work without any bias to the chronology so that the chronological history presented by Firishta can be critically examined with reference to the sheet anchors.

Persian and Afghan Rulers of Delhi

As explained above, political relations and rivalry existed between Indian kings and Persian kings since ancient times. Indian inscriptions and literary sources generally referred to them as Śakas and Turushkas. They have also been referred to as Gajjanakas and Mātaṅgas in Jain literature. Al Beruni gives the brief historical account of pre-Islamic Persia and west Asia.

"In former times, Khurasan, Parsis, Iraq, Mosul, the country up to Syria was Buddhistic but then Zarathushtra went forth from Azerbaijan and preached Magism in Balkh. His doctrine came into favour with king Gushtasp, and his son Isfendiyad spread the new faith both in east and west, both by force and by treaties. He founded fire-temples through his whole empire, from the frontiers of China to those of the Greek empire. The succeeding kings made their religion, i.e., Zoroastrianism the obligatory state-religion for Parsis and Iraq. In consequence, the Buddhists were banished from those countries, and had to immigrate to the countries east of Balkh. There are some Magians up to the present time in India, where they are called Maga. From that time dates their aversion towards the countries of Khurasan. But then came Islam; the Persian Empire perished."

The political rivalry between Indian kings and Persian Kings became more regular during the 5th century CE. Interestingly, Persian kings were generally referred to as Hammira (Amir?) and Suratrāṇa (Sultan). The Bijolia inscription tells us that Vigraharāja III conquered Dilli and collected tribute from Tomar King Ananga Pāla. Traditionally, Chauhans and Gahadwalas were political rivals. *Prithviraja Raso* mentions that when the Gahadwalas of Kannauj attempted to annex Dilli, Chauhan king Someshvar helped Ananga Pāla and restored his supremacy. Ananga

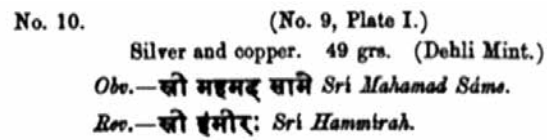
Pala married his daughter "Karpuradevi" to Someshvar. Prithviraj was the son of Someshvar and Karpuradevi. Prithviraja was proclaimed as the Yuvaraja of Dilli when he was eight years old. An inscription dated KV 1224 (505 CE) found at Hansi informs us that Prithviraj's maternal uncle Kirana killed one Hammira.

Prithvirāja Vijaya mentions that a Mleccḥa king (Shihabuddin) captured Garjani (Ghazni) during the reign of Prithvirāja. Prithvirāja vowed to exterminate Mleccḥas. *Hammira Mahākāvya* and *Prithvirāja Raso* relate that Prithvirāja defeated Shihabuddin many times. The famous Prithviraj-Saṁyogitā episode led to a massive conflict between Chauhans and Gahadwalas and both the kingdoms suffered heavy losses. Shihabuddin took advantage of the situation and intruded up to Dilli. Traditional account informs us that Samara Simha of Mewar was the brother-in-law of Prithvirāja and he was killed in a battle fought in KV 1249 (530 CE). *Hammira Mahākāvya* gives the details of how Shihabuddin imprisoned Prithvirāja and became the Sultan of Dilli.

Shihabuddin and Kutubuddin (537-554 CE)

According to *Prithviraja Raso*, the Prithviraj-Saṁyogitā episode led to a full scale war between Jayachandra and Prithviraja III and the war continued for seven days in which Jayachandra lost his life. Vidyapati's *Puruṣaparīkśā,* Meruttunga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* and Rājaśekhara's *Prabandhakośa* relate that Jayachandra was killed in a war with Turushkas by the treachery of his queen Subhadevi.

Turushka King Sāhavadina (Shihabuddin) was the contemporary of Prithvirāja III & Jayachandra. *Hammira Mahākāvya* mentions that Shihabuddin conquered Multan and made it as his capital. *Ashika* of Amir Khusru mentions that Shihabuddin drove the Rai of Kanauj into the Ganges, where he was drowned and took from him fourteen hundred elephants. The coins and *Ashika* of Amir Khusru inform us that Shihabuddin was also called as Mohammad bin Sam.


No. 10. (No. 9, Plate I.)
Silver and copper. 49 grs. (Dehli Mint.)
Obv.—श्री महमद् साम *Sri Mahamad Sáme.*
Rev.—श्री हंमीर: *Sri Hammirah.*

No. 15. Silver and Copper. Weight, 36 grs. (My cabinet.) Unique.

Horseman.	Bull.
पृथ्व	श्री महमद साम
. . Prithvi . .	Srí Mahamad Sám.

No. 18. Gold. (5 specimens. E. I. Collection.) Prinsep's Essays, pl. xxiv. fig. 3, vol. i. 292; Ariana Antiqua, pl. xxi. 25.

Obverse as usual in the Kanauj series.
Reverse—श्री महमद बेने साम ॥ *Srí Mahamad bene Sám.*

No. 19. Gold. (21 specimens. E. I. Collection.) Prinsep's Essays, i. 292; Ariana Antiqua, pl. xx. 25, 26, 27.
Obverse as usual.
Reverse—श्री हमीर महमद साम—*Srí Hamír Mahamad Sám.*

The coins of Mohammad bin Sam contain the figures of horseman, bull and Sanskrit legends which cannot be used in the radical Islamic tradition. Islamic coins must have only Arabic or Persian script. The Persian kings were not radical Muslims and they also followed Persian culture. The use of the images of horseman, bull etc. and Devanagari script & Sanskrit language clearly indicates that the early Persian kings respected the Indian traditions.

The author of *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* refers to Shihabuddin as Muizzuddin. He mentions that Muizzuddin invaded Naharwala (Anhilwad) by way of Ucchah and Multan. Bhim Dev, the Rai of Naharwala, was young and had numerous forces and elephants. He comprehensively defeated Muizzuddin in Hijrah 574. Muizzuddin had to return back to Ghazni. This incident has also been recorded in *Prithvirāja Vijaya*. Later, in Hijrah 575, Muizzuddin conquered Purushor (Peshawar) and Lahor.

Indian literary sources inform us that Prithvirāja III defeated Shihabuddin for many times. Hammira Mahākāvya mentions that Shihabuddin communicated an account of his successive defeats to the king of Ghataika Deśa and solicited his aid. Shihabuddin once again invaded Dilli and captured Prithvirāja alive and imprisoned him. Prithvirāja refused all food and rest in the prison and died.

A Nagari inscription on Kutub Minar mentions the name of Prithvirāja (*Prithvi nripaḥ*) and two Nagari inscriptions mention a date as Samvat 1256, i.e., KV 1256 (537 CE). We can roughly say that Prithvirāja III might have died after 537 CE. Shihabuddin was died in Hijrah 606 as mentioned in *Tarikh-i-Guzida*.

Another Nagari inscription on Kutub Minar mentions as "Malikadina ki Kiratirambh". Historians simply concluded that Malikadina was Kutubuddin Eibak and he built the Kutub Minar. If so, how the name of Prithvirāja and Samvat 1256 were engraved on Kutub Minar?

Firoz Shah himself mentions in his work Futuhat-i-Firoz Shahi: "The minar of Sultan Muizz-ud-din Sam had been struck by lightning. I repaired it and raised it higher than it was before". *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Shams-i-Siraj Afif tells us that a large minar at old Dilli was raised by Samsuddin Iltutmish. Moroccan traveller Ibn Batuta had no idea about the builder of this minar.

We can conclude that Shihabuddin succeeded in conquering the Dilli fort and started constructing the Kutub Minar. Possibly, Prithvirāja III reconquered his Dilli fort from Shihabuddin for a short period. The name of "Prithivi Nripaḥ" and "Samvat 1256" might have been engraved during this period. Shihabuddin again invaded and recaptured Dilli. The construction of Kutub Minar might have been completed during the reign of Shamsuddin Iltutmish. This is the reason why Firoz Shah calls it as the minar of Muizuddin Sam (Shihabuddin) and Afif calls it as the minar of Shamsuddin Iltutmish. An inscription of Kutubuddin dated Hijrah 608 (556 CE) is found near Mehrauli.

Shamsuddin was the slave of Kutubuddin and succeeded him around 556 CE. During the reign of Shamsuddin, a conflict began between Khwarazam Shahs and Mongols. According to *Tarikh-i-Guzida*, certain Mongol merchants were killed by a governor of Khwarazam Shah. Changez Khan sent ambassadors to demand reparation but these too were insulted and killed. Thereupon, Changez Khan declared war on Khwarazam shah and defeated Khwarazam shah at Kashghar. Khwarazam Shah took refuge in the Island of Abasagun in the Caspian Sea and died there in Hijrah 617 (564 CE).

The Date of Changez Khan

Mongolians were a small population probably migrated from Transoxiana. Evidently, Buddhism transmitted to Mongolia from North-western region of India. Since Indians of North-western region used a title "Khan" for the head of a tribe or a warrior group, the same title was also adopted by Mongols. The Liao dynasty (also known as Kitan) ruled from 247 CE to 465 CE over Mongolia and some regions of Eastern Russia. The Jin dynasty, another nomadic tribe replaced the Liao dynasty from 455-574 CE. In 546 CE, a Mongol named Temujin became the head at the age of 42 and took the title Changez Khan (Genghis Khan).

Interestingly, the earliest references of Mongol rulers are available in the history of Tang dynasty of China. In fact, Changez Khan reigned around 546-567 CE. When Changez Khan occupied the Chinese territories, political relations have been established between Tibet and China. Traditionally, Tibetan Buddhist Lamas were the gurus of Mongolians. The oldest Mongolian text "Tobchi'an" (The Secret History of the Mongols or the life of Changez Khan) written in Uyghur-Mongol script gives the account of Changez Khan. The surviving texts of this manuscript are either transcriptions or translations into Chinese script compiled in the 13^{th} or 14^{th} century CE. Unfortunately, no verifiable dates mentioned in this text. After the death of Changez Khan, his son Ogedai Khan succeeded. Guyuk Khan (Ogedai's son), Mongge or Mangu Khan (the son of Genghis Khan's youngest son, Tului), Kublai Khan (Mangu's Brother), Hulagu Khan (the younger brother of Kublai Khan) were the successors of Ogedai.

It is believed that Mongol scholar Go'a Uqa'an qee of Gorlos and Uyghur scholar Masha Yi hei Mahamad compiled in Chinese script from original text during the reign of the Yuan dynasty and gave a title "Yuan Chao Mi Shi" (Serect history of the Yuan dynasty). The opening sentence of the Chinese transliteration indicates that this is the history of the ancestors of the Yuan dynasty. According to the traditional history of Borgijin clan of Changez Khan, there were 22 ancestors. There is a genuine need of further research in the history of Mongols due to the anomaly of ~660 years in the chronological history of China.

According to some Japanese scholars, Genghis Khan, was no other than the Japanese field-marshal and hero, Minamoto no Yoshitsune, whose name in Chinese is Gengi Ke, and who fled across the Yezo Kai, or northern sea of Tartary. Some Chinese authors also accept this plausible theory. Yoshitsune lived around 1159-1189 CE. In all probability, Genghis Khan invaded China in the 6th century CE whereas Japanese hero Yoshitsune escaped to Hokkaido of Japan and entered the mainland of China in the 12th century CE. A Japanese officer also found the tomb of Yoshitsune at Mukden in 1905. However, historians have rejected the claims of Japanese scholars because Genghis Khan cannot be a Japanese hero. But if we correct the chronology of Genghis Khan and Yoshitsune, there is undoubtedly some credible evidence which needs to be researched further.

The Chronology of Afghan and Persian Sultans in India

	Persian and Afghan Sultans of Dilli	**Dates from Inscriptions and coins**	**In CE**
1.	Sāhavadina (Shihabuddin)	Hijrah 602-606	537-540 CE
2.	Kutbuddina	Hijrah 608 (1959-61, Inscr. 1)	540-554 CE
3.	Samusadina Lititimisi (Shamsuddin)	KV 1283 (564 CE) & KV 1288 (569 CE)	554-579 CE
4.	Ruknuddin Peroja Shahi (Firoj Shah)		580-581 CE
5.	Jalaladin Alavadina (Jalaluddin)		581-590 CE
6.	Maujadina (Muizzuddin)		590-600 CE
7.	Nasaradina Alavadina (Nasiruddin)		600-610 CE
8.	Gayasadina (Gayasuddin)	KV 1333 (614 CE), 1347 (628 CE)	610-630 CE
9.	Alavadina (Allauddin II)	KV 1356 (637 CE)	630-652 CE
10.	Kutbuddina (Kutbuddin)		652-654 CE
11.	Gayasadina (Gayasuddin)	KV 1374 (655 CE)	654-662 CE

12.	Hammira Mahamada Shahi	KV 1382 (663 CE), 1384 (665 CE)	662-692 CE
13.	Peroja Shahi (Firoz Shah)	KV 1425 (706 CE), 1426 (707)	692-728 CE
14.	Mahmud Shahi		728- 736 CE
	Invasion of Timur Shah Lung as mentioned in Bhavishya Purāṇa (Timira Linga) in 736 CE. Sayyid Sultans reigned around 750-787 CE		
15.	Bahlol Shah Lodhi		788-727 CE
16.	Sikandar Shah Lodhi	KV 1549 (830 CE), Hijrah 923 (854 CE) KV 1573 (854 CE)	727-855 CE
17.	Sultan Ibrahim	KV 1581 (862 CE)	855-863 CE

The Chronology of Mughal Kings

I have discussed in detail about the date of Akbar in Chapter 2 of my book titled "*The Origin of the Christian Era: Fact or Fiction*". The astronomical verification of various dates of Navroj given in Abul Fazl's *Akbarnama* unambiguously establishes that Akbar reigned around 894-943 CE. Accordingly, the chronology of Mughal kings can be arrived as shown under:

		Ilahi era	**In CE**
1.	Babur		864-868 CE
2.	Humayun		868-878 CE
	Sher Shah		878-884 CE
	Islam Shah		884-893 CE
3.	Humayun		893-894 CE
	Hemachandra Vikramāditya		894 CE
4.	Akbar Shah	1-50	894-943 CE
5.	Salim (Jahangir)	51-73	944-967 CE
6.	Khurdaka (Shah Jahan)	73-83?	967-977 CE?
		73-103?	967-997 CE?
7.	Navaranga Shah, Alamgir or Avaranga Jeb Shah		977-1025 CE?

Bhavishya Purāṇa tells us that Khurdaka (Shah Jahan) reigned for 10 years but he might have reigned for 30 years. He had four sons namely Dara Shah, Navaranga Shah, Shuja Shah and Murad Shah. BP informs us that Navaranga Shah defeated his father and brother to take over the throne. Sri Ranga Natha wrote *Muhūrtamālā* in KV 1717 (998 CE). He also confirms that Avarangajeb Shah defeated his brothers (*Jitvā Dārāshāham Shujāshāham Murādashāham cha, Avarangajebashāhe Śāsatyavanīm mamāyamudyogaḥ*). According to Bhavishya Purāṇa, Navaranga Shah was an incarnation of a demon "Andhaka" and he broke many idols. He reigned for 49 years. Interestingly, Bhavishya Purāṇa mentions that a Brahmana king of Maharashtra named "Sevājaya" killed Navaranga Shah and placed his son Alam Shah on the throne of Dilli who reigned for 5 years. The kingdom of Dilli gradually confined from Dilli to Palam during the reign of Shah Alam. Mahmud Gazni of the 11th century CE invaded Somanath around 1025-1026 CE.

Bhavishya Purāṇa further informs us that Falarush killied the king of Mughals in KV 1770 (1051 CE) and founded the rule of Tālana dynasty for a short period. Falarush reigned for 10 years. His son Mohammad reigned for 20 years. Nadir Shah invaded during the reign of Mohammad. Mohammad's son Ahmad reigned for 5 years. The Maharashtrians killed Ahmed of Talana dynasty. One Madhava reigned for 10 years in Delhi. Mughal King Alam Shah regained his kingdom. Thereafter, later Mughal kings reigned in Delhi. Seemingly, Akbar II reigned in the 16th century CE and Alamgir II, a contemporary of Shivaji, lived in the second half of the 17th century CE.

The Alamgirnama written by Mirza Mohammad Qazim narrates the chronicle of contemporary events up to the tenth regnal year of the Mughal King Alamgir or Aurangajeb but the Mughal king forbade him to continue the work after this period. Aurangzeb ordered to close the department of recording official annals. Saqi Mustad Khan, the author of Maasir-i-Alamgiri, says that "Because this monarch of the external and internal universe preferred laying the foundations of things esoteric to displaying things external." the cause of the prohibition of the writing of official history was that the emperor preferred spiritual things to

displaying material life and, as such, did not like to represent worldly power and pomp and grandeur. This is how the writing of official Mughal history has been abandoned after the tenth regnal year of Aurangzeb.

Al Beruni talks about the rule of Persian kings in India much before his arrival in India. He also says that there are some Magians up to the present time in India, where they are called Maga (Mughals?). Thus, there is a sense of urgency to carry out further research to reconstruct the history of later Mughal period from the 12th century CE to the time of Bahadur Shah Zafar. Unfortunately, the English translations of numerous Arabic and Persian historical texts are abridged translations with a bias to the distorted chronology and not the translations of verbatim. We may have to refer to the original texts and retranslate them verbatim without any distortions.

However, there are many inconsistencies in the chronology of Islamic history. Recently, a manuscript of Quran, which is held by University of Birmingham was radiocarbon dated to between 568 and 645 CE. According to Islamic tradition, the third Caliph Uthman (644-656 CE) compiled and canonized the earliest version of Quran. Evidently, the radiocarbon dating of the Birmingham Quran manuscript indicates the chronological error in dating of the lifetime of Muhammad.

A silver coin of Ali Raja Bibi Janumabe II found in Cannanore, Kerala records the Hijrah year 1631. If the epoch of Hijrah had commenced in 622 CE, the year must be 2204 CE which would be impossible. Another coin found in India is dated in the Hijrah year 1314 and the regnal year 24 of Mughal King Shah Alam. The legends on observe are: Sikkazad bar haft Kishwar saya fazal e Ilah, hami din Muhammad Shah Alam Badshah, (Struck coin in seven climes the shadow of the divine favour; the defender of the faith, Emperor Muhammad Shah Alam) and the legends on reverse are: *Manus maimanatsanahjulus 24, zarb Onrachha*. The Hijrah year 1314 was 1896-1897 CE considering the epoch of 622 CE. It is impossible to establish the reign of Mughal King Shah Alam around 1872-1896 CE. Evidently, the epoch of the Hijrah era cannot be fixed in 622 CE.

A coin of Marathas is dated in the year 1233 of the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE) or the Śakānta era (78 CE). Poet Virupakshi wrote Chenna Basava Purāṇa in Śakānta 1507 (1585 CE). Interestingly, he mentions that Turushkas reigned for 700 years and obliged to leave South India.

Interestingly, a later Mughal King Firuz Shah Zafar is known only from his coinage. His coins were minted in the year 791 (1388 CE). One five-sixth Tanka of Firuz Shah Zafar is dated in the year 791. This coin refers to the epoch of 621-622 CE and not the epoch of Hijrah.

Obv: *Firuz Shah Zafar sultani daribat (bi hadrat) dilli*
Rev: *al-khalifa abu abd allah khulidat 791 khilafatuhu*

Historians have speculated him to be an unknown son of Firoz Shah Tughlaq who minted his coins for a very short period from Delhi during the civil war across the Tughlaq clan after the death of Firoz Shah Tughlaq. But there is no information of Firoz Shah Zafar in the written histories of the Tughlaq dynasty. After the death of Firoz Shah Tughlaq in 1388 CE, Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, Abu Bakr Shah and Mohammad bin Firoz succeeded him. One gold coin of Mohammad bin Firoz is dated in the year 793.

Obv: *al-sultan al-azam muhammad shah firuz shah sultani khulidat mamlakatuhu*
Rev: *fi zaman al-imam amir al-mu'minin khulidat khilafatuhu 793.*

There is not an iota of evidence to establish Firoj Shah Zafar as a son or successor of Firoz Shah Tughlaq. In all probability, Firoj Shah Zafar was a later Mughal king because only later Mughal kings had a surname of Zafar.

Since the chronology of India has been brought forward by 661 years, the colonial historians have mistakenly placed the kings of the period from the 4th century to 6th century in the period from the 11th century to 13th century. This erroneous approach of historians led to numerous distortions in the history of early medieval India.

Shahi Dynasty vs Hindushahi Dynasty

The famous work of Al Beruni and *Kitab-ul-Yamini* or *Tarikh-i-Yamini* of Utbi are the most authentic sources for the history of Shahi and Hindushahi dynasties that ruled over Kabul and Waihind during the 10th century CE and the beginning of the 11th century CE. According to Al Beruni, the Hindus residing at Kabul were ruled by Turk kings of Tibetan origin. He states that Barhatakin was the first who came to Kabul and became king under the title of "Shahiya" and his descendants ruled over Kabul. He also mentions Kanik (Kanishka), the descendant of the Turk Shahi dynasty. Prayag Praśasti of Samudragupta also mentions the "Shahi-Shahanushahi" kings.

According to Al Beruni, the last king of Turk Shahi dynasty was Laga Turman (850-870 CE) who was overthrown by his Brahmana minister Kallar. Thus, Kallar founded the Hindushahi dynasty around 870 CE. Kallar was succeeded by Samand (Samanta), Kamalu (Kamalavarman) and Bhim. Jaipal succeeded Bhim and reigned around 965-1001 CE.

Mahmud invaded on Hindushahi kingdom and the battle between Mahmud Ghazni and Jaipal took place on 27th Nov 1001 CE. Jaipal was defeated and taken prisoner. Anandpal, the son of Jaipal, had to pay heavy

ransom for release of his father. Jaipal could not bear the disgrace and committed suicide. Anandpal (1001-1013 CE) also fought against Mahmud but lost. After losing Waihind, Anandpal set up his capital at Nandana. Trilochanapal, the son of Anandpal succeeded in 1013 CE. Mahmud invaded Nandana in 1013-14 CE. Trilochanapal and his son Bhimpal escaped to Kashmir. Later, Trilochanpal made Lahore as his capital. Mahmud invaded Lahore in 1021-22 CE. Trilochanpal somehow escaped from Lahore but assassinated by his own solders. Trilochanpal's son Bhimpal also died in 1026 CE. Thus, Hindushahi dynasty became extinct.

In 1030 CE, Al Beruni records: "The Hindu Shahiya dynasty is extinct and of the whole house there is not the slightest remnant in existence. We must say that in all their grandeur, they never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and right, that they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing."

Interestingly, the historical account of Shahi dynasty given by Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅginī* is completely different from the account given by Al Beruni. Historians have conveniently distorted the details of *Rājataraṅginī* to reconcile somehow with the details given by Muslim historians. In fact, Kalhaṇa narrates the history of the Shahi dynasty from the 2nd century to the 4th century but historians presumed that he is giving the history from the 8th century to the 11th century. The following comparative study reveals how historians distorted or brushed aside the historical facts recorded in *Rājataraṅginī*.

	The details of Shahi dynasty given in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅginī*	**The details of Shahi and Hindushahi dynasty given by Muslim historians**
1.	Kalhaṇa refers to only the Shahi dynasty. Kalhaṇa was not aware of a new dynasty (Hindushahi dynasty) established by a Brahmana minister Kallar because the Hindushahi dynasty came into existence only in the 9th century CE.	Muslim historians clearly mention that Turk Shahi dynasty was overthrown by Hindushahi dynasty in the 9th century CE.

2.	Kalhaṇa clearly indicates the antiquity and continuity of the Shahi dynasty. He had no knowledge of Laga Turman, the last king of Shahi dynasty.	Al Beruni mentions that Laga Turman was the last king of the Shahi dynasty.
3.	Kalhaṇa mentions the great Shahi king Lalliya. Udabhandapura (Und or Waihind) was his capital.	Historians have concocted that Lalliya was also known as Kallar who was the minister of Laga Turman. But Kalhaṇa had no knowledge of Kallar who overthrew Laga Turman. Moreover, Kallar's capital was Kabul and not Udabhandapura. Jaipal shifted capital from Kabul to Waihind only in 987 CE.
4.	According to Kalhaṇa, the Shahi kings were Kśatriyas (*Kśātra-janmanām*).	According to Al Beruni, Hindushahi kings were Brahmanas.
5.	Kalhaṇa states that Toramana succeeded his father Lalliya.	Al Beruni mentions that Samand succeeded Kallar and Kamala or Kamalu or Kamalavarman succeeded Samand. Historians identified Kamala or Kamalu with the Toramana of Kalhaṇa.
6.	Kalhaṇa tells us that Kashmir King Śankaravarman and Queen Sugaṅdhā reconquered Punjab and Afghanistan areas and Shahi kings became their feudatories. Kalhaṇa also speaks of the Shahi kings Bhima and Thakkana. He also mentions that Bhima was the maternal grandfather of Queen Didda and Kashmir King Abhimanyu defeated the Shahi King Thakkana.	Al Beruni mentions only the name of King Bhima.

7.	Kalhaṇa does not mention anything about the historical account of Jayapal and Anandpal which was the most important phase of the Hindushahi dynasty.	Muslim historians give the detailed account of Hindushahi kings Jaipal and Anandpal. Historians have never explained why Kalhaṇa skips the entire account of Jaipal and Anandpal.
8.	Kalhaṇa mentions the brave Shahi King Trilochanapala. Kashmir King Sangramadeva sent his general Tunga to the assistance of Shahi Trilochanapala. Kalhaṇa says that Tunga neglected the advice of Trilochanapala and considered himself to be experienced in the warfare with the Turushkas. Tunga refused to occupy the safe defensive position and crossed Tausi River and defeated a detachment of enemy but Tunga found himself next morning attacked by the full force of Turushka King Hammira and got defeated. Kashmiri forces had to flee from the battlefield. Kalhaṇa mentions that Trilochanapala fought bravely and recovered his lost kingdom with his heroic efforts.	Historians have painfully explained somehow that Trilochanapala mentioned by Kalhaṇa was the son of Anandpal. Interestingly, historians again concocted that Hammira means Amir and therefore, Hammira was indeed Mahmud Ghazni.
9.	Kalhaṇa mentioned that Shahi Princes Rudrapala, Diddapala, Kshemapala and Anangapala had taken refuge in Kashmir and served as generals during the reign of Kashmir King Anantadev. Rudrapala helped Anantadev in curbing the Darada ruler Achalamangala. In fact, Rudrapala had married the daughter of Induchandra, the king of Jalandhara. It seems that under the influence of Rudrapala, King Anantadev married Suryamati,	Muslim historians mentioned that Bhim Pal was the son of Trilochanapal and died in 1026 CE. There was no Jalandhara king or kingdom existed in the 11th century CE. Historians concocted that Induchandra was the Katoch king of Kangra without any evidence.

	a younger daughter of Jalandhara King Induchandra. According to the inscriptions (dated in Saka 787 [203-204 CE] and Laukika era 80) at Baijnath, Kiragrama in Himachal Pradesh, King Jayachandra of Jalandhara was ruling around 203-204 CE. Induchandra was the descendant of Jalandhara King Jayachandra.	
10.	Though Kalhaṇa referred to the collapse of Shahi rule in another context but he clearly mentions the existence of Shahi princes and princesses during his times. Harshadeva's chief queen Vasantalekha was a princess of the Shahi dynasty. He states that four rajaputras of Shahi family, Bijja, Pittaraja, Paja and another, were the favourites of Kashmir King Sussala. Kalhaṇa says that even in his days, "The appellation Shahi throws its lustre on a numberless host of Kshatriyas abroad who trace their origin to Shahi royal family. (*Mahāsadhanabhagaśchetyeta yairabhidhashritaḥ । Shahimukhya yeshvabhavannadhyakshaḥ Prithivibhujaḥ*)	Al Beruni explicitly mentions that the Hindushahi dynasty is extinct and of the whole house there is not the slightest remnant in existence.

It is evident from the above that Kalhaṇa's account of the Shahi dynasty is completely different from that of Muslim historians. Historians have mistakenly dated Kalhaṇa in the 12th century CE because they are ignorant of the epoch of Śaka era, i.e., 583 BCE. Due to ignorance, historians have indulged in distorting the historical accounts of the Shahi dynasty and the Hindushahi dynasty. In fact, Kalhaṇa gives the history of Shahi dynasty from the 2nd century to the 4th century whereas Al Beruni gives the account of the Hindushahi dynasty from the 9th century to the 11th century.

The Destruction of Somanath Temple in 1025 CE

Islamic terrorist Sultan Mahmud started from Ghazni to plunder Somanath temple in 1024 CE. He marched through Rajasthan and reached Ajmer and plundered the city. Mahmud reached Somanath in the second week of January 1025 CE. He killed more than 50,000 people and plundered the treasure of temple and desecrated the divine Śiva linga. Firishta mentions that the reinforcements arrived to the Hindus on the third day, led by Param Deo and Dabshilim whom Mahmud attacked and routed, slaying 5000 Hindus. According to Prof. Mohammad Habib, "From Somanath Mahmud advanced against Param Deo, Rai of Anhilwad, who seems to have been mainly responsible for the relieving force that had pushed the Ghaznavids so hard. The Rai took refuge in the fort of Khandah, forty *farsakhs* from Somanath, which was surrounded by sea."[6]

Khond Mir, Firishta and later Muslim historians tell us that Mahmud placed a descendant of the Dabshilim tribe (Dabshilim Murtaz) on the throne of Somanath and Anhilwad. According to Khond Mir, Mahmud consulted some people of Somanath. One party said; "Among the sovereigns of the country, no one is equal to the tribe of Dabshilim in character and lineage. At the present moment there is a young man of that tribe, a Brahman." Mahmud gave him the kingdom of Somanath. Dabshilim Murtaz agreed to pay tribute but requested Mahmud to stay more days in Somanath to eliminate his enemy, a certain Dabshilim king. Mahmud led his army towards the country of that Dabshilim and taken him captive. Dabshilim Murtaz said to Mahmud: "In my religion the killing of kings is unlawful." Therefore, he requested Mahmud to take his enemy away to Ghazni. Mahmud consented. Thus, Dabshilim Murtaz became the king of Somanath. After a couple of years had elapsed, Dabshilim Muratz sent his emissary to Mahmud and asked him to handover the captured Dabshilim. Mahmud agreed to handover after consulting his nobles. The captive Dabshilim was brought back to Somanath but later, somehow Dabshilim himself became the captive of his enemy Dabshilim. Mahmud stayed in Gujarat at least one year and a half or at the most, two years and a half. He went back to Ghazni around Nov-Dec 1026 CE. Most probably, Dabshilim Murtaz sent his emissary to Ghazni around Nov-Dec 1028 CE.

Some historians identified Bhim with Chaulukya King Bhimadeva I, Dabshilim with Durlabharāja and Param Deo with Paramara Deva (Paramara Bhoja). In fact, the chronology of Chaulukya kings given in epigraphs and Jain literature is absolutely accurate. Chamundarāya reigned around KV 1053-1067 (334-348 CE), Vallabharāja reigned six months (348 CE), Durlabharāja reigned around KV 1068-1079 (349-360 CE) and Bhimadeva reigned around KV 1079-1128 (360-409 CE). Since historians assumed the dates of Chaulukya inscriptions in the Chaitrādi Vikrama era, they have fixed the date of Chamundarāya around 997-1010 CE, Durlabharāja around 1011-1022 CE and Bhimadeva I around 1022-1071 CE. Thus, only Bhimadeva I can be the contemporary of Mahmud. Historians tried to bring forward the date of Chamundarāja but miserably failed. Therefore, they have declared Jamund, Param Deo and Dabshilim to be fictitious names and propagated that the story of two Dabshilims is also a concocted one by later Muslim chroniclers.

In reality, the story of Dabshilim is the real historical account of the 11th century CE. The selective rejection of historical data without any concrete evidence by historians is nothing but distortion. An inscription of Chaulukya Trilochanapāla dated in Śakānta 972 (1050 CE) mentions that Barapparāja, a descendant of Chaulukya-Raṣṭrakūṭa lineage, established his kingdom in Lāta region around 950-975 CE. It clearly indicates that Chaulukya Mūlarāja lived in the beginning of the 4th century CE whereas Barapparāja lived in the middle of the 10th century CE. Interestingly, the inscription of Trilochanapāla tells us that King Vatsarāja presented an umbrella resplendent with gold and jewels to Somanath temple. Evidently, a new idol had been placed in the Somanath temple before the reign of King Vatsarāja.

Salar Masud and the Battle of Bahraich (14th June 1033 CE)

Mirat-i-Masudi authored by Abur Rahman Chishti gives the historical account of Salar Masud, a nephew of Mahmud Ghazni. Abur Rahman Chishti's work is based on *Tawarikh-i-Mahmudi* written by Mulla Muhammad Ghaznawi. According to Mirat-i-Masudi, Salar Masud came to Bahraich from Satrakh on the 17th of the month of Sha'ban, in the year 423. Suhaldev or Rai Sahar Deo, the eldest son of Mayurdhwaj or Mordwaj

was the king Śrāvasti at that time. He defeated the army of Ghaznawis in the famous battle of Bahraich and killed Salar Masud on the 14th of the month of Rajab, in the year 424, i.e., 14th June 1033 CE.

Abur Rahman Chisti mentions that after the death of Masud, the unbelievers drove his descendants from Ajmer and re-established their idols; and idolatry again reigned over the land of India. Things remained in this state for 200 years. Interestingly, Mirat-i-Masudi unambiguously indicates that Ajmer city and the Chishti order already existed in the beginning of the 11th century CE. Salar Masud was a disciple of Khwaja Abu Mohammad of Chisht.[7] Firishta also indicates the existence of Ajmer city before the 11 century CE. Prithvirāja Vijaya tells us that Chauhan King Ajayaraja II was the founder of the city of Ajayameru. King Ajayaraja II flourished in the second half of the 5th century CE as already discussed the chronology of Chāhamānas in Chapter 15. Historians have mistakenly fixed the date of the foundation of Ajmer city around 1110 CE because they are ignorant of the chronological error of 661 years.

The Chronological History of Indian Princely States

Numerous princely states came into existence in India from the 9th century CE to the colonial era. There were 584 princely states in India in 1947. Many princely states traditionally maintained their Vaṁśāvalis but the historians have selectively accepted and selectively rejected these Vaṁśāvalis. We need to reconstruct the chronological Vaṁśāvalis of important princely states of medieval era.

The Vaṁśāvali of princely state of Bhadauria Chauhans unambiguously establishes the chronology of later Chauhans after the death of King Hammiradeva in 639 CE. According to the chronicles of Rajasthan and James Tod, the Chauhan King Dola Rāya lost Ajmer and died around the Chaitrādi Vikrama 741 (685 CE) on the invasion of Muslims. Dola Rāya's successor Mānikya Rāya ascended the throne of Ajmer and Sambhar in 720 CE. Mānikya Rāya had a numerous progeny, who established many petty dynasties throughout Western Rajasthan, giving birth to the 24 clans of the Chauhan dynasty. The Khichi, the Hara, the Mohil, the Nirwana, the Bhadauria, the Bhaurecha, the Dhanetiya,

and the Baghrecha, are all descended from him. Mānikya Rāya was also slain by Muslim invaders under the leadership of Abul Aas.

Ten more names of Chauhan kings after Mānikya Rāya (Maha Simha, Chandra Gupta, Pratap Simha, Mohan Simha, Setarai, Nagahasta, Lohadhar, Vira Simha, Vibudh Simha, and Chandra Rāya) are given by Edward Thomas.[8]

The Bhadauria Clan of the Chauhans

According to the chronicles of Bhadauria clan of Chauhans, Chandra Rāya or Chandrapal Dev was the 12th son of Mānikya Rāya. Bhado Rao was the son of Chandra Rāya and he was the progenitor of Bhaduria clan of Chauhans. Bhadwar state was named after him.

The chronology of Bhadauria clan:

		In CE
	Manik Rāya	720-794 CE
	Chandra Rāya or Chandrapal Dev	794-816 CE
1.	Rao Bhado	816-842 CE
2.	Rao Alam Dev	842-857 CE
3.	Rao Bhagawat Dev	857 CE (only 6 months)
4.	Rao Bhan Dev	857-858 CE
5.	Rao Pragya Dev	858-889 CE
6.	Rao Kankar Dev	889-903 CE
7.	Rao Hasan Dev	903-917 CE
8.	Rao Gopal Dev	917-933 CE
9.	Rao Kharag Sen	933-936 CE
10.	Rao Ram Sen	936-950 CE
11.	Rao Vijay Sen	950-954 CE
12.	Rao Gujarmal Dev	954-970 CE
13.	Rao Bhogmal Dev	970-984 CE
14.	Rao Arjun Dev	984-1008 CE
15.	Rao Pahad Sen	1008-1025 CE
16.	Rao Karam Sen	1025-1048 CE

17.	Rao Karam sen	1025-1048 CE
18.	Rao Tattar Dev	1048-1054 CE
19.	Rao Hardol Dev	1054-1066 CE
20.	Rao Tarachand Dev	1066-1081 CE
21.	Rao Tihar Dev	1081-1092 CE
22.	Rao Billor Dev	1092-1123 CE
23.	Rao Kajjal Dev	1123-1163 CE
24.	Rao Aasal Dev	1163-1183 CE
25.	Rao Visal Dev	1183-1194 CE
26.	Rao Shalya Dev	1194-1208 CE
	Interregnum	1208-1228 CE

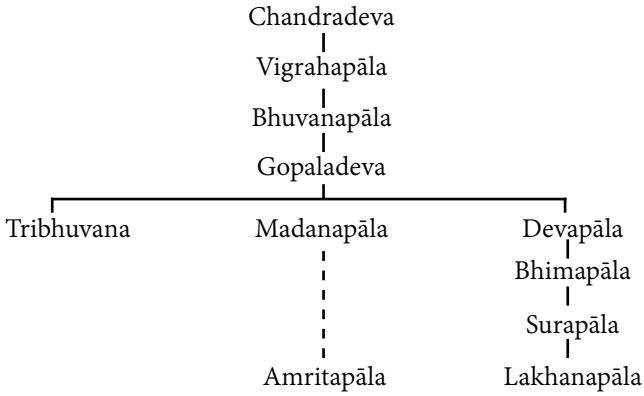
Shalya Dev was referred to as Sella Deo by British historians, he was one of the most illustrious rulers of his age. Taking advantage of the disorder prevailing in the country, Shalya Dev captured Meerut and Farrukhabad but he was slain in the great battle of Bhadauragarh. His pregnant wife, who was the daughter of the Rao of Sikri escaped by concealing herself in a gutter. She was taken to Sikri by two loyal servants, and while crossing the Yamuna, she gave birth to Rajju Raut. Rajju Raut re-established the rule of Bhadaurias and reigned around 1228-1262 CE.

		In CE
27.	Rajju Raut	1228-1262 CE
28.	Udai Raj	1262-1296 CE
29.	Madan Sen	1296-1328 CE
30.	Abhai Chandra	1328-1371 CE
31.	Ratan Sen	1371-1427 CE
32.	Jait Singh	1427-1464 CE
33.	Chandrasen	1464-1480 CE
34.	Karan Singh	1480-1509 CE
35.	Pratap Rudra	1509-1549 CE
36.	Mukutman	1549-1590 CE
37.	Mahendra Vikramaditya	1590-1617 CE

38.	Mahendra Bhoj Singh	1617-1623 CE
39.	Mahendra Kishan Singh	1623-1637 CE
40.	Mahendra Mangat Ray	1637-1638 CE
41.	Mahendra Keerat Singh	1638-1643 CE
42.	Mahendra Badan Singh	1644-1654 CE
43.	Mahendra Maha Singh	1654-1684 CE
44.	Mahendra Udot Singh	1684-1694 CE
45.	Mahendra Kalyan Singh	1694-1707 CE
46.	Mahendra Gopal Singh	1707-1730 CE
47.	Mahendra Aniruddh Singh	1730-1741 CE
48.	Mahendra Bahadur Singh	1741-1743 CE
49.	Mahendra Himmat Jai Singh	1743-1755 CE
50.	Mahendra Bakhat Singh	1755-1803 CE
51.	Mahendra Pratap Singh	1803-1820 CE
52.	Mahendra Sirnet Singh	1820-1839 CE
53.	Mahendra Singh	1839-1902 CE
54.	Mahendra Maan Singh	1902-1942 CE
55.	Mahendra Ripudaman Singh	1942-1991 CE

The Rathores of Kanauj and Pali

It is well known that the ancestors of the Rathores or Rāṣṭrauḍhas were the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The inscription of Gahadwala Lakhanpāla mentions that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas reigned in Vodāmayūtāpuri (Badayun) [*Prakhyātākhila-Rāṣṭrakūṭa-kulaja-kśmāpāladoḥ pālitā, Pāñchālābhidha-deśa-bhūṣaṇakarī Vodāmayūtāpurī*]. Chandradeva, the first king of the Gahadwalas, had two sons, Madanapāla and Vigrahapāla. Madanapāla reigned in Gādhipurā or Kānyakubja whereas Vigrahapāla ruled in Vodāmayūtāpurī (Badayun). Bhuvanapāla succeeded his father Vigrahapāla. The genealogy of Lakhanpāla as given in the inscription:[9]



Prithviraja Raso mentions that Lakhanpāla was the descendant of Vigrahapāla as a nephew of Jayachandra. Undoubtedly, Lakhanpāla was younger than Harishchandra. In fact, the inscription of Lakhanpāla must be dated in the 6th century CE. Since no Rathore family claimed Lakhanpāla as their ancestor, therefore, Lakhanapāla cannot be dated in the 13th century CE.

Dantidurga established a powerful kingdom of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in Dakśiṇāpatha by defeating Chālukyas and reigned around 78-93 CE. He also defeated many north Indian kings like the Pratihara king of Ujjain, King Sri Harsha and King Vajrata. It appears that Dantidurga appointed one of his family member in the Central India. The Pathari Pillar inscription of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Parabala II dated in KV 917 (198 CE) was found in Central India which indicates that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were ruling over Central India in the 2nd century CE. According to the inscriptions of Pāla dynasty, Dharmapāla married Rannadevi, the daughter of Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Parabala I. Dharmapāla reigned around 110-160 CE. The Pratihara King Nāgabhata II (140-170 CE) defeated Chakrāyudha and took control over Kānyakubja. It appears that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Central India moved to Badayun at the end of the 3rd century due to the rise of Paramāras.

Most probably, the Gahadwalas belonged to a branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Gahadwala Chandradeva established his kingdom in Gādhipurā (Kanauj) and Badayun around 427 CE. Gahadwalas reigned around 427-560 CE. The Chedi King Trailokyamalla conquered Kanauj

from the Gahadwalas and reigned around 560-580 CE. It appears that Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Lakhanapāla also flourished around 560-580 CE.

Seemingly, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas took control over Gujarat and Kanauj at the end of the 8th century CE for a short period. According to a grant dated in Chaitrādi Vikrama 936 (878-879 CE), Sripat Rathore ascended the throne of Kanauj on 5th tithi of the bright fortnight of Māgha month, Thursday, i.e., 1st January 879 CE. On that occasion, Sripat Rathore feasted Brahmanas of 84 Vedic Śākhās and donated 16 villages situated in North Gujarat to Chibadia Brahmanas. We learn from the genealogy given in the grant of later Chaulukya Trilochanapāla dated in Śakānta 972 (1050 CE) that a Chaulukya king married the daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King of Kanauj (*Kānyakubje Mahārāja-Rāṣṭrakūṭasya kanyakām, labdhvā sukhāya tasyām tu Chaulukyam nuhi santatim*). Barapparāja, the descendent of Chaulukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭa lineage, established his kingdom in the Lātadeśa of Gujarat in the 10th century CE. Interestingly, the inscription of Rathore Jasadhavala is dated in CV 1208 (1151 CE). An inscription of Rathore Salkha dated in CV 1213 (1156 CE) is found at Vrihaspati tank, eight miles north of Jodhpur.

Most probably, Rathore Bardaisena or Varadayisena reigned in Bari. Rao Setram was the son of Bardaisena. Due to continued wars with Muslims, Rao Setarama and his son Rao Sihaji moved to Khor (Shamsabad) and then from Khor to Mahue village which is located in Farrukhabad district. The ruins of Rao Sihaji's house are still there and known as "Siha Rao ka Khera". In 1211 CE (CV 1268), Rao Sihaji reached Pali and re-established the rule of Rathores in the city of Mandore (a historic city of Marwar, today a fifteen minute drive from Jodhpur). According to the inscriptions found at Bithu Village, Rao Sihaji died in CV 1330, i.e., 9th Oct 1273 CE. Rao Jodha, the descendant of Rao Sihaji, built a fort and founded the city of Jodhpur in CV 1516 (1459 CE). A copper plate of Rao Jodha tells us that during the time of Rao Dhuhada, the grandson of Rao Sihaji, a Saraswat Brahman named Lumba Rishi brought down the idol of Chakreshwari, the family deity of the Rathores, from Kanauj which was then installed at the village of Nagara.

Historians mistakenly believe today that Gahadwala Jayachandra was the great grandfather of Rao Sihaji, who re-established the Rathore dynasty in Pali Dist. in Rajasthan around 1211 CE (CV 1268). Rao Sihaji might have been born not later than 1200 CE. Kamauli grant of Jayachandra dated in Samvat 1232 was issued on the occasion of Jatakarma (birth) of Prince Harishchandra, which means Harishchandra was born in 1175 and he was 21 or 22 years old when Machlisahar grant of Samvat 1253 was issued. Harishchandra could be 25 years old when Rao Sihaji was born. It is totally absurd to believe that Harishchandra was the grandfather of Rao Sihaji. In fact, Rao Sihaji was the son of Rao Setarama as mentioned in the inscriptions. The history of Marwar tells us that Baradaisena was the grandfather of Rao Sihaji. Rao Setarama was the son of Baradaisena and not Jayachandra. Therefore, Rao Sihaji was not the grandson of Harishchandra and the great grandson of Jayachandra. In fact, Jayachandra and Harishchandra lived in the 6th century CE whereas Baradaisena lived in Bari at the end of the 12th century CE. Due to frequent Muslim invasions, Rao Setarama moved to Khor and then Mahue. Later, Rao Sihaji, the son of Rao Setram, established himself in Pali district around 1226 CE. The chronological Vaṁśāvalis of Rathores are available starting from the time of Sihaji (1226-1276 CE).

The Bhāti Rajputs of Jaisalmer

We have already discussed the early history of Yadava-Bhāti Rajputs in Chapter 15. Rājā Jaisal, a descendant of Rājā Bhetti founded the city of Jaisalmer in the year 1212 of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE), i.e., 492-493 CE on the 12th day of Śrāvaṇa month, i.e, 22 Jul 492 CE or 11 Aug 493 CE. Historians have calculated the year 1212 in the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE) and assumed that the city of Jaisalmer was founded in 1155 CE and Rājā Jaisal reigned around 1155-1168 CE. The epigraphic evidence indicates that Bhāti King Vijayarāja was ruling over Jaisalmer in the year 541 of the Bhātika era (623 CE), i.e., 1164 CE. Evidently, Raja Jaisal cannot be dated in the 12th century CE. There was no Vijayarāja in the list of successors of Rājā Jaisal. Thus, Rājā Jaisal founded the city of Jaisalmer in 492 CE and reigned around 492-507 CE. His successors

namely Śālivāhan II, Kelhana, Chachigadeva, Karna Simha, Jaitra Simha, Lakhan Sena, Punapala and Jait Singh etc., reigned around 507-623 CE.

According to the traditional accounts (Nainsi's Khyāt), Mūlarāja and Ratnasi, the sons of Jait Singh killed a Pirzāda, who was encamping with his associates at Jaisalmer. This incident provoked the Khilji Sultan of Delhi. The Khilji Sultan sent his commander, Kamaluddin with 7000 troops. Kamaluddin sieged Jaisalmer and continued the siege for about three years but did not succeed in his efforts to conquer the fortress. Finally, Kamaluddin was forced to retreat. In all probability, the Bhāti Rajputs celebrated it as their victory and founded an epoch of Bhātika era in 623 CE. The Khilji Sultan sent Kapur (Malik Kafur?) but he also met a similar fate. The Khilji Sultan again sent Kamaluddin with a strong force of 8000 troops. Finally, Kamaluddin was successful in capturing the fort but only after a siege of 12 years. Bhāti King Mūlarāja died along with his seven hundred associates in this gruesome battle and 24000 ladies performed Jauhar.

Later, Kehar I founded his kingdom in Tanot around 731 CE. According to a Praśasti found in Jaisalmer dated in the year 1473 of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era, i.e., 754 CE, Rawal Ghata Singh recaptured the fort of Jaisalmer from Mleccḥas. The successors of Kehar I were Tano Rao, Lachman, Bersi, Chachiga Dev, Devidas, Jait Singh and Karan Singh. Lunakaran, Maharawal of Jaisalmer, married daughter of Maharana Sangram Singh of Mewar. Maldev succeeded his father Lunakaran. Hariraj, son of Maldev was a contemporary of Akbar and married off his dauther to Akbar. Bhim Singh, Kalyan Das and Manohar Das were the successors of Hariraj. Manohar Das had only two daughters. Seemingly, he adopted Kehar II. Vijayraj I, Deoraj, Mund, Bechara, Dusraj and Vijayraj II were the successors of Kehar II. The inscription of Vijayaraj II is dated in the year 541 of Bhātika era, i.e., 1164 CE. Bhojdev was the son of Vijayraj II.

Thus, I have discussed here the chronology of only three princely states to showcase the chronological inconsistencies in the history of early medieval and medieval periods. Due to the chronological error

of 660 years, historians have selectively ignored the chronological history of Indian princely states. Therefore, there is a crying need for further research so as to explore and have a more credible chronological history of all princely states based on the traditional sources so that the Indian history of early medieval and medieval periods can be factually rewritten.

❖❖❖

18

The Chronology of Vijayanagara Empire

The city of Vanavāsi during the period of Chutu Śātakarṇis and Kadaṁbas (from the 13th century BCE to the 2nd century BCE), Vātāpi or Badami during the reign of early Chālukyas (from the 2nd century BCE to the 1st century CE), Mānyakheta during the reign of early Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Kalyāṇa during the reign of Western Chālukyas (from the 4th century CE to the 5th century CE) and Dwārasamudra during the reign of Hoysalas (from the 6th century CE to the 7th century CE) were the power centres of Dakśiṇāpatha. The city of Vijayanagara emerged as the power centre in the second half of the 7th century CE and flourished as sovereign state till the 17th century CE. Abdul Razzaq Samarqandi, the ambassador of King Shah Rukh of Persia writes; "The city (Vijayanagara) is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it and ear of intelligence has never been informed that existed anything to equal it in the world". Though the glorious Vijayanagara kingdom had to struggle a lot to maintain its sovereignty from the invasions of Bahmani and Kutub Shahi kings, it flourished till the second half of the 17th century CE.

As already explained, ancient Indian history has been brought forward by 661 years due to mixing up of the epochs of Śaka (583 BCE) and Śakānta (78 CE) eras. The chronology of the Vijayanagara kings is also another classic example of how the history of approximately 1000 years of Vijayanagara has been distorted and compressed into only 310 years. Let us critically examine and then evaluate the chronology of Vijayanagara kings based on the following sources:

- More than 5000 inscriptions of the kings of Vijayanagara (Sanskrit: 600, Kannada: 2000, Telugu: 700 and Tamil: 1800) have been published so far in various journals. (I do not have the account of unpublished inscriptions but seemingly, the published and unpublished inscriptions of Vijayanagara may add up to 6000.)
- "Inscriptions of the Vijayanagara Rulers" Volume I in five parts (832 Kannada & Sanskrit inscriptions) by Dr. Śrinivas Ritti & Dr. BR Gopal, published by ICHR, New Delhi in 2004.
- "Inscriptions of the Vijayanagara Rulers" Volume II (913 Kannada & Sanskrit inscriptions) & Volume III (148 Kannada & Sanskrit inscriptions) by Dr. Śrinivas Ritti & Dr. BR Gopal, published by ICHR, Southern Regional Centre, Bangalore.
- "Inscriptions of the Vijayanagara Rulers" Volume IV (585 Telugu & Sanskrit inscriptions) by Dr. PV Parabrahma Shastry, published by ICHR, Southern Regional Centre, Bangalore.
- "Inscriptions of the Vijayanagara Rulers" Volume V, Part I (567 Tamil & Sanskrit inscriptions) by Dr. Subbarayalu & Dr. Rajavelu, published by ICHR, Southern Regional Centre, Bangalore.
- "A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar)" by Robert Sewell, published in 1900.
- "Sources of Vijayanagar History" and "South India and her Mohammadan Invaders" by S Krishnaswami Ayyengar, published in 1919 and 1921 respectively.
- "Further Sources of Vijayanagar History" by Nilakantha Sastry & N Venkata Ramanayya, published by Madras University in 1946.
- "Vijayanagara: Origin of the city and the Empire" by N Venkata Ramanayya, published by Madras University in 1933.
- "Pratāparudra Charitram" of Ekamranatha, "Siddheshvara Charitra" of Kase Sarvappa and "Somadeva-Rajiyam" by Jagga Kavi.
- "Firishta's History of Dekkan" by Jonathan Scott, in two volumes, published in 1794 & "History of the rise of the Mohamedan Power in India" by Mohammad Kasim Firishta, translated by John Briggs in four volumes and published in 1829.

- The account of Vijayanagara given by Foreign Travelers : Nicolo Conti of Italy (1420 AD), Addul Razzak, an envoy of Shah Rukh, the Timurid sultan of Herat (1443-1444 AD), Portuguese traders Domingo Paes (1520-1522), Nuniz (1536-37) & Couto (1556-1616) and Cesare Frederici of Italy (1567).

Inscriptions are the most authentic source for the history of the Vijayanagara Empire. Indian literary sources also provide valuable information about it. The history of Deccan (Bahmani kingdom) given by Firishta is also an authentic source because he was a close associate of a Bijapur king. He collected more than 35 historical works of Muslim historians and wrote the history of the rise of Muslim power in India. The contemporary account of Vijayanagara kingdom given by foreign traders and travelers has also been considered as authentic. Unfortunately, eminent historians have either distorted or brushed aside many facts given in the contemporary account of foreign travelers only to uphold the distorted chronology of Vijayanagara.

First of all, we have to understand the political background of the 7th century CE that led to the rise of Vijayanagara Empire. The Yādavas of Devagiri, the Hoysalas of Dwārasamudra and the Kākatīyas of Warangal were ruling in Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh respectively during the 6th and 7th centuries CE. The Yādava King Rāmachandra was the last illustrious king of Devagiri. The Purushottampuri plates dated Śaka 1232 (649 CE) tell us that the Yādava King Rāmachandra defeated the kings of Dāhala, Kānyakubja, Bhandāgāra, Vajrakara, Gopa, Palli, Mahima, Kheta and Varanasi but the downfall of the kingdom of Yādavas started after the death of King Rāmachandra around Śaka 1234 (651 CE). An inscription found in Solapur informs us that Rāmachandra's son Singhana was ruling in Śaka 1238 (655 CE). Hoysala King Ballāla and Kākatīya King Rudradeva were the junior contemporaries of the Yādava King Rāmachandra. It seems that the Turuṣkas or Gajjanakas ruling in Gujarat were regularly in conflict with the kings of Devagiri and Warangal around 650-670 CE.

The Rise of Vijayanagara Empire:

The Kapaluru grant[1] of Harihara I found in Nellore district of Andhra

Pradesh is the earliest known copper plate inscription of the Vijayanagara kingdom that dated Śaka 1258 (*Aṣṭa-pañca-yugalaika-saṅkhyayā saṁyute Nṛpa-Śakasya vatsarāt*…). The Yerragundi Grant[2] of Harihara I found in Bagepalli, Chikballapur district is identical to the Kapaluru grant and also dated Śaka 1258. The reference of era as "*Nṛpa-Śakasya vatsarāt*" unambiguously indicates the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) and not the Śakānta era (78 CE). Therefore, the date of Kapaluru grant and Yerragundi grant works out to be 8th Apr 675 CE, i.e., Dhātri Saṁvatsara, Vaiśākha Śukla Saptamī, Puṣya nakśatra and Hari lagna (*Dhātri-Mādhava-valakśa-saptamī-Puṣya-tāraka-Hari-lagnake śubhe*…). It is a matter of grave concern that eminent historians have considered only the epoch of Śakānta era (78 CE) and calculated the date as 18th Apr 1336 CE. As a result, the historians concluded that the Vijayanagara kingdom was established in Śakānta 1258, i.e., 1336 CE.

Interestingly, the Kapaluru and the Yerragundi grants clearly record or indicate the following hard facts which have been ignored or distorted by the historians.

- The ancestors of Harihara I belonged to the famous Yādava dynasty. It is a well-known fact that many royal families of Yādava dynasty migrated to South India after the submergence of Dwarka city in ancient times.
- These grants tell us that Bukka I and his son Saṅgama I were the kings and their capital was "Kuñjarakoṇapurī" (identified as Anegundi). In fact, Saṅgama I conquered Sutrāma-dhāma, Aṅga & Kaliṅga and had many feudatories (*So'yam vijityākhila-digvibhāgān Sutrāmadhāmāṅga-Kaliṅga-pūrvān, upāsyamānaḥ kśitipaiśca sarvām urvīmaśāt Kuñjarakoṇapuryām*). Thus, we can conclude that Saṅgama I was the founder of his dynasty.
- These grants also give the account of the meeting of King Harihara I with Vidyāraṇya. King Harihara I met Vidyāraṇya when he was on hunting expedition (*Kadāchid uttīrya Tuṅgabhadrām Kśamādhipālo Mṛgayābhilāṣāt …. Kśoṇipālo Harihara… Vidyāraṇya-yatim abhajata*…). It clearly tells us that Harihara I was already a king before his meeting with Vidyāraṇya.

- These grants used "*ādideśa*" and "*uvācha*" in *Lit-lakar* for Vidyāraṇya (*Yatīndro vihasya tamuvācha vīram… kśmāpatim ādideśa…*) which indicates that Vidyāraṇya might have died at least 10 or 15 years before Śaka 1258, i.e., 675 CE. The Yerragundi grant tells us that the Agrahāra of Yerragundi was renamed as "Vidyāraṇya-Pura" by Harihara I (*Vidyābhidhāraṇyapuram praśastam purākhyayā nūtanayānvadyam…*) which also indicates that Vidyāraṇya might have died by then because the Agrahāras were generally named in the memory of the great personalities.
- It is also mentioned that during his hunting expedition, Harihara I was astonished to see a hare that turned against the dogs who were pursuing him and fearlessly chased them away. He narrated the incident to Vidyāraṇya Yati. Vidyāraṇya smiled and advised Harihara I to establish a new city named as "Vidyānagara" with nine gates on the south bank of Tuṅgabhadrā River (*Rājan….. Vidyābhidhānam alakānavadyām iravanam nātha purīm vidadhyāḥ । Purīm navadvāravatīm...*). Kuñjarakoṇapurī was on the north bank of Tuṅgabhadrā River. Accordingly, Harihara I built a big city named "Vidyānagara" (*vyarochata viśāla-simni nagare hi Vidyābhidhe...*) and established "*Tat Śāsana*" = Dharma Simhāsana of Vidyāraṇya (*Tadā sa Harihareśvaraḥ virachayya taccḥāsanam nṛpāsanam…*). This is the reason why the Śaṅkarāchāryas of Śringeri Math had the title of "*Karnataka-Rājya-Pratiṣṭhāpanāchārya*". One later inscription mentions that the "*Ratna Simhāsana*" of Vijayanagara was made first for Vidyāraṇya (*Vidyāraṇya kṛtā tasyām Ratna-simhāsane…*).[3] Some historians have speculated that Vidyāraṇya constructed the city of Vidyānagara considering "*Vidyāraṇya-kṛtam*" as Tritīyā tatpuruṣa compound (*Vidyāraṇyena kṛtam* = made by Vidyāraṇya). In fact, it is Chaturthī tatpuruṣa compound (*Vidyāraṇyāya kṛtam* = made for Vidyāraṇya) and not Tritīyā tatpuruṣa. It may also be noted that the city of Vidyānagara was named after "Vidyāśaṅkara" and not "Vidyāraṇya". It is totally absurd to imagine that Vidyāraṇya asked Harihara I to name the new city after his name.
- These grants also indicate that Harihara I might have constructed a magnificent temple of Vidyāśaṅkara in Vidyānagara.

- These grants unambiguously tell us that Harihara I started his reign from Kuñjarakoṇapurī (Anegundi). After his meeting with Vidyāraṇya, he ordered the construction of the city of Vidyānagara. Undoubtedly, it might have taken 15 to 20 years to complete the construction of the big city of Vidyānagara. This grant was issued from the capital city of Vidyānagara in 675 CE (Śaka 1258) which means the construction of Vidyānagara was almost completed and Harihara I has already shifted his capital from Kuñjarakoṇapurī to Vidyānagara.
- The Kapaluru copper plate grant is related to an agrahāra located in Nellore district which means the kingdom of Harihara I was spread up to the sea shore of Andhra Pradesh.
- The Kapaluru and Yerragundi grants were the two of the sixteen grants made on or before 8th Apr 675 CE by Harihara I (*Vidhāya khalu Ṣoḍaśa-pratinidhīni dānāni…*). Unfortunately, only two grants are available today.

It is quite obvious from the above epigraphic evidence that Harihara I built the city of Vidyānagara following the advice of Vidyāraṇya. Later, Bukka II rebuilt the adjacent ancient town of Hastināvatī or Hastināpura city and named as "Vijayanagara" in Sanskrit & "Hampā" or "Hampi" in Kannada. Gradually, both the cities merged into one. Unfortunately, there are many speculative theories about the origin of Vijayanagara city floated by the historians disregarding the epigraphic evidence.

As far as the date of the beginning of the construction of Vijayanagara city is concerned, it must be at least 15 or 20 years before the year recorded in the Kapaluru and the Yerragundi grants, i.e., Śaka 1258 (675 CE). Therefore, we can fix the date of the establishment of the Vidyānagara or Vijayanagara city around 655 - 660 CE.

Why the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) must be considered for the chronology of the kings of Vijayanagara and not the epoch of the Śakānta era (78 CE)?

Dr. Śrinivas Ritti honestly admits in the introduction of his work "Inscriptions of the Vijayanagara Rulers": "Several works on Vijayanagara history have been written on the basis of these accepted norms. But

discrepancies do exist. So far as chronology is concerned, overlapping of dates of successive rulers is a major problem. Many times mistakes on the part of the writers or engravers of the records have further added to the problem. Genuine problems are created by the claims and counter claims for the throne, by different princes, and the issuing of the inscriptions in their own names at one and the same time."

It is sad to find the eminent historians having the tendency to distort facts first to explain the discrepancies on the basis of so-called accepted norms. Thereafter, they blame the engravers of the inscriptions or the hypothetical political problems for discrepancies based on the concocted theories. When all options are exhausted, they simply declare the inexplicable inscriptions as forgeries or spurious to brush aside inconvenient historical facts. This is all about the modern Indian historical research. Basically, eminent historians cannot afford to imagine the necessity to review the chronology with reference to the glaring discrepancies because these historians are suffering from the intellectual blindness caused by "Retinal detachment beyond 300 BCE". It is, therefore, a serious matter – a classic case of intellectual bankruptcy. The issue raised here is too serious to be glossed over!

As regards the discrepancies in the epigraphic data of Vijayanagara Empire, it is again due to the epoch of the Śaka and the Śakānta eras being treated as identical. All these discrepancies can be satisfactorily explained, if we consider the two different epochs of the Śaka and the Śakānta eras based on the epigraphic evidence. First of all, let me present the following facts in support of my argument. We have to consider two different epochs of the Śaka and the Śakānta eras as distinct entities for drawing the timeline of Vijayanagara Empire:

1. The reference of era as "*Nṛpa-Śakasya Vatsarāt*", "*Śaka-Varṣa*", "*Śaka-Vatsare*" etc., in the early inscriptions of the kings of Vijayanagara unambiguously indicates the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE). More than 90% of the verifiable details of the inscriptions such as solar & lunar eclipses etc., can be satisfactorily explained in the epoch of 583 BCE whereas the epoch of 78 CE miserably fails to explain these details. It may also be noted that some of the later inscriptions of

Vijayanagara referred to the Śakānta era as "*Śaka-Varṣa*" because the word "*Śaka-Varṣa*" became synonymous with "Saṁvat" from the 10th century CE onwards. Therefore, we have to carefully study and establish other historical details mentioned in the inscriptions to conclude the epoch of the era intended.

2. The following 30 inscriptions (many more if we include so-called spurious and unpublished inscriptions) dated prior to 1336 CE explicitly refer to the kingdom of Vijayanagara and the ruling kings of Vijayanagara which establishes the fact that Vijayanagara Empire existed prior to 1336 CE.

    i. A copper plate inscription written in Telugu and dated Śakānta 1004 (1082 CE) mentions the city of Vijayanagara and the ruling King Bukka Bhūpati Rāya. (*Śrimatu Vijayanagaram Bukka Bhūpati Rāyalavāru Penugonda Gunchiya rāyalavāru Aubali Rāyalavāru Śālivāhana Śaka Varṣambulu 1004 agunenti Bhava-nāma saṁvatsaram Mārgaśira śu 5 Budhavāram..... 1004 saṁvatsara..... Vijayanagaram…*).[4]

    ii. Another copper plate inscription written in Telugu and dated Śakānta 1005 (1083 CE) mentions the city of Vijayanagara and the ruling King Bukka Bhūpati Rāya. (*Śrimatu Vijayanagaram Bukka-Bhūpati-rāyalavāru Butali rāyalavāru Deva Rāyalavāru Śālivāhana Śaka varṣambulu 1005 agunenti Bhava-nāma-sam Mārgaśira śu 5 Budhavāram... Vijayanagaram pattanaku poyi..... Rāyalavāru mecchi icchina bahumānam ... Deva Rāyala.... Deva Rāyalavāru....*).[5]

    iii. An Inscription dated Śakānta 1009 (1087 CE) refers to the cities of Vijayanagara, Śri-Rangapattana and the ruling King Harihara Rāya (*Vijaya... Śālivāhana Śaka varushangalu 1009 varttamāna vada Viśvāvasu saṁvatsarada.… Śrimad Rājādhirāja-parameśvara Pravuḍha-pratāpan apratimavira narapati Śriraṅgapattanada nagaradallu Harihara-Mahārāyaravāru ratna-simhasanarudharagi sukhadinada prithvi-sambhrajya... Vijayanagarada*

Revanaraadyasvamiyavara putraru Śivaliṅga-svamiyavāru... Śriraṅgapattanadallu Harihara-mahārāyaravāru… Śivaliṅga-svamiyavāru darusana.... Vijayanagaradalli).[6]

iv. Another similar Inscription dated Śakānta 1009 (1087 CE) refers to the cities of Vijayanagara, Śri-Rangapattana and the ruling King Harihara Rāya (*Vijaya... Śālivāhana Śaka varṣangal 1009 Viśvāvasu sam... Mahārājādhirāja parameśvara prauḍha pratāpanṛpati vīra-narapati Śriraṅgapattanada nagaradallu Harihara mahārāyaru ratna simhāsanārudhavāgi.... Vijayanagarada...*).[7]

v. The Araga inscription dated Śakānta 1026 (1104 CE) mentions the reigning King Bukka Mahārāya, son of Harihara Mahārāya and the city of Vijayanagara. Historians distorted the year from 1026 to 1326 to establish that this inscription belonged to Harihara II.[8]

vi. The Tamaka inscription dated Śakānta 1048 CE (1126 CE) mentions the reigning King Sadāśivarāya.[9]

vii. One Kudali Math copper plate inscription dated Śakānta 1073 (1151 CE) refers to Vidyāraṇya, Vidyānagara, Vidyāśaṅkara, Śringeri Math, the treatise of Śaṅkara-Vijayam, Mandana-Mishra, the reigning Śaṅkarāchārya "Vijaya Śaṅkara Bhāratī" of Vidyānagara and the ruling Kadaṁba King Purandara Rāya (*Asti Svastimati Dharā suviditā-Śringeri-simhāsanam, tatra savsti Sarasvatī guruvaras Śri-Śaṅkaraṁśodbhavaḥ, …. Śri-Vidyānagare Pratiṣṭhita-mahā-bhū-mandalādhīśvaro, Vidyāraṇya-munīśvaro Vijayate Gaṅgādharaḥ pātu vaḥ..... Śaṅkaraḥ Jayati... Śaṅkara-Vijaye… Bhāratīndra-Guru-sthānāchārya... Chaturaśīti Vidyāpati Śri Vijaya Śaṅkara Bhāratī ... Rāmānujāgama-Śri-Bhagavadārādhya-Nilakanthārdhya Vajra-nakhara-devaradhya... Kāśī-Vāsa-Brāhmaṇa-Sarasvatī-guru Mandana-Mishra-Kalā-kālajña- ….. । Kadaṁba-vaṁśānvaya-Purandara-Rāya.. Śālivāhana Śaka 1073 neya Śrimukha Māgha ba 14 Somavāra puṇyakāladalu ... Śrimat Parama-haṁsa-parivrājakāchārya-.. Riṣyāśrama-*

Narasimha-kśetra-Vidyānagarastha- Vidyā-śaṅkara sarasvatyārādhaka Śri Vijaya Śaṅkara Bhāratī Śri-Pāda Pujyaka Śri Guru Paramparādigaliye Somāṅśa Kadaṁba-kula-Tilaka-Purandara-Rāya....).[10]

viii. Another Kudali Math copper plate inscription of the time of Vijaya Śaṅkara Bhāratī dated Śakānta ….. (1151 CE) refers to Vidyāraṇya, Vidyānagara etc. (*Śaivāgame Śaṅkarāchāryam… Gauḍa-Govinda-Śaṅkara-Pāramparya-mukhya-śiṣyādi…Śrimat-Kāśīvāsa-Mandanamishra-āśramāśrita-sarasvatī… Śri Vijaya Śaṅkara Bhāratī Śri Vidyārādhaka-sāmpradāyikaḥ... Yādava-Nārāyaṇa-Pratāpa Chakravarti…. Chatuśṣaṣṭi-Upāchārya-Dvātriṁśat-Sevakādi-Rājopāchārya-Vaibhava.... Śri-Prata…. Kadaṁba-Rāyaru (Kadaṁba Vishnuvardhana??) samantadurga Banavase….. Śri-Śali-saṁjñe Viṁśati Manmathe māsi Māghe Śiva-sendu cha samyukte…. Śringapuryādi-mahāgrahāram Vidyāraṇyapura… Śri-Vijaya-Śaṅkara-Bhāratī...*).[11]

ix. The Haritalu inscription dated Śakānta 1129 (1207 CE) mentions the city of Vijayanagara and the reigning King Vira Pratāpa Deva Rāya (*Śrimad-rājādhirāja-parameśvara Śri-Vira-Pratāpa-Devarāya Vodeyaru Vijayanagaradalli…. Śaka Varusha 1129 neya Sarvajitu saṁvatsarada Māgha śu 10 Ādivāradalu…*). Interestingly, this inscription refers to the work of Hemādri "*Chaturvarga-Chintāmaṇi* (*Dānakhanda*)" (*Hemādri-dāna-modalāda nānā-dāna…*). Hemādri was the minister of Devagiri Yādava King Mahādeva who ruled around Śaka 1183-1192 (599-609 CE) and he wrote *Dānakhanda* during the reign of Yādava King Mahādeva. It is also a strong evidence that the date of the Yādavas of Devagiri must be calculated with reference to the Śaka era and not the Śakānta era.[12]

x. An inscription dated Śakānta 1149 (1227 CE) refers to the city of Vijayanagara and the reigning King Vira Pratāpa Deva Rāya (*Vira Pratāpa Deva Rāya Odeyaru*

Vijayanagaradali sukha sankatha vinodam rājyam geyyuttam…. Śaka Varṣa 1149 Sarvajit sam…. Māgha śu 10 Ādivāra…).[13]

xi. An inscription dated Śakānta 1164 (1242 CE) mentions the reigning King Pratāpa Venkata Rāya who was ruling over entire South India (*Śriman Mahārājādhirāja Pūrva-Dakśiṇa-Paśchima-samudrādhīśvara..... Śri Pratāpa Śri Venkata Rāya Mahārāyaru.. Śālivāhana 1164 neya Śubhakrit Saṁ Bhādrapada 12*).[14]

xii. An inscription dated Śakānta 1173 (1251 CE) refers to the city of Vijayanagara, Chikka Rāja, Bukka Bhūpati Rāya etc. (*Śrimatu Bhūpati Rāya Chikka Vadera Rāja.. Vikramārka Śaka varṣambulu 1173 agunenti Bhava nāma sam… Chaitra śu 5 Budhavāram ... Vijayanagaram Bukka Bhūpati rāyalavāru Chikka vaderu Rāyalavāru Deva rāyala vāru Bijjala rāyala vāru… Śālivāhana Śaka varṣam... 1173..... Vijayanagaranaku poyi….*).[15]

xiii. An inscription dated Śakānta 1183 (1260-1261 CE) refers to the reigning King Harihara Rāya and the city of Vijayanagara. Interestingly, it refers to a Solar eclipse occurred on Amāvāsyā of Vaiśākha month which regularly corresponds to 12th Apr 1260 CE. (*Śriman Mahārājādhirāja parameśvara sarvarāja-rakśaka Dharmamūrti Harihara Rāya Mahārāyaru Śaṅkarīpurasthalada... Vijayanagarakke Saluva... । … Śālivāhana Śake 1183 neya Dundubhi Nāma sam. Vaiśākha ba 30 Bhānuvāra Sūryoparaga parvaṇi...*).[16]

xiv. An inscription dated Śakānta 1200 (1277-1278 CE) refers to the reigning King Harihara Rāya who was the great grandson of Pratāpa Deva Rāya, the grandson of Prauḍha Rāya and the son of Bukka Rāya. This genealogy can be reconciled with reference to the inscriptions dated Śakānta 1149, 1164 & 1173. This is the grant of the Village "Sagara" situated on the banks of Kapila in Bayanadu. Interestingly, it refers to a solar eclipse occurred on Amāvāsyā of Kārttika month which regularly corresponds to 28th Oct 1277 CE.

(*Pañchāśatkoti-vistīrṇa-bhūmandalāntarvarti- Śrimat Karṇāta-deśa-śikhāmaṇi navaratna-malakaratriya-yukta .... Tuṅgabhadrātīra-mahāpure Vidyā-nagarī-Simhāsana-nivāsa Śrimad rājādhirāja rājaparameśvara Vīra pratāpa Ranankana vijaya dhanañjaya Satyabhāṣa-hariśchandra vairi-nṛpati-radurikrita-simhāsanatraya-lambana ... Yuddhad āpta-samasta-durga-dhurandhara… Daiva-dvija-guru-pūjarata nītiśāstrārtha-pāraṅgata dhanurveda-viśārada... Chatuśṣaṣṭi kalākuśala-nipuṇa Ātreyānvayābharaṇa Śriman Mahāmandaleśvara... Harihara Mahārāya । Vijayate Harihararāya bhūpatiḥ । ... Harihare... Putraḥ tasya… । Hariharasvayam , tasya pādanataḥ bhūpaḥ labdhaḥ simhāsanatrayam । Mūru-rāyara-Gandākhyaḥ stuto Haraharābhidhaḥ । Ātreya-gotrodbhavo Rājñā Āśvalāyana-sūtriṇā । Prapautro Deva-Rāyasya Prauḍha-Rāyasya Pautrakaḥ । Bukka-garbhābdhi-chandraścha Rūpa-Śīla-dayānvitaḥ । Harihareṇa Prītipūrvam Vibudhendra Sarasvateḥ dattaḥ । …. Śālivāhana Śake eka-sahasropari dvi-śata-saṁvatsarāntargata Siddhārthi saṁvatsare ... Siddhārthyabdaḥ Kārttika-māsi uparāge Sūrye…*).[17]

xv. Another inscription dated Śakānta 1200 (1277-1278 CE) gives the similar details as given above.[18]

xvi. The Devavrimda inscription dated Śakānta 1202 (1280 CE) mentions the reigning King Bukkanna (*Śaka varṣa 1202 neya Virodhikrit saṁvatsara… Śri Vira Bukkanna Vodeyaru…*). Historians changed the date from 1202 to 1282 or 1292.[19]

xvii. The Hiriyuru inscription dated Śakānta 1207 (1285 CE) refers to the reigning King Vira Bukkanna Vodeyaru (*Śaka varusha 1207 ... Vijaya saṁvatsarada … Śri Vira-Bukkana-Vodeyaru prithvi-rājjyam geutiralu...).*[20]

xviii. An inscription dated Śakānta 1207 (1285 CE) refers to Yuvarāja Kumāra Kampana of Vijayanagara (*Tappuva Rāyara Ganda Śri Vira Kumara Kampana*).[21]

xix. An inscription dated Śakānta 1212 (1290 CE) refers to Bukka Rāya, Deva Rāya and Gundamma Rāya (*Vira Pratāpa Bukka Bhūpati Rāyala vāru, Deva Rāyalavāru Gundamma Rāyala vāru… Śālivāhana Śaka Varṣambulu 1212 neya Bhava saṁvatsaram…*).[22]

xx. Another inscription dated Śakānta 1212 (1290 CE) mentions the city of Vijayanagara, Bukka Rāya, Śaṅkara Rāya, Gundamma Rāya, Ambhoja Rāya, Harihara Rāya (*Vijayanagaram Śri Bukka Bhūpati Rāyalavāru , Śaṅkara rāyala vāru, Gudam Rāyala vāru, Ambhoja rāyala vāru..... Vijayanagaram dagara śāsanam ... Vijayanagaram..... Harihara-mahendra-bhūsura-vara-prasada… Śālivāhana Śaka varṣambulu 1212 agunenti Bhava nāma saṁvatsara Chaitra śu 5 Budha vāra ...*).[23]

xxi. An inscription dated Śakānta 1216 (1294 CE) refers to Vidyāraṇya, Bukka I, Saṅgama I, Harihara I, Kampana, Bukka II, Mārapa and Muddapa as historical personalities. The Sanskrit verb "*Āsan*" cannot be used for the living persons. (*Yadu... । Tatkule Bukka-Nāmā yaḥ Kīrti Śaurya-vichakśaṇaḥ... Magāmbikā abhavad rājñī... Abhūt tasya kule ... Saṅgamo nāma bhūpatiḥ । Mālāmbikā-bhavat patnī yasya rāñaḥ ... । Āsan Hariharaḥ Kampo Bukka Rāya mahīpatiḥ । Mārapo Muddapaścheti tasya bhāpateḥ । ... prakhyāto Bukka... । ... Hindu rāya Suratrāṇa... Vidyābhidhāna nagarī Vijayonnatiśālinī । Vidyāraṇyakrite tasyam ratnasimhasane sthitaḥ । … Danambudharasya tasya vardhate Dharma Pādapaḥ । … Alaṅkrite Śakasyābde Rasa-bhū-nayanendubhiḥ । Tāraṇābde Chaitra māse navamyām Śukla pakśake*).[24]

xxii. The Rudrapattana inscription dated Śakānta 1217 (1295 CE) refers to the ruling King Bukkanna Vodeyaru and mentions Hukkanna Vodeyaru & his son Bukkanna. Interestingly, historians could not explain this inscription till date. Dr. Śrinivasa Ritti says "The inscription is enigmatic. If it is ascribed to Bukka I, mention of Harihara I and his son

Bukka becomes inexplicable, since Bukka I was not the son of Harihara I. The date factor comes in the way of ascribing the inscription to Bukka II, though he was the son of Harihara II. Thus, the enigma cannot be satisfactorily explained." Moreover, historians distorted the year from 1217 to 1278 to prove that this inscription ascribed to Bukka I. In fact, this inscription is dated in Śakānta 1217 (1295 CE) and the reigning King Bukka was indeed the son of Harihara who was ruling in Śakānta 1183 (1260 CE). The enigma of historians can be perfectly explained if they can understand the difference between the epochs of the Śaka and the Śakānta eras.[25]

xxiii. The Jalamangala inscription dated Śakānta 1221 (1299 CE) mentions the King Bukkanna.[26]

xxiv. An inscription dated Śakānta 1226 (1304 CE) mentions the city of Vijayanagara and the King Abhinava Bukka Rāya (*Vijayanagara-mukhyavada-samasta-pattanādhīśvara… Śaka Varṣa 1226 Pārthiva saṁvatsaram...*).[27]

xxv. The Nukkanahalli inscription dated Śakānta 1228 (1306 CE) mentions the ruling King Bukka Rāya and his son Pratāpa-Harihara Rāya.[28]

xxvi. The Gozalavidu inscriptions dated Śakānta 1236 (1314 CE) refers to the reigning King Bukka.[29]

xxvii. An inscription dated Śakānta 1244 (1322 CE) mentions the reigning King Bukka, son of Devarāya (*Śri Vira Devarāyara kumāra Rāya Bukka-Rāya…*).[30]

xxviii. The Sitakallu inscription dated Śakānta 1252 (1330 CE) mentions the reigning King Narasimha and the city of Vidyānagara.[31]

xxix. The Sadali copper plate inscription dated Śakānta 1254 (1332 CE) refers to the city of Vijayanagara and the reigning King Deva Rāya. It also mentions Bukka II, his son Harihara II, his son Deva Rāya, his son Vijaya Deva Rāya and his son Deva Rāya as historical personalities. If only one epoch of

78 CE existed, how this inscription dated 1332 CE refers to the Vijayanagara kings of the 15th century CE? Interestingly, it refers to a solar eclipse occurred on Amāvāsyā of Vaiśākha month which regularly corresponds to 25th May 1332 CE. (*Śriman Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Śri Vira Pratāpa Śri Deva Rāya Mahārāyavāru Vijayanagaramandu ekaccḥatra-prithvī Rājyam... Yador Vaṁśaḥ । Tatrābhūd Bukka-bhāpalo... Chakāra …। Agraṇiḥ Puṇyaśīlānām āsīd asyātmasambhavaḥ । Hāra-Gaura-Yaśaḥ-Pura-hārī Harihareśvaraḥ । ... Asyāsīd ātmajaḥ Śrimān Deva Rāya Narādhipaḥ । Āsetoḥ ā cha Kailāsād avyāhata parākramaḥ । tasya Demāmbikājāneḥ putro Vijaya-Bhūpatiḥ । Atha Vijaya-Bhūpād.. alabhata sa Devarāya naranātham tanayam । ... Karṇāta-rājya-lakśmī-Kalyāṇollāsa-kāraṇe yasmin । Vasudhā-vāridhi-tanayair viraham vijahāti Vītaratnāchāryaiḥ । saptānām śaila-mallānām aṣṭānāam ādi-dantinām । Bharo Dhara yasya bhuje kastūrī makarāyate । Sāmmukhyam chira-samseva svasti-ityucchāraṇe śrutiḥ । Dehiti darśana-vyākhyā yasya niḥ-sima-daninaḥ । Mahārājādhirājo.. Rājanya parameśvaraḥ । Deva Rāya Mahārāyaḥ Pararāya bhayaṅkaraḥ । Adhivasati Vijayanagaryām ।… Śālivāhana Śaka varshambulu 1254 agunenti Āṅgirasa saṁvatsara Vaiśākha bahula 30 ... Sūryoparāga...*).[32]

xxx. The Śringeri stone inscription (found in Śringeri Math) dated Śakānta 1261 (1339 CE) mentions the reigning King Mallikārjuna Rāya Bukka Rāya and the city of Vijayanagara (*Śālivāhana-Śaka varusha 1261 neya … Mallikārjunadevarāya-mahārāyaru Vijayanagariyallu...)*. Interestingly, this inscription tells us that Śri Śaṅkara Bhāratī was the reigning Śaṅkarāchārya (*Ācharya Śri । Śrimat-paramahaṁsa-parivrājakāchāryaru Śri-Śaṅkarabhāratī-svamigalige...).*[33] Clueless historians have conveniently declared this inscription as spurious.

3. Many inscriptions dated after Śakānta 1258 (1336 CE) give different names of the reigning kings and their genealogy with reference to the genealogy of the Vijayanagara kings given in the inscriptions dated after Śaka 1258 (675 CE). It is also conclusive evidence that the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) and the epoch of the Śakānta era (78 CE) are not identical.
    i. The Kuchipudi copper plate grant written in Telugu dated Śakānta 1270 (1348 CE) tell us that the King Achyuta Deva Rāya was ruling in Vijayanagara. He was the son of Nrisimhadeva Rāya and the grandson of Anantadeva Rāya (*Anantadeva mahārāyalu gāri pautrulu Nrisimha Mahārāyala gāri putrulu Mahārājādhirāja ….. Pūrva-paśchima-Karṇāta-rājyalakśmī-manohara Vijayanagara-simhāsanādhīśvarulu Achuta Devarāyalu….. Śālivāhana-Śaka varshambulu 1270 agu neti Sarvajitu nāma saṁvatsara Kārttika śuddha 15…*). A grant of Śringeri Math dated Śaka 1268 refers to Harihara I, the reigning king of Vijayanagara. Harihara I might have reigned few years more than the year 1268 of the Śaka era. Therefore, Harihara I, the son of Saṅgama I and the grandson of Bukka I, must be the reigning king of Vijayanagara in Śaka 1270. If so, how Achyuta Devarāya, the son of Nrisimhadeva and the grandson of Anantadeva, was ruling in Vijayanagara around Śakānta 1270? It is evident that Harihara I was ruling in Śaka 1270, i.e., the second half of the 7th century whereas Achyuta Devarāya was ruling in Śakānta 1270, i.e., the first half of the 14th century.
    ii. The Parachuru grant[34] dated Śakānta 1312 (1390 CE) mentions that King Devarāya, the son of Harihara, was ruling in Vijayanagara (*Śri Devarāyaḥ… Āchandram Vijayābhidhana-nagarī…*). This grant clearly tells us that King Harihara died by then because it uses the verb "*Āsīt*" (*Āsīt asīma-mahimā…. Rājā Hariharaḥ...*). Many inscriptions of Harihara II are dated from Śaka 1312 to Śaka 1326 which means Harihara II reigned up to Śaka 1326.

Evidently, Devarāya mentioned in this grant dated Śakānta 1312 was a later Vijayanagara king. This grant informs us that King Devarāya appointed his son Rāmachandra as Yuvarāja and placed him as Viceroy of Udayagiri (*Tam Yuvarājam… Rāmachandraḥ Udayadri-purīndraḥ Prauḍhi-nirjita-turuṣka-narendraḥ….Praśāsat...Śri Devarāyāhvayaḥ tatsūnur Yuvarāja-patta… Śri-Rāmachandrābhidhaḥ...*). Interestingly, this grant was a grant to an agrahāra named "Devarāyapuram" which was founded by the forefathers of Devarāya (*Pituḥ purā dānamasau vimṛṣya tathānvajanadudayadrirājaḥ Devarāyapuramityuditam tannāmā tatprabhriti…*). Devarāya, the son of Harihara II, ascended the throne around Śaka 1326. There was no king named "Devarāya" existed in Vijayanagara kingdom prior to Śaka 1326. If so, how Devarāya of Śakānta 1312 claims that his forefathers issued a grant to an agrahāra that named as "Devarāyapuram"? Undoubtedly, Devarāya of the year 1312 of the Śakānta era was a later king of Vijayanagara.

iii. The Tiruvidu copper plate grant written in Telugu dated Śakānta 1357 (1435 CE) informs us that King Devarāya Vodeyaru of Kaśyapa gotra was ruling the kingdom of Udayagiri. He was the son of Parvata Rāya-Pārvati Devi and the grandson of Rāmachandra Rāya-Lakshmi Devi (*Kaśipa-gotrulaina Devarāya-odeyalu taru tama tandri Pravata Rāyalakunnu talli Pārvatidevikinni tama tāta Rāmachandu Rāyayakunu Lakshmidevi kinni…. Maaku jelli-Udayagirirājyana Pakunandelona… Tiruvidu ane grāmamu… Śālivāhana Śaka varṣambulu 1357 agu neti Pārthiva saṁvatsara Kārttika Śu 15...*).

iv. An inscription dated Śakānta 1268 (1346 CE) mentions the kings of Vijayanagara (Saṅgama I, Harihara, Śaṅkara Rāya, Bukka Rāya, Marapa Rāya) as historical personalities. It uses the verb "*Babhūvuḥ*" in remote past tense for these kings (*Kumārāśchatvāro Babhūvuḥ… Pālitā Harihareṇa...*), which means Harihara I died many years before Śakānta 1268 but

Harihara I was ruling in Śaka 1268 as mentioned in a grant of Śringeri Math. It refers to a solar eclipse occurred in Kumbha Rāśi, on Māgha Amāvāsyā, Siddha Yoga and Nāga Karaṇa which regularly corresponds to 11th Feb 1347 CE.[35]

v. A copper plate inscription dated Śakānta 1291 (1369 CE) refers to the reigning King Krishna Rāya. He was the son of Narasimha Rāya and the grandson of Achyuta Rāya (*Vidyānagarada rājapīthada…. Śriman Mahārājādhirāja Achyuta Rāya-Narasimha Rāya-Krishna Rāyaru Vidyānagaradalu simhāsanārūḍhar āgi…. Śālivāhana 1291 neya sanda eshya parivarttamānake Sāluva vyaya saṁvatsara Māgha Śu 14… Vaiśākha Śuddha Pūrṇamī chandroparāga-puṇya-kāladalu…*).[36]

vi. An inscription dated Kaliyuga 4470 & Śakānta 1291 (1368-1369 CE) found in Anantapur district of Andhra Pradesh mentions the reigning King Bhāskara Bhavadūra.[37]

vii. Three inscriptions found in Gundlupete dated Śakānta 1294-1302 (1372-1380 CE) informs us that Chikka Kampana, the son of Bukka Rāya was the reigning king.[38]

viii. An inscription dated Śakānta 1308 & Kaliyuga 4487 mentions the ruling King Yimmadi Harihara Rāya, the son of Vira Hariyanna Vodeyaru.[39]

vix. An inscription dated Śakānta 1329 (1407 CE) tells us that Bhāskara Rāya, son of Pratāpa Rāya, was ruling in Vijayanagara.[40]

x. An inscription dated Śakānta 1330 (1408 CE) mentions that Venkatapati Rāya was ruling in Vijayanagara. It records that when Venkatapati Rāya was ruling, Tirumalarāyadeva, son of Rāmarājyayya made this grant.[41]

xi. An inscription dated Śakānta 1377 (1455 CE) refers to the reigning King Tryambaka.[42]

xii. An inscription dated Śakānta 1381 (1459 CE) mentions the reigning King Sadāśiva Rāya.[43]

xiii. The Muddulingahalli inscription dated Śakānta 1398 (1476 CE) mentions the King Bukkanna Vodeyaru, son of Saṅgameśvara. It also mentions the kingdom of Hoysana.[44]

xiv. The Paduvari inscription dated Śakānta 1402 (1480 CE) mentions the reigning King Harihara. Historians have distorted the year from 1402 to 1300 to establish that this inscription belonged to Harihara II.[45]

xv. The Haralakere inscription dated Śakānta 1406 (1484 CE) mentions the reigning King Vira Pratāpa Bukka Rāya.[46]

xvi. The Triyambakapura inscription dated Śakānta 1432 (1510 CE) mentions the reigning King Harihara.[47]

4. The Kasabe inscription (found in Bangarapete Taluk and Kolar District) dated Śaka 1567 (984 CE) mentions the reigning King Devarāya. This date cannot be explained in the Śakānta era (78 CE). Historians rejected this inscription as mistake of engraver as usual.[48]

5. Interestingly, the Nilavara inscription is dated Śaka 1975 (*Śaka-varusha 1975 neya Tāraṇa saṁvatsarada Phālguna bahula pañchamiyalu…*) and refers to the later Vijayanagara King Mallikārjuna Rāya who was ruling in Dwārasamudra. Evidently, this inscription refers to the epoch of 583 BCE and the Śaka year 1975 was 1392 CE. It appears that the epoch of 583 BCE was still in use during the 14th and 15th centuries. Some inscriptions found in Udupi and Dwārasamudra regions are dated Śaka 1919, 1975 and 2027. If we consider the epoch of the Śakānta era, the Śaka years must be 1919 (1997), 1975 (2053) and 2027 (2105). Historians are apparently ignorant of the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE). Therefore, they have no other option to declare these Śaka years as the mistakes committed by engravers.[49]

6. Firishta, the Persian historian of the 16th century, mentions that the ancestors of Krishna Rāya (1360-1380 CE), a later Vijayanagara king, has possessed this kingdom for seven hundred years. Thus, Firishta clearly tells us that Vijayanagara Empire established in the second half of the 7th century CE. He quotes "According to the *Siraj-ut-Tawarikh*, "No prince before him (Muhammad Shah) ever so far reduced the

Rajas of the Carnatic (Vijayanagara), from whom he wrested much of the accumulated riches of seven hundred years".[50] Robert Sewell says; "Firishta declares that they had existed a ruling family for seven hundred years prior to the year 1350 CE".[51] It may also be highlighted here that the account of Vijayanagara given by Firishta is completely in line with the inscriptions of Vjayanagara dated in the Śakānta era.

7. Firishta also records that when Mujahid Shah (1375-1378 CE) wrote to Krishna Rāya around 1375 CE to forgo his claims on all territories east of Tungabhadra, Krishna Rāya replied that "the forts of Rachore, Moodkul and others, between the rivers, had for ages belonged to his family." If the kingdom of Vijayanagara established in 1336 CE just 39 years before, how can Krishna Rāya claim that the kingdom belonged to his family for ages? It clearly indicates that Vijayanagara might have been established many centuries before 1375 CE.[52]
8. Portuguese Fernao Nuniz (1536-1537 CE) gives the account of the kings of Vijayanagara from 1230 CE. He says "In the year twelve hundred and thirty, these parts of India were ruled by a greater monarch than had ever reigned." Nuniz calls "Deorao" (Devarāya) as the reigning king of 1230 CE. Two inscriptions dated Śakānta 1126 (1207 CE) & 1149 (1227 CE) mention that Devarāya was the reigning king. It is evident that Vijayanagara Kingdom existed prior to 1336 CE.[53]
9. Portuguese Diogo Do Couto (1556-1616) mentions the story of the meeting of Hukka and Bukka with Mādhava and records the date as 1220 CE.[54]
10. The inscriptions tell us that Harihara I constructed a temple of Vidyāśaṅkara (the founder of Śringeri Math). Archaeologists have identified this temple to be a small shrine on the rocks above the temple (still in use and known as the temple of Hampi) near the river. All archaeologists are in agreement that this small shrine is of greater antiquity than any other structure of Vijayanagara. It looks like a building of the 7th century CE. Most probably, Vidyāraṇya was doing "*tapasyā*" in this small shrine and Harihara I met him first time at the same place.

11. "*Pratāparudracharitram*" written in Telugu by Ekāmranātha (Ekāmbaranāth) in the 17th century tells us that Kākatīya King Erukudevarāja and his son Bhuvanaikamalla were the contemporaries of Vijayanagara King Vira Narasimha.[55] According to Ekāmranātha, the Kākatīya kings Erukudevarāya and Bhuvanaikamalla reigned around Śakānta 729-818. Kākatīya King Bhuvanaikamalla invaded Vijayanagara and married Śriraṅgamadevi, younger sister of the Vijayanagara King Vira Narasimha. He also mentions that Vijayanagara King Narasimharaya was the contemporary of Pratāpa Rudra II who reigned around Śakānta 1205-1289. It may be noted that Ekāmranātha committed two mistakes in reconstructing the chronology of the Kākatīyas. Firstly, he considered the Śaka and the Śakānta eras identical and secondly, he has erroneously taken one 60 year cycle extra for calculating the years in the Śakānta era. Therefore, according to Ekāmranātha, Kākatīya kings Erukudeva ruled around Śakānta 669-732 (747- 810 CE) and Bhuvanaikamalla reigned around Śakānta 732-758 (810-836 CE) whereas Pratāparudra II lived around Śakānta 1145-1229 (1223-1307 CE). Though there are a few chronological inconsistencies due to two mistakes as explained above, Ekāmranātha's *Pratāparudracharitram* unambiguously tells us that Vijayanagara kings were the contemporaries of many Kākatīya kings.

In view of the above, it can be concluded that Vijayanagara was founded around 650 CE and not in 1336 CE.

The Date of Rāmānujāchārya (356-456 CE) and Mādhavācharya (458-537 CE)

Rāmānujāchārya was born in Śri Perumbudoor on Chaitra Śuddha Pañchamī of Piṅgala Saṁvatsara, Śaka 939 (356 CE). He was the contemporary of Kulottunga Choda I and Hoysala King Vishnuvardhana. Kulottunga Choda I ruled around Śaka 985-1033 (401-451 CE) and Hoysala Vishnuvardhana started ruling around Śaka 1030 (447 CE). Interestingly, Hoysala Vishnuvardhana's real name was Bitti Deva. It was Rāmānujāchārya, who gave him the name of Vishnuvardhana. It seems

that Rāmānujāchārya lived more than 100 years. Thus, we can fix the lifetime of Rāmānujāchārya around 356-456 CE.

Mādhavāchārya, the greatest philosopher of Dvaitavāda, was born in Pajaka region of Udupi in Karnataka. His father was Madhyageha Bhaṭṭa and mother was Vedavatī. His name was Vasudeva in childhood. His guru named him as "*Pūrṇaprajña*" at the time of Sanyāsa. When he defeated Pandit Vasudeva, he came to be known as "Ānandatīrtha". When he wrote a commentary on Brahmasūtras, he came to be known as "Mādhavāchārya".

According to the records maintained in the Uttaradi Matha and all other Mathas, Mādhavāchārya was either born or became Sanyāsi in Śaka 1040, Vilambi Saṁvatsara and he attained nirvāṇa in Śaka 1119, Piṅgala Saṁvatsara. Considering the age of 10 to 16 years for Sanyāsa, Mādhava might have been born around Śaka 1025. Thus, Mādhava was born around Śaka 1025-1040 and died in Śaka 1119. Considering the epoch of Śaka era in 583 BCE, Mādhavāchārya was born around 442-458 CE and died in 537 CE.

Interestingly, another Ānandatīrtha flourished in the 13th century CE. In fact, he was Ānandatīrtha II and not the great Mādhavāchārya Ānandatīrtha I. The district manual of South Canara gives the date of Ānandatīrtha II as 1199 CE. *Mahābhārata Tātparya Nirṇaya* also tells us that Ānandatīrtha was reborn in Kaliyuga 4300, i.e., 1199 CE (*Chatuḥ Sahasre tu triśatottare gate saṁvatsarāṇām tu kalau prithivyām jātaḥ punarvipratanuḥ sa Bhimaḥ...*).[56] Some historians identified him as Mādhavāchārya and concluded that Mādhava was born in 1199 CE but this date fails to explain the verifiable details of the dates held at various Mathas of Mādhavāchārya.

Another section of historians rejected both the dates and fixed the date of birth of Mādhavāchārya around Śaka 1160 based on the so-called epigraphic evidence. Vilambi Saṁvatsara can be Śaka 1040 or 1100 or 1160. Therefore, historians fixed the date of Mādhavāchārya in Śaka 1160, Vilambi Saṁvatsara. Piṅgala Saṁvatsara can be Śaka 1119 or 1179 or 1239. Therefore, Mādhava died in Śaka 1239. Since the historians believe

in only one epoch of 78 CE, they have fixed the date of Mādhavāchārya around 1238-1317 CE.

According to the tenth Adhyāya of *Mādhava Vijayam*, Mādhavāchārya met a Maharashtra King named Iśvara Deva, who tried to force Mādhavāchārya to do some personal service. The historians have wrongly identified Yādava King Mahādeva to be Ishvara Deva. In fact, Maharashtra King Iśvara Deva was a Kalachuri king and he was ruling in Sholapur district of Maharashtra. His inscription mentions King Vijaya Pāndya whose inscriptions are dated Śaka 1089, 1091 & 1093. Most probably, Iśvara Deva was the contemporary of Vijaya Pāndya. In view of the above, it is evident that the dates traditionally held at mathas are absolutely authentic.

Śri Raghavendra Math has more than twenty copper plate inscriptions in their library. The names of āchāryas mentioned in the copper plates indicate that the modern list of Guruparamparā is spurious. Again, the misunderstanding of the epoch of Śaka and Śakānta eras created all the chronological confusion.

The Date of Vidyāraṇya (560-660 CE)

The Kapaluru and Yerragundi grants clearly indicate that Vidyāraṇya died at an earlier date than Śaka 1258 (675 CE). Vidyāraṇya quotes from the commentaries written by Jayatīrtha in his treatise "*Sarvadarśana-Saṅgraha*". Therefore, Jayatīrtha must be at least a senior contemporary of Vidyāraṇya. Jayatīrtha was the disciple of Akśobhyatīrtha who was the direct disciple of Mādhavāchārya. According to the historical records of the Uttaradi Matha and all other Mathas, Mādhavāchārya (Ānandatīrtha) lived around Śaka 1040-1119 (458-538 CE). After Mādhavāchārya's death, his disciple Padmanābha Tirtha was pontiff for seven years (up to Śaka 1127). Thereafter, three Mādhava disciples Narahari Tirtha, Mādhava Tirtha and Akśobhya Tirtha were pontiffs for 9 years (up to Śaka 1136), 17 years (up to Śaka 1153) and 17 years (up to Śaka 1170) respectively. Thus, Akśobhya Tirtha might have died around Śaka 1170 (587-588 CE) and the date of Jayatirtha, the disciple of Akśobhya Tirtha can be fixed around 550-630 CE.

Historians have fixed the date of Mādhavāchārya around Śakānta 1160-1239 based on the inscription of Narahari Tirtha dated Śakānta 1203 (1281 CE) found at Śri-Kūrmam temple in Śrikākulam district of Andhra Pradesh. They have mistakenly identified Narahari Tirtha of the year 1203 of the Śakānta era to be the disciple of Ananda Tirtha (Mādhavāchārya) and fixed the date of Mādhavāchārya around Śakānta 1160-1239. According to the traditional records and literary sources, one Ananda Tirtha was born in Śaka 1040 whereas another Ānandatīrtha was born in Kaliyuga 4300, i.e., Śakānta 1120. There is no evidence to support the date of Mādhavāchārya around Śakānta 1160-1239. In fact, Narahari Tirtha was the disciple of Anandatīrtha of Kaliyuga 4300. The inscription of Narahari Tirtha clearly mentions two different personalities. This inscription mentions that Puruṣottama Mahātīrtha (Mādhavāchārya) wrote Bhāṣyas long time ago. To propagate the same (dualism), Ānandatīrtha was incarnated. Narahari Tirtha became the disciple of him (*Sanmunir-jātaḥ Śri-Puruṣottamābhidha-mahātīrthaḥ Sumatyagraṇiḥ । Yanmuni-bhāṣita-bhāṣyam… kila Tirthika-pravara-saṅghaiḥ ... । Netum sandhrita-danda-mandita-karo Yah Pradurāsīt... Ānandatīrtho Muniḥ । … Ānandatirtha-bhagavatpādāchārya-sarasvatī loketra ..... । Tena anena Śriman Naraharitīrthākhya munivareṇyena…*). Evidently, Narahari Tirtha's inscription tells us that Purushottama Tirtha who wrote Bhāṣyas was the historic personality whereas Ananda Tirtha was the later follower of him. Anandatīrtha was born in Kaliyuga 4300 (1199 CE) and the author of *Mahābhārata Tātparya Nirṇaya*. Moreover, Narahari Tirtha's inscription used the verb "*Prādurāsīt Anandatirtho muniḥ*" which unambiguously indicates that Ananda Tirtha died before Śakānta 1203. The Sanskrit verb "*Prādurāsīt*" cannot be used for living persons. Therefore, it is totally absurd to fix the date of Mādhavāchārya around Śakānta 1160-1239. Thus, the lifetime of Mādhavāchārya (Ānandatīrtha) must be fixed around Śaka 1040-1119 (457-537 CE) whereas another Ānandatīrtha lived around 1199-1275 CE.

In view of the above, it can be concluded that Mādhavāchārya lived up to Śaka 1119 (537-538 CE), Akśobya Tirtha lived up to Śaka 1170 (587 CE) and Jayatirtha might have lived for 30 or 33 years more than 587 CE, i.e., up to 620 CE. Therefore, Vidyāraṇya was a junior contemporary

of Jayatirtha and he quotes him in his work "*Sarvadarśana-Saṅgraha*". The Kapaluru and Yerragundi grants dated Śaka 1258 (675 CE) used "*Lit Lakār*" for Vidyāraṇya as "*uvācha*", "*ādideśa*" etc, (*Yatīndro vihasya tamuvācha viram… kśmāpatim ādideśa*). According to the rules of Sanskrit grammar, "*Lit*" can never be used for the living persons whom we met in our lifetime. "*Lit*" can only be used for historical references in remote past (*Parokśa Bhūta-kāla*). At the least, "*Lit*" should not be used for living persons. Therefore, these grants clearly indicate that Vidyāraṇya attained nirvāṇa much before 675 CE. These grants also mention that Harihara I started the construction of a big city named Vidyānagara after his meeting with Vidyāraṇya. This meeting might have occurred 15 or 20 years before 675 CE because these grants used the phrase "Kadāchit" means "a long time ago". Since these grants were issued from the city of Vidyānagara, we can assume that the major construction activities at Vidyānagara might have been completed by 675 CE. Considering the minimum period of 15 years for the construction activities, the "*Śilānyāsa*" (the starting ritual of construction) of Vidyānagara might have taken place at least a date prior to 660 CE. Therefore, we can fix the lifetime of Vidyāraṇya around 560-660 CE.

Historians concluded that Vidyāraṇya lived beyond Śaka 1258 because many inscriptions dated from the Śaka year 1297 to 1386 mention Vidyāraṇya and the list of Śringeri Guruparamparā gives the date of Vidyāraṇya around 1380-1386 CE. First of all, we must list out all the inscriptions having the reference of Vidyāraṇya and segregate them with reference to the epochs of the Śaka era (583 BCE) and the Śakānta era (78 CE).

Inscriptions Dated in the Śaka Era (583 BCE):

1. **The Kapaluru and the Yerragundi grants dated Śaka 1258 (675 CE):** These grants indicate that Śri Vidyāraṇya Yati might have died at an earlier date than 675 CE. In fact, the Yerragundi grant was given to an agrahāra that named as "Vidyāraṇyapura" in the memory of Śri Vidyāraṇya.
2. **The Nagasandra inscription dated Śaka 1302 (719 CE):**[57] This grant mentions a village and agrahāra called as Vidyāraṇyapura.

3. **The Belugula (Śringeri) inscription dated Śaka 1306 (723 CE):**[58] This inscription mentions that Harihara achieved the empire of knowledge by the blessings of Vidyāraṇya (*Vidyāraṇya-munīśasya kṛpāpūrṇa-nirīkśaṇāt । yo'labdha-jnana-sāmrājyam duṣprāpam itaraiḥ janaiḥ ॥*). This grant tells us that the donees were the disciples of Śripāda Vidyāraṇya.
4. **The Vaderahobli inscription dated Śaka 1328 (745 CE):**[59] This inscription eulogises Vidyātīrtha, Vidyāraṇya (*Vidyāraṇyagurum Vidyārājya-kesarīṇām bhaje) and Bhāratī Tirtha (Bahavo guravas santi vakśastha bhānavo yathā ekopi Bhāratī tīrtho rājate bhānumān iva*) in the invocation. It also mentions the reigning Śaṅkarāchārya of Śringeri named Śri Narasimha Śāradā or Narasimha Bhāratī (*Narasimha Śāradākhye yatirāje rājatīha dharaṇītale... Śri Paramahaṁsa-parivrājakāchāryarum appa Śringeriya Narasimhabhāratī-vodeyara divya-Śripāda-padamamgalige…*).

Inscriptions Dated in the Śakānta Era (78 CE):

5. **Two copper plates of Kudali Math dated Śakānta 1073 (1151 CE):**[60] These grants eulogise Vidyāraṇya in the invocation which means Vidyāraṇya lived much earlier than 1151 CE.
6. **The Kudupu inscription dated Śakānta 1297 (1375 CE):**[61] The inscription states that during the rule of Vira Bukkarāya, Pandarideva, the governor of Mangaluru-rājya, donated the village Kudupu and also some money to Śri Vidyāraṇya of Śringeri. [*Śri Śaka-Varṣa 1297 neya… Śrimanu Mahārājādhirāja Rāja-parameśvara Śri Vira-Bukkarāya Rājyābhyudaya rāyana nirupadimda Pamdaridevamgalu Mangalura-rājyavanaluva Kāladalli rāyanu Singeriya Vidyāraṇya-Śripādamgalige samarpisida…*]
7. **The Bhandigade inscription dated Śakānta 1300 (1378 CE):**[62] Virūpākśa, son of Vira Bukka Rāya, was governing Araga. Probably, he made a gift of 57 Varāhas to Śri-Vidyāraṇya. [*Jayābhyudaya-Śaka Varusha 1300 neya Kālayukti saṁvatsarada dvitīya Jyeṣṭha śu 15 sukravāradalu... Soma grahaṇa… Vidyāraṇya-Śripādagalu*]. A lunar eclipse occurred on 11th Jun 1378 CE.

8. **The Vidyāraṇyapura inscription dated Śakānta 1309 (1387 CE):**[63] This inscription eulogises Vidyātīrtha, Vidyāraṇya and Bhāratī Tīrtha in the invocation. Thereafter, it gives the genealogy of Harihara II and uses the verb "*āvirāsīd*" for Harihara II which clearly a reference to a historic person. Therefore, this grant must be dated in the Śakānta era. This grant mentions that a later King Harihara established an agrahāra named Vidyāraṇyapura after the demise of Vidyāraṇya II in 1387 CE.
9. **The Nagalapura inscription dated Śakānta 1361 (1439 CE):**[64] Virūpanna-Vodeya, the younger brother of Harihara, son of Bukkarāya, was governing Araga Rājya and under his orders Lakhanna made a gift to the agrahāra in the presence of Vidyāraṇya, the pontiff of Śringeri. [*Bukkarāyana Kumāra Harihara-rāyana tamma … parayanu Aragada … Śrimatu Paramahaṁsa parivrājakāchārya vedamārga-pratiṣṭhāpanāchāryarum appa Singeriya Vidyāraṇya-Śripādamgala samakshadim… Śrimatu Śaka-varusha 1361 Piṅgala saṁvatsarada Kārttika śu 1 So…*]
10. **The Śringeri inscription dated Śakānta 1302 (1380 CE):**[65] Interestingly, this inscription eulogises Vidyātīrtha, Vidyāraṇya, Bhāratī Tīrtha, Bukka and Harihara in the invocation. Thereafter, it gives information of two historical grants made to Śringeri Math by Vijayanagara kings.
    a). A grant made by Mārapa, younger brother of Harihara I on Pārthiva saṁvatsara (Śaka 1268), Phālguna ba 1, Thursday, in the presence of Śri Bhāratī Tirtha.
    b). A grant made by Bukkarāya on Manmatha saṁvatsara (Śaka 1278), Phālguna śu 1, Tuesday when he visited Śringeri to pay his respects to Śaṅkarāchārya. Śri Bhāratī Tirtha divided the lands allotted to them to the brahmanas on the occasion of the installation of the idol of Vidyāśaṅkara.

    This inscription also gives an interesting information that Bukkarāya was sent for Śri Vidyāraṇya who was staying at Varanasi on orders of Hiriya Śripāda (Senior Guru) and with his own letter of request, to come to Vijayanagara. Consequently, Śri Vidyāraṇya went to

Vijayanagara and after staying there for some time, Bukka I brought him to Śringeri. Chikka-Bukkarāya, the son of Harihara and the governor of Araga Rājya also made similar grants. King Harihara confirmed all these grants made to Śringeri and issued a copper plate in the presence of Śri Vidyāraṇya [*Śrimat Paramahaṁsa parivrājakāchāryaru Śri Vidyāraṇya-Śripādaṅgala Śri charana sannidhiyalli Śrimad rājādhirāja parameśvara Vira-Harihara mahārāyarugalu samarpisida tāmra śāsana…. Śālivāhana Śaka varṣagalu savirada munnura yaradu 1302.... Raudri-saṁvatsarada Mārgaśirṣa śu 1 somavaradallu…*].

11. **The Chantau inscription dated Śakānta 1325 (1403 CE):**[66] This inscription mentions Śaṅkarāraṇya, a disciple of Śri Vidyāraṇya.
12. **The Ramachandrapura inscription dated Śakānta 1371 (1449 CE):**[67] This inscription is described as *Vaibhava Tāmraśāsana* (a grant of glory) and the reigning king was Pratāpa-Devarāya. This grant states that during the time of Vidyānandāchārya of Śringeri, the senior disciple of Vidyābodhaghanāchārya, a Math was established in Gokarna which was later named as "Raghottama Math". It mentions two contemporary āchāryas of Śringeri Math and Raghottama Math. According to this grant, Śri Vidyāraṇya, the disciple of Krishna Tirtha was the pontiff of Śringeri Matha whereas Śri Chidbodha Bhāratī, the disciple of Sītārāmachandra Bhāratī, was the pontiff of Raghottama Math of Gokarna. [*Śaka varṣa 1371 neya Śukla-saṁvatsarada Māgha bahula 30…. Śrimat Paramahaṁsa Parivrājakāchārya Śrimatu Bhagavatpāda-pūjya-śiṣya-Śrimat-Śaṅkarāchārya-śiṣya-Sureśvarāchārya-paramparā-purassara-Śrimad-bhogavardhana-vālapuruṣādhiṣṭhitaraha Ruṣyaśriṅgapurādhivāsa Krishnatīrtha-guru-kara-kamala-sañjātaraha Vidyāraṇya-Śri-pādagalu, Śrimatu Paramahaṁsa Parivrājakāchārya Śrimad-bhogavardhana-vālapuruṣādhiṣṭhitaraha Gokarṇada Raghottama-mathada Sītārāmachandrabhāratī-śiṣya-Chidbodhabhāratīgalige.*].
13. **The Ramachandrapura inscription dated Śakānta 1386 (1463-1464 CE):**[68] This is also a *Vaibhava Tāmraśāsana* granted by Yimmadi Devarāya on the occasion of Kanyā saṅkrānti, Revatī nakśatra, Bhādrapada Krishna dvitīyā (*Śaka varṣa 1386 ne Svabhānu*

saṁvatsarada Bhādrapada Krishna 2 yu Guruvāra Revatī-janma-nakśatra-Kanyā-saṅkrānti-saṅgamakāla...). This date regularly corresponds to 31st Aug 1463 CE. This is a grant to the pontiff Raghaveśvara Bhāratī of the Raghuttama Math of Gokarṇa, a disciple of Śri Chidbodhabhāratī. It also mentions that these privileges were originally conferred by Vidyāraṇya on Chidbodhabhāratī.

Interestingly, eminent historians had a tough task to reconcile the above-mentioned inscriptions. As usual, they resorted to declaring some inscriptions as spurious and thus distorted the dates of inscriptions to uphold their date of Vidyāraṇya around 1286-1386 CE. Some historians conveniently declared the Kapaluru and the Yerragundi grants dated Śaka 1258 as forgeries and Some others considered it partially genuine to establish the Śakānta year 1258 (1336 CE) as the year of foundation of Vijayanagara Empire but ignored other details. They distorted the date of the Nagalapura inscription from Śakānta 1361 to Śakānta 1299, stating that the date is too late for Vidyāraṇya and King Harihara. They also flagged the Ramachandrapura inscription dated Śakānta 1371 and Kudali inscriptions dated Śakānta 1073 as spurious. Thus, eminent historians could get rid of the inconvenient data which exerted unethical influence on Śringeri Math to accept the date of the Vidyāraṇya around 1380-1387 CE.

Unfortunately, I am not as elite and privileged as eminent historians to pursue such methodology of selective acceptance and selective rejection. Let us critically examine the contents of these inscriptions as segregated above. The four inscriptions dated in the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) clearly refer to the Vidyāraṇya who attained nirvāṇa before Śaka 1258 (675 CE). The inscriptions (Sl. no. 1 & 2) refer to the Vidyāraṇyapura Agrahāra which was named in the memory of Śri Vidyāraṇya. The inscriptions (Sl. no. 4) eulogise Vidyāraṇya in invocation. According to Indian traditions, it is totally absurd to eulogise a living person in invocation. The inscription (Sl. no. 3) simply informs us that Harihara achieved Vidyāsāmrājya with the blessings of Vidyāraṇya. It may also be noted that Vidyātīrtha was the guru of Vidyāraṇya because Vidyātīrtha was eulogised first and later Vidyāraṇya.

The nine inscriptions dated in the epoch of the Śakānta era (78 CE) unambiguously tell us that Vidyāraṇya II was the ruling Śaṅkarāchārya between Śakānta 1302 (1380 CE) to Śakānta 1309 (1387 CE) and Vidyāraṇya III was the Śaṅkarāchārya of Śringeri Math in Śakānta 1371 (1449 CE). The inscription (Sl. no. 12) informs that Krishna Tirtha was the guru of Vidyāraṇya III. Interestingly, the inscription (Sl. no. 11) eulogises Vidyāraṇya in invocation and also tells us that Bukkarāya was sent to Varanasi with the letter of senior pontiff (Śaṅkara Bhāratī) and he brought back Vidyāraṇya II to Śringeri. Evidently, it eulogises a historical person named as Vidyāraṇya and also mentions a contemporary Śaṅkarāchārya named as Vidyāraṇya II. The inscription (Sl. no.7) dated Śakānta 1073 (1151 CE) clearly tells that one Vidyāraṇya lived much before 1151 CE.

All these inscriptions lead to the conclusion that there existed three Vidyāraṇyas. Vidyāraṇya I lived around 560-660 CE whereas Vidyāraṇya II was the Śaṅkarāchārya of Śringeri Math around 1380-1387 CE and Vidyāraṇya III was the Śaṅkarāchārya of Śringeri Math in 1449 CE. Vidyātīrtha was the guru of Vidyāraṇya I whereas Śaṅkara Bhāratī was the guru of Vidyāraṇya II and Krishna Tirtha was the guru of Vidyāraṇya III.

According to historians, Vedānta Deśika mentions Vidyāraṇya and Akśobyamuni in his works. Since Vedānta Deśika's works were written in Tamil, I could not verify the original reference. I request the Tamil experts to verify the original reference so that we can identify the Vidyāraṇya (Vidyāraṇya I or Vidyāraṇya II or Vidyāraṇya II) referred to by Vedānta Deśika.

Bhāratī Tirtha, Krishna Tirtha & Bhāratī Krishna Tirtha

Historians have committed a blunder in identifying Bhāratī Tirtha and Krishna Tirtha due to their ignorance of the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE). The inscriptions of the Vijayanagara kings eulogise Vidyātīrtha, Vidyāraṇya and thereafter Bhāratī Tirtha which unambiguously indicate that Vidyāraṇya was senior to Bhāratī Tirtha. Various literary sources tell us that Bhāratī Tirtha was the younger brother of Vidyāraṇya. It is well known fact that Vidyātīrtha was the guru of Vidyāraṇya and Bhāratī Tirtha. The Ramachandrapura inscription dated Śakānta 1371 (1449 CE)

mentions that Krishna Tirtha was the guru of Vidyāraṇya (*Krishnatirtha-guru-kara-kamala-saṅjātaraha Vidyāraṇya-Śri-pādagalu…).*

Historians have cleverly concocted that Bhāratī Tirtha and Krishna Tirtha were the same person and created a fictitious personality named Bhāratī Krishna Tirtha. They never explained how the younger brother of Vidyāraṇya became the guru of his elder brother. In fact, Bhāratī Tirtha was the younger brother of Vidyāraṇya I and became the Śaṅkarāchārya of Śringeri Math after Vidyāraṇya in the 7th century CE whereas Krishna Tirtha was the guru of Vidyāraṇya III and became the Śaṅkarāchārya of Śringeri before Vidyāraṇya III in the 14th century CE. It may be noted that there was no Śaṅkarāchārya named "Bhāratī Krishna Tirtha" who ever existed either in the 7th century or in the 14th century.

The earliest inscription of Śringeri Math dated Śaka 1268 (685 CE) mentions Bhāratī Tirtha and his disciples. The Śringeri inscription dated Śakānta 1302 tells us that the idol of Vidyāśaṅkara (in sitting position) was installed during the time of Bhāratī Tirtha. Undoubtedly, the idol of Vidyāśaṅkara and the seal of "Śri Vidyāśaṅkara" came into existence during the lifetime of Bhāratī Tirtha. The Ramachandrapura inscriptions inform us that it was Vidyānanda, the senior disciple of Vidyabodhaghanāchārya, established a Math in Śatasriṅgapura, Gokarṇa but it appears that this Math (known as "Raghuttama Math") started propagating Dvaitavāda instead of Advaitavāda in the 6th century CE under the influence of Mādhavāchārya.

The Date of Sāyaṇāchārya (670-760 CE)

Sāyaṇa was born in Nellore region of Andhra Pradesh and his father's name was Māyaṇa. He introduced himself in his work "*Mādhavīyā Dhātuvṛtti*" that he was the minister of King Saṅgama II, son of Māyaṇa and the younger brother of Mādhava (*Śri-Pūrva-dakśiṇa-paśchima-samudrādhīśvara-Kamparaāya-suta-Saṅgamarāja-mahāmantriṇā Māyaṇa-putreṇa Mādhava-sahodareṇa Sāyaṇāchāryeṇa….*).[69] The Bitragunta grant dated Śaka 1278 tells us that King Saṅgama II, the son of Kampana, was ruling in Andhra and Udayagiri Mahārājya.[70] Sāyaṇāchārya wrote "*Vedārtha Prakāśa*" a comprehensive commentary on Vedas. In the introduction of *Vedārtha Prakāśa*, he eulogises Vidyātīrtha

(*Vande Vidyātīrthamaheśvaram*...) and tells us that King Bukka II asked Mādhavāchārya to write a commentary on Vedas (*Bukka-mahīpatiḥ ādiśan Mādhavāchāryam vedārthasya prakāśane*...).

In Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa Bhāṣya, Sāyaṇa informs us that he was the minister of Harihara II, the son of Bukka II. King Bukka II died on Phālguna Krishna Pratipadā of Śaka 1298. The Kraku grant of Harihara II dated Śaka 1298 tells us that Harihara II granted a Village named as "Bukkarāyapuram" in memory of his father in Nellore region to many scholars.[71] Harihara II specifically mentions the name of Devana, Māyaṇa and Sāyaṇa (*Bhāradwājo Devanāryasuto Māyaṇa Kovidaḥ । ... Yo Vedabhāṣyakṛt dhīmān Māyaṇāchārya nandanaḥ । Asau Śri Sāyaṇāchāryo Bhāradwājo Yajurnidhiḥ ।*). Devana was the grandfather of Sāyaṇa and his gotra was Bharadwāja. It is evident that Sāyaṇa authored the commentary on Vedas between Śaka 1278 and Śaka 1298. Since, Sāyaṇa was the minister of Saṅgama II who was ruling around Śaka 1278, he might have been born at least 25 years before Śaka 1278. He was also the minister of Harihara II, who started ruling in Śaka 1298. The Hulikere inscription of Harihara II dated Śaka 1300 (717 CE) mentions the name of Sāyaṇāchārya as the first donee of the grant (*Śriman Baudhāyano Bhāradwājaḥ Sāyanāchāryaḥ anena chaiṣā vrittiḥ…*). Thus, we can roughly fix the date of Sāyaṇāchārya around Śaka 1253-1343 (670-760 CE).

Mādhavāchārya, the Elder Brother of Sāyaṇāchārya

Some historians have identified Vidyāraṇya to be Mādhavāchārya and the elder brother of Sāyaṇāchārya. As discussed earlier, Vidyāraṇya died before Śaka 1258 (675 CE) during the reign of King Harihara I. Therefore, Vidyāraṇya cannot be the Mādhavāchārya whom King Bukka II asked to write Vedabhāṣya. Moreover, Māyaṇa, the father of Sāyaṇa was living in Śaka 1298 because he was one of the donees of the Kraku grant dated Śaka 1298 (715 CE). Vidyāraṇya and his younger brother Bhāratī Tirtha belonged to the city of "Ekaśilānagara" (Warangal) whereas Sāyaṇāchārya and his elder brother Mādhavāchārya belonged to Nellore. Thus, Vidyāraṇya cannot be the elder brother of Sāyaṇa. Therefore, Mādhavāchārya, the elder brother of Sāyaṇa cannot be identified with Vidyāraṇya. It appears that Mādhavāchārya started writing Vedabhāṣya

but he might have died at an early stage of this project. It was Sāyaṇa who authored a major portion of the Vedabhaṣya.

Mādhavāchārya and Madhava, the Minister

There were many Mādhavas and Mādhavāchāryas. Mādhava and his younger brother Sāyaṇa belonged to Bharadwāja gotra whereas Mādhava, the minister of Vijayanagara kings belonged to Kauśika gotra. Another Mādhava, the governor of Goa was of Gautama gotra whereas Mādhavāchārya, the author of "*Tātparya Dīpikā*" a commentary on *Sūtasaṁhitā*, belonged to Āṅgirasa gotra. Therefore, we must be very careful while determining the identity of Mādhavas and Mādhavāchāryas.

The Yādavas of Kuñjarakoṇapurī or the Saṅgama Dynasty

Hukka and Bukka I (630-645 CE)

Robert Sewell records that Buchanan while on a visit to Beidur in Mysore in 1801, was shown by one Ramappa Varmika a Sanskrit book in his possession called the "*Vidyāraṇya Sikka*", which relates the founders of Vijayanagar were Hukka and Bukka, guards of the treasury of Pratāpa Rudra of Warrangal.[72] Most Probably, *Vidyāraṇya Sikka* must be *Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna* or *Vidyāraṇya Vṛttānta* which give the same story. *Vidyāraṇya Kālajñāna* further tells us that when Kākatīya King Vira Rudra was attacked and captured by the Yavanas (Muslim invaders), they (Hukka and Bukka) came out of the Ekaśilānagara and took up service under Rāmanātha in guarding his treasury; then the warriors of Maha Handeshvara came and killed Rāmanatha and captured Hukka and Bukka. When during their captivity, there was once a thunderstorm at night and the jail guards deserted their posts. The Suratrāṇa (Sultan) was asleep. When he got up and found the two prisoners standing far from the gateway and asked them why they were standing there; then the wise Sultan decided that they were very truthful, and he released them after presenting to them the country of Karnata. The two brothers soon reached the river Krishnaveni and went to war with King Ballāla and sustained defeat. Then they reached the foot of a tree and Hukka fell asleep with head on the lap of his brother. He then dreamt a dream that a Yogi and

Siddha by name Revana said: "From this moment permanent success will attend you and you will be master of a throne". Later, they discovered the throne abandoned on the field of battle, and having taken possession of it, they came and settled in the city called Hastikoṇa or Kuñjarakoṇapurī on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā.[73]

Keladinṛpa Vijayam of Liṅga Bhatta also mentions that two brothers Hukka and Bukka belonged to a poor Kśatriya family who migrated from the northern country, settled down in the south and entered into marital relations with the Kurubas. It also mentions the meeting of Hukka and Bukka with Mādhava.[74] Many other sources give the similar traditional account of the origin of the Vijayanagara kings. Portuguese Diogo Do Couto (1556-1616 CE) also states that while Mādhava was living his ascetic life amongst the mountains he was supported by meals brought by a poor shepherd called Bukka and one day Mādhava said to him, "Thou shalt be king and emperor of all Hindustan".[75]

Historians have committed a number of mistakes in understanding the case in cultural and traditional perspectives. They got mistaken identities of the following and thus completely distorted the historical events.

	Mistaken identity	**Real identity**
Hukka	Harihara I	Elder brother of the grandfather of Harihara I & Bukka II
Bukka	Bukka II	The grandfather of Harihara I & Bukka II
Mādhava	Vidyāraṇya	Most probably, Vidyātīrtha's initial name was Mādhava.
Yavanas	--	Muslims
Maha Handeshvara or Aśvapati Sultan	--	Muhammed Tugluk?
Kākatīya Vira Rudra or Pratāpa Rudra	Kākatīya Pratāpa Rudra II of the 14th century CE.	Kākatīya Pratāpa Rudradeva of the 7th century CE.

In reality, the traditional account of Hukka & Bukka I is related to the grandfathers of Harihara I and Bukka II who were initially the officials of Kākatīyas. Taking advantage of the weak political situation, Hukka and Bukka I established a small kingdom on the banks of Tuṅgabhadrā River at Kuñjarakoṇapurī (Anegundi).

Saṅgama (645-658 CE)

Saṅgama was the son of Bukka I and Megāmbikā. He succeeded his father and became the king of Kuñjarakoṇapurī. It appears that he fought with the Yādava King Rāmachandra but got defeated. The Purushottampuri plates[76] tell us that Rāmachandra defeated Saṅgameśa (*Uttuṅgaḥ Saṅgameśo prasabhamadhigato…*). Historians wrongly identified Saṅgameśa as the city of Sangameshvar. The Kapaluru and the Yerragundi grants mention King Saṅgama as Saṅgameśa and the Purushottampuri grant clearly indicate that Saṅgameśa was the name of a king and not that of a city. It may also be noted that Sangameshvar has never been referred to just as Saṅgama. The Hebasur grant of Harihara II informs that Saṅgama established his kingdom in Pampāpurī on the banks of Pampā River to counter the invasions of Mlecchas or Turuṣkas (*Mleccḥākrāntam mahīm etām uddhariṣye nripottamena । Pāpe kalau …. Tena Pampāpuri-parisare'bhavat Saṅgamākhyaḥ…*).

Saṅgama had two wives, Gālāmbikā and Kāmāmbikā. He had five sons, Harihara I (son of Gālāmbikā), Kampana, Bukka II (son of Kāmāmbikā), Mārapa and Muddapa. Harihara I, being the eldest son, might have played a crucial role in expansion of his father's kingdom. It seems that Saṅgama conquered Rāyalasima and costal Andhra regions up to Kaliṅga taking advantage of the weakening kingdom of the Kākatīyas. Harihara I mentioned his father Saṅgama as king of the territory up to Kaliṅga and Aṅga in the Kapaluru and the Yerragundi grants (*So'yam vijityākhila-dig-vibhāgān Sutrāmadhāma-Aṅga-Kaliṅga-pūrvān…*). It is evident that Saṅgama established himself as a formidable force in Northern Karnataka and Rāyalasima regions around 650-655 CE. The Yādavas of Devagiri entered into matrimonial alliance with the Yādavas of Kuñjarakoṇapurī and the youngest daughter of the Yādava King Rāmachandra was married to Harihara II, the grandson of Saṅgama and the son of Bukka II. This marriage might have taken place around 655-660 CE.

Interestingly, *Vidyāraṇya Vṛttānta* mentions that a Yādava King Saṅgarāya ruled in the city of Maṅgalanilaya.[77] Most probably, Maṅgalanilaya was the name of the palace of Saṅgama in Kuñjarakoṇapurī (Anegundi).

Harihara I (658-687 CE)

Harihara I succeeded his father Saṅgama in Kuñjarakoṇapurī around 658 CE. One day, he crossed the Tuṅgabhadrā River from north bank to south bank and proceeded for hunting expedition. He got astonished to see a hare turn and fearlessly chase dogs that pursued him. He met Vidyāraṇya Yati near to the place where he saw a fearless hare. He narrated the incident to Vidyāraṇya. Vidyāraṇya smiled and advised Harihara I to construct a city named "Vidyānagara" in the name of Vidyāśaṅkara having nine gates. The construction of Vidyānagara was completed by Śaka 1258 (675 CE) and Harihara I ascended the "Ratnasimhāsana" (throne of jewels) in Vidyānagara on Vaiśākha śukla saptamī, Puṣya nakśatra and Hari lagna, i.e., 8th Apr 675 CE. He granted sixteen villages to brahmanas and issued sixteen copper plates on 8th Apr 675 CE out of which only two (the Kapaluru and the Yerragundi grants) are available today.

Harihara I appointed his brother Kampana as Viceroy of Udayagiri Mahārājya including coastal Andhra Pradesh and also placed his brother Mārapa in Western Karnataka. Thus, Harihara I placed all his four brothers as governors of various regions. He was ruling a vast kingdom from eastern seacoast to western seacoast (*Pūrvāpra-samudrāntam jitvā Hariharo bhuvam…*).[78] The Bitragunta grant of Saṅgama II informs us that Harihara I subjugated a Sultan (*Hariharo.. Sutrāmasadriśo yena Suratrāṇaḥ parājitaḥ…*). The Sanskrit word "Suratrāṇa" was derived from the Persian word "Sultan" in the 7th century CE. Harihara I issued a grant to Śringeri Math in Śaka 1268 (685 CE) which indicates that he was ruling beyond 685 CE.[79] The Chatnakodagi inscription dated Śaka 1269 (686 CE) mentions Harihara I as "*Pūrva-Paśchima-Dakśiṇa-Samudrādhipati*" which indicates that Harihara I also conquered the Malabar or northern Kerala regions. The Śringeri and Chantnakodagi inscriptions refer to a Pāndya King Vira Kikkayi-tayi who was the feudatory of Harihara I. The

last inscription of Harihara I (Hampi inscription) is dated Śaka 1271. Therefore, Harihara I might have died around Śaka 1271 (688 CE).

Historians identified the following 18 inscriptions[80] related to Harihara I but they adopted a fraudulent methodology to fit them into their scheme of chronology. In fact, these 18 inscriptions were dated in two different eras, i.e., the Śaka & the Śakānta eras. Therefore, all Vijayanagara inscriptions must be studied with reference to two different epochs to understand the true chronology.

	Inscriptions	**Date**	**Distortions**	**Facts**
1. & 2.	Kapaluru Grant & Yerragundi Grant	Śaka 1258	Historians generally accepted that the foundation of Vijayanagara was laid in Śakānta 1258 (1336 CE). But They believe that Harihara I could establish himself in Vijayanagara only around 1346 CE. They fraudulently ignored the most of the historical information provided by these grants.	These grants were issued on the date of the coronation of Harihara I in Vidyānagara in Śaka 1258, i.e., 8th Apr 675 CE. Harihara I inherited a strong kingdom extended up to the coast of Andhra Pradesh. (Other details have already been discussed in the beginning of this article.)
3.	Anekere Inscription	Pramāthi, Saṁvatsara	Śakānta 1261 (1339)	Śaka 1261 (678 CE)
4.	Badami Inscription	Śaka 1261, Vikrama Saṁvatsara	Historians edited the date from 1261 to 1262 (1340 CE)	Śakānta 1261 (1339 CE). It mentions Mahānayakāchārya Chāmeya Nāyaka and Chāmarāja. The Nāyaka system was introduced at a later stage of Vijayanagara empire.

5.	Banasavadi Inscription	Śaka 1263 & Kaliyuga 4462	Śakānta 1263 (1341 CE)	Evidently, it is dated Śakānta 1263 (1341 CE). It also mentions Mahā Sāmanta Mayileya Nāyaka.
6.	Gandasi Inscription	Śaka 1265, Svabhānu Saṁvatsara	Śakānta 1265 (1343 CE)	Śaka 1265 (682 CE)
7.	Śringeri Inscription	Śaka 1268, Pārthiva Saṁvatsara	Śakānta 1268 (1346 CE)	Śaka 1268 (685 CE)
8.	Kyatamarana Halli Inscription	Śaka 12.., Kśaya Saṁvatsara	Historians have distorted the name of saṁvatsara from Kśaya (60th year) to Vyaya (20th year) and fixed the date as Śakānta 1268 (1346 CE) because the Kśaya year did not occur in the reign-period of Harihara I.	The Kśaya year can only be Śakānta 1248 (1326 CE). Since historians believe that Vijayanagara did not exist prior to 1336 CE, they resorted for distortions. In fact, it mentions Mayileya Nāyaka who is also mentioned in the inscription dated Kaliyuga 4462. Therefore, this inscription must be dated Śakānta 1248 (1326 CE).
9.	Chatnakodagi Inscription	Śaka 1269, Vyaya Saṁvatsara, Mārgaśirṣa, śu 2	Śakānta 1269 (1346 CE)	Śaka 1269 (686 CE).
10.	Mailappana Halli Inscription	Śaka 1368, Vyaya Saṁvatsara, Puṣya śu 10 Makara	Historians distorted the Śakānta year from 1368 to 1268 so that they can explain it in	Śakānta 1368 (1446 CE). The Śakānta 1368 is correct because The date of Makara Saṅkrānti

		Saṅkra-maṇa	their scheme of chronology. The date of Makara Saṅkrānti cannot be explained in 1346 CE.	regularly corresponds to 27/28 Dec 1446 CE.
11.	Holiyanakere Inscription	Śaka 1289	Historians have distorted the year from 1289 to 1269 so that they can explain it in their scheme of chronology.	Śakānta 1289 (1367 CE).
12.	Katigenahalli Inscription	Śaka 1271, Sarvadhāri Saṁvatsara	Śakānta 1271 (1348 CE)	Śakānta (1348 CE)
13.	Kantavara Inscription	Sarvadhāri Saṁvatsara	Śakānta 1271 (1348 CE)	Śakānta (1348 CE)
14.	Hampi Inscription	Śaka 1271, Virodhi Saṁvatsara	Śakānta 1271 (1348 CE). Historians believe that Harihara I had no sons. Hence, they have ignored this inscription.	Śaka 1271 (688 CE). It mentions Savamna, son of Harihara I "*Pūrva-paśchima-dakśiṇa-samudrādhipati Śri Hariharanāthana kumāra Savamnna vodeyaru… Hastināpurada...*"
15.	Hire Avali Inscription	Śaka 1276, Vijaya Saṁvatsara	Śakānta 1276 (1354 CE)	Śakānta 1276 (1354 CE).
16.	Hariharapura Inscription	Śakānta 1460, Hemalambi Saṁvatsara	Since historians believe that there were only two Hariharas, they have distorted the year from 1460 to 1279.	Śakānta 1460 (1538 CE)

17.	Dodda-kannalle Inscription	Śaka 1209	Historians distorted the Śakānta year from 1209 to 1269 (1346 CE).	Śakānta 1209 (1287 CE).
18.	Sadaramangala Inscription	Śaka 1248	Historians distorted the Śakānta year from 1248 to 1269 (1346 CE).	Śakānta 1248 (1326 CE)

Out of 18 inscriptions, only seven inscriptions were dated in the Śaka era (583 BCE) whereas others were dated in the Śakānta era (78 CE). The inscription dated Śakānta 1209 belonged to Harihara of the 13th century CE. The eight inscriptions dated from Śakānta 1248 to 1289 belonged to King Harihara of the 14th century CE. The inscription dated Śakānta 1368 belonged to King Harihara of the 15th century CE whereas the inscription dated Śakānta 1460 belonged to King Harihara of the 16th century CE. In fact, Harihara, Bukka and Devarāya were the most popular names adopted by the later Vijayanagara kings. Since historians believed that there were only two Hariharas in entire period of Vijayanagara Empire, therefore, they had no other option to distort the dates of inscriptions according to their scheme of chronology.

It may be noted that the expression "Śaka Varusha" gradually became synonymous to "Saṁvat" after the 10th century CE. Therefore, we have to carefully study the contents of the inscriptions also to determine the epoch of the era intended. I have adopted the following methodology:

- First of all, we have to select the inscriptions dated in Kaliyuga era and study the contents to flag the names of subordinates and other important information.
- The inscriptions though they refer to "Śaka Varusha" but give the names of subordinates or information similar to the inscriptions dated prior to the Śaka year 1258 must also be considered in the Śakānta era.
- The kings of Saṅgama Dynasty were Śaivas. The coin named "Varāha" was introduced during the reign of Tuluva dynasty who were Vaiṣṇavas. Any inscription of Saṅgama dynasty that refers to era as

"Śaka Varusha" but mentions the coin "Varāha", must be considered in the Śakānta era.

Bukka II (688-716 CE)

Bukka II succeeded his elder brother Harihara I. In fact, Harihara I appointed his brother Bukka II as "Yuvarāja" (*Vidhāya Yuvarājam yo Bukka-Rājam nijānujam…*) though Bukka was the son of Kāmāmbikā whereas Harihara I was the son of Gālāmbikā.[81] Mādhavāchārya of Bharadwāja gotra, the elder brother of Sāyaṇāchārya was the family "Purohit" and the minister of Bukka II as mentioned in *Puruṣārtha Sudhānidhi*.[82] It may be noted that Bukka II had also another minister and general named as Mādhava of Kauśika gotra. It was Bukka II who directed Mādhavāchārya, the elder brother of Sāyaṇa, to undertake the project of writing commentaries on Vedas. Possibly, Mādhavāchārya might have died at an early stage of the Project. Sāyaṇa took the responsibility and authored the commentaries on Vedic literature and named them as "Mādhavīyā" in memory of his elder brother Mādhavāchārya.

Bukka II had a minister named Muddapa (*Muddapa dandanātho Śrimān amātyaḥ…*). He conquered the remaining parts of southern India and uprooted the rule of Turuṣka kings in Madurai. The conquest of Madurai was one of the greatest "Vijaya" and a memorable one. Therefore, Bukka II expanded or re-constructed the historic city of Hastināvatī or Hastināpura and renamed it as Vijayanagara (also named as Hampa or Hampi in Kannada language) [*Vijitya Viśvam Vijayābhidhānam Viśvottaram yo Nagarīm Vyadhatta...*].[83]

Kumāra Kampana and His Conquest of Madurai

Bukka Rāya appointed his son Kampana or Kampa Rāya as the Viceroy of Northern Tamilnadu region. Kantakānana (Mulvay or Mulbagal) was Kampana's camp in Tondamandalam. Kampana conquered entire Tamilnadu region by Śaka 1293 (710 CE) and Vijayanagara Empire emerged as a powerful state in entire South India. The conquest of Madurai was the greatest achievement of Kampana. Gangādevi, the wife of Kampana, gives the complete account of Kampana's conquests in her kāvya "*Kamparāya Charitam*" or "*Madhurāvijayam*".

According to *Madhurāvijayam*, Kampana was the son of Bukkarāya and Depayi. Bukka asked Kampana to march against the Tundira country (Tondamandalam). Kampana crossed Karnataka and reached Kantakānana. He defeated Drāmida King Champarāya at the citadel of Rājagambhiram and proceeded to Kānchipuram. It is poetically stated that a mysterious lady appeared before Kampana, narrated the sad state of affairs at Madurai in the reign of Pārasika Yavanas and Turuṣkas (*Śrutirastamitā nayaḥ praline virata dharmakathā… Yavanānām janagarhitam charitram…*) and produced a mighty sword, the symbol of Pāndya sovereignty. Then, the mysterious lady said that the Pāndyas lost their power, therefore, Sage Agastya sent this sword for you". It is also mentioned that Persian Sultans defeated Cholas, Pāndyas & Hoysala Ballāla and established their rule in Madurai (*Parākramānnyakrita-Chola-Pāndyam Ballāla-sampallatika kuthāram … Suratrāṇam… dig-dakśiṇāsīt kśata-Pārasika… Madhurāyām Kamsavan nriśaṁsam...*). Kampana invaded Madurai and killed the Persian Sultan like India killed Vṛtrāsura (*Pratyāgrahit Vṛtra ivāmarendram...*).[84] Kampana's Mahāpradhāni Somaya Dandanāyaka's son Māraya Nāyaka and Sāluva Maṅgu led the army in this military expedition. *Jaimini Bhāratam* of Pillalamarri Pinavirabhadra, *Sāluvābhyudayam* of Rajanatha Dindima and *Rāmābhyudayam* of Sāluva Narasimha tell us that Kampana defeated the Persian Sultan and given his territory to Śambhuvarāya.[85] It seems that Sāluva Maṅgu played a key role in reinstating the kings of Śambhuvarāyas because the Sāluva kings had the title of "*Śambhuvarāya-sthāpanāchārya*".

Many inscriptions of Kampana dated Śaka 1280 to 1296 (700-713 CE) are found in Tamilnadu. The epigraphic evidence also suggests that the historical details given in Gangādevi's *Madhurāvijayam* are absolutely correct. The madam inscription dated Śaka 1285 (702 CE) mentions that Kampana rewarded Gandaraguli Māraya Nāyaka for capturing the Śambhuvarāya, the chief of Venrumankonda.[86] The Tiruppukkuli inscription dated 1287 (704 CE) states that "having taken possession of the kingdom of Rājagambhira, Kampana was pleased to conduct the rule on a permanent throne".[87] Many inscriptions dated in Śaka 1293 (710 CE) indicate that Kampana eliminated Turuṣkas from Madurai between Śaka

1287-1292 (704-709 CE). The Śrirangam inscription dated Śaka 1293 [*Ba (3) ndhu (9) pri (2) ye (1) Śakābde...*] clearly informs that Kampana has already uprooted Turuṣka kings (*Nihatya… Tuluṣkān… nijabala-nihatotsikta-tauluṣkasainyaḥ...*).[88]

According to epigraphic evidence, Kampana died in Śaka 1296 (713 CE) but two inscriptions of Kampana were dated Śaka 1309 and 1365.[89] Gangādevi's *Madhurāvijayam* tells us that Bukka II had three sons from his wife Depayi, Kampana I, Saṅgama and Kampana II. Therefore, the inscription dated Śaka 1309 belonged to Kampana II. Harihara II had a son named Bukka III. Most probably, the Kampana mentioned in the inscription dated Śaka 1365 was the son of Bukka III. There are two more inscriptions dated Śaka 1297 and 1309.[90] Most probably, they belonged to Kampana II.

The Re-installation of the Idol of Ranganathaswami at Śrirangam

The epigraphic evidence and the literary evidence inform us that the idol of Śrirangam temple was moved to Tirumala during the invasion of Turuṣkas and the same idol was reinstalled at Śrirangam in Śaka 1293 elapsed (710-711 CE) when Kampana killed the Turuṣka King of Madurai. Two Tamil works "*Guruparamparāprabhava*" (based on a Sanskrit poetry written in 3000 verses) by Tritiya Brahmatantrasvatantraswami & "*Koyil Olugu*" a register of records of the donations made to the Ranganatha temple, a Telugu work "*Āchāryasūktimuktāvalī*" by Namburi Keśavāchārya and a Sanskrit work on the history of Śrivaishnavaism in South India "*Prapannāmṛtam*" by Anantāchārya give the details of this incident.

According to *Koyil Olugu*, the "Tulukhar" occupied Tondaimandalam in Śaka 1249, Kśaya Saṁvatsara (666 CE) and proceeded towards Tiruchirapally and Madurai. During the same time, the idol of Ranganatha was taken out for a festival to a river. A messenger informed Lokāchārya that a Yavana was marching towards Śrirangam. When the Yavanas had passed Samayapuram and reached Khandanapura (Kannanur), Lokāchārya consulted Vedānta Deśika. According to the direction of Vedānta Deśika, Lokāchārya took the idols of Ranganatha and his queens and escaped to Tirunarayanapuram (Melukote in

Mandya district, Karnataka) by the way of Goshtipura (Tirukkottiyur), Tirumalirunjolai, Kolikkudu (Kozhikode or Calicut) and Punganur (in the North Arcot district). Vedānta Deśika also escaped with his two young sons (Venkateśa and Sudarśana) and the manuscript of his commentary on the Śri Bhāṣya called "*Śrutaprakāśikā*". Unfortunately, on their way to Tirunarayanapuram or Yādavādri, all the valuable jewels of the God as well as the property of Lokāchārya were plundered by robbers in the forest. Lokāchārya died at a place called Jyotishkudi. The idols were taken to Melukote or Yādavādri and kept there for many days. Thereafter, the idols were removed to the temple of Tirupati where these idols were worshipped for a long time. *Āchāryasūktimuktāvalī* gives additional information of an incident of how a Devadāsī of the temple bravely lured a Yavana and took him to gopuram and treacherously killed him by throwing him down from the gopuram of the temple. She is said to have committed suicide immediately by jumping from the same gopuram. The descendants of her are entitled to certain privileges in the temple of Śrirangam even today.

"*Koyil Olugu*" also tells us that in the meantime, Turuṣkas conquered Pāndya country. The Kuñjarakoṇapurī (Anegundi) king Harihara I reconquered Tondaimandalam. This is exactly why the Bitragunta inscription of Saṅgama II mentions that Harihara I defeated a Turuṣka Suratrāṇa. Harihara I appointed Gopanna as official at Singapuram (near Senji) in Tondaimandalam. The same officer Gopanna was also working under Kampana. One day, Gopanna saw Raṅganātha Swami in his dreams and he went to Tirupati. He brought back the idols from Tirupati and kept in a rock-cut temple at Vrishabhagiri, Singapuram. Prapannāmṛta informs us that a Dravida Brahmana called Narasimhadeva managed to get the favour of Yavana king (Muslim King). He persuaded the Yavana and had himself appointed manager of Śrirangam. Thus, Narasimhadeva protected the temple and the residents of Śrirangam during the reign of Yavanas.

According to a stone inscription from Innambur in the Tanjavur district, the period of the rule of Turuṣkas in Tamilnadu is stated to be 40 years.[91] *Koyil Olugu* tells us that Turuṣkas invaded Tondaimandalam in

Śaka 1249 (666 CE). Therefore, Kampana must have killed the Turuṣka king in Madurai around Śaka 1292 (709 CE) considering 43 years of the rule of Turuṣkas because Gopanna removed the idols from Singapuram and reinstalled at Śrirangam in Śaka 1293 (710-711 CE).

The Date of Death of Kampana

Kampana had two sons, Jammana and Kampana. The Tiruvannamalai inscription was engraved in Śaka 1296 (713-714 CE), Ānanda Saṁvatsara on the 13th day of Dhanu month & the 13th tithi of pūrva pakśa (Pauṣa śukla trayodaś) and Rohiṇī nakśatra, i.e., 4th Dec 713 CE by Jammana on the occasion of Śrāddha of his father Kampana which clearly informs us that Kampana died on 4th Dec 713 CE.[92] Jammana granted a village 'Atigai' and renamed it as Kamparāya-Chaturvedimaṅgalam.

The Madurai Sultans

The Turuṣkas or Yavanas or Pārasikas were the officials of Mohammad bin Tugluk who declared their independence later and settled in Madurai. Malik Kafur plundered Chidambaram, Madurai & Rameshwaram and destroyed many temples in 651 CE. Amir Khusru, who accompanied Malik Kafur, records in his "*Ashika*" that after Brahmastpuri (Chidambaram?) was completely destroyed, Kafur marched down to Fattan (Pattinam = Rameshvaram?) and plundered the temple city. Kafur destroyed and plundered the temples in Kandur (Kannanur?) and went back to Delhi in Oct 651. Thereafter, Khusru Khan, the chief advisor of Qutubuddin Mubarak Shah also plundered Madurai around 658 CE as recorded by Ziauddin Barni.

According to Ibn Batuta, Mohammad bin Tughluk appointed Jalaluddin Hasan to be governor of the region of Mabar (Madurai). Muhammad Tughluk shifted his capital to Daulatabad in 667 CE. Since Revolts began in the North, Tughluk decided to shift the capital back to Delhi in 675 CE. Ibn Batuta, the traveller and chronicler from Morocco, was married to the daughter of Jalaluddin. He tells us that his father-in-law Sayyid Sultan Djelaleddin (Jalaluddin) revolted and reigned for 5 years in Mabar but he was killed. Barni and Firishta refer to Jalaluddin as Syed Hasan and Hussun respectively. After Jalaluddin, Alauddin, one

of the amirs of Jalaluddin governed for one year. He was also killed by unknown person. Kothbeddin, the son-in-law of Alauddin, ascended the throne but he was killed within 40 days because his conduct was generally disapproved. Sultan Ghiyatheddin (old name was Sirajuddin) became the ruler of Mabar. He was the son-in-law of Jalaluddin.

Ibn Batuta visited Madurai and stayed for brief period around 684 CE during the reign of Ghiyatheddin. He records that Ghiyatheddin was the worst tyrant. Ibn Batuta narrates "When he moved from the camp towards the capital, he happened to fall in with a number of 'idolaters' (Hindus) with their women and children in clearing a road through the forest. Every infidel found in the forest was taken prisoner. He made them carry a number of stakes sharpened at both ends, and when morning broke he divided these prisoners into four groups, and led one party to each gate of the four entrances to the camp. The stakes that they carried were then driven into the ground at one end and the unfortunate prisoners were impaled. Afterwards their wives were killed and tied by their hair to these pales. Little children were massacred on the bosoms of their mothers and their corpses left there. Then, the camp was raised, and they started cutting down the trees of another forest. In the same manner they killed their later Hindu prisoners. This is shameful conduct such as I have not known any other sovereign guilty of."

To overcome the atrocities on Hindus, Hoysala King Vira Ballāla marched against Madurai with a large army and besieged Kuppam for ten months. Ultimately, the coward Ghiyatuddin feigned to start peace talks but treacherously captured King Vira Ballāla. After collecting all the treasures of Vira Ballāla, the coward Ghiyatuddin murdered him. His body was staffed with hay and kept at the entrance of Madurai fort. Fortunately, this coward Ghiyatuddin and his entire family died within a few days in an epidemic outbreak after this ghastly murder. We must never forget these inhuman atrocities committed on our forefathers and educate our current and younger generations how a barbaric expansionism thrived on a socially nurtured hatred towards other religions and that hatred, which turned into a particular sect having religious justification for inhuman atrocities inflicted on others, is continuously producing more and more murderers of humanity.

Ibn Batuta further narrates "One day whilst the Kazi and I were having our food with Ghiyatuddin, an infidel was brought before him accompanied by his wife and son aged seven years. The Sultan made a sign with his hand to the executioners to cut off the head of this man; then he said to them in Arabic: 'and the son and the wife'. They cut off their heads and I turned my eyes away. When I looked again, I saw their heads lying on the ground.

I was another time with the Ghiyatuddin when a Hindu was brought into his presence. He uttered words I did not understood, and immediately several of his followers drew their daggers. I rose hurriedly, and he said to me; 'Where are you going'? I replied: 'I am going to say my afternoon prayers'. He understood my reason, smiled, and ordered the hands and feet of the idolater to be cut off. On my return I found the unfortunate swimming in his blood."

Ibn Batuta tells us that after the death of Ghiyatuddin, his brother's son Nasiruddin became the Sultan. Ibn Batuta left Madurai in 684 CE and went to China. In the meantime, Firoz Shah Tughluk succeeded Muhammad Tughluk in 691 CE. Shams-i-Siraj Afif, the author of Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, mentions that "Soon after the accession of Firoz Shahi while the Sultan was at Delhi attending to the affairs of his kingdom, ambassadors from Mabar came to state a grievance to him. One Qurbat Hasan Kangu, the Sultan of Madurai, made himself despicable in the eyes of his subjects by docking himself with female ornaments and making himself notorious by other indecent actions. So the people of Mabar rose in revolt against the Sultan. A neighbouring chief, Bakan, marched into Mabar and made Qurbat Hasan Kangu prisoner. Bakan established himself as the ruler of Mabar."

Bakan or Bukan can be identified as Bukka. The later Vijayanagara King Bukka ended the rule of Muslim rulers of Madurai. Based on the above, we can summarise the reigning period of the Sultans of Madurai as follows:

	Madurai Sultans	**Duration**
1.	Syed Jalaluddin Hussen	675-679 CE
2.	Alauddin	679-680 CE

3.	Kutubuddin	40 days
4.	Ghiyatuddin	680-684 CE
5.	Nasiruddin	685-690 CE
6.	Qurbat Hasan Kangu	690-691 CE

1. Many coins of the Sultans of Madurai are found dated in the years from 734 to 779 as details given below:

	Madurai Sultans	**In Hijrah era**
1.	Ahsan Shah	734, 738
2.	Udhauji Shah	-
3.	Muhammad	741, 745
4.	Mahmud	745
5.	Adi Shah	757
6.	Fakhr Shah	763, 765, 767, 770
7.	Sikandar Shah	779

2. Two inscriptions are also found dated in the year 761 and 771 of Hijrah.
3. Based on the dates in Hijrah era and the numismatic & epigraphic evidence, historians have prepared the following list of Madurai Sultans.

	Titular name	**Personal Name**
1.	Jalal-ud-din	Ahsan Shah?
2.	Ala-ud-din	Udauji Shah?
3.	Qutb-ud-din	Feroze Khan?
4.	Ghiyath-ud-din	Muhammad Damghani ?
5.	Nasir-ud-din	Mahmud Damghani ?
6.	Shams-ud-din	Adl Shah?
7.	Fakhr-ud-din	Mubarak Khan?
8.	Ala-ud-din	Sikandar Shah?

4. There is another inscription at Rangiam referring itself to Adi Sultan's year 732.

5. Historians agreed based on the inscriptional evidence that Kampana killed Sikander Shah in Śaka 1293. If so, how Sikander Shah issued his coins in Hijrah 779, i.e., 1378 CE?
6. Shams-i-Siraj Afif records that Bakan or Bukan defeated Qurbat Hasan Kangu and made him prisoner.

Inscriptions of Madurai Sultans

1. **Pon-Amaravati inscription dated 761 (691 CE)**: "May prosperity attend. The reign of the king (*Sakala-nripa-kula-kkon*) the family of kings (Rājarāja), great king of kings (Rājādhirāja). In the year 761, in the month of Panguni (Phālguna), on the 5th tithi, we the citizens of Pon-Amaravati, executed a deed of agreement of the residents of Virayachchilai….. The lord of kings ordered the destruction of Suraikkudi by sending forward at the head of their troops Manjilis Elis Khan, Azam Khan, Muazam Khan under the command of Rajatti Khan. Having destroyed Suraikkudi these had encamped in Mattur Kulam to which they summoned the inhabitants of Virayachchilai and Kottiyur. Since the lord of kings charged both Dhunad Khan and ourselves with the protection of these subjects under proper assurance, we agreed that the people do pay us what is due to us as a matter of longstanding custom; and that they do so united as one body. It was further agreed that the deed of agreement be incised in the rock containing the temple of Tirukkolakkudi Nayanar. … we got this inscription cut out, agreeing to discharge the duty to which we are liable, as long as the sun and moon should last; we of the Pon-Amaravati nadu to the inhabitants of Virayachchilai and attached villages, and to those of Kottiyur and attached villages."[93]
2. **Arantangi inscription dated 771 (700-701 CE)**: This inscription is on a stone planted under the Pipal tree. "May prosperity attend. The reign of the king (*Sakala-nripa-kula-kkon*) the family of kings (Rājarāja), great king of kings (Rājādhirāja). In the year 771 of the 'lord of kings', on the 7th day of Iravilladhan, which is the 11th tithi of Karttigai (Kārttika): …. The temple management…. Vanniyar, Kallar, Karumar, Bhattas (Brahmans), musicians… we the residents of Arantangi, we agree that you see to it... 'the lord of kings" those

required for his continuous service…. it would be failure in us if we did not destroy those robbers….. If we fail in any of these particulars of our duty to 'the lord of kings' we agree that our moustaches be shaved and that we be regarded as the wives of our enemies… We further agree that we suffer in the hell of those, having assembled by beat of the bronze cymbal, seven brahmanas on the ghat of running water and having gone round them by the right, kill them on the banks of Ganga… Further we agree that we be depicted as women and that low caste people….. Under the authority of 'lord of kings'…."[94]

3. **Rangiam inscription dated 732 (662 CE)**: There is an inscription in the Pudukottai collection at Rangiam referring itself to Adi Suratāna's year 732.[95]
4. **Inscription dated in the 9th regnal year**: There is a Tamil inscription in the collection of Pudukottai referring itself to the ninth year of Maharaja Mahamadi Suratāna. The record is in the Gnanapurishvara temple at Panaiyur, Taluk of Pudukottai and refers to the settlement of a dispute without the interposition of royal officers.[96]

The latest coin of Sikandar Shah found in Tamilnadu is dated 779 Hijrah. As already explained earlier, the epigraphic evidence conclusively indicates that Kampana uprooted the rule of Pārasikas or Turuṣkas from Madurai not later than Śaka 1292 (709 CE). No coin dated later than 779 is found till date. Thus, we can conclude that the numismatic evidence of the Turuṣka kings and the epigraphic evidence of the Vijayanagara kings perfectly complement each other.

The Temple of Śrirangam and the Invasion of Turuṣkas

1. Amir Khusru, the Muslim chronicler was not only the contemporary of Malik Kafur but also personally witnessed the invasion of Malik Kafur on Madurai. There is no reference in the "*Ashika*" of Amir Khusru about the attack on Śrirangam. But there is a statement that Malik Kafur sacked all the temples in Kandur. Amir Khusru mentions certain places like Brahmastpuri, Bir Dhul, Kandur, Jalkotta, Fattan etc. Historians identified Brahmastpuri to be Chidambaram because Amir Khusru mentions that the temple was roofed over with gold

set of gems and it contained both Linga, Linga Mahadeo and Deo Narain (Vishnu?). There is no evidence to prove that Brahmastpuri was another name of Chidambaram. In my opinion, Tirunelveli can be Brahmastpuri because there is a famous Brahmadeśam temple that was constructed by Rājarāja Chola. Bir Dhul can be Virudhunagar which is located between Madurai and Tirunelveli. Historians identified as Khandanapuram or Kannanur as Kandur and propounded that Malik Kafur also plundered Śrirangam because it is located near Kannanur. Historians have identified Fattan or Fittan as Rameshvaram.

2. According to *Koyil Olugu*, the Turuṣkas occupied Tondaimandalam and marched towards Śrirangam in Kśaya Saṁvatsara, Śaka 1249 (666 CE).
3. There is a record in *Koyil Olugu* that one idol of the temple of Śrirangam was re-installed after a gap of fifty nine and half years in Śaka 1293 (710-711 CE). Historians have calculated the date in the Śakānta era and concluded that the idol of Śrirangam was reinstalled in 1371 CE. Therefore, the invasion on Śrirangam might have taken place in 1311-1312 CE and the attacker was Malik Kafur. I strongly object to this notorious methodology of eminent historians who selectively accept the convenient data and brush aside the inconvenient data. In fact, *Koyil Olugu* indicates about two attacks on the temple of Śrirangam. *Koyil Olugu* gives the detailed account of the attack of Turuṣkas that occurred in Śaka 1249 when Lokāchārya and Vedānta Deśika decided to move the idols and the valuables of temple to Melkote and Tirupati. *Koyil Olugu* and folk stories also tell us about another attack in which the Turuṣkas took away the gold, jewellery and one idol of Ranganathaswamy (most probably, the golden idol of Vishnu donated by Pāndya King Sundara Pāndya) to be presented before the Sultan of Dilli. It is recorded that a woman of Karambanur named "Pincenravalli" used to observe the vow of taking food only after worshipping the god of Śrirangam. When she saw the Turuṣka army taking away the idol, she followed them up to Delhi. The Sultan of Dilli ordered his men to keep the idol of Ranganathaswami in safe custody but the daughter of the

Sultan liked the idol and insisted to keep the idol in her palace. The woman "Pincenravalli" somehow entered the Sultan's palace in disguise and saw the idol of Ranganatha in the room of the daughter of the Sultan. She immediately returned to Śrirangam and informed the temple management about the location of the idol. Within few months, a cultural team (sixty Parijanas) of Śrirangam went to Dilli and performed before the Sultan of Dilli. He pleased with their performance and asked them to seek whatever they wanted. This cultural team requested for the idol of Ranganatha and the Sultan immediately ordered to hand over the idol. Interestingly, when the idol was being handed over to the team at night, the daughter of the Sultan was sleeping. The cultural team of 60 Parijanas immediately rushed to Śrirangam after taking the possession of the idol.

Next morning, the daughter of the Sultan "Surathāni" came to know about the handing over the idol and became extremely depressed and wanted the idol back. The Sultan sent a search team to bring back the idol. The team searched the idol in various places in South India but they could not trace out. The daughter of the Sultan of Dilli was deeply attached to the idol of Ranganathaswami. She also followed the search team and reached Śrirangam but she died in front of the temple of Ranganatha. Actually, the cultural team hid the idol near a Bilva tree to protect it from the search team of the Sultan.

When Kampana, the son of Bukka II of Vijayanagara, killed the Turuṣka governor of Madurai in Śaka 1292 (709 CE), Gopanna brought back the idol of Ranganatha from Tirupati and re-installed in Śrirangam in Śaka 1293 (710 CE). At the same time, a search was carried out to unearth the golden idol that was brought back by the cultural team. Finally, the golden idol has been found and re-installed in the temple with the permission of King Rajendra Chola (most probably, Rajendra Chola was the later decendant of the Chola dynasty and the feudatory of Vijayanagara Empire in the beginning of the 8th century). Thus, the idol of Ranganatha that was removed in Śaka 1249 (666 CE) was re-installed in Śrirangam in Śaka 1293 (710 CE) after 44 or 45 years. During the period of

44 or 45 years, the idol was at Melkote or Tirunarayanapuram for 4 years whereas it was at Tirupati for 40 years. The golden idol was reinstalled after fifty nine and half years. During this period, the golden idol was in the palace of Dilli Sultan for two years. Interestingly, the Śrirangam temple management erected a small temple for "Surathāni", the daughter of the Sultan considering her deep devotion to Ranganatha and named it as "Turukka Nachiar" or "Bibi Nachiar". This small temple of "Turukka Nachiar" still exists today and roti is offered to her as Naivedyam. A Telugu folk song "*Surathani Kalyanamu*" also supports the historicity of the story of "Turukka Nachiar".

4. According to my opinion, *Koyil Olugu* and the folk stories clearly indicate two different attacks on Śrirangam. Seemingly, the Turuṣkas attacked Śrirangam around 651 CE (Śaka 1234) and took away the valuables and one golden idol of Śrirangam temple to be presented before the Sultan of Dilli. Thereafter, they invaded Madurai crossing over Śrirangam in 666 CE (Śaka 1249). When these Turuṣkas reached Samayapuram and Khandanapuram near Śrirangam in 666 CE, the main idols decorated with all gold jewellery and gems were at the banks of river for Abhiśekam. Since there was no time left to shift the idol to temple and secure the valuables, Lokāchārya and Vedānta Deśika decided to move the idols along with the valuables to Melkote. Unfortunately, robbers looted all jewellery of deities from Lokāchārya in jungles and the heart-broken Lokāchārya died at Jyotishkudi. Śri Raṅgarāya and Vedānta Deśika took the idol to Melkote and thereafter, it was taken to Tirupati.
5. Historians completely rejected the story of "Turukka Nachiar" as a fiction because it is impossible to imagine that the daughter of Muhammad bin Tughluk practiced idol-worshipping. But they conveniently accepted the re-installation of the idol in Śrirangam after fifty nine and half years because it easily fits in their scheme of chronology. If the story of "Turukka Nachiyar" is a fiction then why the re-installation of the idol after fifty nine and half years cannot be a fiction?

6. There is another version of the attack on Śrirangam and how the Śrivaishnavas saved the idol of Ranganatha. Śri Mudumby Narasimhachary gave this account in his book "Śri Vedānta Deśika". Most probably, Ulugh Khan also attacked the city of Śrirangam. This barbarian and murderer Ulugh Khan massacred more than 12000 people, outraged women, desecrated the idols and plundered the city. All Śrivaishnavas united in this hour and overnight they raised a huge wall in the sanctum sanctorum concealing the reclining image of the lord Ranganatha in such a way that from outside nobody knew that there was a chamber behind the wall.

Śri Vedānta Deśika and the Author of "Śrutaprakāśikā"

There are two different historical accounts of Vedānta Deśika. According to *Koyil Olugu*, Vedānta Deśika left Śrirangam along with his two young sons and the manuscript of the commentary "*Śrutaprakāśikā*" on Śri Bhāṣya before the arrival of Turuṣkas. He reached Melkote or Tirunarayanapuram and taught his commentary "*Śrutaprakāśikā*" to many students there for years. When he heard that Gopanna brought the idol from Tirupati, Vedānta Deśika went back to Śrirangam and actively participated in the reinstallation of the idol of Ranganatha in Śaka 1293 (710 CE). He also authored the famous śloka "*ānīya nīlaśriṅgadyuti...*" in commemoration of the re-installation of the idol which can be seen even today in the inscription dated Śaka 1293 engraved on the east wall of the second prākāra of Ranganatha temple. It is evident that Vedānta Deśika was alive beyond Śaka 1293. According to some other sources, Vedānta Deśika (original name was Venkatanatha) was born in Kaliyuga 4370, i.e., Śakānta 1190 (1268 CE) and died at the age of 101 years in Kaliyuga 4471 (1369 CE). During the attack of Ulugh Khan, Venkatanatha or Vedānta Deśika saved himself by concealing himself among a heap of dead bodies on the street. Now the question is; If Vedānta Deśika died in 1369 CE, how he was alive in Śakānta 1293 (1371 CE)? Seemingly, Vedānta Deśika was a title. The Vedānta Deśika of the 7th century CE lived beyond Śaka 1293 (710 CE) whereas the Vedānta Deśika (Venkatanatha) of the 14th century CE died two years before Śakānta 1293 (1371 CE).

It may be noted that Sudarśana Bhaṭṭa was the author of the commentary of "*Śrutaprakāśikā*" on Śri Bhāṣya of Rāmānuja and lived in the 7th century whereas Sudarśana Sūri was the author of "*Śrutapradīpikā*" and lived in the 13th and 14th centuries. *Śrutaprakāśikā* is an elaborate commentary on Śri Bhāṣya of Rāmānuja whereas *Śrutapradīpikā* is a brief commentary on Śri Bhāṣya specifically written for dummies. Historians mistakenly considered them as one individual and concluded that Sudarśana Suri was the author of both commentaries. But the words used in the *Śrutapradīpikā* are quite different from those used in *Śrutaprakāśikā* in the same context and they bring about a change in meaning which does not fit in. Another notable feature in *Śrutapradīpikā* is that the discussion on the views of the Advaita and Bhedābheda systems of philosophy is completely avoided which regularly occurs at the end of every adhikaraṇa in *Śrutaprakāśikā*. *Śrutapradīpikā* adds another sutra "*Smaryate cha*" after "*Prāṇagateścha*" (III.1.3) which is missing from *Śrutaprakāśikā*. *Adhikaraṇa Sārāvalī* of Śri Vedānta Deśika (14th century) used the noun "*Vyāsāryaiḥ*" for the authors of *Śrutaprakāśikā* and *Śrutapradīpikā* in śloka 25 "*Vyāsāryair nyasi cha dviḥ Śrutamiti viśadam*" in plural form. Kumara Varadāchārya, a junior contemporary of Vedānta Deśika, elaborated in his "*Chintāmaṇi*" as "*Vyāsāryaiḥ = Śrutaprakāśikā-Śrutapradīpikā-nirmātāro Haritakulāchāryaiḥ*". Thus, Vedānta Deśika and Kumara Varadāchārya both used the plural form of noun as "*Vyāsāryaiḥ*" and "*Nirmātāro*" which unambiguously indicates that the authors of *Śrutaprakāśikā* and *Śrutapradīpikā* were two different personalities. Most probably, Sudharśana Bhaṭṭa was the Vedānta Deśika of the 7th century CE. Historians also considered Kuruttalvan and Śri Vatsāṅka Miśra to be same without any supporting evidence. Kuruttalvan was the direct disciple of Rāmānuja (356-456 CE) and the ancestor of Sudarśana Bhaṭṭa of the 7th century whereas Śri Vatsāṅka Mishra was the ancestor of Sudarśana Sūri of the 14th century.

Major Achievements of Bukka II

Bukka II posed a formidable challenge to the invasions of the Turuṣkas and did not allow them to cross Tuṅgabhadrā River. His son Kampana

uprooted Turuṣkas from Madurai. Thus, Bukka II established his authority in entire southern region starting from Krishna and Tuṅgabhadrā River. The Hemmige copper plates of Harihara II dated Śaka 1319 (736 CE) inform us that Bukka II defeated Bhidapati (most probably, the king of Beed, Maharashtra), Turuṣkas, Konkan, Andhra, Gurjara, Kamboja and Kaliṅga.[97] Muddapa was the military chief of Bukka II (*tasyābhavat Muddapa-dandanāthaḥ Śrimān amātyaḥ…*). Bukka II was referred to as "*Pūrva-Paśchima-Dakśiṇa-Samudrādhipati*", "*Hindu-Rāya-Suratrāṇa*", "*Mūru-Rāyara-Ganda*", "*Bhashatilamghi-bhūpāla-bhujaṅgama-vihaṅgarāṭ*", *Vaidika-mārga-pratiṣṭhāpanāchārya*" and "*Arirāya-Vibeda Bhāshige-Tappuva-Rāyara-Ganda*" etc.

Bukka II attained Śiva-Sāyujya (*Śiva-sāyujyam prāptasya mahārājādhirājasya Śri Vira Bukkarājasya*) in Śaka 1298 (715-716 CE), Nala Saṁvatsara on the first tithi (Pratipadā) of the dark fortnight of Phālguna month and Uttara Phālguni nakśatra as recorded in the inscriptions of Harihara II. The date regularly corresponds to 13th Feb 716 CE.

Inscriptions of Bukka II

Historians identified more than 150 inscriptions related to Bukka II but most of them belong to a later king of the 14th century also named as Vira Bukkanna. It may be noted that the inscriptions of the early kings of Vijayanagara dated in the Śaka era generally ended with the last line "*Śri Virūpākśa*" in Kannada script whereas the inscriptions of later kings of Vijayanagara ended with a line "*Maṅgala Mahā Śri …*".

Only the following two inscriptions belong to the time of Bukka II issued by Mādhavāṅka, a feudatory of Bukka II who was ruling at Vanavāsi. Interestingly, he mentions that Bukka II was ruling at Hastinavatipura which indicates that the city of Hastinavatipura was renamed as Hampi and Vijayanagara after Śaka 1290. Evidently, Hastinavati renamed as "Hampi" and Vijayanagara in commemoration of the great victory over the Turuṣkas of Madurai, Konkan, Kaliṅga etc, around Śaka 1292. The Helikere plates mention that Bukka named the city as "Vijayanagara" (*Vijitya viśvam Vijayābhidhānam viśvottaram yo nagarīm vyadhatta…*).

1.	Virabhadra Temple inscription[98]	Śaka 1290	*Pūrva-Paśchima-Samudrādhipati Śri Vira-Bukkarāyanu Hastināvatīpuradalli… Śrimatu Mahāpradhānam Mādhavāṅkanu Vanavāsīya…. Svasti Śri Jayābhyudaya Śaka Varusha 1290 neya Kilaka saṁvatsarada Vayiśākha ba 30 somavāra Sūryagrahaṇa saṅkrānti vyatipāta...* This inscription was found in Banavasi, Sirsi Taluk, Virabhadra Temple. Another Inscription of Bukka II also found in Banavasi, *Śrisi* Taluk. Madhukeshvara Temple which was dated *Śaka* 1290, *Āṣāḍha*, Śuddha 1, Sunday. If *Vaiśākha* bahula 30 was Monday than *Āṣāḍha* Śuddha 1 must be either Monday (a month of 28 days) or Tuesday (a month of 29 days) or Wednesday (a month of 30 days). It cannot be Sunday. Therefore, the month needs to be amended as *Āṣāḍha*. A solar eclipse occurred on 4th Jul 707 CE and saṅkrānti occurred on 23rd Jun 707 CE.
2.	Madhukeshvara Temple inscription[99]	Śaka 1290	1. *Svasti Śri Jayābhyudaya Śaka Varusha 1290 neya Kilaka saṁvatsarada Āṣāḍha Śu 1 Ādivāradalu…*

Harihara II (716-742 CE) [Śaka 1298-1325]

Harihara II, the son of Bukka II, succeeded his father in Śaka 1298 (716 CE). His mother was Gauri or Gaurāmbikā or Homnāyi or Śri Renukā. She was a scholar of various subjects *(Kalāsu yā kāmakaleva tanvī vidyāsu sarvāsvapi yā trayīva…*) and had a nickname as "Homnāyi" (*Prāṇeśvarī Bukka-maheśvarasya Homnāyi nāmnā bhuvi viśrutāsīd…*).[100] Harihara II ascended the throne on 13th Feb 716 CE and issued sixteen copper plate grants (*Ṣoḍaśa Mahādānadīkśitaḥ*). At present, only two copper plates (Hebasur and Krāku) are available today. Muddapa or Mudda continued

to be the military chief during the reign of Harihara II. The Belur plates dated Śaka 1304 (721 CE) give an interesting information that the several merchant guilds of many cities such as Vijayanagara, Dorasamudra, Mangaluru, Honnavura, Gutti, Huligere, Annigere, Chandragutti, Chadurangapattana, Barakuru, Kanchi, Padevidu, Araga etc., assembled in the temple of Virūpākśa and conferred on Harihara's Mahāpradhāna Mudda Daṅḍanāyaka the title of "*Prithvisetti*" and granted him a share of the tax income on several merchandise goods.[101] The Nagarasandra grant dated Śaka 1302 (719 CE) mentions that Channappa, the son of Mallappa, the younger brother of Harihara II fought against Turuṣkas who had been forcibly occupying the fort of Adavani and reconquered that region.[102]

The Alampudi plates dated Śaka 1305 (722 CE) inform us that Virūpākśa, the eldest son of Harihara I, subjugated the kings of Tundīra, Chola, Pāndya and Simhala.[103] Virūpākśa erected a Pillar in Śri Lanka in commemoration of his victory (*Simhala-dvīpa-Jayastambhasya…*). Thus, Vijayanagara Empire extended up to Śri Lanka by 722 CE. Interestingly, Virūpākśa was also a scholar and authored a Sanskrit drama "*Nārāyanīvilāsam*".[104] *Nārāyanīvilāsam* mentions that Virūpākśa was ruling over Karnata, Tundira, Chola and Pandya (*Karnata-Tundira-Chola-Pandya-mandalādhipateḥ…*). The Alampudi plates and *Nārāyanīvilāsam* mention that Virūpākśa's mother Malladevi was the daughter of the Devagiri Yādava King Rāmachandra or Rāmadeva (*Rāmadeva-kulāmbodhi-kamalāyām sa kīrtiman, Virūpākśamahīpālam Malladevyām ajījanat…. Pautro Bukka-narendrasya dauhitro Rāmabhūpateḥ…*).

Bukka II died in Śaka 1298. Therefore, he might have born around Śaka 1200. Thus, Bukka's sons, Kampana and Harihara II might have born in Śaka 1223 and Śaka 1225 respectively. Harihara II died around Śaka 1325. Therefore, he might have born around Śaka 1225. Now, we can assume that Harihara II married the daughter of Yādava King Rāmachandra around Śaka 1243 (660 CE) at the age of 18 years. According to epigraphic evidence, Yādava King Rāmachadra might have died by Śaka 1238 (655 CE) because his son Singhana was ruling in Śaka 1239 (656 CE). Malladevi, the daughter of Rāmachandra, would have been at least 10 years old by Śaka 1238 (655 CE). If we consider the chronology of

modern text books, Rāmachandra died in 1310 CE and the construction of Vijayanagara started in Śakānta 1258 (1336 CE) and the kingdom established around 1342 CE. If Bukka was just a treasury official of the Kākatīyas till 1336 CE, how his son Harihara II could marry the daughter of a great royal dynasty before 1336 CE? It is evident that the Saṅgama dynasty was already established at least 30 years before Śaka 1258.

The Doddatekalavatti inscription[105] dated Śaka 1306 (723 CE) mentions that Harihara's son Bukka III raided Orugallu or Warangal because the Turuṣkas attacked the army of Bukka III. At that time, Turuṣkas were holding the fort of Warangal. Sāluva Rāmadeva, the son of Sāluva Kayadeva died in this raid. The Belugula copper plates dated Śaka 1306 (723 CE) inform that Harihara II was ruling over Karnata, Kuntala, Konkan, Hausala (Hoyasala kingdom), Andhra, Chola, Pandya etc, (*Karnata-Kuntala-sa-Konkana-Hausala-andhra-Cholendra-Pāndya-jagatipati-mukhya-deśān । nirjitya yo yudhi ripun sa-samudra-śailān rakśatyatarkya-vibhavo jagati mahendraḥ ॥*).[106] Harihara's second son was Bukka III or Yimmadi Bukka. The Mulabagilu inscription dated Śaka 1311-1312 (728-729 CE) was issued by Yimmadi Bukka.

The inscriptions of Harihara II

		Śaka era (583 BCE)	**Details**
1.	Hebasur Copper Plates[107]	1298	Both grants were issued on 13th Feb 716 CE (Phālguna Krishna pratipadā and Uttara Phālguni nakśatra) after the death of Bukka II, the father of Harihara II.
2.	Kraaku Copper Plates	1298	
3.	Hulikere Plates[108]	1300	Kālayukta, Mārgaśirṣa Pūrṇimā, Lunar eclipse. The date regularly corresponds to 23rd Nov 717 CE.
4.	Homma inscription[109]	1302	Raudri Saṁvatsara.
5.	Nagasandra Inscription[110]	1302	Raudri Saṁvatsara, Mārgaśirṣa, śu 1.

6.	Belur Plates[111]	1304	Dundubhi Saṁvatsara, Kārttika, Bahula 10 Ādivāra.
7.	Ginival inscription[112]	1304	
8.	Alampudi Plates of Virupaksha[113]	1305	Raktākśi Saṁvatsara, Puṣya Saṅkrānti.
9.	Doddatekalavatti inscription	1306	Raktākśi Saṁvatsara, Śrāvaṇa, śu 12.
10.	Belugula Plates114(208)	1306	Raktākśi Saṁvatsara, Mārgaśirṣa, śu 12.
11.	Mulabagilu inscription115 (266)	1311-1312	
12.	Kamakshi temple inscription	1315	*Śaktyāloke Śakābde...* Śrimukha Saṁvatsarara, Āṣāḍha month, śu 10.
13.	Tavanandi Plates116 (232)	1317	Yuva Saṁvatsara, Māgha, śu 7.
14.	Chikka Kadaluru Plates117 (271)	1318	Dhātu saṁvatsara, Śrāvaṇa, Lunar eclipse. The date regularly corresponds to 9th Jul 735 CE. The date is irregular in the Śakānta era.
15.	Belur inscription118 (276)	1319	Iśvara Saṁvatsara, Śrāvaṇa, śu 3.
16.	Hemmige Plates119 (283)	1319	Iśvara Saṁvatsara, Kārttika, śu 12.
17.	Hale Aluru inscription120 (322)	1325	*Śaka-nṛpa-kāla-saṁvatsaram gateṣu 1325 ne sanda Svabhānu Saṁvatsara Kārttika śu 5 Guruvāradandu.*
18.	Śringeri Plates121 (316) A copy of the original plates.	1325	Chitrabhānu Saṁvatsara, Vaiśākha, ba 1.

Virūpākśa Rāya (742-744 CE) [Śaka 1325-1327]

Harihara II had at least three sons, Virūpākśa Rāya, Bukka or Bukkanna Rāya and Devarāya I. One inscription mentions Chikka Rāya, the son of

Harihara but he was the son of later King Harihara of the Śakānta era. After the death of King Harihara II, Virūpākśa Rāya ascended the throne. The following two inscriptions dated Śaka 1326 & 1327 were issued during the reign of Virūpākśa Rāya.

		Śaka era (583 BCE)	**Details**
1.	Araga Inscription[122]	1326	Tāraṇa Saṁvatsara, Kārttika, ba 9, Monday. This inscription registers a gift by Vitthanna, son of the amātya Bommanna who was the elder son of Rāyappa. It refers to the currency as "12 homnu", "24 homnu" & "12 ttu homnu". A village "Murivari" renamed Chaudeśvari Puri.
2.	Amdigere Inscription[123]	1327	Vitthanna was governing the Araga Rājya. Tāraṇa, Mārgaśirṣa, ba 13 Saturday. Svabhānu, Kārttika, śu 15, Monday. Svabhānu, Phālguna, ba 5, Sunday.

Historians mistakenly assumed that Virūpākśa Rāya never did really rule, though he appears to have put forward his claim. But the above mentioned two inscriptions unambiguously inform us that Virūpākśa Rāya was ruling in Vijayanagara (*Śriman Mahārājādhirāja…. Hariharamahārāyara kumāra Virūpākśa-mahārāyaru Vijayanagariyalu…*).

Bukka III or Bukkanna Rāya (744-746 CE) [Śaka 1327-1329]

Bukka Rāya III, the son of King Harihara II, succeeded his elder brother Virūpākśa Rāya. The following inscriptions were issued during the reign of Bukka Rāya III.

		Śaka era (583 BCE)	**Details**
1.	Araga Inscription[124]	1327	Pārthiva Saṁvatsara, Śrāvaṇa, śu 1. This inscription mentions Virappa, son of Brahmarāja born in the dynasty of Samkappa- Rāyappa

			(*Samkappa-Rāyappānvaya Brahmarāja-vara-kumāra Virappa-Odheyaru Aragada Rājyavanu…*).
2.	Kesare Inscription[125]	1328	Vitthanna was governing the Araga Rajya. Śri Narasimha Bhāratī was the Śaṅkarāchārya of Śringeri.
3.	Vaderahobli Inscription[126]	1328	Pārthiva, Phālguna, śu 10, Monday. Bachanna was the governor of Bārakura. Śri Narasimha Bhāratī was the Śaṅkarāchārya of Śringeri.
4.	Vaidyanathapura Inscription[127]	1328 (elapsed)	Vyaya, Jyeṣṭha, śu 5, Thursday.
5.	Mudabidure Inscription[128]	1329 (current)	Vyaya, Bhādrapada, śu 10, Wednesday. Jommaya Danḍanāyaka was the minister. Bachappa odeyaru was in Mangaluru.
6.	Perduru Inscription[129]	1328 (elapsed)	Vyaya, Bhādrapada, śu 10, Wednesday. Śrimatu Goveya Bachappa was in Bārakura Rajya. Śri Narasimha Bhāratī was the Śaṅkarāchārya of Śringeri and 170 gadyanas given to Pustaka Bhandara of Śrigeri Math. It also mentions Śringeriya Puranika Kavi Krushna Bhatta.
7.	Devarakodige Inscription[130]	1329 (Current)	Virupanna was in Araga Rajya.

Deva Rāya I (746-762 CE) [Śaka 1329-1345]

The Handinakere inscription tells us that Deva Rāya I ascended the throne of Vijayanagara in Śaka 1328 , Vyaya Saṁvatsara and on the 10th tithi of the dark fortnight of Kārttika month, Uttara Bhādrapada nakśatra, Prīti yoga, Bhava Karaṇa and Friday. This date regularly corresponds to 12/13 Nov 746 CE. The nakśatra must be Uttara Phālguni and not Uttara

Bhādrapada. Though he was coronated in Vijayanagara on 13th Nov 746 CE but he reigned as viceroy in Penugonda when Virūpākśa Rāya and Bukka Rāya III was ruling in Vijayanagara.

Devarāya mentions that Harihara II ruled over a vast kingdom (*Ambhodhi-parikhām prithvīm Śāsako nagarīm iva*). Interestingly, the Manipura inscription tells us that Devarāya granted a piece of land as compensation to the family of Hasabu-moyali because his solders unjustly killed a person called Hasabu-moyali. The following inscriptions were issued during the reign of Deva Rāya I.

		Śaka era (583 BCE)	**Details**
1.	Tamballapalle Inscription[131] (found in Chittor of Andhra Pradesh).	1326 & 1327	Pārthiva Saṁvatsara, Āṣāḍha, śu 1, Sunday. Tāraṇa, Kārttika, śu 1. Deva Rāya I was ruling in Penukonda. It refers to Mayilappa.
2.	Araga Inscription[132] (Shivamogga District)	1327	Pārthiva, Dvitīya Āṣāḍha, śu 11, Budhavāra. Devarāya was ruling in Vijayanagara. Vithanna was the governor of Araga Rajya.
3.	Handinakere Inscription[133]	1328 (elapsed)	*Dattavān Devarāyarāt । Śri Jayābhyudaya-Śaka Varṣa 1328 varttamāna Vyaya Saṁvatsare Kārttika māse Krishna-pakśe daśamyām Śukravāre Uttarabhādrapade Prīti-yoge Bhava Karaṇe evem viṣte Śhubha kāle… Pattābhiṣeka samaye... Devarāyapuram nāmāgrahāram…*
4.	Kudli Inscription[134]	1330	Sarvadhāri, Phālguna, Śu. Vitthana was in Araga Rājya. A grant of 15 gadyanas to Venkanna Upādhyāya of the Rāmanāthadeva temple of Kudli.
5.	Manipura Inscription[135]	1330 elapsed	Sarvajit, Jyeṣṭha, Śu. Mahāpradhāna Bachanna was in the Bārakuru Rajya.

6.	Hampi Inscription[136]	1332	Virodhi, Phālguna. It mentions Lakśmīdhara, the minister of Devarāya.
7.	Magalu Inscription[137]	1337	Manmatha, Māgha, śu 10, Sunday and lunar eclipse. The date regularly corresponds to 13th Jan 754 CE. This cannot be explained in the Śakānta era. Śri Chandra Shekhara Bhāratī was the Śaṅkarāchārya of Śringeri.
8.	Mugulagere Inscription[138]	1341	Vikāri, Puṣya ba 30, solar eclipse. (Most probably, the date was 7th Oct 758 CE. Obviously, there is an error in recording of the month. This eclipse cannot be explained in the Śakānta era also. Actually, no eclipse occurred in Puṣya month anywhere in the world either in the Śaka era or in the Śakānta era.). Bachanna's younger brother Mahāpradhāni Mallappa was the governor of Gutti Rājya.
9.	Araga Inscription[139]	1344	Śobhakrit, Māgha ba 14, Monday and Śivarātri. Sirigirinātha was in Araga Rajya.
10.	Balligave Inscription[140]	1344	Śubhakrit, Āśvija, śu 5, Sunday. It mentions Vijaya Rāya, son of Deva Rāya.

The Maralugadde inscription[141] of Devarāya is dated Śaka 1539. Historians assumed that the date is obviously wrong. But we should not identify him as Devarāya I. Possibly, he was a later Vijayanagara king who might have reigned in the city of Hastināvati around Śaka 1539 (956 CE) considering the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE). His minister or Pradhāna was Yirugappa odeyaru who was governing Gove including Chandragutti. Most probably, Yirugappa was the descendant of Baichanna, the minister of Devarāya I.

Historians are still puzzled to fix a date of the death of Devarāya. Three inscriptions[142] dated Śakānta 1344 (1422 CE) mention Harihara, the son of Devarāya. These three inscriptions were issued on the same date, i.e., Śubhakrit, Śrāvaṇa, śu 15, lunar eclipse, i.e., 12th Aug 1422 CE. The Somahalli inscription[143] clearly tells us that Devarāya died either on 12th Aug 1422 CE or before because Harihara, the son of Devarāya made this grant so that his father may attain "Puṇyaloka". Since historians consider all inscriptions in the Śakānta era, they could not solve this puzzle till date. In fact, the Araga inscription[144] tells us that Devarāya I was ruling in Śaka 1345, Śobhakrit, Māgha ba 14 which means Devarāya I was undoubtedly ruling beyond 12th Aug 1422 CE. Historians also puzzled that how Harihara Rāya ascended the throne when Vijayarāya, the son of Devarāya I was ruling at the same time. If we consider the epochs of the Śaka and the Śakānta eras are not identical, these puzzles can be easily solved. Vijayarāya was the son of Devarāya (Śaka 1329-1345, i.e., 746-762 CE) whereas Harihara was the son of another Devarāya who reigned in the beginning of the 15th century. Devarāya, father of Vijaya Rāya died in Śaka 1345 whereas Devarāya, father of Harihara died on or before Śakānta 1344 (12th Aug 1422 CE).

Rāmachandra Rāya (762-763 CE) [Śaka 1345]

The Kutturu inscription dated Śaka 1345 informs us that Rāmachandra Rāya was the reigning king and Harideva was his governor in Bārakura Rajya. No further information is available. A manuscript named Virappayya's *Kālajñāna* mentions that Rāmachandra Rāya reigned for one year.[145] The Gorantla plates[146] dated Śaka 1339 inform us that Rāmachandra Rāya was the son of Devarāya I and his wife was Bukkāmbikā, the daughter of Rudradeva, the king of Aubhala or Ahobala (*Sā Rudradevaubhala-rājaputrī Bukkāmbikā … Śri-Rāmachandra-nripa-mānasa-rājahamsī*). The Gorantla grant says that Rāmachandra was ruling in Andhradeśa near Hindupur, Anantapur (*Devarāya-jagatīpateḥ pituḥ Śāsanāt sa niragāt sasainikaḥ Andhra-deśamabhi…*).

Vijaya Rāya or Vijaya Bhūpati Rāya or Vijaya Bukka Rāya (763-764 CE) [Śaka 1345-1346]

Vijaya Rāya ascended the throne in Śaka 1345 elapsed (762 CE). His rule was limited to very short period. The following inscriptions were issued

during the reign of Vijaya Bukka Rāya I.

		Śaka era (583 BCE)	Details
1.	Kadri Inscription[147]	1345 elapsed	Śobhakrit, Chaitra, śu 1 Sunday. Mahāpradhāna Baicheya Danḍanāyaka is mentioned. Nāgamna was the governor of Mangaluru.
2.	Saraguru Inscription[148]	1346 current	Śobhakrit, Vaiśākha, śu 13, Thursday. Mahāpradhāna Baicheya Danḍanāyaka is mentioned. Nagamna was the governor of Hoysala Rājya. It refers to Śri Gummata-natha svāmi of Shravanabelgola.
3.	Haduvalli Inscription[149]	1345 elapsed	Śobhakrit, Śrāvaṇa, Krishna trayodaśi, Budhavāra.
4.	Kaikini Inscription[150]	1345 elapsed	Śobhakrit, Śrāvaṇa, Krishna Amāvāsyā, Budhavāra.
5.	Kadri Inscription[151]	1345 elapsed	Śobhakrit, Phālguna, śu 5, Monday. Nagamna was the governor of Mangaluru.

Pratāpa Deva Rāya or Deva Rāya II (763-783 CE) [Śaka 1346-1366]
Deva Rāya II, the son of Vijaya Bukka Rāya, succeeded him. There is an inscription which states that Deva Rāya was the son of Harihara. Historians simply brushed aside it as a mistake. But in reality, the inscriptions of Deva Rāya II, the son of Vijaya Bukka Rāya were dated in the Śaka era whereas the inscriptions of Deva Rāya, the son of Harihara, were dated in the Śakānta era.

The Sajjaluru inscription mentions that Pratāpa Deva Rāya succeeded his elder brother (*Nijāgrajāt prāptam anādi rājyam…*). The following inscriptions were issued during the reign of Deva Rāya II.

		Śaka era (583 BCE)	**Details**
1.	Tirthahalli Inscription[152]	1346 elapsed (763-764 CE)	Śubhakrit, Chaitra, śu 1, Sunday. A solar eclipse occurred later on 4th Jun 764 BCE. Sirigirinatha was the governor of Araga Rajya.
2.	Harihara Inscription[153]	1346 elapsed	Krodhi, Kārttika śu 12, Monday. Vira Pratāparāya Bukkarājara kumāra Vira Pratāpa Devarāya, Mahāpradhāna Nagamna Daṇḍanāyaka, Bullarāja and Chāmarāja, son of Boppadeva are mentioned in this inscription.
3.	Kotakeri Inscription[154]	1347	Krodhi, Phālguna, śu 15. Narasimhadeva was the governor of Bārakuru.
4.	Bhandigade Inscription[155]	1350	Plavaṅga, Chaitra, śu 1. Sirigirinatha was the governor of Araga Rājya.
5.	Śrirangapattan Inscription[156]	1352	Sādhāraṇa, Kārttika, śu 12. It Refers to Pratāpadevarāyapuram agrahāra.
6.	Basrur Inscription[157]	1366	Raktākśi, Puṣya śu 5, Monday. Timmanna was the governor of Bārakura

Vira Rāya or Vira Devarāya or Vijaya Rāya (783-787 CE) [Śaka 1366-1370]
Most probably, Vira Rāya or Vira Devarāya reigned for 4 years after Deva Rāya II. A manuscript named Virappayya's *Kālajñāna* mentions that Vira Rāya reigned for four years.[158] The Uppunda inscription[159] dated Śaka 1369 tells us that Vira Devarāya was ruling in Vijayanagara and his minister or Mahāpradhāna was Acharasa.

Mallikārjuna Rāya or Yimmadi Deva Rāya (787-807 CE) [Śaka 1370-1390]
Mallikārjuna Rāya, the son of Deva Rāya II, ascended the throne in Śaka 1370 (787 CE). He was also popularly referred to as Yimmadi Deva Rāya.

It seems that the gold coin named "Varāha" came into use during the reign of Mallikārjuna Rāya. In fact, his minister Timmanna was referred to as Śrivaishnava and Parama Bhāgavata in the Melukote inscription. The Melukote inscription also refers to the gold coin Varāha for the first time. The following inscriptions were issued during the reign of Mallikārjuna Rāya.

		Śaka era (583 BCE)	**Details**
1.	Śrirangapattana Inscription[160]	1370	Prabhava, Mārgaśirṣa, śu 12.
2.	Holemarur Inscription[161]	1371	Vibhava, Mārgaśirṣa ba. It mentions Lingappa odeyaru.
3.	Baindur Inscription[162]	1371 elapsed	Śukla, Chaitra, śu 10, Thursday. It mentions Devappa Daṇḍanāyaka.
4.	Basrur Inscription[163]	1373	Pramoda, Vaiśākha, śu 13 Friday. Lingappa was the governor of Bārakuru Rājya.
5.	Nelamane Inscription[164]	1380	Bahudhānya, Mārgaśirṣa, ba 12, Saturday. Timmanna Daṇḍanāyaka was the minister.
6.	Melukote Inscription[165]	1380	Bahudhānya, Mārgaśirṣa, ba 12, Saturday. Timmanna Daṇḍanāyaka was the minister.

Rajaśekhara Rāya II (807 CE) [Śaka 1390]

Rajaśekhara Rāya reigned in Vijayanagara for very short period and probably for 6 months as mentioned in Virappayya's Kālajñāna. Only one inscription of Rajaśekhara Rāya dated Śaka 1390 is found till date.[166] Most probably, Rajaśekhara Rāya was the second son of Deva Rāya II.

Virūpākśa Rāya II (807-823 CE) [Śaka 1390-1406]

The Sajjaluru copper plates clearly inform us that Virūpākśa Rāya was the son of Prauḍha Pratāpa Rāya or Deva Rāya II. The Kaikini inscription

mentions that Virūpākśa Rāya was the son of Pratāpa Yimmadi Deva Rāya. Historians concluded that Virūpākśa Rāya was the son of Mallikārjuna Rāya because he was popularly referred to as Yimmadi Deva Rāya. Virūpākśa Rāya was the author of the Sajjaluru plates whereas the Kaikini inscription was issued by the Jain governors of Virūpākśa Rāya. We must consider the Sajjaluru grant as most authentic because it was issued by Virūpākśa Rāya. Most probably, the Kaikini inscription used the title "Yimmadi" for Deva Rāya II.

Virūpākśa Rāya appointed Devarasa, the son-in-law of Sāluva Mallirāja as governor of Nagire, Tulu and Haive regions. Ranagabhi-nāyaka, the son of Aju-nāyaka was in charge of Haive under Devarasa. During Śaka 1404 (821 CE), Goa was under the control of Kesari Khan, the Sultan of Bidar. Kesari Khan appointed Nizamuddin ul Mulk as governor of Goa. Two Kaikini inscriptions dated Śaka 1404 (821 CE) inform us that the Turuṣka army attacked Haive and captured Gabhi Nāyaka and Devu Nāyaka. The army of Vijayanagara fought valiantly killing many Turuṣka solders. Ranagabhi-nāyaka pierced the horse of Kesari Khan but unfortunately he died on 26th Mar 821 CE at noon.

The following inscriptions were issued during the reign of Virūpākśa Rāya II.

		Śaka era (583 BCE)	**Details**
1.	Mysore Inscription[167]	1390 elapsed	Sarvajitu, Phālguna, śu 15. The Varāha coins are found mentioned in this inscription. Timmanna Daṇḍanāyaka is referred to as Abhinava Kulaśekhara.
2.	Melkote Inscription[168]	1395	Virodhi, Āśvayuja ba. Narayanadeva has been mentioned as the first disciple of Śri Rāmānujāchārya.
3.	Kaikini Inscription[169]	1394	Khara, Āśvayuja, śu 5, Tuesday. (*Yimmadi Devarāya-odeyara kumāraru Śri Virūpākśarāyaru...*)

			Bhairavadeva and Maliraya were governing Nagire and Honnavara Rājya. Indradeva was governing Haduvalli Rājya.
4.	Madivala Inscription[170]	1393 elapsed.	Khara, Puṣya ba 30, solar eclipse. The date regularly corresponds to 30th Nov 810 CE. It mentions Sāluva Iśvara Nāyaka and Sāluva Narasimha.
5.	Sujjaluru Inscription[171]	1396	Vijaya, Puṣya, śu 10, Thursday, Makarasaṅkrānti. (*Namastasmai Varāhāya yad-daṅṣṭrānala mūrdhani, Saptadvīpavati Prithvi-lilasrag iva driśyate ॥ Pratāpa Deva Rāya.... Nijāgrājat Prāptam anādi-rājya…Tasya Simhaladevī iti Bhāryā... Tasyam Śivaḥ pradurabhud… Śālivāhana nirṇīta Śaka varṣa kramāgate…*)
6.	Kaikini Inscription[172]	1404	Plava, Chaitra ba 4, Monday. (*Jambūdvīpa Bhārata-kśetra Āryakhanda pariveṣti... Pratipanna Karnataka-.. Sāluva Mallirājendran Āliya Devarasa vodeyaru Nagiru Tulu-Hayive Rājyavam… Bedireya Suratrāṇa Gopradhana Kesari Khana Goveyanaluta yida Nijamudin Maluka aneka vajiralu sahavagi Goveya Mukhadim dandetti bandu Midijeyalli …*)
7.	Kaikini Inscription[173]	1406	*Sāluva Rājendran Āliya Devarasa odeyar…*

Thus, total thirteen kings of the Saṅgama dynasty reigned over Vijayanagara Empire. Interestingly, the manuscripts of *Vidyāraṇya*

Kālajñāna, *Keladi-Nripa-Vijaya* and Virappayya's *Kālajñāna* recorded the names of thirteen kings in abbreviation as Ha, Bu, Ha, Vi, Bu, De, Ra, Vi, De, Vi, Ma, Ra and Vi. These manuscripts also accurately state that these thirteen kings reigned for about 150 to 155 years.[174]

The Chronology of Saṅgama Dynasty

	Saṅgama Dynasty		**Śaka era (583 BCE)**	**In CE**
	Hakka & Bukka I			
	Saṅgama			
1.	Harihara I	Ha	1241-1258	658-675 CE
			1258-1269	675-687 CE
2.	Bukka Rāya II	Bu	1270-1298	688-716 CE
3.	Harihara II	Ha	1298-1325	716-742 CE
4.	Virūpākśa Rāya I	Vi	1325-1327	742-744 CE
5.	Bukka Rāya III	Bu	1327-1329	744-746 CE
6.	Deva Rāya I	De	1329-1345	746-762 CE
7.	Rāmachandra Rāya	Ra	1345	762-763 CE
8.	Vijaya Bhūpati Rāya	Vi	1345-1346	763-764 CE
9.	Deva Rāya II	De	1346-1366	763-783 CE
10.	Vira Vijaya Rāya	Vi	1366-1370	783-787 CE
11.	Mallikārjuna Rāya	Ma	1370-1390	787-807 CE
12.	Rajaśekhara Rāya	Ra	1390	807 CE
13.	Virūpākśa Rāya II	Vi	1390-1406	807-823 CE

The Saluva Dynasty (823-843 CE)

Seemingly, the political conditions in Vijayanagara Empire were delicate & volatile after the reign of Virūpākśa Rāya II. Sāluva Narasimha effectively controlled the unruly elements and founded the rule of Sāluva dynasty in Śaka 1406 (823 CE).

		In CE
1	Sāluva Narasimha	823-830 CE
2	Immadi Narasimha	830-841 CE

The Tuluva Dynasty (841-910 CE)

The Tuluva dynasty was also a branch of the Turvasu dynasty. The Kalahasti temple inscription[175] gives the genealogy of Tuluvas starting from Atri, Chandra, Budha, Purūravas, Nahuṣa, Yayāti and Turvasu. Timma Bhūpati, a descendant of Turvasu was the founder of the Tuluva dynasty. Timma's son Narasa Nāyaka had two wives, Tippāji and Nāgalādevi. Vira Narasimha was born to Tippāji and Krishnadeva Rāya was born to Nāgalādevi (Nāgāmbikā). Krishnadeva Rāya was the greatest King of the Tuluva dynasty. According to "*Rāyavāchakamu*", Vira Narasimha himself instructed his ministers to make necessary arrangements for crowning of Krishnadeva Rāya.

Krishnadeva Rāya I (841-868 CE)

Krishnadeva Rāya was the contemporary of Gajapati King Pratāparudradeva (829-849 CE). He defeated him and captured the fort of Udayagiri. Krishnadeva Rāya had eight court poets famously known as Aṣṭadiggajas. The Tippaluru inscription[176] states that the village Tippaluru was the agrahāra granted by King Krishnadeva Raya, to the Aṣṭadiggaja-kavishvaras. The following were the Aṣṭadiggajas.

1. Allasāni Peddanna
2. Nandi Timmanna
3. Dhūrjati
4. Tenāli Rāmaliṅga
5. Bhattumūrti
6. Piṅgali Sūranna
7. Madayagari Mallanna
8. Ayyalaraju Rāmabhadra

Interestingly, an inscription of Warangal[177] dated Śaka 1426 (843 CE) mentions the reigning King Chittapa Khan who was the contemporary of Vijayanagara King Krishnadeva Rāya I. He belonged to Bhoga Vaṁśa and had two wives, Devāmbikā and Anumāmbā. He had a son named Avadhūta Khan. The inscription mentions that Chittapa Khan was like a king of Vikramāditya and he granted many lands to the agrahāras of Brahmanas and followed the tenets of Hemādri's Dānakhanda. Historians

completely distorted the account of Chittapa Khan and concocted that he was the Hindu King Sitapati Raju of Khammam who was the contemporary of Kutub Shah of Golconda.

The chronology of Tuluva kings:

		In CE
1.	Timma Bhūpati	
2.	Narasa Nāyaka	
3.	Vira Narasimha	
4.	Krishnadeva Rāya	841-874 CE

According to *Tazkiratul Muluk* of Rafiuddin Shirazi, Krishnadeva Raya ascended the throne in Hijrah 908 and reigned for 34 years. He tells us that Shivray sat on the throne of Vijayanagar in Hijrah 860 and ruled for 8 years. Shivray reached to the lowest position in Hijrah 868 and handed over country and wealth to Achyutray. Thus, Achyutray sat on the throne and ruled for 40 years. He died in Hijrah 908.[178] Thereafter; Krishnadeva Rāya ruled for 34 years and died, leaving behind a son, aged one year. Timraj, the minister of Krishnadeva Raya crowned the minor. Ramraj took the reins of Vijayanagar in Hijrah 942.

Krishnadeva Raya started constructing a dam over Tuṅgabhadrā River which was completed by Ramraj. The battle of Tallikota brought the downfall of Vijayanagara Empire around 896 CE and the city was destroyed by Bijapur King Adil Shah around Hijrah 962-963. Considering the epoch of the Hijrah era in 39 BCE, the chronology of Vijayanagar kings can be arrived at as:

		In Hijrah era	**In CE**
1.	Shivrāya (8 years)	860-868	793-801 CE
2.	Achyutarāya (40 years)	868-908	801-841 CE
3.	Krishnadeva Rāya (34 years)	908-941	841-874 CE
4.	Son of Krishnadeva Rāya	941	874 CE
5.	Rāmraja	942-963	875-896 CE

Interestingly, an inscription of Krishnadeva Rāya is dated Śaka 1412 [*Netrendu-veda-bhū-saṅkhyāgaṇite (1412) Śakajanmanā Sādhāraṇābde*

Vaiśākhyām Krishnaveṇī sarittate…]. This inscription refers to Vibudhendra Yatindra of Vaishnava Siddhānta. The date of Śaka 1412 appears to be too early for Krishnadeva Rāya. The confusion between the epochs of Śaka (583 BCE) and Śakānta (78 CE) also complicates the chronology of Vijayanagara kings. There is pressing need for further research to segregate the inscriptions of Vijayanagara rulers into the Śaka era (583 BCE) and the Śakānta era (78 CE) so that an accurate chronology can be established.

The Date of Vallabhāchārya

Vallabhāchārya, the Śuddhādvaita philosopher, was a son of Lakshman Bhatt and Ellamma (a Telugu Brahmana family). His philosophy differs from that of Rāmānujāchārya and Mādhavāchārya. He was born in Kārttikādi Vikrama 1536 (817 CE) and died in 1588 (869 CE). He visited the court of Vijayanagara King Krishnadeva Rāya. Interestingly, a debate between Vaishnavas and Śaivas was in progress when Vallabhāchārya visited. Śaivas have almost won the debate but Vallabhāchārya intervened and won the debate in favour of Vaishnavas. Krishnadeva Rāya I became extremely impressed with the knowledge of Vallabhāchārya and requested him to sit on the Ratnasimhāsana of Vijayanagara. The king offered huge sum of gold coins but he accepted only five coins to respect the feelings of the King.

Vallabhāchārya had two sons, Gopinātha and Vitthalanātha. After the death of Vallabhāchārya, Mughal King of Dilli decided that the elder son Gopinātha will head the Math. But unfortunately, Gopinātha died. Therefore, Vitthalanātha became the successor of Vallabhāchārya. Vallabhāchārya lived most of his life in Varanasi and Vrindavan. Since he was the contemporary of Krishnadeva Rāya, the dates of Vallabhāchārya must be calculated in the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE). Thus, Vallabhāchārya lived around 817-869 CE. Historians calculated the date of Vallabhāchārya in Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE) and concluded that Vallabhāchārya lived around 1479-1531 CE.

The Araviti or Aravidu dynasty (896-990 CE)

After the fall of the city of Vijayanagara around 896 CE, the Kings of Araviti dynasty founded their kingdom. Penukonda was their new capital.

The genealogy of Araviti kings:

1. Aliya Rāmarāya
2. Tirumala Deva Rāya
3. Śriraṅga Deva Rāya
4. Venkatapati Deva Rāya
5. Śriraṅga II
6. Rāma Deva Rāya
7. Venkata Rāya
8. Śriraṅga III

According to traditional vaṁśāvali, the Araviti kings reigned for ~510 years. James Princep gives the following list of Araviti kings:

		Regnal years	**In CE**
1.	Śri Ranga	25	990-1500 CE
2.	Viranarayana	23	
3.	Wobala	21	
4.	Siruvayanagada	22	
5.	Pirungel Endia	15	
6.	Chandra Gopala	32	
7.	Narasimha	13	
8.	Chambuli	15	
9.	Bachan	22	
10.	Vira Narasimha	12	
11.	Narasimha	8	
12.	Duia	12	
13.	Śri Pandia	9	
14.	Vasudeva	12	
15.	Siri Virindi	15	
16.	Achyuta Deva	14	
17.	Raja Visia Bhujanga	12	
18.	Saluva Narayana	10	
19.	Pritivadi Bachukera Sadicum	87	

20.	Urichandi Pratāpa Rudra	58 or 54
21.	Anna Pemma	77

The Study of the Inscriptions of Sāluva, Tuluva and Araviti Kings

The critical study of the inscriptions of the Sāluva, Tuluva and Araviti kings reveals that there are numerous discrepancies in the chronology. All these discrepancies can be satisfactorily explained if we consider the two different epochs of the Śaka and the Śakānta eras.

i. The Jyotipura inscription[179] of Sāluva Narasimha is dated Śakānta 1457 (1507 CE). Evidently, a later king named Sāluva Narasimha was ruling in Hosakote, Bangalore around 1507 CE.

ii. Two Gamdragollipura inscriptions[180] of Vira Narasimha are dated Śakānta 1464 and Śaka 1484. These dates are far too late for Vira Narasimha.

iii. The Hotteganahosahalli inscription[181] of Krishnadeva Rāya is dated Śaka 1635. This date is far too late for Krishnadeva Rāya.

iv. The Triyambakapura inscription dated Śakānta 1435 refers to Sāluva Govindarāja and King Vira Krishnarāya. The Tadimālingi inscription dated Śakānta 1435 and Kaliyuga 4614 refers to King Vira Mahārāya.[182]

v. The Erammanahalli inscription[183] of Achyutarāya is dated Śakānta 1542. This date is too late for Achyutarāya.

vi. The Dāsarahalli inscription[184] of Achyutarāya is dated Śakānta 1412. This date is too early for Achyutarāya.

vii. The Muguru inscription[185] of Achyutarāya is dated Śakānta 1517. This date is too late for Achyutarāya.

viii. The Kaggala inscription[186] of Achyutarāya is dated in Śakānta 1480. This date is too late for Achyutarāya.

ix. The Binnamangala inscription[187] of Venkatapatirāya is dated Śakānta 1457. This date is too early for Venkatapatirāya.

x. The Punganur inscription[188] of Venkatapatirāya is dated (Śaka?) Kaliyuga 4565 (1464 CE). This date is too early for Venkatapatirāya.

xi. The Basavāni inscription[189] of Sadāśivarāya is dated Śaka 1329/1330. This date is too early for Sadāśivarāya.

xii. The Budideru inscription[190] of Sadāśivarāya is dated Śakānta 1446. This date is too early for Sadāśivarāya.

xiii. The Bairakuru inscription[191] of Sadāśivarāya is dated Śakānta 1449. This date is too early for Sadāśivarāya.

xiv. The Avutugomdahalli inscription[192] of Sadāśivarāya is dated Śakānta 1558. This date is too late for Sadāśivarāya.

xv The Tadakavāgulu inscription[193] of Sadāśivarāya is dated Śakānta 1514. This date is too late for Sadāśivarāya.

xvi. The Gangasandra inscription[194] of Sadāśivarāya is dated Śakānta 1422. This date is too early for Sadāśivarāya.

xvii. The Tamaka inscription[195] of Sadāśivarāya is dated Śakānta 1048. This date is too early for Sadāśivarāya.

xviii. The Malavalli inscription[196] of Sadāśivarāya is dated Śakānta 1381. This date is too early for Sadāśivarāya.

xix. The Kodlapura inscription[197] of Sadāśivarāya is dated Śakānta 1427. This date is too early for Sadāśivarāya.

xx. The Mudakeri inscription[198] of Sadāśivarāya is dated Śakānta 1507. This date is too late for Sadāśivarāya.

xxi. The Surali inscription[199] of Sadāśivarāya is dated Śakānta 1427. This date is too early for Sadāśivarāya. This inscription refers to a lunar eclipse that occurred on Jyeṣṭha Pūrṇimā, Maṅgalavāra. A total lunar eclipse occurred on 22 May 1407 CE.

xxii. The Kunchepalli inscription[200] of Śriraṅgarāya is dated Śakānta 1407. This date is too early for Śriraṅgarāya. Interestingly, this inscription mentions that Śriraṅgarāya ruled from Vidyānagara.

xxiii. The Śrimushnam inscription[201] of Venkatapatirāya is dated Śakānta 1603. This date is too late for Venkatapatirāya.

xxiv. The Gudipādu inscription[202] of Venkatapatirāya is dated Śakānta 1624. This date is too late for Venkatapatirāya.

xxv. The Muttegere inscription[203] of Rāmadevarāya is dated Śakānta 1155. This date is too early for Rāmadevarāya.

Evidently, there are numerous inscriptions of Vijayanagara rulers which cannot be satisfactorily explained in the chronology. A comparative study of the content of these inscriptions with reference to the epochs

of Śaka (583 BCE) and Śakānta (78 CE) eras may unravel the true and accurate chronology of later Vijayanagara rulers. Possibly, there may be a few scribal errors in the inscriptions but all of them cannot be brushed aside as scribal errors as assumed by historians. I have roughly arrived at the following chronology of later Vijayanagara kings based on epigraphic evidence.

	Later Vijayanagara kings	**Dates mentioned in the inscriptions**	**In CE**
1.	Devarāya	Śaka 1567	984 CE
2.	Krishnadeva Rāya	Śaka 1635	1052 CE
3.	Bukka Bhūpati Rāya	Śakānta 1004 & 1005	1082 CE
4.	Harihara Rāya	Śakānta 1009	1087 CE
5.	Bukka Mahārāya, son of Harihara Rāya	Śakānta 1026	1104 CE
6.	Sadāśiva Rāya	Śakānta 1048	1126 CE
7.	Purandara Rāya	Śakānta 1073	1151 CE
8.	Pratāpa Deva Rāya	Śakānta 1129 & 1149	1207-1227 CE
9.	Rāmadeva Rāya	Śakānta 1155	1233 CE
10.	Pratāpa Venkata Rāya	Śakānta 1164	1242 CE
11.	Bukka Bhūpati Rāya	Śakānta 1173	1251 CE
12.	Harihara Rāya	Śakānta 1183 & 1200	1260 CE
13.	Vira Bikkanna	Śakānta 1202 & 1207	1280-1285 CE
14.	Yuvarāja Kumāra Kampana	Śakānta 1207	1285 CE
15.	Bukka Rāya, Deva Rāya, Gundamma Rāya, Śaṅkara Rāya, Ambhoja Rāya, Harihara Rāya	Śakānta 1212, 1216, 1217 & 1221	1290-1299 CE
16.	Abhinava Bukka Rāya	Śakānta 1226	1304 CE
17.	Bukka Rāya and his son Pratāpa Harihara Rāya	Śakānta 1228	1306 CE
18.	Bukka	Śakānta 1236	1314 CE
19.	Bukka Rāya, son of Devarāya	Śakānta 1244	1322 CE

20.	King Narasimha	Śakānta 1252	1330 CE
21.	Deva Rāya	Śakānta 1254	1332 CE
22.	Mallikārjuna Rāya, Bukka Rāya	Śakānta 1261	1339 CE
23.	Achyuta Deva Rāya, son of Nrisimhadeva Rāya, grandson of Anantadeva Rāya	Śakānta 1270	1348 CE
24.	Krishna Rāya, son of Narasimha Rāya and grandson of Achyuta Rāya	Śakānta 1291	1369 CE
25.	Bhāskara Bhavadūra	Śakānta 1291 & Kaliyuga 4470	1369 CE
26.	Chikka Kampana, son of Bukka Rāya	Śakānta 1294, 1302	1372-1380 CE
27.	Yimmadi Harihara Rāya, son of Vira Hariyanna Vodeyaru	Śakānta 1308 & Kaliyuga 4487	1386 CE
28.	Devarāya, son of Harihara Rāya	Śakānta 1312	1390 CE
29.	Mallikārjuna Rāya	Śaka 1975	1392 CE
30.	Harihara Rāya	Śakānta 1319	1397 CE
31.	Bhāskara Rāya, son of Pratāpa Rāya	Śakānta 1329	1407 CE
32.	Venkatapati Rāya	Śakānta 1330	1408 CE
33.	Sadāśiva Rāya	Śakānta 1329/1330, 1381	1407-1459 CE
34.	Tryambaka	Śakānta 1377	1455 CE
35.	Sadāśiva Rāya	Śakānta 1381	1459 CE
36.	Venkatapati Rāya	Kaliyuga 4565	1464 CE
37.	Bukkanna Vodeyaru, son of Sangameśvara	Śakānta 1398	1476 CE
38.	Harihara	Śakānta 1402	1480 CE
39.	Vira Pratāpa Bukka Rāya	Śakānta 1406	1484 CE

40.	Śriraṅga Rāya	Śakānta 1407	1485 CE
41.	Sadāśiva Rāya	Śakānta 1422, 1427	1500-1505 CE
42.	Harihara	Śakānta 1432	1510 CE
43.	Vira Krishnadeva Rāya	Śakānta 1435 & Kaliyuga 4614	1513 CE
44.	Sadāśiva Rāya	Śakānta 1446, 1449	1524-1527 CE
45.	Sāluva Narasimha	Śakānta 1457	1507 CE
46.	Venkatapati Rāya	Śakānta 1457	1507 CE
47.	Vira Narasimha	Śakānta 1464 & 1484	1542-1562 CE
48.	Achyuta Rāya	Śakānta 1480, 1517	1558-1595 CE
49.	Sadāśiva Rāya	Śakānta 1507, 1514, 1558	1585-1636 CE
50.	Venkatapati Rāya	Śakānta 1603, 1624	1681-1702 CE

It appears that the above chronology of later Vijayanagara kings needs further intensive research. In my opinion, the Krishnadeva Rāya of "*Rāyavachakamu*" was the earliest Krishnadeva Rāya who flourished in the 9th century CE whereas the Krishnadeva Rāya, a contemporary of Portuguese travelers Domingo Paes and Fernao Nuniz was the last Krishnadeva Rāya who reigned around 1506-1529 CE. Abd-al Razzaq Samarqandi, an ambassador of Shah Rukh of the Timurid dynasty ruler of Persia visited Vijayanagara at the end of the 8th century CE.

Seemingly, the city of Vijayanagara or Vidyānagara had been resettled in the 12th and 13th centuries after the destruction of the city in the battle of Tallikot. The Belur inscription indicates that later Vijayanagara King Harihara Rāya (1397 CE) established a vast empire for a short period. Harihara Rāya and his new Military Chief Vijaya Ganda or Ganda scripted a golden chapter in the entire history of South India by subjugating many kings of North India around 1397 CE. Vijaya Ganda, the Military Chief of Harihara Rāya was the greatest warrior probably from Rāyalasima or Kanchi region. Most probably, he was the descendant of Ganda Chola kings of Tundira (Kānchipuram) who flourished in the 13th and 14th centuries CE.

The Belur inscription[204] dated Śaka 1319 on three stones on the south of the Pushkarini within the enclosure of Chennakesava temple, Belur,

Hassan District, now preserved in Kaisale Mantapa is the most important inscription not only in the history of Vijayanagara Empire but also in the entire history of South India. It starts with reference to our motherland as the aparārdha of Jambūdvīpa (South Asia) and Bharata Khanda (*Jambūdvipe'parārdhe sakalaguṇagaṇair Bhārate varṣakhande….*). It is really a slap in the face of those idiots who foolishly believe that only British rulers established one imperial state of India for the first time. Bharat was and is culturally one nation since the Rigvedic era. Though, this great nation politically united and divided for many times but Bharat was and is culturally one nation since the Rigvedic era.

This Belur inscription gives the title of "*Pūrva-Paśchima-Dakśiṇa-Uttara-samudraika-nāyaka*" for the first time to Vijayanagara King Harihara Rāya. It tells us that Harihara and his military Chief Vijaya Ganda subjugated the kings of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Kathāra, Kāmbhoja, Simhala or Simhavana, Magadha, Mālava, Kerala, Oddiya, Jina, Jonega Arimana, Konkaṇa, Chera, Chola, Pāndya, Vidarbha, Saurashtra, Kuru, Maru (Rajasthan), Pañcha, Pāñchāla, Magaviya, Teluṅga, Pārasika, Pārayātra, Kollahana, Kashmira, Barbara, Bhotta, Mahā Bhotta, Kāka, Mūka, Ekapada and Ghodamukha. This inscription was engraved on 26 Jul 1397 CE in honour of Vijaya Ganda who renewed the grants made to the Chennakeshava temple originally by Hoyasala Vishnuvardhana and had lapsed over a period of time. Further, the inscription informs that the tower of the front gateway which was broken by Ganga Sālāra, the Turuṣka chief of Kaluburgi, was now repaired and rebuilt with seven tiers and a golden Kalaśa was fixed over it. It is amazing that Harihara II could rule over entire India from Śri Lanka to Kashmir for few years in the second half of the 14th century CE. The young Military Chief Vijaya Ganda played very crucial role in establishing the authority of Vijayanagara Empire over entire North India, though it was for short time only. The inscription rightly compares Vijaya Ganda with Sumantra, the military chief of Ayodhyā King Daśaratha. Though Harihara II may not have directly ruled over North India but certainly he collected taxes or tributes from the kings of entire North India for few years.

Clueless historians once again rejected the claims of the Belur inscription as exaggeration. They concluded: "There is a good deal of

exaggeration in this account. Harihara II is credited with victories over Pārasika, Pāriyatra and Kashmira etc., which are obviously far from truth." There is no reason to reject the facts recorded in this inscription if we consider the date of Harihara Rāya in the epoch of the Śakānta era (78 CE). Moreover, some of the literary sources related to the history of Vijayanagara Empire also record that Harihara Rāya collected tributes from the kings of entire India. Historians could not establish the identity of Ganga Sālāra who was ruling in Gulbarga in the 14th century CE. There was no Muslim king named Ganga Sālāra in Bahmani dynasty. Seemingly, Ganga Sālāra was the ruler of Kaluburgi in the second half of the 14th century CE.

Seemingly, the later Vijayanagara kings dominated over South India during the period from the 14th century CE to the 17th century CE. Thus, the Vijayanagara kings have the history of more than thousand years from the 7th century CE to the 17th century CE.

The Vamśāvali of Vijayanagara Kings of Andhra

James Princep gives the following genealogical list of Vijayanagara kings of Andhra. He also confirms that the city of Vijayanagara existed around 1118 CE. It appears that James Princep presented the following list as per his understanding of the chronology. We have to refer to the original manuscript of Vamśāvali to verify the dates of the Vijayanagara kings.

		In CE
1.	Nanda	1034 CE?
2.	Chalika Rāya	1076 CE
3.	Vijaya Rāya (founded Vijayanagar?)	1118 CE
4.	Vimala Rāya	1158 CE
5.	Narasimha Deva	1182 CE
6.	Ramadeva	1249 CE
7.	Bhupa Rāya (died without issue)	1274 CE
8.	Bukka	1334 CE
9.	Harihara Rāya	1367 CE
10.	Deva Rāya	1391 CE
11.	Vijaya Rāya	1414 CE
12.	Purandara Deva (deposed by Śri Ranga raja)	1424 CE

13.	Rama Chandra Rāya (son of Śri Ranga)	1450 CE
14.	Narasimha Rāya	1473 CE
15.	Vira Narasimha Raja	1490 CE
16.	Achyuta Rāya	
17.	Krishnadeva	1524 CE
18.	Rama Raja	
19.	Śri Ranga Raja	1565 CE
20.	Tirumala Rāya	
21.	Vira Venkata Pati	
22.	Śri Ranga II	
23.	Ramadeva Rāya	
24.	Śri Ranga Rāya	
25.	Venkatapati	
26.	Rama Rāya	
27.	Hari Das	1693 CE
28.	Chak Das	1704 CE
29.	Chima Das	1721 CE
30.	Rama Rāya	1734 CE
31.	Gopala Rāya	
32.	Venkatapati	1741 CE
33.	Tirumala Rāya (Sultan Khan took the country in the name of Tipu; and with Vira Venkatapati Rama Rāya, the dynasty became extinct.)	1756 CE

19

The Chronology of Jammu, Kashmir and Uttarakhand

Jammu region was probably part of the Madra kingdom during the early Rigvedic period. The Madra kingdom was extended from the Sutlej River to the Indus River. Many rivers like Devikā, Apagā, Chandrabhāgā, Paruṣṇī, Irāvatī, Tausī, Urddhā and Viśvāmitra flowed in this region. Devikā River was the sacred river of Jammu region. According to the Vedic legends, King Vyuṣitāśva (~13400 BCE) of the Puru dynasty, a descendant of King Madra (son of King Śibi [13550 BCE]) reigned over the region of Madradeśa. His wife was Bhadrā Kākśīvatī. He had seven sons, four Madras and three Śālvas. Seemingly, the kingdom of Vyuśitāśva was divided into seven parts. Traditionally, Śākala was the capital of Madras and Sialkot was the capital of Śālvas. The Śālvas formed the part of Madras. Probably, Śambaras, the Asura kings of Hariyūpīya (Harappa) controlled this region around 11500-11300 BCE. Indra (11325 BCE) uprooted Śambara and annexed his kingdom. The Kuru-Pāñchāla kings extended their kingdom up to Pir Panjal hills in the north. Thus, the Śālva (Sialkot) kingdom and Jammu-Kashmir region up to Kishanganga (Neelum River) became part of Kuru-Pāñchāla kingdom.

Most probably, a part of Kashmir valley was a glacial lake known as Satīsar during the Rigvedic period. This glacial lake was formed in Kashmir valley during the period of Meltwater Pulse 1A around 12700-11500 BCE. The closed Varāhamūla (Baramulla) pass was holding the melted waters of glaciers. Probably, a part of Hari Parvat of Srinagar was also under this glacial lake. According to *Nīlamata Purāṇa*, the Piśāchas (a tribe of the early Rigvedic period) were living in Kashmir. Probably, they

supported Asura kings of Hariyūpiya. Pārvati requested Rishi Kaśyapa to come to Kashmir and asked to purify the area of Pāñchāla Giri (Pir Panjal region). Rishi Kaśyapa came to Anantanag area of Pir Panjal hills along with his son Nīla Nāga (also known as Viranāga) to support Śiva. Nīla Nāga or Viranāga defeated the Piśāchas. Thus, Rishi Kaśyapa and his son Viranāga settled in Pir Panjal hills. Therefore, Pir Panjal hill range came to be known as Kaśyapa-Meru, and the word 'Kashmir' itself evolved.

At that time, one Asura named Jalodbhava occupied the island (Hari Parvat) in the middle of Kashmir glacial lake and used boats to plunder the villages on the western side of Satīsar. Śiva and Vishnu tried their best to kill Jalodbhava but he used the heights of this island and somehow survived. Around 11200 BCE, a massive earthquake might have opened up Baramulla pass and the water of Satīsar had flown out of Kashmir Valley which caused the great flood in Madra, Śālva, Sindh and Gujarat areas. Seemingly, this devastating flood occurred during the reign of Vaivasvata Manu. Thus, Hari Parvat emerged out of Satīsar and Jalodbhava perished. Kashmir valley became habitable after 11200 BCE. *Nīlamata Purāṇa* relates that Kashmir valley was a big lake during the time of six Manvantaras and it became habitable during the Vaivasvata Manvantara.

आसीत् सरः पुर्णजलं सुरम्यं सुमनोहरम्।
कल्पारम्भप्रभृतिं यत् पुरा मन्वन्तराणि षट्।
अस्मिन् मन्वन्तरे जातं विषयं सुमनोहरम्॥

Nīla Nāga, son of Rishi Kaśyapa became the first king of Kashmir. *Nīlamata Purāṇa* relates that Nīla Nāga exiled Sadulanāga from Kashmir due to his evil behavior. Nīla Nāga allotted the mount Uśiraka in the land of Darva (Jammu) to Sadulanāga. Nāga Mahāpadma reigned at Wular Lake. Thus, the Nāgas established their reign in Jammu-Kashmir region around 11200 BCE. Gradually, the Nāgas gained the support of Piśāchas and emerged as political rivals to the Kurus and Pāñchālas. According to legends, Babhruvāhana, son of Arjuna and Nāga Princess Chitrāṅgada of the time of Aśvamedha (~11100-11050 BCE) came to Jammu region and founded the city of Babhrupura (known as Babor). Kalhaṇa of *Rājataraṅginī* refers to the same city as Babbapura.

The legend of Sarpa Satra Yajña, King Parīkśit was killed by Nāga King Takśaka. Parīkśit's son Janamejaya performed Sarpa Satra Yajña and determined to kill Takśaka. Rishi Āstika, son of Jaratkaru and Mānasā persuaded Janamejaya to set Takśaka free. Rishi Jaratkaru was a Yāyāvara Brahmana and married Mānasā, sister of Vāsuki (son of Rishi Kaśyapa and Kadru). Thus, Rishi Āstika was a junior contemporary of Kuru King Janamejaya of the Rigvedic era whose capital was Āsandīvat. Most probably, the Sarpa Satra Yajña took place around 11225 BCE. Purāṇas mistakenly identified King Janamejaya as the son of King Parīkśit of the Mahābhārata era.

Seemingly, the Nāga kings continued to reign over Jammu-Kashmir after 11000 BCE. We have no information of the descendants of Babhruvāhana who reigned over Jammu region from 11050 BCE to 5000 BCE. According to the traditional history of Jammu, Ayodhya King Sudarśan (4800 BCE) had two sons, Agnivarṇa and Agnigira. The younger brother Agnigira migrated to Shivalik hills and settled in the region of present Kathua. He defeated the local kings and reigned at Bupanagari. He built the cities of Pushpāvati. Kalidāsa abruptly ends the history of Raghuvaṁśa after the death of Agnivarṇa (4800-4780 BCE). Seemingly, Ayodhya kingdom became politically vulnerable due to internal conflicts for succession after the death of Agnivarṇa. Kalidāsa states that Agnivarṇa's pregnant wife ascended the throne as the regent of unborn son of Agnivarṇa. This may be the reason why Agnigira had to immigrate to Jammu region. Vayusharb, son of Agnigira succeeded him. Muni Uttamāchārya was his contemporary who lived in a Śiva temple at Airwan. He built the city of Airavati (known as Airwan today). Probably, Airavati was the wife of Vayuśarb. After Vayusharb, Parmetra, Puran Singh, Lakshman, Khat-joshan and Agnigarbha reigned over Jammu region. Agnigarbha had 18 sons. Bahu Lochan and Jambu Lochan were the sons of Agnigarbha. Bahu Lochan shifted his capital from Airwan to Dhārānagari, on the banks of Tawi. He founded the city of Bāhunagar. He died in a war against the Rājā of Sialkot. Jambu Lochan, the younger brother of Bāhu Lochan succeeded him and killed the Rājā of Sialkot. Thus, Jambu Lochan founded a vast kingdom. He also built a new city named 'Jambupura' (old Jammu town).

According to *Rājadarśani*, the Ikśvāku kingdom was founded in Jammu region 550 years before the epoch of Kaliyuga but some traditional sources record that Jammu kingdom was established 1999 or 900 years before the epoch of Kaliyuga (3101 BCE). *Rājadarśani* also relates that there were 22 kings of Jammu line who ruled over Kashmir for 650 years. Another traditional source informs us that total 55 Jammu kings reigned over Kashmir for 1700 years. *Gulabnama* also records that 55 generations of Jammu rulers reigned over Kashmir. In all probability, King Agnigira, brother of Agnivarṇa founded the rule of Ikśvākus in Jammu region 1999 years before the epoch of Kaliyuga. Therefore, we can roughly fix the date of Agnigira around 5100-4850 BCE. A descendant of Agnigira conquered Kashmir and established the rule of Jammu kings around 4850 BCE. Total 33 kings reigned over Jammu and Kashmir from 4850 BCE to 3900 BCE.[1]

Seemingly, King Jambu Lochan flourished around 3900 BCE founded the city of Jambupura (Jammu). He was a contemporary of King Chandrahāsa of Madradeśa. King Jambu Lochan defeated Chandrahāsa and took control over the region of Punjab. The Dogra tradition unambiguously indicates that King Jambu Lochan flourished more than six centuries before the Mahābhārata era. His son Puran Karan succeeded him. King Puran Karan had two sons, Dayā Karan and Dharma Karan. *Tarikh-e-Hasan* relates that Jammu Rājā Dayā Karan sent a force led by his sons and conquered Kashmir. From the time of King Dayā Karan onwards, the Jammu rulers reigned over Kashmir for 653 years. Thus, King Dayā Karan and his 22 descendants reigned over Kashmir for 653 years from 3860 BCE to 3210 BCE. King Somadatta was the last Jammu king of Kashmir. The chronology of Jammu kings:

		In CE
1.	Madra and Śālva kings of the Rigvedic period	13400-11500 BCE
2.	Piśāchas settled in the Pir Panjal hills	14000-11250 BCE
3.	Rudra and his descendants in Shivalik hills of Jammu.	14000-11300 BCE
4.	Asura King Śambara	11350 BCE
5.	Indra killed Śambara	11325 BCE

6.	Prajāpati Śiva's kingdom (from Shivalik hills to Kailash Parvat)	11300-11200 BCE
7.	Rishi Kaśyapa in Kashmir	11250 BCE
8.	Nīla Nāga or Viranāga in Anantanag	11250 BCE
9.	Sadulanāga in Jammu region	11240-11200 BCE
10.	Nāgas in Jammu and Kashmir	11250-4900 BCE
11.	King Babhruvāhana and his descendants in Jammu region	11050-5100 BCE
12.	Ikśvāku King Agnigira and his descendants in Jammu	5100-4900 BCE
13.	33 Ikśvāku kings of Jammu reigned over Kashmir	4900-3900 BCE
14.	King Agnigarbha	3950-3910 BCE
15.	King Bāhu Lochan	3910-3900 BCE
16.	**King Jambu Lochan**	3900-3870 BCE
17.	King Puran Karan	3870-3850 BCE
Kings of Kashmir Region		
1.	King Dayā Karan and his descendants (Total 22 kings)	3850-3208 BCE
2.	King Somadatta (the 22nd King)	3208 BCE

King Gonanda I established his supremacy over Kashmir around 3208 BCE and founded the rule of the Gonanda Dynasty.

The Chronology of Kashmir

Kalhaṇa, a Kashmiri poet and the son of Mahāmātya Chaṇpaka Prabhu, was the greatest historian of India. He was the author of "*Rājataraṅgiṇī*", a comprehensive history of Kashmir from Mahābhārata war to the 5th century CE. He has critically studied many historical texts and the available inscriptions. He lived around 420-500 CE but historians have unfortunately dated him around 1100-1180 CE due to ignorance of the difference between the epochs of the Śaka (583 BCE) and the Śakānta (78 CE) eras. It is extremely important to follow the real epochs of ancient Indian eras in chronological studies.

We have to critically examine the following facts before arriving at the chronology of Kashmir kings as given by Kalhaṇa.

1. Kalhaṇa mentions that Aśoka became the King of Kashmir and he patronized Buddhism.[2] Considering the date of Buddha nirvāṇa around 1864 BCE, the ascension of King Aśoka can be accurately fixed at 1765 BCE. Buddhist sources clearly tell us that Aśoka or Kālāśoka ascended the throne in the 100th year of Buddha nirvāṇa era. Since Kalhaṇa says that Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka reigned 150 years after Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE), undoubtedly, Kashmir King Aśoka reigned in the 100th year. Seemingly, Pātaliputra King Aśoka or Kālāśoka and Kashmir King Aśoka were identical.
2. Pratāpāditya was a relative of Vikramāditya I of Ujjain as stated by Kalhaṇa. Vikramāditya I reigned around 719-659 BCE and he was the founder of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era or Mālava-gaṇa era or Kṛta era (719 BCE).
3. Mātrigupta has been appointed as a king of Kashmir by Sri Harsha Vikramāditya who founded the Sri Harsha era in 457 BCE.
4. Kalhaṇa mentions that Bilhaṇa left Kashmir when King Kalaśa was ruling. Bilhaṇa also confirms this in his work "*Vikramāṅkadevacharitam*". Bilhaṇa painfully narrated that when he reached Dhārā city in Madhya Pradesh, Paramāra King Bhoja was no more. I have conclusively proven that King Bhoja flourished around 338-394 CE. The inscriptions of Bhoja and his ancestors are dated in the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE).
5. Undoubtedly, some verses in *Rājataraṅginī* have been interpolated.[3] Vriddha Garga's śloka "*Āsan Maghāsu munayaḥ.....*" has also been interpolated in *Rājataraṅginī*.[4] It is also stated that the Kurus and Pāndavas lived 653 years after the epoch of Kaliyuga (3101 BCE). This statement not only contradicts with entire literary and epigraphic evidence but also with the epoch of Kashmiri Saptarṣi era (3076 BCE). It is chronologically impossible to date Mahābhārata war around 2448 BCE. Moreover, the Saptarṣis were in Maghā nakśatra around 3176-3076 BCE considering the hypothetical position of Saptarṣis in Aśvinī nakśatra around 6777-6677 BCE. Therefore, the

position of Saptarṣis cannot be in Maghā nakśatra around 2476-2376 BCE. In all probability, the śloka "*Śateṣu ṣaṭsu sārdheṣu tryadhikeṣu cha bhūtale, kalergateṣu varṣāṇāmabhūvan Kurupāndavāḥ*" has been interpolated after the 10th century when Indian astronomers mistakenly assumed the epochs of Śaka era (583 BCE) and Śakānta era (78 CE) as identical.

6. It also appears that some references to the Laukika era years have also been edited, considering the epoch of Śaka era in 78 CE. For instance, the Śaka year 1030 has been seemingly distorted to 1070 to reconcile the Laukika year 24. Most probably, Kalhaṇa started writing *Rājataraṅginī* in 447 CE (Śaka 1030 and Laukika year 24) and completed it in 448 CE (Laukika year 25).
7. In fact, Indians forgot the epoch of Śaka era (583 BCE) by the 10th or 11th centuries CE. Gradually, People started referring to the Śakānta era (78 CE) as the Śaka era.
8. Moreover, the historical account of Shahi kings (Lalliya –Toramāna – Bhima – Thakkana - Trilochanapāla- [the sons of Trilochanapāla: Rudrapāla, Kśmāpāla, Anangpāla]) given by Kalhaṇa is completely different from the historical account of the Brahmana dynasty (the so-called Hindushahi dynasty: Kallar – Samanta - Kamlu or Kamala or Kamalavarman – Bhim – Jayapal – Anandpal – Trilochanapal - Bhimpal) given by Al Beruni. Evidently, the Shahi kings mentioned in *Rājataraṅginī* had reigned in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th centuries CE whereas the Hindushahi kings reigned in the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries CE.

Kalhaṇa compiled the chronological history of Kashmir from Mahābhārata era to the 22nd regnal year of Simhadeva, i.e., the 25th year of Laukika era, i.e., 448 CE *(Samādvāvimshati rajyāvāpteḥ prāgbhūbhujo gatāḥ । Tāvatyevāpta-rājasya pañcavimśati-vatsare ॥)*.[5] He states that Gonanda III lived 2330 years before the reign of Simhadeva (448 CE), i.e., 1882 BCE *(Prāyastritiya-Gonandādārabhya Śaradām tadā । dve sahasre gate triṁśadadhikam ca śatatrayam ॥)*[6] and 52 kings reigned for 1266 years prior to Gonanda III, i.e., starting from 3148 BCE *(Varṣāṇām dvādaśaśatī ṣaṣṭiḥ ṣaḍbhiśca saṁyutā । Bhūbhujām kālasaṅkhyāyām tadvāpañcāśato matā ॥)*.[7] Since Kalhaṇa covered the history of Kashmir for a period of

3596 years, he gives the history and chronology of Kashmir from 3148 BCE to 448 CE considering the epoch of Kaliyuga in 3101 BCE.

However, we have to start the chronology of ancient Kashmir at least from 3188 BCE when Yudhiṣṭhira performed Rājasūya and Sri Krishna and Bhima killed Jarāsandha. Gonanda I, the founder of Gonanda dynasty was the contemporary of Jarāsandha. Kalhaṇa states that Jarāsandha, the king of Magadha requested help from Gonanda I during the conflict with Mathura and Gonanda I seized Matura with his massive forces.

"Sāhāyakārthamāhuto Jarāsandhena Bandhunā ।
Sa samrurodha kansārer Mathurām prithubhirbalaiḥ ॥"[8]

It is evident that Gonanda I was a contemporary of Jarāsandha of the Bṛhadratha dynasty. According to the Purāṇas, Jarāsandha's son Sahadeva was the king of Magadha and died in the Mahābhārata war. Seemingly, Kalhaṇa followed the Puranic chronology and mistakenly assumed the date of Mahāpadma Nanda 1150 years after the Mahābhārata war but in reality, Mahāpadma Nanda ascended the throne of Magadha 1500 years after the Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE). This chronological error of ~350 years led to some inconsistencies in the chronology of Kashmir as presented by Kalhaṇa.

From King Gonanda I to King Abhimanyu

		In CE
1.	Gonanda I (~3208-3188 BCE)	*Kalhaṇa considered Kali epoch 3101 BCE and starts the chronology from 3148 BCE. Since Mahābhārata war took place in 3162 BCE, therefore, the date of Gonanda I must be fixed around 3208-3188 BCE.*
2.	Dāmodara I	3188 BCE to 1941 BCE
3.	Yaśovati	
4.	Gonanda II	
5. to 39.	The names of 35 kings lost	
40.	Lava	

41.	Kuśeśaya	
42.	Khagendra	
43.	Surendra	
44.	Godhara	
45.	Suvarṇa	
46.	Janaka	
47.	Śachīnara	
48.	Aśoka or Kālāśoka (ascended the throne 100 years after Buddha nirvāṇa [1864 BCE] and reigned for 28 years)	1765-1737 BCE
49.	Jaloka	1737-1715 BCE
50.	Dāmodara II	1715 BCE
51.	Hushka, Jushka & Kanishka (reigned 150 years after Buddha nirvāṇa [1864 BCE])[9]	1715-1665 BCE
52.	Abhimanyu	1665-1620 BCE

From King Gonanda III to King Bāläditya

Viśākhadatta, the author of *Mudrārākśasam* informs us that the Kashmir King Puṣkarākśa, Kullu (Kauluta) King Chitra Varmā, Malaya King Nrisimha, Sindhu King Sindhuṣeṇa and Persian King Maga (Megha in Sanskrit) were the allies of Rākśasa, the minister of the last Nanda king.

कौलूतश्चित्रवर्मा मलयनरपतिः सिंहनादो नृसिंहः,
काश्मीरः पुष्कराक्षः क्षतरिपुमहिमा सैन्धवः सिन्धुषेणः।
मेघाख्यः पञ्चमोऽस्मिन् पृथुतुरगबलः पारसीकाधिराजो,
नामान्येषां लिखामि ध्रुवमहमधुना चित्रगुप्तः प्रमार्ष्टु॥[10]

If we follow the chronology given by Kalhaṇa, King Utpalākśa was the contemporary of the 9th Nanda king and Chandragupta Maurya. There is no king named Puṣkarākśa in the kings' list of *Rājataraṅginī*. In Sanskrit, Puṣkara means lotus or blue lotus and Utpala also means lotus or blue lotus. Therefore, Kalhaṇa's Utpalākśa must be identified with Puṣkarākśa of Viśākhadatta. King Chandragupta Maurya reigned around 1596-1572 BCE. Thus, the date of Utpalākśa indicated by Kalhaṇa appears to be accurate but it fails to reconcile with the dates of Aśoka, Jaloka, Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka. This chronological problem needs further

research. Kalhaṇa places Gonanda III around 1888-1846 BCE 1266 years after 3148 BCE and Utpalākśa around 1620-1589 BCE. Mihirakula might have occupied the city of Śākala after the reign of Yavana King Minander (1365-1340 BCE). Mihirakula ordered the destruction of Buddhism and expulsion of monks after a royal servant was appointed as his Buddhist preceptor. Accordingly, I propose the following correction in the Kashmir chronology from Gonanda III to Bālāditya.

		The chronology given by Kalhaṇa				**Proposed revision in the chronology**	
		Duration			**In CE**	**Corr.**	**In CE**
		Y	**M**	**D**		**Y**	
1.	Gonanda III	35			1882-1846 BCE	35	1942-1906 BCE
2.	Vibhīṣaṇa I	53			1845-1792 BCE	53	1906-1853 BCE
3.	Indrajita	35	6	0	1792-1757 BCE	35	1853-1818 BCE
4.	Rāvaṇa						
5.	Vibhīṣaṇa II	35	6	0	1756-1720 BCE	53	1818-1765 BCE
6.	Nara I / Kinnara	39	9		1720-1680 BCE		
7.	Siddha	60			1680-1620 BCE		
8.	Aśoka						1765-1737 BCE
9.	Jaloka						1737-1715 BCE
10.	Dāmodara II						1715 BCE
11.	Hushka, Jushka & Kanishka (reigned 150 years after Buddha nirvāṇa [1864 BCE])						1715-1665 BCE
12.	Abhimanyu						1665-1620 BCE
13.	**Utpalākśa**	**30**	**6**		**1620-1589 BCE**		**1620-1589 BCE**

14.	Hiraṇyākśa	37	7		1589-1552 BCE		1589-1552 BCE
	Interregnum					112	1552-1440 BCE
15.	Hiraṇyakula	60			1551-1491 BCE		1440-1380 BCE
16.	Mukula / Vasukula	60			1491-1431 BCE		1380-1320 BCE
17.	**Mihirakula**	**70**			**1431-1361 BCE**	**70**	**1320-1250 BCE**
18.	Vaka	63	0	13	1361-1298 BCE	63	1250-1187 BCE
19.	Kśitinanda	30			1298-1268 BCE	30	1187-1157 BCE
20.	Vasunanda	52	2		1268-1216 BCE	32	1157-1125 BCE
21.	Nara II	60			1215-1155 BCE	60	1125-1065 BCE
22.	Akśa	60			1155-1095 BCE	60	1065-1005 BCE
23.	Gopāditya	60			1095-1035 BCE	60	1005-945 BCE
24.	Gokarṇa	57	11		1035-977 BCE	57	945-887 BCE
25.	Narendrāditya I / Kinkhila	36	3	10	977-944 BCE	36	887-851 BCE
	Interregnum					80	851-771 BCE
26.	Yudhiṣṭhira I	70	5	10	944-874 BCE	**70**	771-701 BCE
27	**Pratāpāditya**	**32**			**874-842 BCE**	**32**	**701-669 BCE**
28	Jalauka	32			842-810 BCE	32	668-636 BCE
29	Tungjina I	36			809-773 BCE	36	637-601 BCE
30	Vijaya	8			772-764 BCE	8	600-592 BCE
31	Jayendra	37			763-726 BCE	37	593-556 BCE

32	**Sandhiman / Aryarāja**	**47**			**725-678 BCE**	**47**	**555-506 BCE**
33	Meghavāhana	34			677-643 BCE	34	506-476 BCE
34	Śreṣṭhasena/ Pravarasena I / Tungjina II	30			642-612 BCE	30	472-442 BCE
35	Hiraṇya	30	2		611-581 BCE	30	441-411 BCE
36	**Mātrigupta**	**4**	**9**	**1**	**580-576 BCE**	**5**	**410-405 BCE**
37	Pravarasena II	60			576-516 BCE	60	405-345 BCE
38	Yudhiṣṭhira II	21	3		515-494 BCE	21	344-323 BCE
39	Narendrāditya I / Lakśmaṇa	13			493-480 BCE	13	322-309 BCE
	Interregnum					80	309-229 BCE
40	**Rāṇāditya / Tungjina III**	**300**			**479-179 BCE**	**50**	**229-179 BCE**
41	Vikramāditya	42			179-137 BCE	42	179-138 BCE
42	Bālāditya	37	4		137-99 BCE	37	137-99 BCE

Pratāpāditya I was the relative of Śakāri Vikramāditya, who founded the Kārttikādi Vikrama era in 719-718 BCE. Similarly, Mātrigupta was in the court of Śri Harsha Vikramāditya who founded Śri Harsha era in 457 BCE. Mātrigupta's reign was around 410-405 BCE. Śri Harsha and Mātrigupta both died in 405 BCE. Kalhaṇa could not solve the Puranic chronological error of ~350 years in the Kashmir chronology and forced to assign 300 years for Rāṇāditya. If we correct the chronological errors as explained above, Rāṇāditya might have reigned for 50 years around 229-179 BCE. Seemingly, there was a chronological gap of 80 years between Narendrāditya/Lakśmaṇa and Rāṇāditya.

As far as the temple of Śaṅkarāchārya on the hill of Srinagar is concerned, *Tarikh-i-Hassaini* and *Waquia-i-Kashmir* of Mulla Ahmed also inform us that the temple was known originally as Anjana and later as Jeth Ludrak (Jeṣṭharudra). Thereafter, the temple was built by King Sandhiman of the Gonanda dynasty of Kashmir. Thus, the hill came to

be known as Sandhiman Parbat after the name of the king. Evidently, Ādi Śaṅkarāchārya is believed to have visited Kashmir and stayed at the temple complex probably during the reign of King Sandhiman. The timeline of King Sandhiman given by *Tarikh-i-Hassaini* and Mulla Ahmed is speculative and completely different from the traditional account of Kashmir.

The 'Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh' published in 1890 also says: "It is also known by the name Śaṅkarāchārya". JN Gankar wrote in his book 'Buddhism in Kashmir and Ladakh', 'One ruler of the period who prominently stands out for his patronage of Śaivism and the Brahmanas was Gopāditya, who built a new temple, Jyeṣṭheśvara, on the Śaṅkarāchārya hill in Srinagar. Earlier, a Śiva shrine known as Jyeṣṭharudra had been founded here by Aśoka's son and successor Jalauka.' Dr. Sarla Khosla also says in her book "History of Buddhism in Kashmir", 'The Śaṅkarāchārya temple is the oldest temple of the valley in the Sandhiman Parvata (now called *Takht-i-Sulaiman*). According to local tradition, it was originally built by Aśoka's son Jalauka.

Evidently, the temple on the hill of Srinagar was built by Aśoka's son Jalauka (1737-1715 BCE) and known as Jyeṣṭharudra temple. When King Gopāditya (917-857 BCE) rebuilt the same temple and an "Agrahāra", the temple came to be known as "Jyeṣṭheśvara" and the hill came to be known as "Gopādri". During the reign of King Sandhiman (555-508 BCE), Ādi Śaṅkara visited Srinagar, Kashmir and defeated Buddhist scholars. King Sandhiman honoured Ādi Śaṅkara and built a Sarvajña Pītha in the temple. Thereafter, the temple came to be known as "Śaṅkarāchārya temple" and the hill came to be known as "Sandhiman Parvat". Thus, Ādi Śankara established two Sarvajña Pīthas (Kanchipuram and Kashmir) in the 6th century BCE.

We also learn from Kalhaṇa that when Hiraṇya, the king of Kashmir died issueless, the ministers reported the matter to their Emperor Vikramāditya of Ujjain, also known as Harsha,[11] with a plea to choose a fitting successor. Vikramāditya contemplated a whole night as to who would be the most appropriate person to sit on the throne of Kashmir and finally named Mātrigupta, the learned poet and administrator as the

right candidate and thus did Mātrigupta become the king of Kashmir and went on to rule for five years. Sri Harsha Vikramāditya flourished around 457-405 BCE. He appointed Mātrigupta as king of Kashmir. Mātrigupta reigned over Kashmir around 410-405 BCE.

After the reign of Bālāditya (137-99 BCE), Durlabhavardhana founded the rule of the Karkoṭa dynasty in Kashmir. The chronology of the Karkoṭa dynasty and the later Kashmir kings given by Kalhaṇa can be an authentic historical account because it covers only a period of 500 years before his lifetime. I have reconstructed the chronology of the Karkoṭa dynasty and the later Kashmir kings based on the following historical facts.

- Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa was the contemporary (probably, senior contemporary) of Kānyakubja king of Yaśovarman (30-91 CE).
- Kalhaṇa mentions that Ajitāpīḍa, the king of the Karkoṭa dynasty reigned in the year 89 of the Laukika era (*Ekonanavate varṣe*).[12]
- King Yaśaskara died on the 3rd tithi of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada month in the 24th year of the Laukika era, i.e., 24th Aug 248 CE.[13]
- Parvagupta ascended the throne on the 10th tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna month in the 24th year of the Laukika era, i.e., 24th Feb 249 CE and died on the 13th tithi of the dark fortnight of Āṣāḍha month in the 26th year of the Laukika era, i.e., 15th Jun 250 CE.[14]
- Kśemagupta died on the 9th tithi of the bright fortnight of Pauṣa month in the 34th year of the Laukika era, i.e., 21st Dec 258 CE.[15]
- Tribhuvanagupta became king on the 12th tithi of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśirṣa month in the 49th year of the Laukika era, i.e., 9th Nov 273 CE and died on the 5th tithi of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśirṣa month in the 51st year of the Laukika era, i.e., 10th Nov 275 CE.[16]
- Diddā ascended the throne in the 56th year of the Laukika era, i.e., 280 CE and died on the 8th tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada month in the 79th year of the Laukika era, i.e., 7th Aug 303 CE.[17]
- Harirāja ascended the throne on the 1st tithi of the bright fortnight of Āṣāḍha month in the 4th year of the Laukika era, i.e., 26th May 328 CE.[18]

- Kśemendra writes in the colophon to the *"Samayamātrikā"* that he completed that work during the reign of Ananta in the 25th year of the Laukika era.
- Bilhaṇa, the author of *Vikramāṅkadevacharitam*, mentions three Kashmir kings namely Anantadeva, Kalaśa and Harshadeva and that he left Kashmir in the reign of King Kalaśa. He was in Varanasi where the Chedi King Karṇa was ruling (389-419 CE) and when he reached Dhārā, he was extremely distraught on learning of the demise of the great King Bhoja (around 394 CE).
- Harshadeva died on the 5th tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada month in the 77th year of the Laukika era, i.e., 31st Jul 401 CE.[19]

From Durlabhavardhana to Simhadeva

		Duration			In CE
		Y	M	D	
The Karkoṭa Dynasty (4th Taraṅga)					
1.	Durlabhavardhana	36	0	0	15-10-99 BCE to 14-10-63 BCE
2.	Pratāpāditya	50	0	0	15-10-63 BCE to 14-10-13 BCE
3.	Vajrāditya I or Chandrāpīḍa	8	8	0	15-10-13 BCE to14-5-4 BCE
4.	Tārāpīḍa	4	0	24	15-5-4 BCE to 7-6-00
5.	Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa	36	7	11	8-6-00 to 18-1-36
6.	Kuvalayāpīḍa	1	0	15	19-1-36 to 2-2-37
7.	Vajrāditya II or Vappiyaka or Lalitāditya II	7	0	0	3-2-37 to 2-2-44
8.	Prithivyāpīḍa I	4	1	0	3-2-44 to 2-3-48
9.	Sangrāmāpīḍa I	0	0	7	3-3-48 to 9-3-48
10.	Jayāpīḍa (together with usurpation of Jajja)	31	0	0	10-3-52 to 9-3-83
11.	Lalitāpīḍa	12	0	0	10-3-83 to 9-3-95
12.	Sangrāmāpīḍa II or Prithivyāpīḍa II	7	0	0	10-3-95 to 9-3-102

13.	Chippata Jayāpīḍa or Brihaspati	12	0	0	10-3-102 to 9-3-114
14.	Ajitāpīḍa	36	0	0	10-3-114 to 9-3-150
15.	Anangapīḍa	3	0	0	10-3-150 to 9-3-153
16.	Utpalapīḍa	3	0	0	10-3-153 to 9-3-156
The Utpala Dynasty (5th Taranga)					
1.	Avantivarmā	28	0	0	10-3-156 to 9-3-184
2.	Sankaravarmā	18	8	4	10-3-184 to 14-11-202
3.	Gopalavarmā	2	0	0	15-11-202 to 14-11-204
4.	Sangkata	0	0	10	15-11-204 to 24-11-204
5.	Sugandha	2	0	0	25-11-204 to 24-11-206
6.	Partha	15	10	0	25-11-206 to 24-8-222
7.	Nirjitavarmā	1	1	0	25-8-222 to 24-9-223
8.	Chakravarmā	10	0	0	25-9-223 to 24-9-233
9.	Suravarmā	1	0	0	25-9-233 to 24-9-234
10.	Partha (2nd time)	1	0	0	25-9-234 to 24-9-235
11.	Chakravarmā (2nd time)	0	6	0	25-9-235 to 24-3-236
12.	Sambhuvardhana & Chakravarmā (3rd time)	1	5	0	25-3-236 to 24-8-237
13.	Unmattavanti	2	0	0	25-8-237 to 24-8-239
The Brahmana Dynasty (6th Taranga)					
1.	Yaśaskara	9	0	0	25-8-239 to 24-8-248
2.	Varnata	0	1	0	25-8-248 to 24-9-248
3.	Sangrāma I	0	5	0	25-8-248 to 23-2-249
The Parvagupta Dynasty (6th Taranga)					
1.	Parvagupta	1	4	0	24-2-249 to 15-6-250
2.	Kśemagupta	8	6	0	16-6-250 to 21-12-258
3.	Abhimanyu	13	10	0	22-12-258 to 21-10-272
4.	Nandigupta	1	1	0	22-10-272 to 8-11-273
5.	Tribhuvanagupta	2	0	0	9-11-273 to 10-11-275
6.	Bhimagupta	5	0	0	11-11-275 to 10-11-280
7.	Didda	23	0	0	11-11-280 to 9-8-303

The Udayarāja dynasty (7th Taranga)

1.	Sangrāmarāja	24	10	0	10-8-303 to 25-5-328
2.	Harirāja	0	0	22	26-5-328 to 16-6-328
3.	Anantadeva	35	1	5	17-6-328 to 21-7-363
4.	Kalaśa or Rāṇāditya II	26	4	0	22-7-363 to 21-11-389
5.	Utkarṣa	0	0	22	22-11-389 to 13-12-389
6.	Harshadeva	11	7	18	14-12-389 to 31-7-401

The Kantirāja Dynasty (8th Taranga)

1.	Uccḥala				401-411 CE
2.	Śaṅkharāja				411 CE (for very short period)
3.	Sussala (1st time)				412-426 CE
4.	Bhikśāchara (Harshadeva's great grandson)		6		
5.	Sussala (2nd time)				
6.	Simhadeva (completed his 22 regnal years)	22			426-448 CE

The Kashmir kings were great patrons of Sanskrit literature. The famous poets Dāmodaragupta, Udbhata Bhaṭṭa, Manoratha, Śaṅkhadatta, Chataka and Sandhimat were in the court of Jayāpida (52-83 CE). King Avantivarmā (156-184 CE) was the patron of Anandavardhana and Ratnākara. The great engineer named Suyya was the minister of King Avantivarma. He founded the city of Suyyapura (Sopore). Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, the author of *Nyāyamanjari*, refers to the King Śaṅkaravarmā (184-202 CE). Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's son Abhinanda wrote the *Yogavāsishtha Rāmāyana* that contains a laudatory reference to the King Yaśaskara of Kashmir (239-248 CE). Abhinanda versified Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Kādambarī*, also known as *Kādambarīkathāsāra*. The *Kathāsaritsāgara*, the largest collection of stories in the world and twice as long as the Iliad and Odyssey put together, was written by Somadeva for the edification of Rājñī Sūryamati, the wife of King Anantadeva (328-363 CE). Kśemendra, the famous author of the *Brihatkathāmañjarī*, was the senior contemporary of Somadeva. Kśemendra also wrote "*Samayamātrikā*" during the reign of Ananta in the 25th year of the Laukika era, i.e., 349 CE.

Kalhaṇa wrote *Rājataraṅginī* in 8 Taraṅgas (chapters) containing 7783 verses in the year 1070 (487 CE) of the epoch of Śaka era (583 BCE). He covered approximately 3596 years of the history of Kashmir from 3148 BCE to 448 CE or from the time of King Gonanda I to the 22nd regnal year of King Simhadeva. He narrates the history of 3450 years from the Mahābhārata era to 303 CE in just 2645 verses whereas he covers the detailed history of 146 years from 303 CE to 448 CE in 5135 verses. According to Kalhaṇa, Rani Diddā died on 9th Aug 303 CE. She had two brothers named Udayarāja and Kāntirāja. Kalhaṇa provided the history of the descendants of Udayarāja who ruled from 303 CE to 401 CE in the 7th Taraṅga containing 1732 verses whereas he covers the history of the descendants of Kāntirāja from 401 CE to 448 CE in the 8th Taraṅga containing 3406 verses. Evidently, he was an eyewitness to a majority of the historical events narrated in the 8th Taraṅga.

King Rājarāja (470-500 CE)

Jayaratha wrote a commentary on *Tantrāloka*. According to him, his first ancestor Pūrṇamanoratha was a minister to King Yaśaskara (239-248 CE). His fifth ancestor Utpalaratha II was the minister of King Anantadeva (328-363 CE). His father Śriṅgāraratha was the minister of Kashmir King Rājarāja. Jayaratha was a younger contemporary of King Rājarāja. If we consider 25 years for each generation, minimum 225 years elapsed from Pūrṇamanoratha to Śriṅgāraratha which means Jayaratha wrote his work not earlier than 473 CE (248 +225 = 473 CE). Therefore, we can conclude that Jayaratha flourished at the end of the 5th century.

Interestingly, Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅginī* ends with the 22nd regnal year of Simhadeva in 448 CE. Therefore, King Rājarāja might have reigned as a feudatory king after Simhadeva. Historians identified Rājarāja to be Simhadeva. In fact, Jayaratha wrote his work when Rājarāja was alive.

The Missing Names of 35 Kings

Nīlamata Purāṇa, *Rājataraṅginī* and ancient traditions of Kashmir tell us that the information of 35 kings and their regnal periods got lost long back. These 35 kings reigned around 3000-2000 BCE. Interestingly, during the reign of Zain-ul-Abdin, a search was launched to look for old

Sanskrit works so that an updated version of Kashmir could be brought out in Persian language and the job was entrusted to the court poet, Mulla Ahmad Malik. It was a difficult job because the foolish and barbaric rulers of Shah Mir dynasty had destroyed all old books of Hindus. At that time, Mulla Ahmad had the names of 15 different *Rājataraṅginīs* but only those of Kalhaṇa, Kśemendra, Wachhulakar and Padmamihira could be traced. A few years later, some birch bark leaves of a *Rājataraṅginī* written by Pandit Ratnākara, were found by Mulla Ahmad through Praja Pandit. The work of Ratnākara contained a list of 35 unknown kings and also 7 unknown kings who ruled over Kashmir. Mulla Ahmad had translated the Ratnākara's work into Persian, a copy of which is found by Maulvi Hassan Shah in Rawalpindi. Maulvi Hassan Shah (1832-1898 CE), the compiler of *Tarikh-i-Hassan Kashmir*, was a distinguished scholar in Persian and Arabic learning. His seventh ancestor was a Kashmiri Brahman, named Ganesh Kaul. He once went to Rawalpindi and there he got a copy of *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* written by Mulla Ahmad.

Hassan Shah claimed that he had borrowed the accounts of 35 forgotten kings of Kashmir from the translation of Mulla Ahmad. It is surprising that the author of Nīlamata Purāṇa of ancient times and Kalhaṇa, could not trace out the names of the 35 forgotten kings flourished between King Gonanda II and King Lava.

The names of 34 Unknown Kashmir kings given by Mulla Ahmed:

1. Harnadeva
2. Ramadeva
3. Vyasadeva
4. Darnadeva
5. Simhadeva
6. Gopaladeva
7. Vijayananda
8. Sukhadeva
9. Ramananda
10. Sandhiman
11. Marahandeva and
his brother Kamandeva

12. Chandradeva
13. Anandadeva
14. Driptadeva
15. Harnamdeva
16. Sulkandeva
17. Sanya Dut
18. Mangala Dut
19. Ksemendra
20. Bhamasena
21. Indrasena
22. Sundarasena
23. Galkander
24. Baladeva
25. Nalsena
26. Gokarna
27. Prahlada
28. Wazir Bambro
29. Pratapasila
30. Sangramachandra
31. Alarak Chandra
32. Beramchandra
33. Raja Bibikhan
34. Bhagavanta

Mulla Ahmad also mentions seven more unknown kings of Kashmir:

1. Tunjina
2. Sarabsena
3. Lachman
4. Gandharvasena
5. Surak
6. Vajraditya

7. Vainyaditya or Vinayaditya

Most probably, Mulla Ahmad might have obtained these names of unknown Kashmir kings from the *Rājataraṅginī* of Pandit Ratnākara. Since Mulla Ahmed could not accommodate them in the chronology of Kashmir, he therefore, speculatively concluded that these were the names of 35 missing kings. Interestingly, Mulla Ahmed mentions the names of Wazir Bambro and Raja Bibikhan which clearly indicates that such names did not exist during the period 3000-2000 BCE. Nalsena in the Kashmiri language is synonymous with a person of abominable character and fittingly enough, it appears that King Nalsena was a cruel and oppressive king. "Lolare Bambro" is a favourite love song among the Kashmiris because the King Bambro fell madly in love with a woman named "Lolare".

Kalhaṇa stated that he perused the records of eleven chroniclers (Suvrata, Kśemendra, Helārāja, Chavillakara etc.), Nīlamata Purāṇa and inscriptions. It is unbelievable that Kalhaṇa was unaware of the *Rājataraṅginī* of Ratnākara but unfortunately no manuscript is available today. In my opinion, these unknown kings probably belonged to the Gilgit region and might have reigned over Kashmir. This list of Mulla Ahmed places Sandhiman as the tenth King who was none other than King Sandhiman (555-506 BCE). He was the contemporary of Ādi Śaṅkara. Therefore, we can roughly conclude that the kings listed before Sandhiman might have lived before the 6th century BCE whereas the kings listed after Sandhiman might have flourished after the 6th century BCE. Since, Mulla Ahmed could not understand the chronology of these unknown kings, he erroneously placed them in the list of forgotten kings.

The Chronology of Kashmir given by Jonarāja, Śrivara, Prājñabhaṭṭa and Śuka

Jonarāja, Śrivara Pandit, Prājñabhaṭṭa and Śuka wrote the history of Kashmir in continuation of Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅginī*. *Baharistan-i-Shahi* also gives the chronology of Kashmir. Interestingly, Jonarāja's *Rājataraṅginī* has been found in two recensions – the short and the long. The manuscript written in Śāradā script contains 976 ślokas whereas the Devanagari manuscript contains 1334 ślokas. The comparative study of

both manuscripts proves that a mediaeval redactor has transformed the recension of the Śāradā manuscript into the recension of the Devanagari manuscript by various methods of interpolation. It is evident that mediaeval redactors attempted to tamper with the original texts of *Rājataraṅginī* because they assumed the epochs of Śaka (583 BCE) and Śakānta (78 CE) as identical.

The Chronology of Kashmir as given by Jonarāja and the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi*:

	Baharistan-i-Shahi	**Jonarāja**	**In CE**
1.	Ram Dev	--	--
2.	Laxman Dev (Brother of Ram Dev)	--	--
3.	Zeyeh Sehm Dev	Jayasimhadeva	426-454 CE
4.	Parmat Dev	Paramāṇuka Deva	454-464 CE
5.	Vanta Dev	Varttideva	464-471 CE
6.	Bupeh (Vupeh) Dev	Vopyadeva	471-480 CE
7.	Zaseh Dev	Jassaka	480-498 CE
8.	Zageh Dev	Jagaddeva	498-513 CE
9.	Razeh Dev	Rājadeva	513-536 CE
10.	Sangram Dev	Saṅgrāmadeva	536-552 CE
11.	Ram Dev	Rāmadeva	552-573 CE
12.	Lachman Dev	Lakśmaṇadeva	573-586 CE
13.	Simha Dev	Simhadeva	586-601 CE
14.	Suh Dev	Suhadeva or Rāmachandra	601-620 CE
15.	---	Rinchana	620-623 CE
16.	---	Udayanadeva	623-638 CE
17.	---	Kota Rāni	638-639 CE
18.		Shamsuddin or Shah Mir	639-760 CE
19.		Jamshed	

20.	Alauddin	
21.	Qutbuddin	
22.	Shihabuddin	
23.	Sikandar	
24.	Ali Shah	
25.	Zainul Abidin	760-810 CE

The Chronology of Kashmir as given by Śrivara, Prājñabhaṭṭa and Śuka:

		In CE
1.	Zainul Abidin	760-810 CE
2.	Haidar Shah	810 CE
3.	Hasan Shah	812 CE
4.	Mohammad Shah	824-867 CE
5.	Fath Shah	
6.	Ibrahim Shah	868 CE
7.	Nazuk Shah	869 CE
8.	Shams Shah	877 CE
9.	Habib Shah	900 CE
10.	Ghazi Shah	900 CE
11.	Hussain Shah	902 CE
12.	Ali Shah	909 CE
13.	Yusuf Shah	918 CE
14.	Lohar Shah	918 CE
15.	Yaqub Shah	927 CE

The Later Kashmir Kings

Interestingly, James Princep gives the following 28 names of Kashmir kings omitted by Hindu writers but supplied by Muslim sources.

1. Suliman
2. Cassalgham
3. Maherkaz

4.	Pandu Khan	(Pandu of the Lunar line)
5.	Ladi Khan	
6.	Ledder Khan	
7.	Sunder Khan	(Hindu worship established)
8.	Cunder Khan	
9.	Sunder Khan	
10.	Tundu Khan	
11.	Beddu Khan	
12.	Mahand Khan	
13.	Durbinash Khan	
14.	Deosir Khan	
15.	Tehab Khan	(Dethroned by king of Kabul)
16.	Calju Khan	
17.	Luvkhab Khan	
18.	Shermabaram Khan	
19.	Naureng Khan	(Conquered China)
20.	Barigh Khan	
21.	Gowasheh Khan	
22.	Pandu Khan II	(Extended empire to the sea)
23.	Haris Khan	
24.	Sanzil Khan	
25.	Akber Khan	
26.	Jaber Khan	
27.	Nauder Khan	
28.	Sanker Khan	(Slain by Bakra Raja)

Most probably, these 28 Kashmir kings mentioned by James Princep were the later Kashmir kings who reigned around 1000-1600 CE. Kashmiris also say that the kings belonging to the Pandu dynasty ruled over Kashmir for a long time and most of the historians are also in

agreement with this. Seemingly, Pandu Khan and his descendant kings were referred to as the Pandu dynasty. The proof of the kingdom of this dynasty is provided by archaeological finds which still exist in Kashmir. The ruins on the Martand Plateau are popularly called "Pandav-Lar" or the building of the Pandavas which was built by Rāmadev.

Interestingly, one Persian inscription from Srinagar mention the 4th regnal year of Raji Hashti Zargar and the year 879. This epigraphic evidence indicates that Raji Hashti Zargar was the king of Kashmir in the year 879 (1473-1474 CE). Seemingly, this inscription refers to the epoch of 621-622 CE and not the Hijrah era. Historians have speculated that Sultan Hasan (1472-1484 CE) was ruling in the year 879 but his 4th regnal year cannot be explained. There is a need of further research to establish the chronology of Kashmir King Raji Hashti Zargar.

The Chronological History of Jammu

Around 3850 BCE, Dayā Karan became the king of Kashmir and his younger brother Dharma Karan became the king of Jammu. Kirti karan, Agni Karan and Shakti Karan were the successors of King Dharma Karan. King Shakti Karan was a great learned man. He introduced the calendar of "Shāstra Era" (Saptarṣi Saṁvat) which begins from the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha month. Probably, King Shakti Karan also known as Rājā Shāstri had introduced the Shāstra era around 3777 BCE. Many inscriptions of Chamba kings are found to be dated in the Shāstra era. The epoch of Shāstra era is found to be identical with that of Saptarṣi Saṁvat. Interestingly, it is recorded in ancient Jammu legends that King Shakti Karan or Rājā Shāstri had innovated the Dogra script. The modern Dogra Script is derived from Śāradā script which is in turn derived from the Brāhmi script. Probably, Rājā Shāstri had introduced or innovated the Brahmi Script. King Shiv Prakash, a descendant of King Shakti Karan was ruling over Jammu during the Mahābhārata era. King Śalya of Madra kingdom, the maternal uncle of Nakula and Sahadeva invaded Jambūpura and annexed it. King Shiv Prakash took shelter in inner mountains. Many generations of King Shiv Prakash lived in mountains.

Saran Dev, son of Bhau Dev was the King of Kashmir before the Mahābhārata era who was a distant descendant of King Dayā Karan (3850 BCE). Later, Saran Dev settled in Akhnur and founded Sahran state. Thus, Bhau Dev, the father of Saran Dev has been considered to be the progenitor of the Bhau Rajputs of Jammu.

The Chronology of Jammu Kings up to the Mahābhārata era:

Kings of Jammu Region		
1.	King Dharma Karan	3850-3820 BCE
2.	King Kirti Karan	3820-3800 BCE
3.	Agni Karan	3800-3777 BCE
4.	Shakti Karan	3777-3750 BCE
	Interregnum	3750-3200 BCE
	Shiv Prakash	3200-3177 BCE

The Chronology of Jammu After Mahābhārata Era

According to *Gulabnama* written by Diwan Kriparam, Jyoti Prakash and Sarva Prakash (Sari Prakash or Jai Dev), the descendants of King Shiv Prakash of the Mahābhārata era re-conquered Jammu with the assistance of Charak clan and established their rule in the 444th year of Kaliyuga (3101 BCE). During the reign of Brahma Prakash, Jammu was devastated by the great flood. The Chronology of the descendants of King Jyoti Prakash:

		Duration	**In CE**
	The successors of Madra King Śalya of the Mahābhārata era	444 years	3101-2658 BCE
1.	**Jyoti Prakash**	35	2658-2623 BCE
2.	Pushpa Prakash	50	2623-2573 BCE
3.	Ratan Prakash or Dharma Prakash	43	2550-2530 BCE
4.	Bhushan Prakash	60	2530-2470 BCE
5.	Brahma Prakash	41	2470-2429 BCE
6.	Jām Prakash	51	2429-2378 BCE
7.	Kishor Inder	43	2378-2335 BCE

8.	Ajindar	25	2335-2310 BCE
9.	Rajindar	55	2310-2255 BCE
10.	Nārindar	10	2255-2245 BCE
11.	Brijendar	30	2245-2215 BCE
12.	Harischandra	40	2215-2175 BCE
13.	Hiranyanābha	31	2175-2144 BCE
14.	Kamak Baran	41	2144-2103 BCE
15.	Dhatu Baran	70	2103-2033 BCE
16.	Taj Baran	25	2033-2008 BCE
17.	Bali Baran	20	2008-1988 BCE

King Bodh Arjun the Great (1988-1908 BCE)

According to Vaṁśāvalī of Jammu, King Bodh Arjun ascended the throne after King Bali Baran. He was the greatest king of Jammu and reigned for 80 years. Probably, he became a king at very young age. He conquered up to Bengal and Kamarupa in the east, Kanyakumari and Sri Lanka in the south and Gujarat, Sindh and Multan in the west. He also married a Sri Lankan princess. His seven descendants reigned for 357 years.

		Duration	**In CE**
1.	Raja Bodh Arjun	80	1988-1908 BCE
2.	Kamalnābh	50	1908-1858 BCE
3.	Shivanābh	75	1858-1783 BCE
4.	Kalijnābh	32	1783-1751 BCE
5.	Kamalvallabh	54	1751-1697 BCE
6.	Sarupvallabh	40	1697-1657 BCE
7.	Homavallabh	70	1657-1587 BCE
8.	Raja Vallabh	36	1587-1551 BCE

King Mangal Chand Katoch of Kangra-Nagarkot of Himachal Pradesh invaded Jammu and killed Raja Vallabh around 1503 BCE. Bhanu Yaksha, a cousin of Raja Vallabha revolted against Mangal Chand and killed him in a battle. Thus, Bhanu Yaksha founded the rule of his

dynasty in Jammu. At that time, the Yavana kings of Takśaśilā invaded up to Sāketa and Magadha during the reign of the Maurya King Śāliśūka (1494-1481 BCE) as recorded in the Yuga Purāṇa and started expanding their kingdom. They also conquered Jammu region. Thus, Bhanu Yaksha and his descendants ruled as vassals of Takśaśilā.

		Duration	**In CE**
1.	Bhanu Yaksha	48 (68?)	1551-1503 BCE
2.	Samudra Yaksha	20 (50?)	1503-1483 BCE
3.	Harith Yaksha	30	1483-1453 BCE
4.	Shankh Haran	20 (50?)	1453-1433 BCE
5.	Mrig Haran	26	1433-1407 BCE
6.	Devakar	20 (60?)	1407-1387 BCE
7.	Jayakar	25	1387-1362 BCE
8.	Adi Varaha	51	1362-1311 BCE

There is a reference in Jammu Vaṁśāvalī that the line of kings from Ādi Varāha to down Damodar Dutt, a dynasty of 8 kings ruled from Takśaśilā. Seemingly, Jammu kings also controlled a part of Madra country during this period. Damodar dutt might have lost his control over Madra kingdom due to the rise of Kushanas.

		Duration	**In CE**
1.	Bhumi Datt	20 (75?)	1311-1291 BCE
2.	Kuram Datt or Puran Datt	20 (64?)	1291-1271 BCE
3.	Kusam Datt or Khem Datt	20 (80?)	1271-1251 BCE
4.	Jai Dutt	20 (30?)	1251-1231 BCE
5.	Vijay Dutt	25	1231-1206 BCE
6.	Damodar Dutt	37	1206-1169 BCE
7.	Udep Chand	20 (40?)	1169-1149 BCE
8.	Lakhan Chand	20 (53?)	1149-1129 BCE
9.	Samudra Bhushan	41	1129-1088 BCE
10.	Jagat Singh	20	1088-1068 BCE

11.	Bhagat Singh alias Shakti Bhushan	42	1068-1026 BCE
12.	Gaj Singh	35	1026-991 BCE
13.	Ajay Singh	41	991-950 BCE
14.	Vijay Singh	47	950-903 BCE

Interestingly, Firishta mentions that Kaid Raja (most probably, Kushana kings Kanishka and Huvishka) reigned over Punjab for some decades. He built the fort of Jammu and appointed Durg of Ghakhar tribe (Khokhar) as governor. According to Firishta, the fort of Jammu remained under the possession of Ghakkars from the time of King Durg to the Mughal period. The Kaid Raja (Huvishka's successor) appointed Jai Chand as his governor in Delhi. Raja Dilhu, the younger brother of Jai Chand (1040-1030 BCE) ruled over Delhi for 40 years around 1030-990 BCE. King Puru Sen of Madra country killed Raja Dilhu and annexed the region of Delhi.

According to Jammu Vaṁśāvalī, King Puru Sen or Purva Sen was the king of Madra country and he was the contemporary of Jammu King Ajay Singh, the seventh descendant of Damodar Datt. King Ajay Singh married Rani Mangalan Dai, the daughter of Madra King Purva Sen. Undoubtedly, King Purva Sen or Puru Sen of Madra country was the "Poros" referred to by Greek historians. He was the contemporary of Alexander. His capital was Gotipani which was situated on the east of Behat (Probably, Islamabad or Rawalpindi). Raja Puru Sen conquered all the territories on the Sindhu River. His kingdom was extended from Indus River in the west to Jalandhar and Chamba kingdoms in the east. Seemingly, Raja Puru Sen defeated Alexander and one of his soldiers shot an arrow and injured Alexander around 984 BCE. Thus, we can roughly fix the date of Ajay Singh around 991-950 BCE and the date of Madra King Puru Sen around 1000-950 BCE. Later, Raja Ajay Singh of Jammu was killed while fighting on the side of King Puru Sen, his father-in-law. Considering King Puru Sen (Poros) and his son-in-law Jammu king Ajay Singh as the contemporaries of Alexander (~984 BCE) and Seleucus (965-941 BCE), I have to correct the number of regnal years assigned to the Jammu kings from Bhanu Yaksha to Ajay Singh in the *Gulabnama*.

Interestingly, Firishta holds that after the war between Raja Fur (King Puru Sen or Poros) and Iskandar (Alexandar), King Sansara Chandra (Chandragupta of Chandra dynasty) seized the reins of Hindustan. Tibetan monk Taranatha refers to him as Buddhapakśa. The Jammu Vaṁśāvalī records that the following four kings reigned after King Vijay Singh.

		Duration	In CE
1.	Deva Gupta	52	903-851 BCE
2.	Rama Gupta	9 (75?)	851-842 BCE
3.	Chandragupta	60	842-782 BCE
4.	Nanda Gupta	63	782-719 BCE

The Rai Dynasty (719-178 BCE)

Adi Rai was the progenitor of the Rai dynasty of Jammu. He was the contemporary of Vikramāditya I who founded the epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE). Adi Rai reigned for 48 years and was succeeded by his son Dev Rai. Gandharva Rai was the son of Dev Rai. According to *Tarikh-i-Sialkot*, Jog Rai ascended the throne in Kārttikādi Vikrama Saṁvat 484 (235 BCE).

		Vikrama Saṁvat (719 BCE)	Duration	In CE
1.	Adi Rai	1-48	48	719-671 BCE
2.	Deva Rai	48-100	52	671-619 BCE
3.	Gandharv Rai	100-135	36 (42?)	619-583 BCE
4.	Kadamba Rai	135-181	46	583-537 BCE
5.	Karam Rai	181-261	80 (74?)	537-457 BCE
6.	Khir Rai	261-286	25	457-432 BCE
7.	Khikhar Rai	286-318	32	432-401 BCE
8.	Sindh Rai	318-368	50	401-351 BCE
9.	Jagat Rai	368-439	71 (20?)	351-281 BCE
10.	Dod Rai	439-484	45 (12?)	280-235 BCE
11.	Jog Rai	484-541	57	235-178 BCE

King Deva Rai and St. Andrews

Lala Ganesh Dass mentions in his *Rājadarśani* that St. Andrews visited the court of Jammu King Dev Rai (679-619 BCE) and presented two documents written in the Assyrian language. The descendants of Dev Rai kept these documents in safe custody but got lost during the reign of Akbar. King Ranjit Dev ordered a thorough search but these documents could not be traced. There is a crying need to find out the veracity of this legend.

King Gaj and His Son Shalbahan

According to Yadu-Bhatti annals, Raja Gaj founded the city of Gajapura (known as Ghazni) in the 3008th year of Yudhiṣṭhira era. Considering the epoch of Mahābhārata war and Yudhiṣṭhira era (3162 BCE), Raja Gaj built the city of Ghazni in 154 BCE. He invaded Kashmir and married a princess of Kashmir. He had a son named Shalbahan. Historians have mistakenly assumed King Śālivāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna and Raja Gaj's son Shalbahan as identical. In fact, King Śālivāhana lived around 659-630 BCE whereas Raja Gaj's son Shalbahan flourished around 150-80 CE. According to the legends of Jammu, Shalbahan conquered Punjab and founded a city named Shalbahanpura. King Shalbahana had 15 sons. His son Raja Rasalu married princess Luna of Chamba. Raja Hodi (Kidarite King?) of Peshawar was the enemy of Raja Rasalu.

Kashmir King Hiraṇya and His Son Pravarasena II

According to the legends of Jammu, when Kashmir King Hiraṇya was imprisoned by his brother, his wife took shelter in the house of a potter in Jammu. She gave birth to Pravarasena II. Sh. Ganesh Dass states that Dev Rai and Gandharva Rai were the kings of Jammu when Pravarasena II was born and brought up in Jammu. Sh. Ganesh Dass simply followed the chronology given by Kalhaṇa. I have established that there is an error of 300 years in the chronology given by Kalhaṇa. King Hiraṇya reigned around 441-411 BCE. King Harsha Vikramāditya appointed Mātrigupta as king of Kashmir around 410 BCE. After the death of Mātrigupta, Pravarasena II ruled over Kashmir around 405-345 BCE. Thus, Pravarasena II was the contemporary of Kings Khikhar Rai and Sind Rai of Jammu.

The Dynasty of King Suraj Hans

Suraj Hans was a son of King Jog Rai (235-148 BCE). His elder brother Malhan Hans reigned in Sialkot whereas Suraj Hans became the King of Jammu in 178 BCE. He was the contemporary of Sasanian King Anushirwan (129-81 BCE). On the request of Anushirwan, Pandit Brij Basi, a court poet of Raja Jammu facilitated the translation of *Pañchatantra* into Persian language which is known as *Kalila-o-Dimma*. The chronology of King Suraj Hans and his descendants:

		Vikrama Saṁvat (719 BCE)	**Duration**	**In CE**
1.	Suraj Hans		63	178-115 BCE
2.	Ganga Dhar		45	115-70 BCE
3.	Devala Dhar		49	70-21 BCE
4.	Sarpāla Dhar		26	21 BCE-5CE
5.	Kirat Dhar	724	64	5-69 CE
6.	Aje Dhar		59	69-128 CE
7.	Bije Dhar		50	128-178 CE
8.	Bajarla Dhar		53	178-231 CE
9.	Suraj Dhar or Suraj Dev	1009	72	231-303 CE
10.	Bhoj Dev	1032	28?	303-331 CE
11.	Avtar Dev		30 (44?)	330-361 CE
12.	Jas Dev (founder of Jasrota city)	1080-1110	30	361-391 CE
13.	Sangram Dev	1110-1151	41	391-432 CE
14.	Jasaskar Dev or Jag Dev	1151-1221	70	432-502 CE
15.	Brij Dev (Hijrah 586)	1221-1272	51	502-553 CE
16.	Narsing Dev	1272-1314	42	553-595 CE
17.	Arjan Dev	1314-1369	55	595-650 CE
18.	Jodh Dev	1369-1416	47	650-697 CE

King Mal Dev (697-737 CE)

According to *Gulabnama*, King Maldev reigned for 40 years and died in Vikrama Samvat 1456 (737 CE).

		Duration	**In CE**
1.	Raja Mal Dev	40	697-737 CE
2.	Hamir Dev	26	737-763 CE
3.	Ajay Dev	31	763-794 CE
4.	Bairam Dev	45	794-839 CE
5.	Khokhar Dev (Hijrah 932) (Guru Nanak Dev was born in 809 CE and lived during the time of Khokhar Dev.)	29	839-868 CE
6.	Kapur Dev (Hijrah 937)	41	868-909 CE
7.	Jag Dev and Smail Dev (Jag Dev reigned in Bahu and Smail Dev reigned in Jammu)		
8.	Raja Paras Ram or Krishan Dev		
9.	Azmat Dev and Prithvi Chand		
10.	Karpal Dev		
11.	Nand Dev		

King Smail Dev and his descendants:

		Duration	**In CE**
1.	Smail Dev	25	909-934 CE
2.	Sangram Dev	30	934-964 CE
3.	Bhup Dev (Hijrah 1036)	26	964-990 CE
4.	Hari Dev	36	990-1026 CE
5.	Gaje Singh	15	1026-1041 CE
6.	Dhruv Dev I	30	1041-1071 CE
7.	Ranjit Dev I	?	1071-?

The chronological history of Jammu calls for a careful verification of facts during the time of Dhruv Dev I and Ranjit Dev I. Due to the chronological error of 660 years, there are some contradictory dates for the historical events. Seemingly, Jammu kingdom had suffered a lot due

to invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Durrani during the time of Dhruv Dev I and Ranjit Dev I. Traditional sources indicate that Dhruv Dev I reigned for 30 years but historians assign only 22 years for Dhruva Dev.

The Chronology of the Princely State of Jammu

The early history of Jammu from 1071 CE to 1700 CE needs to be explored and reconstructed due to the chronological error of 660 years. The Jamwal Vaṁśāvali informs us that Raja Manak Dev, conquered some villages near the town of Ramkot, built a fort named "Mankot" there, which he named after himself and made it his capital around 1300 CE. Raja Jaidev (1560/1585 CE) built Bahu fort and his descendants came to be known as Bahuwals. Many kings of Jammu had a title of "Mian" like Mian Surat Singh Dev, Mian Dhalla Singh and Mian Dhaddan Singh etc., who might have flourished during the period from 1100 CE to 1700 BCE. We have the list of latest rulers of Jammu Princely state.

		In CE
	Raja Manak Dev	1300 CE
	.....	
	Raja Jaidev	1560/1585 CE
	.....	
1.	Dhruv Dev II	1703-1725 CE
2.	Balwant Singh	1725-1763 CE
3.	Ranjit Dev II	1763-1780 CE
4.	Dalel Singh	1780-1782 CE
5.	Rai Brajraj Dev	1782-1787 CE
6.	Rai Sampurna Singh	1787-1797 CE
7.	Rai Jeet Singh	1797-1816 CE
8.	Rai Kishor Singh	1820-1822 CE
9.	Maharaja Gulab Singh	1822-1856 CE
10.	Maharaja Ranbir Singh	1856-1885 CE
11.	Maharaja Pratap Singh	1885-1925 CE
12.	Maharaja Hari Singh	1925-1948 CE

The Kings of Basholi or Balor or Vallapura

The kings of Basholi claim their descent from the Pāndavas of Mahābhārata era. They belong to Chandra Vaṁśa. They settled in Babhrupura or Babbor in Jammu after Mahābhārata era. Later, they had to settle at Vallapura (Balor) due to the rise of Jyoti Prakash dynasty around 2658 BCE. Kalhaṇa refers to King Kalaśa of Vallapura (Balor) who was the contemporary of Kashmir King Kalaśa (363-383 CE). King Bhog Pal (765 CE) was the founder of a dynasty that reigned over Basholi after 765 CE. We have the list of latest rulers of Basholi:

	The Bhog Pal Dynasty	**In CE**
1.	Bhupat Pal	1598-1635 CE
2.	Sangram Pal	1635-1673 CE
3.	Hindal Pal	1673-1678 CE
4.	Kirpal Pal	1678-1693 CE
5.	Dhiraj Pal	1693-1725 CE
6.	Medini Pal	1725-1736 CE
7.	Jit Pal	1736-1757 CE
8.	Amrit Pal	1757-1776 CE
9.	Vijay Pal	1776-1806 CE
10.	Mohinder Pal	1806-1813 CE
11.	Bhupinder Pal	1813-1834 CE
12.	Kalyan Pal	1834-1857 CE

The Chronology of Uttarakhand

The Kuṇindas were ruling over the region of Uttarakhand during the Mahābhārata era. Arjuna defeated Kuṇindas during the course of Rājasūya. The Kuṇinda king supported Pāndavas in the Mahābhārata war. A silver coin of the Kuṇinda kingdom indicates that Maharaja Amoghabhūti was the King of Kuṇindas around 1000-900 BCE.

The Katyuri Dynasty of Kumaon

Seemingly, the Kuṇinda King Vasudeva founded his capital city of Kartripura or Kartikeyapura. The successors of King Vasudeva came

to be known as Katyuri kings. According to legends, Vasudeva was a Buddhist but later followed Sanatana Dharma under the influence of Śaṅkarāchārya II (44 BCE – 59 CE). Therefore, Vasudeva can be dated in the first half of the 1st century CE. The chronology of the Katyuri kings (25 - 700 CE):

	King Vasudeva and his successors	
1.	Basantana Dev	25-700 CE
2.	Kharpar Dev	
3.	Abhiraj Dev	
4.	Tribhuvanaraj Dev	
5.	Nimbarta Dev	
6.	Istanga	
7.	Lalitasura Dev	
8.	Bhu Dev	
9.	Salonaditya	
10.	Ichchata Dev	
11.	Deshat Dev	
12.	Padmata Dev	
13.	Subhiksharaja Dev	
14.	Dham Dev	
15.	Bir Dev	

The Chand Kings of Kumaon

King Som Chand defeated the Katyuri dynasty and founded the Chand kingdom of Kumaon around 700 CE. According to the legends, Som Chand belonged to Kannauj. Most probably, Som Chand was a descendant of the Gāhadwal dynasty. Here is the genealogical chronology of 62 Chand kings as presented by Sh. Badri Datt Pandey:

		In CE
1.	Som Chand	700-721 CE
2.	Atma Chand	721-740 CE
3.	Purna Chand	740-758 CE

4.	Indra Chand	758-778 CE
5.	Sansar Chand	778-813 CE
6.	Sudha Chand	813-833 CE
7.	Hamir Chand	833-856 CE
8.	Vina Chand	856-869 CE
9.	Vir Chand	1065-1080 CE
10.	Rup Chand	1080-1093 CE
11.	Laxmi Chand	1093-1113 CE
12.	Dharm Chand	1113-1121 CE
13.	Karm Chand	1121-1140 CE
14.	Ballal Chand	1140-1149 CE
15.	Nami Chand	1149-1170 CE
16.	Nar Chand	1170-1177 CE
17.	Nanaki Chand	1177-1195 CE
18.	Ram Chand	1195-1205 CE
19.	Bhishm Chand	1205-1226 CE
20.	Megh Chand	1226-1233 CE
21.	Dhyan Chand	1233-1251 CE
22.	Parvat Chand	1251-1261 CE
23.	Thor Chand	1261-1275 CE
24.	Kalyan Chand II	1275-1296 CE
25.	Trilok Chand	1296-1303 CE
26.	Damaru Chand	1303-1321 CE
27.	Dharm Chand	1321-1344 CE
28	Abhay Chand	1344-1374 CE
29.	Garur Gyan Chand	1374-1419 CE
30.	Harihar Chand	1419-1420 CE
31.	Udyan Chand	1420-1421 CE
32.	Atma Chand II	1421-1422 CE
33.	Hari Chand II	1422-1423 CE
34.	Vikram Chand	1423-1437 CE

35.	Bharati Chand	1437-1450 CE
36.	Ratna Chand	1450-1488 CE
37.	Kirti Chand	1488-1503 CE
38.	Pratap Chand	1503-1517 CE
39.	Tara Chand	1517-1533 CE
40.	Manik Chand	1533-1542 CE
41.	Kalyan Chand III	1542-1551 CE
42.	Purna Chand	1551-1555 CE
43.	Bhishm Chand	1555-1560 CE
44.	Balo Kalyan Chand	1560-1568 CE
45.	Rudra Chand	1568-1597 CE
46.	Laxmi Chand	1597-1621 CE
47.	Dilip Chand	1621-1624 CE
48.	Vijay Chand	1624-1625 CE
49.	Trimal Chand	1625-1638 CE
50.	Baz Bahadur Chand	1638-1678 CE
51.	Udyot Chand	1678-1698 CE
52.	Gyan Chand	1698-1708 CE
53.	Jagat Chand	1708-1720 CE
54.	Devi Chand	1720-1726 CE
55.	Ajit Chand	1726-1729 CE
56.	Kalyan Chand V	1729-1747 CE
57.	Deep Chand	1747-1777 CE
58.	Mohan Chand	1777-1779 CE
59.	Pradyumn Chand	1779-1786 CE
60.	Mohan Chand	1786-1788 CE
61.	Shiv Chand	1788 CE
62.	Mahendra Chand	1788-1790 CE

The Panwar (Paramāra) Kings of Garhwal

Kanak Pal was the founder of the Panwar dynasty of Garhwal. According to legends, Kanak Pal came to Garhwal for pilgrimage purpose. He met

King Son Pal of Garhwal and married his only daughter. King Son Pal gave Chandpur to Kanak Pal in dowry. Thus, Kanak Pal founded the rule of Panwar dynasty around Chaitrādi Vikrama Saṁvat 745 (688 CE). Seemingly, Kanak Pal was a descendant of the Paramāra King Devapāla (555-571 CE) of Dhārānagari.

There are at least five genealogical lists of Garhwal kings. Maularam, the court poet of Garhwal King Pradyumna Shah (1781-1804 CE) provided a list of Garhwal kings. There is also a list of the Garhwal kings provided by a Pandit of Kumaon which is identical to the list given by Maularam. Bharat, a court poet of King Man Shah and the author of *Manodaya Kavya* starts the Vaṁśāvalī from Ajaypal. William Frazer also presented a list of Garhwal kings from Kanak Pal to Pradyumna Shah in 1814 CE.

	Maularam List and Kumaon List	**William List**
1.	Bhavanpal	Kanakpal
2.	Abhaypal	Visheshwarpal
3.	Karnpal (brother of Abhaypal)	Sumitpal
4.	Visheshanpal	Puranpal
5.	Sompal	Abhigatpal
6.	Vigatpal	Bhuktipal
7.	Surathpal	Retipal
8.	Jaintpal	Shalivahan
9.	Punnapal	Madanpal
10.	Avigatpal	Bhagdatt Pal
11.	Salibahanpal	Vibhogpal
12.	Sangotpal	Jayachandra
13.	Mangotpal	Hiratpal
14.	Ratnapal	Madansahaypal
15.	Madanpal	Avigatpal
16.	Vidhipal	Surajpal
17.	Bhagdantpal	Jayantpal
18.	Chandrapal	Aniruddhpal
19.	Kirtipal	Vibhogpal

20.	Madansinghpal	Gumanpal
21.	Aniruddhpal	Vikrampal
22.	Vibhogiripal	Vichitrapal
23.	Vidhanpal	Hanspal
24.	Vikrampal	Sonapal
25.	Viajupal	Kantikripal
26.	Sahajpal	Kamdev
27.	Sonpal	Sulakshanpal
28.	Kandhpal	Mahalakshanpal
29.	Sahadevpal	Satpal
30.	Sulakhshanpal	Apurvdev
31.	Lakhandev	Jay
32.	Alakhanpal	Jirtagpal
33.	Anantdevpal	Kalyanpal
34.	Abhaydevpal	Ajaypal
35.	Ajaypal	Anantpal
36.	Ajaydev	Sundarpal
37.	Aspratappal	Sahajpal
38.	Jairajdevpal	Vijaypal
39.	Gantdevpal	Bahadur Shah
40.	Jitarathdev	Shital Shah
41.	Kalyanpal	Man Shah
42.	Anantpal	Shyam Shah
43.	Dipantpal	Mahipat Shah
44.	Jaipal	Prithwipati Shah
45.	Sundarpal	Medni Shah
46.	Sahajpal	Fateh Shah
47.	Vijaurajpal	Upendra Shah
48.	Valbhadra Shah	Pradipt Shah
49.	Shital Shah	Lalit Shah
50.	Man Shah	Pradyuman Shah

51. Shyam Shah
52. Duloram Shah
53. Mahipati Shah
54. Prithvi Shah
55. Medani Shah
56. Fateh Shah
57. Upendra Shah
58. Dulip Shah
59. Pradip Shah
60. Lalit Shah
61. Pradyumna Shah

Beckett presented the following list of the Panwar kings of Garhwal in 1849 CE. Here follows the chronology of Garhwal kings, considering the date of Kanak Pal in Saṁvat 745 (688 CE):

		Duration	**In CE**
1.	Kanak Pal	11	688 - 699 CE
2.	Shyam Pal	26	699 - 725 CE
3.	Pandu Pal	31	725 - 756 CE
4.	Abhigat Pal	25	756 - 780 CE
5.	Sigal or Saugat Pal	20	781 - 800 CE
6.	Ratan Pal	49	800 - 849 CE
7.	Sāli Pal	8	850 - 857 CE
8.	Vidhi Pal	20	858 - 877 CE
9.	Madan Pal	17	788 - 894 CE
10.	Bhakti Pal	25	895 - 919 CE
11.	Jay Chand Pal	29	920- 948 CE
12.	Prithvi Pal	24	948 - 971 CE
13.	Medni Sen Pal	22	973- 995 CE
14.	Agasti Pal	20	995- 1014 CE
15.	Surati Pal	22	1015 - 1036 CE

16.	Jay Pal	19	1037 - 1055 CE
17.	Anant Pal I	16	1056 - 1072 CE
18.	Anand Pal II	12	1072 - 1083 CE
19.	Vibhog Pal	18	1084 - 1101 CE
20.	Suvayaanu Pal	14	1102 - 1115 CE
21.	Vikram Pal	15	1116 - 1131 CE
22.	Vichitra Pal	10	1131 - 1140 CE
23.	Hans Pal	11	1141 - 1152 CE
24.	Son Pal	7	1152 - 1159 CE
25.	Kaadil Pal	5	1159 - 1164 CE
26.	Kam Dev Pal	15	1172 - 1179 CE
27.	Sulakshan Dev	18	1179 - 1197 CE
28.	Lakhan Dev	23	1197 - 1220 CE
29.	Anand Pal	21	1220 - 1241 CE
30.	Purv Dev	19	1241 - 1260 CE
31.	Abhay Dev	7	1260 - 1267 CE
32.	Jayram Dev	23	1267 - 1290 CE
33.	Aasal Dev	9	1290- 1299 CE
34.	Jagat Pal	12	1299 - 1311 CE
35.	Jeet Pal	19	1311 - 1330 CE
36.	Anant Pal	28	1330 - 1358 CE
37.	Ajay Pal	31	1358 - 1389 CE
38.	Kalyan Shah	9	1389 - 1398 CE
39.	Sundar Pal	15	1398 - 1413 CE
40.	Hans Dev Pal	13	1413 - 1426 CE
41.	Vijay Pal	11	1426 - 1437 CE
42.	Sahaj Pal	36	1437 - 1473 CE
43.	Balbhadra Shah	25	1473 - 1498 CE
44.	Man Shah	20	1498 - 1518 CE
45.	Shyam Shah	9	1518 - 1527 CE
46.	Mahipat Shah	25	1527 - 1552 CE

47.	Prithvi Shah	62	1552 - 1614 CE
48.	Medni Shah	46	1614 - 1660 CE
49.	Fateh Shah	48	1660 - 1708 CE
50.	Upendra Shah	1	1708 - 1709 CE
51.	Pradeep Shah	63	1709 - 1772 CE
52.	Lalit Shah	8	1772 - 1780 CE
53.	Jayakrit Shah	6	1780 - 1786 CE
54.	Pradyumna Shah	18	1786 - 1804 CE
	Interregnum		*1804 - 1815 CE*
55.	Sudarshan Shah		1815 -1859 CE
56.	Bhawani Shah		1859 - 1871 CE
57.	Pratap Shah		1871 - 1886 CE
58.	Keerti Shah		1886 - 1913 CE
59.	Narendra Shah		1913 - 1946 CE
60.	Manavendra Shah		1946 - 1949 CE

20

The Chronology of Sindhu-Sauvira Kingdom

Sindh and Baluchistan regions of modern Pakistan were known as Sindhu-Sauvira kingdom in ancient times. Sauvira (13500 BCE), the founder of Sauvira kingdom was a son of King Śibi (13550 BCE) of the early Vedic era. The kings of Sauvira kingdom came to be known as Śaibyas or Śibis. These Śibi kings (near Quetta) still existed during the time of Alexander's invasion. Even today, the same region is known as Śibi. The Śibis were part of the Aṇu dynasty of the Soma or Chandra Vaṁśa.

According to legends, Vichitra was the king of Sauvira kingdom in the beginning of Vaivasvata Manvantara (11250-11200 BCE). He had two sons, Hingol and Sundar who used to torment the people of Sauvira and Sindhudeśa. Ganesha, son of Śiva killed Sundar and Devi killed Hingol who was hiding in a cave. Thus, the same cave came to be known as Hinglaj Devi temple. After the death of Hingol and Sundar, King Ratnasena became the king of Sindh. Rishi Dadhichi II provided shelter to the sons of Ratnasena when Paraśurama killed him. The sons of Ratnasena came to be known as Brahmakśatriyas because they were disguised as brahmanas to avoid the wrath of Paraśurama. Jayasena, son of Ratnasena succeeded him around 11150 BCE. Most probably, the capital of the earliest Sindh kingdom was located close to Rohri hills.

Around 11100-11000 BCE, Saindhava (Jayadratha), son of Vriddhakśatra was the king of Sindhudeśa. He married Duśśalā, daughter of Nāga king Dhritarashtra. Since Arjuna Phalguna killed him, Durbuddhi, son of Dhritarashtra went to Manipura to kill Arjuna Phalguna during the time of Dharmarāja's Aśvamedha. Devakiputra Krishna revived Suratha,

son of Duśśalā who was probably in coma. We have no information of Sindh history after Suratha because Vedic Sarasvati River had been dried up around 10950 BCE and entire Sapta Sindhu region witnessed on mass exodus.

The archaeological sites like Mehargarh (7000-6000 BCE) indicate the flourishing region of Sauviras of ancient times. Rāmāyaṇa (5677-5577 BCE) refers to Sauvira janapada and Sindhurāja (*Anūpam Sindurājasya*). Probably, the area from Anupgarh to Multan and from Multan to Larkana was the Sindhudeśa during the Rāmāyaṇa era. The archaeological sites like Mohenjodaro and Kot Diji were the remnants of the glorious kingdom of Sindh. Mahābhārata also refers to Sauviras and Saindhavas.

The Roruka Dynasty of Sindh

The kings of Sindh were popularly known as Saindhavas. The Rorukas of Sūrya Vaṁśa had established their kingdom in the post-Vedic period. Ruruka was the founder of the Roruka dynasty of Sindh. King Ruruka of the Ikśvāku dynasty was the ancestor of Sri Rāma and flourished around 6560-6530 BCE. His descendants founded their kingdom in Sindh around 6500 BCE. They built the cities of Roruka (Mohenjo Daro) and Kot Diji during the post-Rāmāyaṇa period. Seemingly, Roruka or Roruka (Mohenjo Daro) was the capital city of Roruka kings.

There was another Ikśvāku king named Ruru. According to Purāṇas, Devānīka, the 8th descendant of Sri Rāma might have lived around 5400-5350 BCE. Devānīka had three sons, Ahināga, Rūpa and Ruru. The Rurus or Rauravas were the descendants of King Ruru. These Rurus settled at Thanesar (Sthāṇvīśvara) and came to be known as the Ror community. Thus, Rorukas reigned at Sindh whereas Rurus or Rauravas reigned at Sthāṇvīśvara.

Unfortunately, we have no genealogical lists of ancient Roruka kings of Sindh. Buddhist text '*Bhallātiya Jātaka*' and Jain texts (in the context of the story of Udayana and the city of Vītabhaya) relate that King Rudrāyana I and his son Śikhandi reigned over the city of Roruka. During the reign of King Śikhandi (around 3000 BCE), the city of Roruka (Mohenjo Daro) got wiped out in a major sand storm. This may be the reason why the

Roruka city came to be known as Mohenjo Daro (mound of the dead men). Kot Diji might have also been wiped out in this sand storm. Thus, the catastrophic sand storm led to the decline of the glorious Roruka dynasty of Sindh.

The Later Roruka Dynasty After the Mahābhārata Era

Seemingly, some of the descendants of the Roruka dynasty survived and migrated to Gujarat or Rajasthan. The legendary King Rai Diyach, a descendant of the Roruka dynasty built the new city of Roruka on the banks of Indus River. A historic Hindu temple is situated in the middle of the Indus River on an island. Śarkarā janapada (known as Sukkur today) was located close to the new Roruka city. Pāṇini refers to Śarkarā janapada.[1] Buddhist sources mention that the Roruka King Rudrāyana II was a contemporary of King Bimbisāra (1925-1873 BCE) of Rājagriha.

According to the Ror Vaṁśāvali,[2] Tisman became the king in the year 1265 (1897 BCE) of Pāndav Saṁvat (3162 BCE), King Dhaj Ror was born in the year 1342 (1820 BCE). King Khaga Ror built a fort in Kagarol Village of Agra in the year 1740 (1422 BCE) of Pāndav Saṁvat (3162 BCE). Undoubtedly, the Pāndav Saṁvat referred to in the Vaṁśāvali was the epoch of the Yudhiṣṭhira era or the Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE). A genealogical list of the kings of later Roruka dynasty:

		Pāndav Saṁvat (3162 BCE)	**In CE**
1.	Mukan Dev		
2.	Mal Dev		
3.	Ajay Dev		
4.	Vijay Dev		
5.	Sārang Dev		
6.	Jujar Dev		3100-1897 BCE
7.	Raj Dev		
8.	Bhanwar Simha		
9.	Indrajit		
10.	Anādi Dev		

11.	Nara Dev		3100-1897 BCE
12.	Hridayarikh		
13.	Mahendrarikh		
14.	Sugata		
15.	Bala Dev		
16.	Bālan Dev		
17.	Chandramani		
18.	Hariman		
19.	Chintaman		
20.	Devman		
21.	Abhaya Dev		
22.	Shambhun		
23.	Ashiman		
24.	Chapalman		
25.	Dharma Sen (Rudrāyana II?)		
26.	Tisman	1265	1897-1840 BCE
27.	Indraman		1840-1800 BCE
28.	Dhaj Ror Kumar	1342	1800-1740 BCE
29.	Kunak		1740-1422 BCE
30.	Rudhak		
31.	Hadak		
32.	Devanik		
33.	Ahinak		
34.	Paripat (adopted son of Ahinak)		
35.	Bal Shah		
36.	Vijay Bhan		
37.	Khangar	1740	1422-1360 BCE
38.	Brahmadarth		1360-210 BCE
39.	Hara Ansh		
40.	Brihadarth		

41.	Ishman	
42.	Sridhar	
43.	Mohri	
44.	Prasanna Ketu	
45.	Amirvan	
46.	Mahasena	
47.	Brihaddhaul	
48.	Harikirti	
49.	Soma	
50.	Mitravan	
51.	Pushyapata	
52.	Sudāv	
53.	Vidiratha	
54.	Nahakman	
55.	Mangalmitra	1360-210 BCE
56.	Surata	
57.	Pushkara Ketu	
58.	Antara Ketu	
59.	Sutajaya	
60.	Brihaddhvaj	
61.	Bāhuk	
62.	Kamshajayi	
63.	Kagnish	
64.	Kapish	
65.	Sumantra	
66.	Lingalāv	
67.	Manasjit	
68.	Sundara Ketu	
69.	Dadror	210-175 BCE

According to legends, Devāditya or Dewaji was a Purohit or the minister of King Dadror. He poisoned him to death and became the king of Sindh.

	The first Brahmana dynasty of Sindh	**In CE**
1.	Devāditya or Dewaji	175-150 BCE
2.	Sahasi Rai Shahi	150-100 BCE
3.	Rai Siharas	100-60 BCE
4.	Rai Sahasi I (elder son)	60-50 BCE
5.	Rai Sahasi II (Younger son)	50-33 BCE

The later Ror kings of Sindh might have surrendered to supremacy of the Achaemenid Empire around 1178 BCE during the time of Darius I. The Kushana Empire also dominated over Sindh around 1100-1050 BCE during the time of Kanishka and Huvishka. The Gāndhāra and Sauvira kingdoms were under the rule of the Indo-Parthians and the Indo-Greeks after 984 BCE. Evidently, the later Ror kings were weak rulers of Sindh in the 1st millennium BCE. During this period, Deval port (Karachi) emerged as the main trade center of Sindh. Sindh became strategically important for controlling the sea trade. The Indo-Parthians and Scythians might have conquered Sindh for a brief period. King Sri Harsha of Sthāṇvīśvara (457-405 BCE) conquered Sindh. The Hūṇas also controlled Sindh for some time. The Sasanian king of Nimroz invaded Sindh during the reign of Rai Siharas. Probably, Rai Sahasi I was killed in a battle against Kidarites.

The Brahmana Dynasty

According to *Chachnama*, Chach was the minister of Rai Sāhasi II. After his death, he married the widowed queen and taken over the reins of Sindh. Rai Sāhasi's Brother Rana Maharath, the king of Chittor fought a hard battle against Chach but got killed. The Brahmana king Chach reigned for 40 years. His brother Chander succeeded him. Chach had two sons, Dahir and Dahirsiya. Dahir became the ruler of Ror or Alor kingdom and Dahirsiya reigned from Brahmanabad. After the death of Dahirsiya, Dahir shifted his capital from the city of Ror to Brahmanabad.

	The second Brahmana dynasty	**Duration**	**In CE**
1.	Chach	40 years	33 BCE – 7 CE
2.	Chander	7 years	7-14 CE

3.	**Dahir**	**38 years**	**14-52 CE**
4.	Dahirsiya	30 years	14-43 CE

Mohammad bin Kasim attacked at Debal, a premier seaport of Sindh and plundered the city around 52 CE. The Sindh King Dahir bravely fought a hard battle against Kasim but finally perished. His widow Ranibai did not surrender to Kasim. Though she died by performing 'Jauhar' but she fought bravely for more than eight months. Finally, Kasim acquired control over Sindh including Brahmanabad and the city of Ror. Thus, Kasim established Muslim rule in Sindh. He captured two daughters of Dahir namely Parmal Devi and Suraj Devi. Kasim sent them to Caliph of Baghdad. They cleverly charged that Kasim had kept them with him for 3 days and dishonoured them. The enraged Caliph ordered death punishment to Kasim. Kasim was stitched in the hides of oxen and died in 55 CE. Later, Caliph came to know the truth. These two brave Indian girls were tied to the tails of horses and dragged until they were dead.

Bappa Rawal (91-150 CE), the greatest king of Guhilas supported by the Pratihara king Nagabhatta I not only reconquered Sindh but also occupied Ghazni in Gāndhāra. Bappa Rawal re-established the rule of Rajputs in Sindh. The political situation in Sindh became volatile after the death of Bappa Rawal. Mirk Shah, a Muslim ruler of Thatta was ruling over Sindh around 280-300 CE.

The Date of Jhulelal (288-388 CE)

According the Sindhi sources, Jhulelal was born in Vikrama Saṁvat 1007. Considering the epoch of Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE), Jhulelal was born in 288 CE. His original name was Uderolal. The Sindhi legends tell us that Mirk Shah was ruling over Sindh from Thatta when Jhulelal was born. Jhulelal provided the leadership to the Sindhi Hindu community to counter the atrocities of Muslim rulers and also worked for the religious freedom. The Muslim community also considered him as a Sufi and respected him.

The Hebbari Dynasty (224-351 CE)

Hebbaris established their rule in Sindh and Brahmanabad was rebuilt in the name of Mansura. Khafif was the last Hebbari ruler. Seemingly,

Dalu Rai or Deva Rai founded the Samra dynasty around 351 CE. There was another Khafif in the Soomra dynasty. He was referred to as Khafif Soomera in Sindh.

The Samra Dynasty (351-830 CE)

Probably, the Samras of Sindh belonged to a Yaudheya clan of the Rajput-Jat community. Dalu Rai or Deva Rai, probably a descendant of the later Ror dynasty founded the rule of the Samra dynasty in Sindh around 351 CE. Chhatah Amrani was the brother of Dalu Rai. According to *Ain-i-Akbari*, the Samra clan of the Jats established their kingdom in Sindh and total 36 kings of the Samra clan ruled for 500 years. Thereafter, the Samra dynasty was superseded by another Jat clan, known as the Sammas who were the converted Muslims.

The First Samma Dynasty (800-860 CE), the Arghun Dynasty (860-895 CE) and the Mughals (895-1047 CE)

Most probably, the Samma Jats originally belonged to Sindh. They had a title of 'Sam' which became 'Jam'. Jam Nizamuddin, son of Babinah son of Umar, son of Salahuddin, son of Tamachi was elected to the throne of Sindh around 800 CE. His successor Feruzuddin lost the battle of Fathepur to Shabeg Arghun. The Sammas were originally Hindus and their progenitor was Sam (Soma?). The Arghun Dynasty reigned over Sindh around 860-895 CE. The Mughals also controlled Sindh around 895-1047 CE.

The Soomra Dynasty (1047-1351 CE)

Historians mistakenly considered the Samra and the Soomra dynasties as identical but both were two different clans. The Samra dynasty was founded by a Hindu King Dalu Rai or Deva Rai whereas the Soomra dynasty was founded by a Muslim named Soomra. The Soomra dynasty reigned over Sindh around 1047-1351 CE.

		Duration	In CE
1.	Soomra (died in 1054 CE)	--	1047-1054 CE
2.	Bhungar bin Sumrah	15 years	1054-1069 CE

3.	Doda bin Bhungar	24 years	1069-1093 CE
4.	Sangar	15 years	1093-1108 CE
5.	Khafif	36 years	1108-1144 CE
6.	Umar	40 years	1144-1184 CE
7.	Doda	14 years	1184-1198 CE
8.	Punhun	33 years	1198-1231 CE
9.	Khinrah	16 years	1231-1247 CE
10.	Muhammad Tur	15 years	1247-1262 CE
11.	Khinrah	4 years	1262-1266 CE
12.	Tai	24 years	1266-1290 CE
13.	Chanesar	18 years	1290-1308 CE
14.	Bhungar	15 years	1308-1323 CE
15.	Khafif	18 years	1323-1341 CE
16.	Doda	25 years?	1341-1351 CE

The Second Samma Dynasty (1351-1524 CE), Mirzas (1524-1696 CE), the Kalhoras (1696-1783 CE)

Jam Tamachi Unar killed the Soomra ruler Doda and became the ruler of Sindh in 1351 CE. The Mirzas of Tarkhan dynasty reigned over Sindh around 1524-1696 CE. The Kalhora dynasty succeeded Mirzas around 1696-1783 CE.

21

The Chronology of Tamilnadu

According to the Tamil epigraphic and literary sources, the chronological history of Tamilnadu begins with the arrival of Vedic sage Agastya and the establishment of the early Pāndyan kingdom. The legends of the submergence of two ancient Pāndyan capitals, South Madurai and Kavātapuram in two different eras indicate that the ancient Tamil history arguably originates from the early beginnings of Holocene. It is extremely important to establish the sheet anchors of the chronology of Tamilnadu so that we can factually arrive at the true chronology of the Sangam era and the post-Sangam era.

The Sheet Anchors of the Tamil Chronology

The great Tamil poet Nakkirar, in his commentary on the treatise "*Iraiyanar Agapporul*" records that the first Sangam period is said to have lasted for 4400 or 4440 years, the second Sangam period lasted for 3700 years and the third Sangam period had ended after 1850 years.[1] Evidently, Nakkirar clearly indicates that 1850 years of the third Sangam period had already been elapsed during his lifetime. He probably received this chronological information from the traditional legends. Nakkirar was the author of a commentary on "*Iraiyanar Agapporul*".

It is pertinent to discover the exact date of Nakkirar for the purpose of arriving at the true chronology of ancient Tamils. But Nakkirar does not give any direct or indirect verifiable details of his time. He simply mentions that 49 Pāndya kings reigned from Mudattirumāran to Ukkiraperu Valudi for 1850 years during the third Sangam period. Sadly, we have no chronological information about the poet King Ukkiraperu Valudi till date.

The traditional Tamil legends indicate that the Sangam poets namely Kapilar and Paranar were the immediate predecessors of Nakkirar. *Tirutoṇṭarantāti* of Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi gives the chronological list of Śaiva scholars as *"Taraṇiyin poymai ilā tamil Cankam matil Kapilar Paranar Nakkirar mutal…….* (The many scholar-poets, forty-nine beginning with Kapilar, Paranar and Nakkirar, fortifications of the Tamil academy that is without falseness on earth….)."

Seemingly, there were two Nakkirars. Nakkirar I, a contemporary of Ukkiraperu Valudi was the author of a commentary on "*Iraiyanar Agapporul*". According to the Tamil legends, an assembly of poets was constituted during the reign of Ukkiraperu Valudi and many scholars presented their commentaries. Out of the commentaries written by Marudanila Nāganār and Nakkirar, the commentary of Nakkirar was selected as the best one. Nakkirar II was a contemporary of Chera King Senguttuvan. He refers to Paranar who was the teacher of a son of the Chera King Senguttuvan. Therefore, Nakkirar II cannot be dated before the time of King Senguttuvan who was the contemporary of Sri Lankan King Gajabāhu. Pāndya King Ukkiraperu Valudi lived at least two or three generations before King Senguttuvan. Moreover, there is a controversy about the authorship of the preface of Nakkirar's commentary due to the assumption of only one Nakkirar. In my opinion, there were probably two Nakkirars. Nakkirar II was a junior contemporary of Paranar whereas Nakkirar I, son of a school teacher was the contemporary of King Ukkiraperu Valudi. Probably, Nakkirar II might have written the preface to Nakkirar I's commentary. According to Tamil sources, Nakkirar II was the contemporary of Kulachirai Nayanar, a minister of King Guna Pāndyan. He wrote *Thirumurugarruppadai* and an epic titled "*Sriharnipuram*". Some scholars assume Koon Pāndyan and Guna Pāndyan to be identical but Koon Pāndyan was well known as Sundara Pāndya (~1250-1200 BCE). Seemingly, Guna Pāndyan was a successor of Sundara Pāndya and lived around 1175-1100 BCE.

An anthology named "*Tiruvalluvamālai*", (a garland of Tiruvalluvar), is generally printed along with Tirukkural. It lists 53 Tamil scholars who lived after Tiruvalluvar. This chronological list places King Ukkiraperu

Valudi before Kapilar, Paranar and Nakkirar. Moreover, Nakkirar II himself refers to Kapilar as a poet of the past and equates Paranar with Agastya Rishi. Most probably, Nakkirar II studied under Paranar. It is well-known that Kapilar was the contemporary of Karikāla Chola and Paranar was the contemporary of Senguttuvan. The Tamil epic "*Śilappadikāram*" mentions that Karikāla Chola was the maternal grandfather of the Chera King Senguttuvan.[2] Another issue is that *Śilappadikāram* refers to King Śātakarṇi. Historians have assumed Śātakarṇi to be Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi without any evidence but there were at least ten Śātavāhana kings who had the name of Śātakarṇi. Most probably, *Śilappadikāram* refers to a Chutu Śātakarṇi king of the 12th century BCE who was the contemporary of Senguttuvan. The Chera kings were the southern neighbours of the Chutu Śātakarṇi kings who had reigned in Vanavasi in the post-Mauryan period.

Interestingly, *Silappadikāram* indicates that Sri Lankan King Gajabāhu I (Kayavāhu) was a junior contemporary of King Senguttuvan. The Sri Lankan chronicles *Dīpavamśa* and *Mahāvamśa* give the chronology of Sri Lanka starting from the epoch of Theravada Buddhism (1765 BCE). The Sri Lankan and the Burmese Buddhist traditions followed the epoch of 1765 BCE as the date of Buddha religion and Buddha nirvāṇa. The second Buddhist council held 100 years after Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE) witnessed the foundation of Theravada as an independent sect and it got separated from the Mahāsāṅghikas. Thus, Theravada Buddhism of Sri Lanka and Burma followed the epoch of the second Buddhist council (1765 BCE) as the beginning of Jinachakka or Buddha Dhamma.

Following the epoch of 1765 BCE, Sri Lankan chronicles record that King Vasabha Gajabāhu I, the founder of the Lambakarna dynasty reigned around 1163-1119 BCE. Based on the date of Sri Lankan King Gajabāhu I, we can roughly fix the date of the Chera King Senguttuvan around 1210-1155 BCE. King Senguttuvan's maternal grandfather and the greatest Chola King Karikāla might have lived around 1270-1200 BCE. Now, we can also fix the lifetime of Kapilar around 1300-1210 BCE and the lifetime of Paranar around 1230-1140 BCE. The poet King Ukkiraperu Valudi, a senior contemporary of Kapilar, flourished around 1350-1276

BCE. Accordingly, the lifetime of Nakkirar I can also be fixed around 1330-1260 BCE. The preface of the commentary on *Iraiyanar Agapporul* clearly mentions that the first Sangam period ended with the submergence of South Madurai city and the second Sangam period ended with the submergence of the city of Kavātapuram. In all probability, Kavātapuram and Dwārakā cities were submerged in a massive tsunami that occurred 36 years after the date of Mahābhārata war. The epigraphic and literary sources indicate that ancient Indians followed a traditional epoch of the Yudhiṣṭhira era and the Mahābhārata war that commenced in 3162 BCE. Thus, Kavātapuram and Dwāraka cities might have submerged by sea around 3126 BCE and the Pāndya King Mudattirumāran had to shift his capital from Kavātapuram to Madurai after 3126 BCE. Now, we can roughly arrive at the chronology of three Sangam periods:

1.	First Sangam Period	4440 or 4400 years	11266-6826 BCE or 11226-6826 BCE
2.	Second Sangam Period	3700 years	6826-3126 BCE
3.	Third Sangam Period	1850 years	3126-1276 BCE

The Gajabāhu synchronism accurately establishes the dates of the Chera King Senguttuvan and the Chola King Karikāla. This synchronism also establishes the dates of Ukkiraperu Valudi, Nakkirar I, Kapilar, Paranar and Nakkirar II. Therefore, the Theravada epoch of 1765 BCE must be the sheet anchor of the chronologies of Tamilnadu and Sri Lanka for fixing the dates of Senguttuvan and Gajabāhu. The epoch of 1765 BCE can be validated based on the epoch of the Śaka era of 583 BCE as recorded in the ancient inscriptions of Burma as already discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

The Legend of Agastya or Agathiyar

All ancient Indian sources inform us that Vedic sage Agastya migrated from North to South. It appears that Agastya was the abandoned child and found in a half pot by villagers. This may be the reason why he was called as Kumbhaja, Kumbhayoni and Kumbhasambhava. It was also mythologically speculated Agastya to be the son of Vedic gods Mitra and Varuṇa. He became one of the greatest sages of early Vedic era and the founder of the eighth gotra. The Saptarṣis of the early Vedic era had laid

strong foundations for the evolution of numerous Vedic sciences. The seven Rishis namely Bhrigu, Aṅgiras, Marīchi, Atri, Pulaha, Pulastya and Vasiṣṭha were the founders of seven earliest Rishi gotras.

Seemingly, the descendants of Pulaha and Pulastya could not follow the values of Vedic Rishis and came to be known as Rākśasas. Therefore, the names of Pulaha and Pulastya had been excluded from the list of Saptarṣis. Gradually, Rishi Jamadagni replaced his ancestor Bhrigu in the list of Saptarṣis because Śukrāchārya, a descendant of Bhrigu gotra became the teacher of Asuras. Rishi Gautama and Rishi Bharadwāja, the descendants of Aṅgiras were included in the list of Saptarṣis considering the greatest contribution of the descendants of Aṅgiras. More than 3600 mantras of Rigveda have been written by Rishi Aṅgiras and his descendants. Rishi Kaśyapa, the son of Marīchi replaced his father in the list of Saptarṣis. Viśvāmitra, the son of Kauśika and the grandson of Kuśa was the later entrant into the list of Saptarṣis. Thus, Āśvalāyana Grihyasūtra, Baudhāyana Śrutasūtra, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa etc., give the list of Saptarṣis as Gautama, Bharadwāja, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Kaśyapa, Vasiṣṭha and Atri. Since the gotra of Agastya was not known being an abandoned child, the great Vedic sage Agastya's progeny has been accepted as the eighth Rishi gotra. Some sources include Agastya in the list of Saptarṣis because Gautama and Bharadwāja belonged to the same gotra of Aṅgiras.

Āśvalāyana Grihyasūtra mentions that all 49 gotras have been descended from these eight Rishi gotras. According to Āśvalāyana, seven gotras from Jamadagni, ten from Gautama, nine from Bharadwāja, two from Atri, twelve from Viśvāmitra, four from Kaśyapa, four from Vasiṣṭha and only one from Agastya have been evolved. Āśvalāyana, the pupil of Śaunaka lived before the Rāmāyaṇa era. Baudhāyana listed 800-odd gotras and 91 Rishis connected with them.[3] Pāṇini refers to the existence of numerous gotrāvayavas or sub-branches of Rishi gotras in his time. Remarkably, the descendants of Agastya preserved their gotra without any branch for thousands of years.

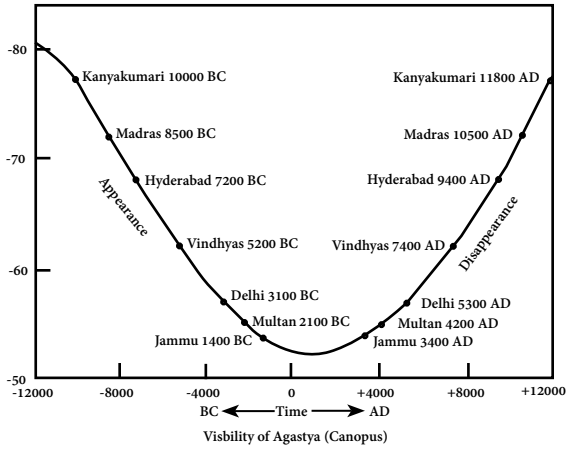
Agastya married Lopāmudrā, a princess of the Vidarbha kingdom. Most of the mantras of Rigveda have been written by the Saptarṣis and their descendants. 316 mantras written by Agastya and a Sūkta written by Lopāmudrā have also been included in the compilation of Rigveda.

The Arrival of Agastya in Tamilnadu (11266 BCE or 11226 BCE)

Though the chronological history of Tamils starts from the arrival of Agastya in the beginning of the first Sangam era around 11226 BCE, but he may not be the first Vedic Rishi to visit Tamilnadu. Asuras and Rākśasas, the descendants of Rishi Pulastya had already settled in the region from Dandakārṇya to Sri Lanka in the beginning of the early Rigvedic period. Evidently, the Rākśasas in South India were indeed the immigrants from North India and not the original inhabitants of South India.

Seemingly, the Pāndya king of the first Sangam period invited Rishi Agastya to his kingdom for promoting Vedic education. Agastya stayed in the Pāndyan kingdom for many years and taught poetry, music, astronomy and agriculture. Since only learned men had the knowledge of Vedic Sanskrit, he realized the necessity to learn the proto-Tamil language and formulated the rules of Tamil grammar known as *Agattiyam*. This may be the reason why ancient Tamil poets worship Agastya as the father of Tamil language.

Astronomical evidence also suggests that Agastya might have sojourned to Kanyakumari or Pāndyan kingdom around 11226 BCE before the Canopus (Agastya) constellation became visible at Kanyakumari. KD Abhyankar has established that Agastya constellation became visible at Kanyakumari around 10500-10000 BCE.[4] The ancient Vedic astronomers had named this new constellation after Agastya around 10500 BCE.



The Origin of the Pāndya Dynasty

The Pāndya dynasty was the most ancient dynasty of Tamilnadu. Kātyāyana, a grammarian and the minister of Nanda dynasty of the 17th century BCE mentions that the word "Pāndya" is derived from Pāndu (*Pāndor dyan*). According to the Velvikudi copper plates,[5] King Pāndya was the progenitor of the lunar dynasty. Evidently, these copper plates consider Chandra and Pāndya as identical. Northern Chandravaṁśi kings claim that Budha was the son of Chandra and Purūravā was the grandson of Chandra whereas the copper plates of Pāndya kings claim that Budha was the son of Pāndya and Purūravā was the grandson of Pāndya. Thus, the Pāndya kings originally belonged to the lunar dynasty and Atri gotra. Seemingly, the descendants of the lunar dynasty had migrated from the Saptasindhu region in the early Rigvedic period and settled in the southern coastal areas of Tamilnadu.

According to Vāyu Purāṇa, Vahni, a descendant of Turvaśa was the forefather of Pāndyas, Keralas (Chera), Cholas and Kollas. Marutta, the fifth descendant of Vahni adopted Dushkrita or Dushmanta, a son of King Raibhya of the Puru dynasty. Pāndya, Kerala, Chola and Kolla were the sons of King Janāpida or Ahrida and founded their kingdoms before the lifetime of Vaivasvata Manu and Rishi Agastya. The Kollas settled in the Kollagiri region of North Kerala.

It appears that the Nāgas settled in Northern Sri Lanka in the early Rigvedic period. Since Northern Sri Lanka was connected through land route with Tamilnadu, the early Pāndyan kings conquered it. This may be the reason why Sri Lanka was also called as "Nāganādu" by ancient Tamils.

The First Sangam Period (11226-6826 BCE)

According to Nakkirar II, 89 Pāndyan kings starting from Kāysina Valudi to Kadungan ruled for 4400 or 4440 years. This first Sangam period had 549 learned members like Agastyar, Iraiyanar (Siva), Kumaravel (Skanda), Muranciyur Mudināgarāyar, Nithiyin Kilavarand, seven Pāndyan kings etc. Agastya wrote *Agattiyam*, the earliest grammar of classical Tamil language around 11226 BCE. Following the Agastya's Tamil grammar, 4449 poets composed poetry. Paripādal, Mudunārai, Mudukurugu, Kalariyāvirai etc., were the popular meters of this period.[6]

"Puranānūru" is the Oldest Extant Tamil Poem of the First Sangam Period

Nakkirar clearly mentions that "*Puranānūru*" authored by Mudināgarāyar is the oldest extant Tamil poem.[7] Biased western historians have rejected it because the poem "*Puranānūru*" is ideologically "Brahminical" and the Tamil language of the poem is thoroughly Sanskritized. They have concocted that *Puranānūru* of Mudināgarāyar (Puram 2) is a late poem. Interestingly, the poem of Mudināgarāyar refers to four Vedas (*nāl veta neri…*) and the golden peaked Himalaya. It also refers to the Brahmanas who are responsible for three-fold fire (*Āhavanīya*, *Gārhapatya* and *Dakśiṇāgni*). The poet Mudināgarāyar eulogizes his contemporary Chera King Cheraman Peruncheraladan and records that the king offered food (cooked in his kitchen) without any limit to the fighting army of the five and the twice fifty. Historians have mistakenly concluded that the five means Pāndavas and the "twice fifty" means Kauravas. It is utter nonsense to imagine that the Chera king supplied cooked food without any limit to the both armies of Pāndavas and Kauravas from Tamilnadu to Kurukshetra. In fact, the poem "*Puranānūru*" simply records that the Chera king supported the army of 105 warriors in a war that occurred close to the Chera kingdom.

Nakkirar indicates that Mudināgarāyar lived thousands of years before the Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE). It is extremely difficult to arrive at an accurate date of Mudināgarāyar during the first Sangam period (11266-6826 BCE). Traditionally, the poem "*Puranānūru*" of Mudināgarāyar has been considered as the oldest extant literature of the classical Tamil language.

The Poem "Paripādal" of the First Sangam Period

Nakkirar mentions that *Paripādal* was the one of the famous poems of the first Sangam period. There is another poetic work named as *Paripādal* which is the fifth anthology of *Ettuthogai* (Eight anthologies). In fact, Paripādal is the name of a meter of Tamil poetry. In all probability, Nakkirar II indicates that Paripādal, Mudunārai, Mudukurugu, and Kalariyāvirai were the popular meters of the classical Tamil poetry in the first Sangam period.

The Date of Iraiyanar Agapporul

Iraiyanar Agapporul is the oldest Tamil text on poetics. It consists of sixty verses. Nakkirar, the first commentator on *Iraiyanar Agapporul*, and the entire Tamil tradition indicate that Śiva himself was the author. Iraiyanar is another name of God Śiva. Nakkirar I records that the sixty verses of *Iraiyanar Agapporul* have been inscribed on three copper plates under the altar to Śiva in Madurai during the time of the Pāndyan King Ukkiraperu Valudi (1350-1276 BCE) who was the 49th king during the third Sangam period (3126-1276 BCE). Thus, *Iraiyanar Agapporul* is the most sacred and ancient treatise of the Sangam literature.

According to ancient Indian traditions, Śiva or Natarāja was the originator of Nātya (art & poetics) and Vyākaraṇa (grammar). This may be the reason why ancient Tamil scholars also attribute the authorship of *Iraiyanar Agapporul* to Śiva. It is also possible that the text of *Iraiyanar Agapporul* was lost by the end of the second Sangam era but it was rediscovered in a Śiva temple in the second or third Sangam period. Nakkirar mentions that Iraiyanar (Śiva), a contemporary of Agastya was also the member of the first Sangam period (11266-6826 BCE). *Tolkāppiyam*, the grammatical work of the second Sangam period (6826-3126 BCE) quotes many verses of *Iraiyanar Agapporul*. Seemingly, the Tamil treatise of *Iraiyanar Agapporul* was originally written during the first Sangam period.

The Tamil Literature of the First Sangam Period (11266-6826 BCE)

1. **Agattiyam** (the first treatise on the grammar of classical Tamil language written by Rishi Agastya)
   Some sutras of Agattiyam are found quoted in an ancient commentary named *Yāpparungalam*. A sutra of Agattiyam mentions that Simhala and Ila as two different kingdoms.
2. **Iraiyanar Agapporul**, a treatise on poetics written by Śiva or Natarāja.
3. **Puranānūru**, a poem written by Mudināgarāyar
4. **Paripādal,** the fifth anthology of Ettuthogai.

The Submergence of Kumarikkottam and the City of South Madura (~6826 BCE)

South Madura or Thenmadurai, the first capital of early Pāndya kings was the center of Sangam literary activities. This city was submerged by sea at the end of the first Sangam period. The oceanographic researches have conclusively proven that the sea level in the Indian peninsula has risen by 100 meters in the last 14500 years.[8] Interestingly, the sea level has risen more than 60 meters during the period of 4400 or 4440 years of the first Sangam period (11226-6826 BCE). Evidently, a huge landmass of the early Pāndyan kingdom was submerged by the sea including the capital city of Thenmadurai. The Sinnamannur copper plates[9] refer to a *Praśasti* written by Vasudeva and mention that an ancient Pāndyan king had erected a wall round Madura city. Evidently, the Pāndya kings of the first Sangam period made all possible efforts to protect their capital from the rising sea level.

Numerous ancient Tamil sources refer to the submergence of a huge landmass of early Pāndyan kingdom known as Kumarikkottam or Kumarikkodu or Kumari Kandam etc. This region had a hill range known as Kumarikkottam which was the origin of Kumari River. Tolkāppiyam records that 49 nādus (villages or territories) of Pāndyan kingdom were submerged by the sea. Most probably, Pāndya kings had regularly lost their land to sea since 11226 BCE. The city of Thenmadurai finally got submerged by sea around 6826 BCE.

The Second Sangam Period (6826-3126 BCE)

After the submergence of the city of Thenmadurai, the Pāndyan kings had to shift their capital to Kavātapuram on the north banks of Pahruli River. Interestingly, Rāmāyaṇa refers to the city of Kavātapuram of the Pāndyan kingdom (युक्तम् कवाटम् पाण्ड्यानाम् गता द्रक्ष्यथ वानराः)[10] which clearly indicates that Rāmāyaṇa did occur during the 2nd Sangam period. Nakkirar I also mentions that the center of the second Sangam was Kavātapuram. Out of 59 members, Agattiyar, Tolkāppiyar, Irundaiyur, Karungoli, Mesi, Vellurkkappiyanar, Slru, Pandurangan, Tiraiyanmaran, the king of Tuvarai (Dvāravati or Dwārakā) and Kirandai were the greatest. Kali, Kurugu, Vendali and Viyalamalai Agaval were the most popular meters of this era. Total 3700 poems were composed by 3700 poets. Their grammar

texts were *Agattiyam*, *Tolkāppiyam*, *Maha-Purāṇam*, *Isainunukkam* and *Bhūta-Purāṇam*. Total 59 Pāndya kings reigned for 3700 years starting from Venderchelian to Mudattirumaran.[11]

The Date of Tolkāppiyam

According to Tamil sources, *Tolkāppiyam* is the third ancient text of Tamil literature after *Agattiyam* and *Iraiyanar Agapporul*. Tolkāppiyar, the author of *Tolkāppiyam* was the disciple of Agastya. Interestingly, Panambaranar, an elder contemporary of Tolkāppiyar and the author of Panampāram (a work on grammar) wrote a prefatory note to the *Tolkāppiyam* which gives the following valuable information.

- *Vada Vengada tena Kumari Ayidai Tamilkuram nal nlagattu* (the sweet land of Tamils is located between Vengada or Ventaka hill at the north (Tirupati) and Kumari at the South.)
- Tolkāppiyam was presented in the court of King Nilam Taru Tiruvan Pāndyan.
- Poet Atankottāsān was the chairman of the Sangam who was the learned man of four Vedas. He raised some difficult questions but Tolkāppiyar answered them confidently.
- Tolkāppiyar has the great knowledge of *Inthiram* (*Aindra Vyākaraṇa*), a popular school of Sanskrit grammar.

The concepts of the grammar of *Tolkāppiyam* is mostly borrowed from the Aindra school of Sanskrit grammar. Interestingly, there is a divergence of opinion about the date of *Tolkāppiyam*. The dates arrived are from 8000 BCE to the 8th century CE. Ilampuranar, the first commentator of *Tolkāppiyam*, identifies the King Nilam Taru Tiruvan Pāndyan with Jaya Mahakirti. Nacchinarkiniyan (9th or 10th century CE), another commentator of *Tolkāppiyam* also mentions that the Pāndya King Ma Kirti (Mahakirti), the contemporary of Tolkāppiyar reigned for 24000 years which also indicates that King Ma Kirti flourished in the Tretā Yuga. Indian astronomers of certain Siddhāntas had introduced the concept of a Yuga of 432000 years in the post-Rāmāyaṇa era that led to the miscalculation of the reigning period of the kings who flourished before the second half of the Dvāpara Yuga (approximately before 4000 BCE). Most probably, later Puranic scholars erroneously calculated the

reigning period of thousands of years based on the fictitious astronomical Yugas when they updated the Purāṇas a during the later Śātavāhana and Gupta period (800-100 BCE). Interestingly, Nacchinarkiniyar states that Maharshi Vyāsa recompiled four Vedas systematically on a date posterior to the time of *Tolkāppiyam* which clearly indicates that he mistakenly identifies Veda Vyāsa of the Rigvedic era with Vyāsa of the Mahābhārata era.

The author of *Tolkāppiyam* speaks about two distinct dialects of Tamil language. The classical and Sanskritized Tamil was called as Sen Tamil whereas the corrupted Tamil was called as Kudun Tamil (probably, the mother of Telugu and Kannada languages). Tolkāppiyar says that Sen Tamil area was surrounded by twelve districts. But the literature of the third Sangam period clearly indicates that there were no regional variations of Tamil. The poets of the third Sangam fail to follow certain specific instructions codified in the *Tolkāppiyam*. The Tamil language found in the Brahmi inscriptions is heavily influenced by Prākrit but *Tolkāppiyam* is completely unaware of the influence of Prākrit on Tamil. Moreover, Tolkāppiyar knew only the ancient Aindra Vyākaraṇa of Sanskrit. He had no knowledge of Pāninian grammar. He also stated that Tamils worshipped Vedic gods Indra, Varuṇa, Vishnu etc. Therefore, *Tolkāppiyam* undoubtedly belongs to the pre-Mahābhārata era. In all probability, *Tolkāppiyam* was written in the beginning centuries of Dvāpara Yuga around 5500-5000 BCE. *Tolkāppiyam* refers to Kumari River as the southern end of Tamil country but the Kumari River was at sea during the time of the author of *Śilappadikaram*.

Tolkāppiyar had 11 school-mates. They all collectively wrote "*Pannirupadalam*" a work on the twelve different situations on warfare under the leadership of Tolkāppiyar which is now lost. Only few sutras of *Pannirupadalam* are found in the commentary of Ilampuranar. Interestingly, some of his Tamil Vyākaraṇa sutras relate to a linguistic usage which has survived even today in the current Malayalam language.

Some scholars have speculated that Tolkāppiyar was a Jain because he refers to the classification of Jiva (living) and Ajiva (non-living). This theory was the integral part of Vedic and Upanishadic philosophy (dvaitavāda) thousands of years before the birth of Jainism.

The Tamil Literature of the Second Sangam Period (6826-3126 BCE)

Nakkirar II mentions in his commentary that the first five authors of Tamil poetry were Iraiyanar (Śiva), Agattiyar (Agastya), Mārkanteyar (Mārkandeya), Vānmikanar (Vālmiki) and Gautamanar (Gautama). Iraiyanar and Agattiyar belonged to the first Sangam era. Mārkanteyar, Vānmikanar and Gautamanar flourished in the second Sangam era.

1. **Mārkanteyar (6500 BCE?):** He was the author of a Tamil poem "Puranānūru" (Puram 365). This poem undoubtedly belonged to the period of the ancient Tamil poetry.
2. **Vānmikanar (5677-5577 BCE):** Evidently, Valmiki, the author of Rāmāyaṇa was referred to as Vānmikanar. He also authored a Tamil poem "Puranānūru" (Puram 358). This poem emphasizes the importance of Tavam (Tapas = penance).
3. **Gautamanar (5500-5000 BCE):** Gautamanar was probably Rishi Gautama of Rāmāyaṇa era. None of his Tamil works is available. There was another poet known as Palaik Kavutamanar who wrote the poem "Puranānūru" (Puram 366).
4. **Tolkāppiyar (5500-5000 BCE)**: He was the author of *Tolkāppiyam*, the second oldest grammar of the Tamil language.

The Pāndya Kings of the Second Sangam Period

Nakkirar states that total 59 Pāndyan kings reigned for 3700 years and King Venderchelian was the first and King Mudattirumaran was the last. Most probably, King Venderchelian founded the second capital city of Kavātapuram on the banks of Pahruli River around 6826 BCE after the submergence of the ancient city of Madura. It appears that the Pāndya kings had the names in Sanskrit as well as in Tamil. King Jaya Mahakirti alias Nilam Taru Tiruvan Pāndyan was the contemporary of Tolkāppiyar as recorded by Ilampuranar and Nacchinarkiniyan.

Interestingly, the Velvikudi plates contain a Praśasti of Pāndya kings written by Sarvakratuyāji Varodaya Bhaṭṭa. According to the ancient genealogy of the Pāndya dynasty given in this *Praśasti*, Budha was the son of Pāndya or Chandra and Purūravā was the son of Budha. In the lunar dynasty of Purūravā, a great Pāndya King Māravarmā was born who was coronated on the throne by Rishi Agastya, the kula-purohit of

the Pāndya kings. Probably, this *Praśasti* indicates that King Māravarmā was probably the first Pāndyan king of the second Sangam period because we have no information of the original family of Rishi Agastya since the Mahābhārata era and the post-Mahābhārata era. Seemingly, King Māravarmā had a name of Venderchelian in Tamil. This Praśasti tells us that King Māravarmā's son was Raṇadhira and Raṇadhira's son was Māravarmā II also known as Rājasimha who married a princess of Mālava kingdom (Avanti). King Jatilavarmā also known as Parāntaka was the son of Māravarmā II.

The Origin of the Chola Dynasty

According to the Tamil legends and *Manimekhalai*, Kaveri River was released from his water pot (Kamandal) by Rishi Agastya in response to the prayer of Chola King Kantan or Kantaman. Kalingattuparani and Vikramacholan Ula indicate that King Kantan was the earliest known king of Cholas and a contemporary of Rishi Agastya and Paraśurāma. He was also a contemporary of King Tondaiman. The legends of Vada Thirumullaivayil indicate that King Tondaiman was a junior contemporary of Śiva and Murugan. Therefore, we can roughly fix the date of Chola King Kantan around 11250-11150 BCE. King Kantan gave his kingdom to his illegitimate son, Kakandan in order to escape from the wrath of Paraśurāma. Kakandan ruled from the city of Champā which came to be known as Kākandi, Puhar and Kaveripattanam. The Sangam literature refers to another Chola King Tungeyilerinda Todittot Sembian, a descendant of Śibi who destroyed the forts of Asuras. He started the celebration of Indra festival for 28 days at the instance of Rishi Agastya (a descendant of Agastya).

According to Purāṇas and Tamil sources, Chola was a brother of Pāndya. Evidently, ancient Cholas were the descendants of the Puru or Chandra dynasty. Later, the Chola dynasty of Tamilnadu had been mixed up with the Ikśvāku kings of Andhra. Thus, many Telugu Choda lineages (Velanati, Renati, Pottapi, Mudigonda etc.) came into existence. This may be the reason why the later Cholas attribute their origin to the Surya Vaṁśa. Rāmāyaṇa refers to the kingdom of Cholas.[12] Seemingly, the

Chandra Vaṁśa of the Cholas and the Surya Vaṁśa of the descendants of King Aśmaka or Dandaka got mixed up after the Rāmāyaṇa era.

Traditionally, the Cholas had three surnames, Killi, Valavan and Sembian. According to *Viracholiyam*, Sembian means a descendant of King Śibi. Probably, the Sembians or the descendants of Śibi also settled in Tamilnadu and became a lineage of the Cholas being Chandra Vaṁśis.

		In CE
1.	Chola – The progenitor of Cholas and a younger brother of Pāndya	11400 BCE
2.	King Kantan Chola	11250-11150 BCE
3.	Kakandan	11150-11100 BCE
4.	Tungeyilerinda Todittot Sembian	10800 BCE

The Submergence of Kavātapuram, the Second Capital of Pāndyan Kingdom (3126 BCE)

Nakkirar indicates that Kavātapuram, the second capital of the early Pāndyan kingdom was also submerged by sea at the end of the second Sangam period. He mentions that Mudattirumaran was not only the last king of the second Sangam period but also the first king of the third Sangam period. Evidently, it indicates that Kavātapuram was suddenly submerged in a massive tsunami during the reign of King Mudattirumaran. Probably, the massive tsunami that occurred 36 years after Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE) had submerged Dwārakā in Gujarat and Kavātapuram in Tamilnadu around 3126 BCE. King Mudittirumaran had to shift his capital to Madurai after 3126 BCE. Rāmāyaṇa refers to the city of Kavātapuram of Pāndyas. Mahābhārata also mentions that Sri Krishna attacked the city of Kavātapuram of Pāndyas and defeated them (*Bhinna-kapāte Pāndyānām…*).[13] That means that the city of Kavātapuram existed since the pre-Rāmāyaṇa era to the Mahābhārata era.

Ancient Tamil sources clearly indicate that a huge landmass of the Pāndyan kingdom was submerged by sea during the period of 8100 years (11226-3126 BCE). Adiyarkunallar, a commentator of the 5th century, mentions that an area of 700 Kāvadhams extending from the Pahruli

River in the north to the Kumari River in the South was submerged by sea. Since the measurement of the unit "Kāvadham" is not known, some scholars have speculated that it was a lost continent of Kumari kandam in Indian Ocean that extended from Kanyakumari to Madagascar in the west and to Australia in the east.

The Third Sangam Period (3126-1276 BCE)

Apparently, the third Sangam period begins from the foundation of the new capital at Northern Madura after the submergence of Kavātapuram. Nakkirar mentions that 49 members beginning with Siru Medāviyār, Sendambudanār, Arivudaiyarānār, Perungunrūkkilār, Ilam (younger) Tirumāran, Nallanduvanār, the scholar of Madura, Marudan Ilanāganār, Nakkirar, the son of the school teacher etc. had scrutinized Tamil poetry. Under these members, 449 poets composed poems. Total 49 kings reigned beginning with Mudattirumaran who came away from Kavātapuram to Madura when the sea submerged the city and ending with Ukkirapperu Valudi.[14] Unfortunately, the glorious Tamil Sangam tradition that commenced around 11226 BCE has ended during the reign of Pāndya King Ukkiraperu Valudi around 1276 BCE.

The Pāndya Kings of the Mahābhārata Era (32nd Century BCE)

According to Mahābhārata, a Pāndyan prince (probably, Sāgaradhvaja) took part in the Svayamvara of Draupadi along with the princes of Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Paundra etc.[15] Sri Krishna defeated the Pāndyas and the Cholas.[16] Sahadeva defeated the kings of Chola, Pāndya, Kerala and Dravida during his digvijaya of South India. Pāndyan King Sāraṅgadhvaja or Sāgaradhvaja supported the Pandavas in the Mahābhārata war. Pāndyan King Malayadhvaja participated in the Mahābhārata war and was killed by Aśvatthāmā.

The Chronology of the Pāndya Dynasty (3126 BCE – 1250 BCE)

Śilappadikāram clearly indicates that Pahruli was in the north of Kumari River. Most probably, Kavātapuram was situated on the banks of Pahruli River. In fact, King Nediyon or Vadimbalamba Ninravan belonged to the second Sangam period. Maduraikanji refers to King Palasalai Mudukudumi and King Nedunchelian after Vadimbalamba Ninravan.

The Velvikudi plates also mention Mudukudumi Peruvaludi as the celebrated Pāndya King. In all probability, Maduraikanji simply eulogizes some of the greatest Pāndya rulers in a chronological order. King Palasalai Mudukudumi Peruvaludi was the first of the celebrated kings of the third Sangam period who performed Rājasūya Yajña. King Nedunchelian II was the next celebrated Pāndya king. Nedunchelian I had the title of Ariyappadaikadanda (he who won the war against Ariyappa, i.e., a king of the Aira dynasty).

There were mainly three famous Pāndya kings who had the name of Nedunchelian. Kovalan and Kannagi of *Śilappadikāram* probably belonged to the time of King Nedunchelian I who died of a broken heart when the innocence of Kovalan had been proven by his wife Kannagi. He had the title of Ariyappadaikadanda. Nedunchelian II defeated the alliance of two neighboring kings (Chera and Chola) aided by five minor chiefs at Palaiyalanganam. In this war, Mandaram Cheral Irumporai, the son of the Chera King Kocheraman was captured.

The Date of King Nedunchelian II

Undoubtedly, King Nedunchelian II lived much before the 13th century BCE because Kapilar, the contemporary of Karikala Chola II (1295-1200 BCE) refers to Nakkirar I. Kapilar also mentions the poet Evvi who was the contemporary of Nakkirar I.

"Nankudi Velir Varalāru" (NVV), a Tamil text consisting of 1035 poems written by Arumuga Nayinar Pillai speaks about the genealogy of the Irungovel branch of the Pāndya dynasty. It gives the names of 201 generations of the Pāndyan kings. According to this text, Nedunchelian II was the 83rd king and Ukkira Pāndyan (Ukkirapperu Valudi?) was the 104th king.[17] Considering the average reign of 33 years, Nedunchelian II might have flourished around 1850-1800 BCE. The Brahmi inscription of Nedunchelian II found in a cave of Minakshipuram may be older than the Aśokan inscriptions.[18]

The Gajabāhu synchronism firmly establishes the dates of Senguttuvan (1210-1155 BCE) and Karikāla (1270-1200 BCE). Therefore, Karikāla must be dated at least 500 years after Buddha

nirvāṇa. The palaeography based on two inscriptions of Nedunjelian, the cave inscription of Minakshipuram and the Mangulam inscription unambiguously indicates that the Brahmi script of the time of Nedunjelian was older or the contemporary of Aśokan Brahmi. Therefore, Nedunjelian must be dated before King Aśoka (1765-1737 BCE). Thus, I have dated Nedunjelian around 1850-1800 BCE. Karikāla, the maternal grandfather of Senguttuvan can only be dated 500 years after Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE). The Chola King Rajasuyam vetta Perunatkilli I was the contemporary of Nedunjelian II (1850-1800 BCE) whereas the Chola King Perunatkilli II succeeded his father Karikāla (1270-1200 BCE). Ukkiraperu Valudi, the last Pāndya King of the third Samgam period was probably a senior contemporary of Karikāla.

The poem "*Puranānūru* 367" of Avvaiyar tells us that **"all the three monarchs of the Tamil country having united in friendship appear in a palace. Having seen them rarely poet Auvaiyar blessed them long live. Brahmanas lit three kind of fire at a time."** Some historians claim that these three kings were -- Chera King Mari Venko, Pandiya King Ukkiraperu Valudi and Chola King Perunatrkilli. I have not found any ancient reference to validate this claim.

Interestingly, there were many Avvaiyars as indicated in *Abhitana Chintamani*. The earliest Avvaiyar I was the sister of Tiruvalluvar (1700-1600 BCE). Avvaiyar II was the sister of Athiyaman and lived during the period of Kambar, Ottakuttar (1350-1300 BCE). Avvaiyar III (1230-1130 BCE) was the sister of Kapilar. After the death of Vel Pari, the Velir King

(probably, during the time of Karikāla), Kapilar becomes the guardian of Vel Pari's daughters. Kapilar died by fasting till death. Avvaiyar III takes care of Vel Pari's daughters and marries them off to King Malaiyaman Thirumudi Kari. Evidently, Avvaiyar III was the author of Purananuru 367.

Now, we can roughly arrive of the following chronology of Pāndyan kings of the post-Mahābhārata era based on the Pāndyan genealogy given in Nankudi Velir Varalāru (NVV).

The Kings of the Third Sangam Era (3126-1276 BCE)

		Generation (given in NVV)	**In CE**
	89 kings of the first Sangam		11226-6826 BCE
	59 kings of the second Sangam	1-52	6826-3226 BCE
	Unknown king	53	3220-3190 BCE
	Sāraṅgadhvaja or Sāgaradhvaja		
	Malayadhvaja (died in MB war)	54	3190-3162 BCE
	Unknown king		3162-3140 BCE
1.	Mudittirumaran	56?	3140-3100 BCE
2.	Ko-Nedumaran also known as Sri Vallabha (Periyalvar was a contemporary of him.)		
3-10.	-----	57-65	3100-2600 BCE
11.	Palsalai Muthukudumi Peruvazhuthi (His name is mentioned the Velvikudi copper plate inscription)	66	2600-2550 BCE
12.	Karungai Ollvat Perum Peyar vazhuthi	67	2550-2100 BCE
13.	Porval Vazhuthi	68	
14.	Korkai Vazhuthi-Nartrer Vazhuthi	69	
15.	Deva Pandian	70	
16.	Seya Punjan alias Kadalul maintha Ilamperuvazhuthi	71	
17.	Pasum Poon Pāndyan	72	

18.	Ollaiyur thantha Bhuthapandian	73	2100-2060 BCE
19.	Pāndyan Nanmaran	74	2060-2030 BCE
20.	Nedunjelian I alias Kadalan vazhith	75	2030-2000 BCE
21.	Marungai Vazhuthi	76	2000-1850 BCE
22.	Pāndyan Uthaman alias Puliman vazhuthi	77	
23.	Pāndyan Keeran Sathan	78	
24.	Kaliman Vazhuthi alias Andar magan Kuruvazhuthi	79	
25.	Pāndyan Yenathi alias Nedunkannan	80	
26.	Korkai Vazhuthi alias Irandam Pasum Poon Pāndyan	81	
27.	Deva Pootanan alias Ilavanthikai palli tunjiya Nanmaran	82	
28.	Thalayanankanathu Cheru Vendra Nedunchezhian II	83	1850-1800 BCE
29.	Kanapereyil kadantha Ukkira Peruvazhuthi	84	1800-1770 BCE
30.	Pāndyan Arivudainambi (Puranānūru 184)	85	1770-1740 BCE
31.	Velliyambalathu tunjiya PeruVazhuthi	86	1740-1710 BCE
32.	AriyapadaiKadantha Nedunchezhian III	87	1710-1680 BCE
33.	Vetriver Chezhian	88	1680-1650 BCE
34.	Nedunchezhian IV	89	1650-1620 BCE
35.	Ukkira Maran alias Chitramadathu tunjiya Nanmaran	90	1620-1590 BCE
36.	Pannadu thantha Maran Vazhuthi	91	1590-1560 BCE
37.	Koddakarathu tunjiya Maranvazhuthi	92	1560-1530 BCE
38.	Thennavan Ko	93	1530-1500 BCE
39.	Parakirama Bahu alias Nalvazhuthi	94	1500-1470 BCE
40.	Kaliyan Koothan	95	1600-1570 BCE

41.	Kadalan Vazhuthi (Kazhugumalai inscriptions)	96	1570-1540 BCE
42.	----------	97	1540-1510 BCE
43.	Porkai Pāndyan	98	1510-1480 BCE
44. to 47.	----------	99-102	1480-1370 BCE
48.	Pāndyan Kadunkhon	103	1370-1350 BCE
49.	**Ukkira Pāndyan (alias Ukkirapperu Vazhuthi?)**	**104**	**1350-1276 BCE**
50.	Soma Sundara Pāndyan or Koon Pāndyan	105	1276-1200 BCE

The Mauryan Invasion of South India

There are five Tamil poems that refer to the invasion of Mauryas. Mamulanar (1110-1030 BCE), probably, a junior contemporary of Nakkirar II (1150-1060 BCE), refers to the invasion of Mauryas on Tamilnadu. He states that the Mauryan army used a mechanized equipment to build roads over a mountain so that their war chariots could easily pass over it. He indicates that Mauryas went to the assistance of the Kosar to enable them to subdue the king of Mohur. Paranar and Mamulanar also record that Nandas kept accumulated enormous wealth hidden under the waters of the Ganga River.[19]

Aśoka's inscriptions refers to the Chola, Chera and Pāndya kingdoms. The fact remains that, Aśoka did not invade Tamilnadu. The Nandas also controlled entire north and South India excluding Tamilnadu. Probably, this invasion occurred during the reign of Maurya King Bindusara (1572-1547 BCE).

The Chronology of the Chera Dynasty (3126 BCE – 1020 BCE)

Mudināgarāyar eulogizes his contemporary Chera King Cheraman Peruncheraladan in his poem "Puranānūru" (Puram 2). It's a fact that, the Chera dynasty was founded in the first Sangam period. Seemingly, the Cheras were the Brahmanas of the Saptasindhu region who migrated to Malabar Coast following Paraśurāma. Since they had settled in the

hills of Malayas, they were referred to as the Cheras. Most probably, the Brahmanas of the Chera kingdom used to select their king among themselves. Thus, the Chera dynasty came into existence during the first Sangam period.

King Cheraman Peruncheraladan of the first Sangam period was the earliest known Chera king. Probably, King Cheraman Peruncheraladan was the founder of the Chera dynasty. Some scholars claim that a commentator of *Puranānūru* indicates this Chera king to be the contemporary of Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE) but Nakkirar II (1150-1060 BCE) clearly records that he belonged to the first Sangam period. There is a need for further comprehensive research to pinpoint the identity and the name of Chera king who was a contemporary of the Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE). Kulaśekhara Varman (Kulaśekhara Alwar) was the first Chera King after the Mahābhārata war.

A list of 48 Chera kings preserved by Kodumudi Ramalingam Kavirayer of Irode Taluk of Tamilnadu indicates that these Chera kings reigned for 905 years from the beginning of Kaliyuga (3101 BCE).

		In CE
1.	Yadukula Cheran	3101-2196 BCE
2.	Vamshothunga Cheran	
3.	Manumurainatatha Cheran	
4.	Veeraprathapa Cheran	
5.	Vikramahesvara Cheran	
6.	Ripukulaksheya Cheran	
7.	Samasardula Cheran	
8.	--	
9.	Pulikotiparitha Cheran	
10.	Ellaikarakanda Cheran	
11.	Rajagambhira Cheran	
12.	Ramamarthanda Cheran	
13.	Raja Rajeshvara Cheran	
14.	Rajapratapa Cheran	

15. Munril Maniyitta Cheran
16. Mummurthi Cheran
17. ----
18. Ananthaguna Cheran
19. Vamsa Paripala Cheran
20. Mangalakara Cheran
21. Dhana Vistara Cheran
22. Varagunotpala Cheran
23. Ashramanilayitta Cheran
24. Anubhuti Cheran
25. Ava Cheran
26.
27. Sivapada Sikhara Cheran
28. Tiruneetu Cheran
29. Eludisa Cheran
30. Maiporul
31. Banarku Nidhi Thantha Cheran
32. Bhaskara Bhanu Cheran
33. Aksheya Patra Cheran
34. Siva Dharmottama Raja Cheran
35. Sivanesa Cheran
36. Sivotpala Cheran
37. Daivakunjara Cheran
38. Sindhuvarunya Cheran
39. Thrikedara Cheran
40. Thridesaranga Cheran
41. Atulapratapa Cheran
42. Aganithakirtipratapa Cheran
43. Vira Rajendra Cheran
44. Bheemeshvara Cheran
45. Nirmala Cheran

3101-2196 BCE

46.	Panchakshara Cheran	
47.	Kanthabharana Cheran	3101-2196 BCE
48.	----------	

Patirruppattu, the fourth book of *Ettuthokai* (Eight anthologies) eulogizes the achievements of eight Chera kings. We need to arrange the historical inputs of *Patirruppattu* in a chronological order. Based on the Gajabāhu-Senguttuvan synchronism and the historical account given by Paranar (1230-1140 BCE), King Senguttuvan's reign of 55 years can be arrived around 1210-1155 BCE. Paranar mentions the expedition of Senguttuvan to North India for consigning the mortal remains of his mother to the Ganga River.[21] During this expedition, Senguttuvan defeated the Aira kings of Kaliṅga and central India. Historians have distorted the word "Aira" and claimed that Senguttuvan defeated the Aryan kings. King Khāravela of Kaliṅga refers to himself as "the descendant of Aira lineage" (the progeny of mother Ira were called "Airas"). Senguttuvan also carried a stone from north India to carve a statue of Pattini (Kannagi, the wife of Kovalan). King Senguttuvan sent his son Uthiyan Cheral with Paranar for education. Kapilar (1290-1200 BCE) went to the court of Chera King Selvakkadungo Vazhi Aathan after the death of poet Pāri. He eulogized Cheran Selvakkadungo Vazhi Aathan, the son of Antuvan Cheral Irumporai who conflicted with the Cholas. *Śilappadikāram* indicates that Karikāla married off his daughter to Cheran Selvakkadungo Vazhi Aathan, the son of Antuvan Cheral. Thus, Senguttuvan was born to Cheran Selvakkadungo Vazhi Aathan and the daughter of Karikāla.

The ninth poem of *Patirruppattu* written by Perum Kunrur Killar eulogized the King Ilam Cheral Irumporai, the son of Perumcheral Irumporai. Perum Kunrur Killar also wrote Puram 266 in the honour of Chola King Uruvapahrer Ilam Set-Chenni, the father of Karikāla. Seemingly, Ilam Cheral Irumporai was the father of Antuvan Cheral. Poet Arisil Kilar eulogized Perumcheral Irumporai in the eighth poem of Patirrupattu. The missing Tamil work Takadur Yāttirai and poet Mosu Kianār's Puram 50 also refer to King Perumcheral Irumporai.

We learn from the poems of Kumattur Kannanar that Uthiyan Cheral married Nalini, the daughter of Chola King Velian Venman. Imayavaramban Neduncheralathan was the son of Uthiyan Cheral who extended his kingdom to the north. He said to have conquered seven kings and imprinted the Chera emblem "Bow" on the slope of Himalayas. He destroyed the Kadambas and won a war against Yavanas (most probably, the Kushanas). Imayavaramban Neduncheralathan reigned for 58 years. Here follows the chronology of the Cheras:

	The Chera Kings	**Duration of Reign**	**In CE**
	Chera King Kocheraman and his son Mandaram Cheral Irumporai were the contemporaries of Pāndya King Nedunjelian II		1850-1800 BCE
	.....		
1.	Perumcheral Irumporai (Kodai Morba)	17 Years	1303-1286 BCE
2.	Ilam-Cheral Irumporai	16 Years	1286-1270 BCE
3.	Antuvan Cheral Irumporai		1270-1240 BCE
4.	Cheran Selvakkadungo Vazhi Aathan		1240-1210 BCE
5.	Katal Pirakkottiya Senguttuvan (Karikala Chola was his maternal grandfather and Sri Lankan King Gajabahu was his junior contemporary.)	55 Years	1210-1155 BCE
6.	Uthiyan Cheral or (Kuttuvan Cheral?)		1155-1141 BCE
7.	Imayavaramban Neduncheralathan	58 Years	1141-1083 BCE

The 113-year Pact Between the Chera, Chola and Pāndya Kingdoms

Chera King Imayavaramban Neduncheralathan, the grandson of Senguttuvan was a great warrior and visionary. He realized the need for the unity of three Tamil kingdoms. Accordingly, King Imayavaramban Neduncheralathan and his contemporary Chola and Pāndya kings jointly signed a pact that lasted for 113 years. Mudathamakanniyar, a Chola court poetess, records in her poem "*Porunaratrupadai*" that she

has witnessed the scene of the three kings sharing the same dais. Poets Kumattur Kannanar and Avvaiyar have also witnessed this historical event.[22] Interestingly, the Hathigumpha inscription also records that King Khāravela defeated the 113-year old confederacy of Tamil kings in his 11th regnal year.[23] Khāravela ascended the throne in 1031 BCE. Thus, three Tamil kings signed a pact in 1133 BCE that continued up to 1020 BCE.

The Successors of Imayavaramban Neduncheralathan

Palyanai Sel Kelu Kuttuvan was the brother of Imayavaramban Neduncheralathan. He reigned for 25 years. Nedumbāratāyanār was his preceptor. Palai Kautamanar eulogized him in his poem. King Palyanai Sel Kelu Kuttuvan helped Kautamanar to perform ten Vedic Yāgas. He is said to have divided the Chera kingdom into two parts [Tondi and Vanchi (Valapattanam and Kodangallur)]. Nanmudi Cheral, the son of Imayavaramban Neduncheralathan, succeeded Sel Kelu Kuttuvan in Tondi and reigned for 25 years. He was eulogized by Kappiyārru Kāpiyanār who apparently indicated the existence of the shrine of Tiruvanantapuram (Padmanabha temple). Evidently, modern Trivendrum was part of the Chera kingdom during the time of King Imayavaramban Neduncheralathan and his son Nanmudi Cheral. Aadukotpattu Cheralathan, another son of Imayavaramban Neduncheralathan succeeded Palyanai Sel Kelu Kuttuvan in Vanchi and reigned for 38 years.

	The Chera Kings	Duration of Reign	In CE
1.	Palyanai Sel Kelu Kuttuvan	25 years	1083-1058 BCE
2.	King Nanmudi Cheral (Tondi Kingdom)	25 years	1058-1033 BCE
3.	King Aadukotpattu Ceralathan (Vanchi Kingdom)	38 years	1058-1020 BCE

The Chronological Sequence of the Ten Sets of Poems of Patirruppattu

The available compilation of *Patirruppattu* contains only eight poems because two poems are now lost. It appears that Patirruppattu was compiled by collecting ten important poems from each of the top ten

poets of the Chera kingdom and arranged in a particular sequence during later unknown times. I have established above that the sequence of these ten sets of poems has nothing to do with the chronology. The existing sequence and the proposed sequence are given below for a comparative study of the true chronology of Cheras.

Existing Sequence of Patirruppattu			**Proposed Sequence of Patirruppattu**		
	Poet	***Chera King***		***Poet***	***Chera King***
1.	Not available.		1.	Not available.	
2.	Kumattur Kannanar	Uthiyan Cheran and his son Imayavaramban Neduncheral-athan	8.	Arisil Kilar	Perumcheral Irumporai
3.	Paalai Kau-thamanaar	Selkezhu kut-tuvan	9.	Perum Kunrur Killar	Ilam Cheral Irumporai
4.	Kappiyatru Kaapiyanaar	Nanmudi Cheral	7.	Kapilar	Antuvan Cheral and his son Selvakkadungo Vazhi Aathan
5.	Paranar	Senguttuvan and his son Kuttuvan Cheral (Uthiyan Cheran)	5.	Paranar	Senguttuvan and his son Kuttuvan Cheral (Uthiyan Cheran)
6.	Kakkaipati-niyar Nachellayar	Adukotpattu Cheralathan	2.	Kumattur Kannanar	Uthiyan Cheran and his son Imayavaramban Neduncheralathan
7.	Kapilar	Antuvan Cheral Kanaikkal Irumporai and his son Selvak-kadungo Vazhi Aathan	3.	Paalai Kautha-manaar	Selkezhu kuttuvan

8.	Arisil Kilar	Perumcheral Irumporai	4.	Kappiyat-ru Kaapi-yanaar	Nanmudi Cheral
9.	Perum Kun-rur Killar	Ilam Cheral Irumporai	6.	Kakkai-patiniyar Nachella-yar	Adukotpattu Cheralathan
10.	Not available		10.	Not available	

The Chronological Inconsistencies in the Existing Sequence

Modern historians have erroneously concluded that these ten sets of poems are in a chronological order and presented the chronology of the Chera kings despite the following inconsistencies.

1. Modern historians place Antuvan Cheral after Imayavaramban Nedunceralathan. It may be noted that Imayavaramban Nedunceralathan was the signatory of the confederacy that lasted for 113 years. Khāravela confirms that he has defeated this confederacy in his 11th regnal year. Evidently, the Chera, Chola and Pāndya kings did not wage war against each other during these 113 years. Now the question is how Antuvan Cheral, the 2nd or 3rd successor of Imayavaramban Nedunceralathan, conflicted with the Cholas? We cannot afford to place Antuvan Cheral after the invasion of Khāravela because Tamilnadu was under the control of the Kalabhras for 300 years.
2. Modern historians say that Imayavaramban is said to have one brother and three sons. His brother Selkezhu kuttuvan reigned for 25 years. His first son Narmudi cheral reigned for 25 years and the second son Senguttuvan reigned for 55 years. Therefore, the third son Aadukotpattu Cheralathan waited for at least 80 years to ascend the throne after his father's death and reigned for 38 years. Thus, the chronological sequence of the early Chera kings given by modern historians is totally illogical. In reality, Senguttuvan was the grandfather of Imayavaramban and not his son. Selkezhu kuttuvan, the brother of Imayavaramban, reigned for 25 years and

divided the kingdom between the two sons of Imayavaramban. Thus, Aadukotpattu Ceralathan, the youngest son of Imayavaramban died 63 years after the death of his father.

The Names of Early Chera Kings Mentioned in the Poetry of Puram, Akam etc.

The following names of the Chera kings[24] are found mentioned in the poems of Puram, Akam and Narrinai:

	Early Chera Kings	**Poem**	**The Contemporary Poet**
1.	Perum-Sorru Udiyan Ceralathan	Puram 2	
2.	Karavur-eriya Olval Kopperum Cheral Irumporai		
3.	Kadunko Vāliyāthan		
4.	Palaipādiya Perum Kadunko	Puram 11, Akam 185, 267 & Narrinai 9	
5.	Yanaikkat Sey Māntaram-ceral	Puram 20, 22,53, 125	
6.	Kokkodai Mārban		Poigaiyar was his court poet.
7.	Kuttuvan Kodai	Puram 51	Konattu Ericcalur Madalan Marutaikumaranar
8.	Kudukko Nedum-Cheralathan		
9.	Karavur Eriya Perum Cheralathan		
10.	Kanaikkal Irumporai	Puram 74	
11.	Kudakko Cheral Irumporai		
12.	Kottamabalattu Tunjiya Cheraman	Akam 168	
13.	Vanean		
14.	Ilam Kuttuvan	Akam 153	

15.	Kadolottiya Vel-Kelu Kuttuvan	Akam 368
16.	Mā-VenKo	Puram 367

Undoubtedly, these early Chera kings flourished before 1018 BCE because the era of Sangam poetry had come to an end by 1018 BCE when Khāravela invaded Tamilnadu. Thereafter, the Kalabhras occupied Tamilnadu. We can fix the dates of some of these early Chera kings. King Kokkodai Mārban lived before Nakkirar I who was the contemporary of Pāndya King Nedunjelian (1850-1800 BCE). King Mantaram Cheral Irumporai was the contemporary of Pāndya King Nedunjelian (1850-1800 BCE). Ma-Venko was the friend of Ukkiraperu Valudi and Rajasuyamvetta Perum killi (14th century BCE). Palaipādiya Perum Kadunko might have lived at least before Pāndya King Ukkiraperu Valudi (1350-1276 BCE) because *Kalittogai*, the 6th book of *Ettuthogai* that refers to Perum Kadunko was edited during his reign. The author of Akam 153 was Ilam Kuttuvan who was probably the grandson of King Senkuttuvan (1210-1155 BCE). There is a need for further research to establish the correct chronology of these early Chera kings.

The Chronology of the Chola Kings

It is pertinent to establish the dates of King Ellalan and Karikāla for arriving at the true chronology of the Chola kings.

King Ellalan or Elara (1487-1443 BCE)

According to Mahāvaṁśa, Sri Lankan King Duttagāmani Abhaya (1443-1419 BCE) was a junior contemporary of the Chola King Ellalan. The date of Duttagāmini Abhaya can be accurately fixed based on the epoch of Theravada Buddhism (1765 BCE). Seemingly, Chola King Ellalan invaded Sri Lanka and annexed the kingdom of Rajarata around 1487 BCE. King Duttagāmani Abhaya defeated Ellalan in 1443 BCE. The Dakshina Stupa in Anuradhapura was considered as the Chola King Elara's tomb.

King Karikāla Peruvalathān (1270-1200 BCE)

Karikala was the most celebrated king of the Chola dynasty. He was the maternal grandfather of the Chera King Senguttuvan (1210-1155 BCE)

who was a senior contemporary of Sri Lankan King Vasabha Gajabāhu I (1163-1119 BCE). The date of Karikāla (1270-1200 BCE) can be established based on the Gajabāhu synchronism. We can also validate the date of Karikāla based on radiocarbon dating of the palaeochannels of Kaveri River and the astronomical evidence of Ādi Perukku festival.

Radiocarbon Dating of the Palaeochannels of Kaveri River

Kaveri River has flowed northeasterly along Hogenekkal-Chennai from the ancient times to ~1500 BCE. Seemingly, Kaveri River changed the course and flowed along Cuddalore-Pondicherry region as well as Tiruchirapally-Kumbakonam-Kaveripattanam region. The overflow of Kaveri River during the rainy season used to cause havoc in the Chola kingdom. Chola King Karikāla built a dam at Kallanai (15 kms away from Tiruchirapally) to divert the waters of the Kaveri across the Tanjavur Delta region via canals for irrigation and controlling the flood waters. This ancient dam splits Kaveri into four streams. Modern scholars generally believe that Kaveri entered Tiruchirapally-Tanjavur region after 300 BCE based on the radiocarbon dating.

The recent radiocarbon dating of the floodplain of Kaveri at Manachallur gave an age of 670-750 BCE.[25] Moreover, the height of Kallanai dam has been raised in 1800 CE. Many palaeochannels of Kaveri might have been revived to increase the irrigated area. Therefore, it is not appropriate to conclude the geomorphic studies of Kaveri based on the available palaeochannels. Moreover, the data of radiocarbon dating is generally calibrated with a bias to the distorted chronology of world history. Thus, there is a genuine need for the scientific study of Kallanai dam to arrive at the exact date of its construction.

The Astronomical Evidence of the Festival of Ādi Perukku

The people of Tamilnadu celebrate the festival of Ādi Perukku on the 18th day of Tamil month "Ādi" (Āṣāḍha month). This festival is celebrated to commemorate the descent of the Kaveri River. The date of this festival coincided with the beginning of Dakśiṇāyana or the Summer solstice in ancient times. In modern times, the 18th day of Ādi month falls 45 days later (around 3rd August) which clearly indicates the precession of the

summer solstice. Presently, the summer solstice falls around 21st June. The Tamil new year also falls around 14th April 45 days later. Considering the precession of one day in 72 years, the epoch of Ādi Perukku festival must have commenced 3240 years before 2019. Evidently, the first festival of Ādi Perukku might have been celebrated around 1225 BCE.

Seemingly, Karikala (1270-1200 BCE) had built the Kallanai dam around 1225 BCE and brought the water of Kaveri River to Tiruchirapally-Tanjavur and Tiruchirapally-Kumbakonam-Kaveripattanam regions for the first time. This diversion of Kaveri water had been viewed as the descent of Kaveri River. Most probably, the Kallanai dam became operational on the day of summer solstice. Thus, the festival of Ādi Perukku is being celebrated since last 3240 years. In fact, the Chola kingdom used to import rice from Sri Lanka in those days. The Kallanai dam brought prosperity to the regions of Tiruchirapally-Tanjavur and Tiruchirapally-Kumbakonam-Kaveripattanam.

Before the time of Karikāla, the Indra festival was the most important festival of the Chola kingdom. But, the festival of Ādi Perukku became the most important festival from 1225 BCE onwards. Gradually, the Chola kings may have ignored the Indra festival. When the city of Kaveripattanam was submerged by sea in the 6th century BCE, the people blamed the Chola kings for ignoring the Indra festival. Evidently, the astronomical evidence of Ādi Perukku festival also validates the date of Karikāla around 1295-1200 BCE.

King Perumkilli (1200-1150 BCE)

After the death of Karikāla, a war of succession had broken out in the Chola Kingdom. The Chera King Senguttuvan (1210-1155 BCE) supported Perumkilli who was said to be the brother-in-law of Senguttuvan. Senguttuvan defeated all the rivals of Perumkilli at Nerivayil and placed him on the throne.

Based on the dates of Chola Kings Ellalan and Karikāla as established above, we can now arrive at the genealogy and the chronology of early Chola kings as available in literary sources.[26] Wikipedia provides the following list of early Chola Kings:

	Early Chola Kings	**In CE**
1.	Eri Oliyan Vaendhi	4302-4262 BCE
2.	Maandhuvaazhi	4262-4227 BCE
3.	El Mei Nannan	4227-4177 BCE
4.	Keezhai Kinjuvan	4177-4147 BCE
5.	Vazhisai Nannan	4147-4102 BCE
6.	Mei Kiyagusi Aerru	4102-4092 BCE
7.	Aai Kuzhi Agusi Aerru	4092-4082 BCE
8.	Thizhagan Maandhi	4082-4052 BCE
9.	Maandhi Vaelan	4052-4007 BCE
10.	Aai Adumban	4007-3992 BCE
11.	Aai Nedun jaet chozha thagaiyan	3992-3962 BCE
12.	El Mei Agguvan alias Keezh nedu mannan	3962-3932 BCE
13.	Mudiko Mei Kaalaiyam Thagaiyan	3932-3927 BCE
14.	Ilangok keezh kaalaiyan thagaiyan alias Ilangeezh nannan *Start of Kadamba lineage by his brother Aai Keezh Nannan*	3927-3912 BCE
15.	Kaalaiyan gudingyan	3912-3897 BCE
16.	Nedun gaalayan dhagayan	3897-3896 BCE
17.	Vaengai nedu vael varaiyan	3896-3882 BCE
18.	Vaet kaal kudingyan	3882-3872 BCE
19.	Maei Ila vael varaiyan	3872-3862 BCE
20.	Sibi Vendhi	3862-3817 BCE
21.	Paru nonji chaamazhingyan	3817-3807 BCE
22.	Vaeqratrtri chembiya chozhan	3807-3797 BCE
23.	Saamazhi chozhiya vaelaan	3797-3777 BCE
24.	Uthi ven gaalai thagan	3777-3757 BCE
25.	Nannan that kaalai thagan	3757-3627 BCE
26.	Vel vaen mindi	3727-3697 BCE
27.	Nedun jembiyan	3697-3657 BCE
28.	Nedu nonji Vendhi	3657-3612 BCE

29.	Maei Vael paqratrtri	3612-3597 BCE
30.	Aai Perun thoan nonji	3597-3557 BCE
31.	Kudiko pungi	3557-3532 BCE
32.	Perun goep poguvan	3532-3477 BCE
33.	Koeth thatrtri	3477-3442 BCE
34.	Vadi sembiyan	3442-3392 BCE
35.	Aalam poguvan	3392-3367 BCE
36.	Nedun jembiyan	3367-3338 BCE
37.	Perum paeyar poguvan	3338-3315 BCE
38.	Kadun jembiyan	3315-3297 BCE
39.	Nedun kathan	3297-3242 BCE
40.	Paru nakkan	3242-3209 BCE
41.	Vani sembiyan	3209-3184 BCE
42.	Udha chira mondhuvan	3184-3157 BCE
43.	Perun kaththan	3157-3142 BCE
44.	Kadun kandhalan	3142-3081 BCE
45.	Nakka monjuvan	3081-3068 BCE
46.	Maarko vael Maandhuvan Aaththikko	3068-3035 BCE
47.	Musukunthan Vaendhi	3035-3005 BCE
48.	Peru nakkan Thatrtri	3005-2985 BCE
49.	Vaer kaththan	2985-2964 BCE
50.	Ambalaththu Irumundruvan	2964-2922 BCE
51.	Kaari mondhuvan	2922-2897 BCE
52.	Vennakkan Thatrtri	2897-2847 BCE
53.	Maarko chunthuvan	2847-2802 BCE
54.	Vaer parunthoan mundruvan	2802-2737 BCE
55.	Udhan kaththan	2737-2722 BCE
56.	Kaariko sunthuvan	2722-2678 BCE
57.	Vendri nungunan	2678-2658 BCE
58.	Mondhuvan Vendhi	2658-2641 BCE
59.	Kaandhaman	2641-2619 BCE
60.	Mundruvan Vendhi	2619-2579 BCE

61.	Kaandhaman	2579-2558 BCE
62.	Monjuvan Vendhi	2558-2541 BCE
63.	Ani sembiyan	2541-2493 BCE
64.	Nungunan Vendhi	2493-2453 BCE
65.	Maarkop perum Cenni	2453-2427 BCE
66.	Monjuvan Nanvendhi	2427-2387 BCE
67.	Kop perunar chenni	2387-2377 BCE
68.	Monthuvan jembiyan	2377-2342 BCE
69.	Nakkar chenni	2342-2327 BCE
70.	Parun jembiyan	2327-2300 BCE
71.	Venjenni	2300-1290 BCE
72.	Musugunthan	2290-2270 BCE
73.	Maarkop perun jembiyan	2270-2250 BCE
74.	Nedunjenni	2250-2230 BCE
75.	Thatchembiyan	2230-2210 BCE
76.	Ambalaththu iruvaer chembiyan	2210-2190 BCE
77.	Kaariko chenni	2190-2170 BCE
78.	Venvaer chenni	2170-2150 BCE
79.	Kaandhaman	2150-2120 BCE
80.	Kaandhalan	2120-2100 BCE
81.	Caetchenni	2100-2080 BCE
82.	Vani nungunan	2080-2060 BCE
83.	Mudhu sembiyan Vendhi	2060-2040 BCE
84.	Peelan jembiyach chozhiyan	2040-2020 BCE
85.	Maeyan gadungo	2020-2000 BCE
86.	Thiththan	2000-1990 BCE
87.	Perunar killi Porvaiko	1990-1970 BCE
88.	Kadu mundruvan	1970-1950 BCE
89.	Kopperunjozhan	1950-1930 BCE
90.	Narkilli Mudiththalai	1930-1900 BCE
91.	Thevvan go chozhan	1900-1880 BCE
92.	Naran jembiyan	1880-1840 BCE

93.	Nakkam peela valavan	1840-1800 BCE
94.	Iniyan thevvan jenni	1800-1770 BCE
95.	Varcembiyan	1770-1740 BCE
96.	Nedun jembiyan	1740-1700 BCE
97.	Nakkan aran jozhan	1700-1670 BCE
98.	Ambalathu irungoch chenni	1670-1630 BCE
99.	Perunar killi	1630-1590 BCE
100.	Kochaet Cenni	1590-1550 BCE
101.	Cerupazhi Erinda Ilanjaetcenni	1550-1520 BCE
102.	Nedungop perunkilli	1520-1487 BCE
103.	**Cenni Ellagan or Elāra**	**1487-1443 BCE**
104.	Perun gilli	1443-1420 BCE
105.	Kopperun jozhiyav ilanjaetcenni	1420-1410 BCE
106.	Perunar killi Mudiththalai ko	1410-1400 BCE
107.	PerumpootCenni	1400-1380 BCE
108.	Ilam perunjenni	1380-1370 BCE
109.	Karikala alias Perungilli Vendhi (Rajasuyamvetta?)	1370-1350 BCE
110.	Nedumudi Killi	1350-1330 BCE
111.	Ilavanthigaipalli Thunjiya Maei Nalangilli Caet Cenni	1330-1320 BCE
112.	Aai Vaenalangilli	1320-1300 BCE
113.	Uruvapakraer Ilanjaetcenni	1300-1270 BCE
114.	Karikāla Peruvalaththaan	1270-1200 BCE
115.	Vaer paqradakkai Perunar killi	1200-1150 BCE
116.	Perun thiru mavalavan, Kuraapalli Thunjiya	1150-1140 BCE
117.	Nalangilli	1140-1120 BCE
118.	Perunarkilli, Kula mutrtraththu Thunjiya	1120-1100 BCE
119.	Perunarkilli, Irasasuya vaetta	1100-1090 BCE
120.	Vael kadunkilli	1090-1060 BCE
121.	Kochenganaan	1060-1030 BCE
122.	Nalluruththiran	1030-1020 BCE

The Date of Thiruvalluvar (1700-1600 BCE)

The famous Tamil Sant Thiruvalluvar was the author of Thirukkural. The Sangam era poet Mamulanar (11th century BCE) indicates that Thiruvalluvar was probably the contemporary of the Nanda dynasty of Magadha Empire (1664-1596 BCE). The song titled "*Thiruvalluva Malai*" written in praise of poet Thiruvalluvar contains 53 quatrains. The following poets are credited with the authorship of these quatrains: Ashariri, Nāmakkal, Iraiyanār, Ukkiraperu Valudi, Kapilar, Paranar, Nakkirar, Mamulanar, Kallatar, Sitalai Sattanar, Maruttvan Tamotaran etc. Undoubtedly, Ashariri and Namakkal lived after Thiruvalluvar. Therefore, Thiruvalluvar lived much before the reign of Ukkiraperu Valudi (1350-1276 BCE), the last Pāndya king of the third Sangam period. Thus, we can roughly fix the date of Thiruvalluvar in the 17th century BCE (1700-1600 BCE).

The Date of Rāmāvatāram or Kamba Rāmāyaṇam (14th Century BCE)

Kambār or Kamban was the celebrated author of Rāmāvatāram also known as Kamba Rāmāyaṇam. He wrote his treatise in Viruttam meter which was popular in the Sangam era. Historians have concocted that Kamban lived around 1180 CE. Simon Casie Chitty has noted in 1859 that one of the prefixed stanzas on a manuscript refers to the year 807 of the Śaka era as the date of publication. Undoubtedly, this manuscript was copied in Śaka 807. Historians appear to have deliberately distorted the year as 1107 and claimed that Kamba Rāmāyaṇam was written in 1180 CE.

A Tamil legend informs us that Kambar was the son of King Vera Varman of Kambanadu (near Thiruvasundoor of Tanjavur). King Veera Varman lost his kingdom and died before the birth of prince Kambar. Ambika was his mother. Kambar became a court poet of his patron Sadayappa Vallal who was a Velir king. The Chola King Karikāla (1270-1200 BCE) annexed the Velir kingdom. There is no record of the Velir kings after the 13th century BCE. Therefore, Kambar must be dated before the 13th century BCE. The Velir kings were the rivals of the Cholas. According to the Tamil legends, Kambar's son Ambikapathy was in love with Amaravati, a Chola princess. Ottakuttar, a contemporary and the

rival poet of Kambar, complains about this love affair to the Velir king. The King sentences Ambikapathy to death. Kambar had no other option to flee from Tamilnadu.

Seemingly, Kambār reached to Yavadvīpa (Java) in Indonesia after the death of his son. *Manimekhalai* refers to the city of Nāgapuram of Java. According to the legend of Cambodia, Kambu, a learned prince of India, came to the Naga kingdom of Cambodia and married a Nāga princess named Mera. Thus, Kambu was the founder of the first dynasty of Cambodia. Seemingly, Kambār was the Kambu of Cambodia. The descendents of Kambu came to be known as Kambujas. Therefore, the dynastic history of Cambodia begins with the arrival of Kambar.

The word Campuchia or Cambodia is derived from Kambuja and the word "Khmer" is derived from Kambu and Mera (his Naga wife). It may be noted that the Kambujas of Cambodia had no links with the Kambojas of Gāndhāra and Bactria. A Sanskrit text "*Agastya Parva*" is still popular in Indonesia and Cambodia. Buddhist grammarian Buddhamittra, a contemporary of Vira Chola and the author of *Viracholiyam* has quoted Kambar's Rāmāyaṇa.

The Date of Śilappadikāram (11th century BCE)

Ilango Adigal, the author of the great Tamil epic Śilappadikāram was the brother of Chera King Vel Kelu Kuttuvan. Most probably, Palyanai Sel Kelu Kuttuvan (1083-1058 BCE) and Vel Kelu Kuttuvan were the same. Thus, we can fix the lifetime of Ilango Adigal around 1120-1040 BCE.

The Origin of the Satyaputras or Velir Dynasty

It is quite obvious from the Sangam literature that the Velir kings belonged to the Vrishni lineage of the Yadu dynasty of Sri Krishna. The Sangam era poet Kapilar clearly mentions in his poems (Stanza 201 and 202 of Purananuru) that the ancestors of Velir King Irunkovel were the rulers of the fortified city of "Tuvarai", i.e., Dvāravati. Nacchinarkkiniyar, a commentator of "*Tolkappiyam*" records the migration of Velir kings from the city of "Tuvarai" or "Tuvarāpati" to Tamilnadu. He indicates that the Velirs came to Tamilnadu under the leadership of Rishi Akattiyanar (Agastya) and they belonged to the lineage of Netumutiyannal (Krishna).

A Tamil inscription also mentions the migration of Velir kings from the city of "Tuvarai". Undoubtedly, "Tuvarai" or "Tuvarāpati" was the city of Dvāravati or Dwārakā founded by Devakiputra Krishna.

The Velir kings of Tamilnadu were also known as Satyaputras. Athiyaman Neduman Anchi was the most celebrated Velir king of the Sangam era. A Tamil Brahmi inscription of King Athiyaman reads: *"Satiyaputo Atiyan Natuman Anci itta Pali".* The Girnar edict II of King Aśoka refers to the Satiyaputta kings of Tamilnadu.

> सर्वत विजितम्हि देवानंप्रियस पियदसिनो राजो
> एवमपि प्रचंतेमु यथा **चोडा पाडा सतियपुतो केतलपुतो आ तंब पंणी** अंतियको योजनाराजा ये वा पि तस अंतियकस सामीपं
> राजानो सर्वच देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो छे चिकीछ कता

A branch of Velir lineage of Tamilnadu had migrated to Kerala during the pre-Mahābhārata era and came to be known as the Ay kings. *Keralolpathi* has at least two references of a kingdom called "Satyabhumi":

1. Vijayan Perumal erected a fortress at Vijayan Kollam that place is called Satyabhumi because Arjuna Phalguna performed austerities there for a long time.
2. The fortress of Valarbhattanam is called Satyabhumi.

Evidently, the Satiyaputta kings mentioned in the edicts of Aśoka were none other than the Velir kings of Tamilnadu.

Bhāgavata Purāṇa narrates that Devakiputra Krishna married Jāmbavati, daughter of King Jāmbavan. Jāmbavati was the mother of Samba, Sumitra, Purujit, Shatajit, Sahasrajit, Vijaya, Chitraketu, Vasuman, Dravida and Kratu. Thus, Dravida was the son of Devakiputra Krishna and Jāmbavati. The descendants of Dravida migrated to South India and established their kingdom in the region between Tondaimandalam and the Chola kingdom. Manusmriti mentions that Dravidas were the Vrātya Kshatriyas because Jāmbavati, mother of Dravida was a non-Kśatriya princess. According to Mahābhārata, Sahadeva subjugated Dravidas. The Dravida kings also supported Pāndavas in the Mahabharata War.

Interestingly, the inscription of Velir King Satyaputra Athiyaman Neduman Anchi is found on the hillock named Jambaimalai of Jambai

village in Villuppuram district of Tamilnadu. It is generally argued that the village got its name from Jambunatheshvar temple but this Śiva temple itself is named after Jambunath. Evidently, Jambunath was none other than Jāmbavan, the father of Jāmbavati. Since the Velir or Satyaputra kings were the progeny of Jāmbavati, therefore, the Śiva Temple of Jambai village was named after Jambunath or Jāmbavan. Seemingly, Jāmbavant of the Rāmāyaṇa era reigned at Jambai Village of Tamilnadu who probably belonged to the lineage of ancient Velirs or Satyaputras. Thus, we can conclusively establish that the ancestors of Velir kings had migrated from the city of Dvāravati and they were the progeny of Devakiputra Krishna and Jāmbavati.

Some Tamil scholars claim that Velirs had originated from the Tadavu of a northern sage. According to the Valangai Malai, the ancestors of Chanror-kulam were called Valangai Vel and they were said to have been born in a spring called "Elanchunai". Valangai Vel or Nadar people were the progeny of Rishi Vidyādhara-muni and the seven daughters of a Nāga King. Evidently, Valangai Malai relates the origin of the Nadar community of Tamilnadu and not Velirs.

The Date of the Migration of Velir Kings from Dvāravati

According to Kapilar, 48 generations or 48 ancestors of ancient Irunko kings or ancient Velir kings reigned at Dvāravati. He mentioned the title of "Settirunko" which means "Jyeshtha Irunko" or Irunkovel I. There were many Velir kings who had the title of "Irunkovel". Some Tamil inscriptions refer to Velir kings as Irunko Muttaraisar, i.e., ancient Irunko kings. Therefore, Kapilar refers to the first Irunkovel as "Settirunko". Most probably, Irunkovel I was the last ruler of Dvāravati. Thus, total 49 kings reigned at Dvāravati and the last or the 49th king was Settirunko or Irunkovel I.

I have already explained in the first volume of this book that Devakiputra Krishna, the pupil of Rishi Ghora Āṅgirasa flourished in the Rigvedic era around 11150-11050 BCE, whereas Sri Krishna, the pupil of Rishi Sāndipani lived during the Mahābhārata era (3162 BCE). Devakiputra Krishna founded the city of Dvāravati. Viśvakarmā was the civil engineer who planned the city. Dvāravati city was built on the same

place where the city of Kuśasthali had existed. Kuśasthali was the earliest capital of Saurashtra. King Raivata Manu (~12500 BCE) founded this city near the Raivataka hill or Girnar. Harivaṁśa Purāṇa holds that Sri Krishna built the city of Dvāravati on the land released by ocean. Probably, Kuśasthali was submerged by sea but resurfaced later around 11200 BCE.

When Devakiputra Krishna died succumbing to the arrow of a hunter around 11050 BCE, Dravida, son of Jāmbavati might have succeeded him in Dwārakā because Jāmbavati's elder son Sāmba was cursed with leprosy by Sri Krishna. Sāmba had to do penance for 12 years. Seemingly, 49 descendants of King Dravida reigned at Dwārakā for 1500 years from 11000 BCE to 9500 BCE considering ~30 years for each generation. Probably, Dvāravati was submerged by sea around 9500 BCE.

After the submergence of Dvāravati city, many Yādava families had migrated to eastwards and southwards. The sons of Irunkovel and their families migrated from Dwārakā to Tamilnadu under the leadership of Rishi Agastya around 9500-9300 BCE.

The Chronology of the Velir Kings

T Arumukanayinar Pillai authored "Nankudi Velir Varalaru" in 1920 and gave the following chronology of 201 Velir Kings:

	Place	**Period**	**No. of Kings**
1.	Dwārakā	3132-1930 BCE	49
2.	Korkai	1930-882 BCE	37
3.	Celuvai	882 BCE -298 CE	51
4.	Allikulam	298-922 CE	24
5.	Attalanallur	922-1227 CE	12
6.	Cevalai and Mutivaittanental	1227-1944 CE	28
			201

This chronology is mere a guesswork. It does not follow the sheet anchors of the Tamil chronology. The Velir kings migrated from Dwārakā to Tamilnadu around 9500-9300 BCE and established their kingdom in the region close to Kongudesha. Dharmapuri city of Tagadur was the capital of ancient Velir King Athiyaman. Jambai village was also part of Velir kingdom. We have not much information of the Velir kings before

Athiyaman lineage. Most probably, ancient Velir kings had the title of Irunkovel. The chronology:

		In CE
1.	Migration from Dwārakā to Tamilnadu	9500-9300 BCE
2.	Irunkovel lineage of Velirs Tagadur-Salem (Dharmapuri)	9300-3162 BCE

According to Tamil sources, 18 branches of Velirs had evolved before the Mahābhārata era. A branch of Irunkovel lineage went to north and settled on the banks of Ganga and Indus Rivers. After the Mahābhārata war, Narkutiyar of Irunkovel lineage came back to Tamilnadu at the request of three Tamil kings and settled at Korkai. The descendants of Narkutiyar known as Narkutis acted as ministers and treasurers of Pāndya kings. Evidently, the Narkutis were part of the Velir dynasty.

The inscriptions indicate that the kings of the Athiyaman dynasty known as Satyaputras were ruling at Dharmapuri during the time of King Aśoka (1765-1737 BCE). Many Velir or Satyaputra kings had the title of Athiyaman. Tamil poetess Avvaiyar II was the sister of King Athiyaman and she was a contemporary of Kambar and Ottakuttar (1350-1300 BCE). Velir King Vel Pari was ruling around 1200 BCE. The Chola, Pāndya and Chera kings jointly attacked the fort of Vel Pari. The war went on for few years. After a long war, Vel Pari was killed. Kapilar, the poet of Sangam era was the great friend of Vel Pari. After the death of Vel Pari, Kapilar became the guardian of Pari's two daughters, Angavai and Sangavai. Seemingly, Kapilar along with Pari's two daughters migrated to the Chera kingdom. Thus, the Satyaputra or Velir dynasty finally ended around 1200 BCE. After the death of Kapilar, his sister Avvaiyar III took care of Vel Pari's daughters and married them off to King Malaiyaman Thirumudi Kari.

Seemingly, Kapilar went to Irunkovel (a descendant of Irunkovel lineage of Velirs) after the death of Vel Pari but he refused to give shelter to Kapilar and Vel Pari's daughters. Kapilar expressed his anguish against Irunkovel in his Purananuru 202.

> *"Now listen to how Araiyam was destroyed, the long-established city which had been of help to your ancestors through its gold treasured in tens of millions of pieces! It was an ancient city that instilled*

fear! Known by two names, it was famed for its constant victories
up there, on the tall mountain, where a wild bull being pursued
by hunters in the forest of vetci trees races on never
finding any refuge, leaving the traces of his flight
in sapphires sprung clear on the slope and the scattered sheen
of gold! Pulikatimal with your chaplet in flower! You who received
your wealth wholly inherited from your father! There was a man
among your ancestors who was wise, like you, and showed contempt
for Kanaa Talaiyar who had composed celebrated poems and the
destruction
of his city resulted from it! O King with your chariot
finely fashioned! Pardon those vile and muddied words of mine
when I said, "May these daughters of Pari who gave generously
find their protection among the ancient line of Evvi!" Greatness!
I take my leave of you! May your spear win its victories!
You who rule a land with villages perched on tall hills
where the dark petals of the black-stemmed venkai flowers
when they have blossomed drift down over
the rocks that look then like the striped backs of huge tigers!"

After the death of King Vel Pari, the Athiyaman lineage of Satyaputra or Velir dynasty declined. The Velir kingdom became part of the Chola kingdom for some time. The Kalabhras reigned over entire Tamilnadu during the period 1000-700 BCE. Thereafter, the Ganga dynasty reigned over the Kongudesha.

Interestingly, Valangai Vel or Nadar Brahmins were appointed as Achan and Enadi (experts of martial arts and Senapatis) around 1200-1000 BCE. The names of a Sangam poet Maturai Vel Achan, a Malaiyaman chieftain, Cholika Enadi Tirukkannan, and a Chera general Choliya Enadi Tirukkuttuvan indicate this fact. Most probably, one Achan (expert of martial arts), the third son of a Valangai Vel (a vassal king of Pallavas) became Bauddha and went to China during the time of the early Pallava kings. He came to be known as Bodhidharma and taught martial arts to Chinese monks.

The Invasion of Kaliṅga King Khāravela (1020-1018 BCE)

The Hathigumpha inscription records that Kaliṅga King Khāravela defeated the 113-year old confederacy of Tamil kings (Chera, Chola &

Pāndya) in his 11th regnal year [तेरसवससतकतंभिदतितमिरदेहसंघातं]. He also forced the King of Pāndya to visit his capital Kaliṅga nagara in his 12th regnal year for presenting various pearls, jewels and precious stones hundred thousand in number [पंडराजाएदानि अनेकानि मुत मनिरतनानि आहारापयति इध सतस]. He brought to submission the Tamil people of and in the thirteenth year upasaka Khāravela a devoted worshipper of those, who used to cloth themselves in fine cloth, enjoy royal endowment and take to rainy season, retreat, excavated in the Kumari hill, where the wheel of victory had been well turned, dwelling cells for resting of the bodies of the .... Arhats who had renounced their sustenance.[27]

Khāravela ascended the throne around 1031 BCE. Thus, Khāravela defeated the 113-year old confederacy of Tamil kings in his 11th regnal year, i.e., 1020 BCE (a pact jointly signed by Chera King Imayavaramban Neduncheralathan, Chola and Pāndya kings as mentioned in Tamil literary sources. Most probably, this pact was signed in 1133 BCE). Khāravela conquered up to Kanyakumari hill in his 13th regnal year, i.e., 1018 BCE. The Velvikudi plates of Pāndya King Nedunchadaiyan[28] also record that a Kali king named Kalabhran took possession of the extensive earth driving away numberless great kings. Evidently, Kalinga King Khāravela was indeed the King Kalabhra who annexed the kingdoms of early Pāndya, Chera and Chola kings and brought entire Tamilnadu under his rule around 1018 BCE.

The Reign of the Kalabhras in Tamilnadu (1018-718 BCE)

Mahābhārata mentions that the kings of Kalabha, Meghavahana, Karūṣa and Dantavakra also surrendered to the supremacy of Magadha King Jarāsandha (दन्तवक्रः करूषश्च कलभो मेघवाहनः मूर्ध्ना दिव्यं मणिं बिभ्रद् यं तं भूतमणिं विदुः).[29] During the post-Buddhist period, Mahā-Meghavana kings of the lunar dynasty dominated in the Kaliṅga janapada. According to *Periya Puranam*, the Kalabhras belonged to Andhra-Karnataka region (Ahobilam-Kalahasti-Nellur region?).

The Kalabhra kings of Tamilnadu reigned for 300 years. We have very little information about the reign of Kalabhras but undoubtedly, they were also the patrons of Buddhism. Buddhadatta, a Theravada Buddhist and the resident of Bhūtamaṅgalagrāma monastery of Kaveripumpattanam

refers to his patron King Achyutavikrānta of Kalabhrakula in his work "*Abhidharmāvatāra*". It is incorrect to assume that the Kalabhras were Buddhists. They have promoted Śaivism and Vaishnavism. In fact, Buddhism philosophically dominated in entire India during the period 1100-600 BCE. Therefore, Buddhism also dominated in Tamilnadu during the reign of Kalabhras (1018-718 BCE).

Kalabhra King Achyutan (~1000 BCE)

According to a Tamil commentary on grammar entitled "*Yapparungalaviruttiyurai*", Kalabhra King Achyutan had complete control over entire Tamilnadu. He had the emblem of fish (Pāndya), bow (Chera) and Tiger (Chola) indicating his authority over three kingdoms of Tamilnadu. The legends tell us that King Achyutan defeated the kings of Chera, Chola & Pāndya and put them in prison by tying their legs with chain. These three imprisoned Tamil kings sang three songs praising the valour of King Achyutan and requesting him for mercy.

An inscription found in Halmidi refers to the Kalabhras and mentions that Kadamba King Kahuttan was the enemy of the Kalabhras. It may be noted that a branch of Cholas known as Kadambas was ruling in south-western Karnataka since the Sangam era. The Chola Kadamba king Kahuttan might have reigned around 800-750 BCE. The Kadamba dynasty founded by Mayurasharman was different from the Chola Kadamba dynasty. Mayurasharman founded the Kadamba dynasty around 500 BCE.

Kalabhra King Kurran Chendan (978 BCE?)

The Vatteluttu inscription (unpublished) of the Kalabhra King Kurran Chendan is dated in the year 198 of unspecified era.[30] The donor King of this inscription is referred to as a captain of a big naval force. We need to find out the epoch of this unknown era. Most probably, this inscription refers to the epoch of Paraśurāma era (1176 BCE). Thus, we can fix the date of the Vatteluttu inscription around 978 BCE.

Kalabhra King Achyutavikrānta (825-780 BCE)

Buddhist scholar Buddhadatta refers to the Kalabhra King Achyuta-vikrānta. Most probably, Buddhadatta was the contemporary of

Buddhaghoṣa, the greatest scholar of Theravada Buddhism. Dharmakirti (620-530 BCE) refers to Buddhaghoṣa. *Mahāvaṁśa* gives the biography of Buddhaghoṣa who visited Anurādhāpura Vihāra of Sri Lanka during the reign of King Mahānāmā (850-828 BCE). Burmese sources tell us that Buddhaghoṣa visited Sri Lanka in the year 930 of Buddha religion (835 BCE) and in the 15th regnal year of Sri Lankan King Mahānāmā who ascended the throne in the year 915 (850 BCE).[31]

Buddhaghoṣa mentions that he has completed his commentary on Vinaya Pitaka in the 21st regnal year of King Srinivasa. He also refers to the same king under the name of Sirikūta in the epilogue to his commentary on Dhammapada.[32] He also refers to a King Mahanāga. Seemingly, the successors of Mahānāmā lost their kingdom to the Dravidian kings around 825 BCE. Six Dravidian kings reigned over Sri Lanka after Mittasena. King Mahānāga reigned over Sri Lanka after Mittasena and King Srinivasa or Sirikuta succeeded him. Therefore, we can fix the date of Mahānāga around 825-815 BCE and the date of King Srinivasa around 815-780 BCE. Thus, we can roughly fix the lifetime of Buddhaghoṣa around 865-780 BCE.

Interestingly, Buddhadatta also refers to Sri Lankan King Sirikuta. Thus, Kalabhra King Achyutavikrānta and Sri Lankan King Srinivasa or Sirikuta were the contemporaries. Most probably, King Mahānāga who conquered Sri Lanka during the reign of Mittasena may have belonged to a branch of Kalabhra dynasty.

The Date of Kundalakesi, the Tamil Epic (800-750 BCE)

Most probably, the fourth Tamil epic Kundalakesi was written during the reign of Kalabhras because the available fragments of Kundalakesi clearly indicate the influence of Buddhism.

The Date of Manimekalai (500 BCE)

There were two Seethalai Sathanars in Tamil history. Seethalai Sathanar I lived in the 11th century BCE. He was probably a junior contemporary of Ilango Adigal, the author of *Śilappadikāram*. Seethalai Sathanar II, the author of the fifth Tamil epic *Manimekalai* lived in the 6th or 5th century BCE. He refers to the reincarnation of Buddha that will take place in the year 1616. Considering the epoch of 1765 BCE (Theravada Buddhism),

the year 1616 corresponds to 149 BCE. Evidently, Seethalai Sathanar II lived before 149 BCE.

Seemingly, *Manimekalai* refers to the Buddhist logic of Diṅgnāga and Dharmakirti. Manimekalai also relates that the city of Puhar or Kaveripattanam was submerged by sea in a tsunami. The author of Manimekalai blames the Chola king who neglected the annual celebration of Indra festival and thereby causing the wrath of the sea goddess Manimekalai. Evidently, Seethalai Sathanar II lived during the reign of later Chola kings who had re-established their kingdom after the fall of the Kalabhra dynasty. Moreover, Seethalai Sathanar clearly indicates the decline of Buddhism. Thus, we can roughly fix the date of *Manimekalai* around 500 BCE. It also appears that Kaveripattanam or Puhar was submerged by sea before the lifetime of Seethalai Sathanar II.

Buddhism, Ajivika Sect and Jainism in Tamilnadu

Most probably, Buddhism was established in Tamilnadu and Sri Lanka at the same time. Mahindra and Sanghamitra came to Sri Lanka around 1520-1510 BCE. Ajivika sect was present in Tamil Nadu at the same time. Seemingly, Nagapattinam, Puhar (Kaveripattanam) and Tuticorin were the main ports for travelling to Sri Lanka. Thus, Nagapattinam, Kaveripattanam and Tamraparni (Tuticorin & Tirunelveli) became the centers of Buddhism. During the reign of Kalabhras (1018-718 BCE), Buddhism not only flourished but also dominated over other schools of Indian philosophies. Buddhism gradually declined after 500 BCE. The author of *Manimekalai* refers to the decline of Buddhism.

Historians have concocted that Jainism influenced the Sangam literature. They have also speculated that the author of Śilappadikāram was a Jain. It may be noted that Bhadrabāhu was the first Jain monk who came to Karnataka and attained nirvāṇa in Shravanabelgola around 1019 BCE [The 170th year of Mahāvira nirvāṇa era (1189 BCE)]. Evidently, it is impossible to date Jainism of Tamilnadu before 1000 BCE. In fact, Ajivika sect existed during the Sangam era which has been erroneously considered as Jainism. Entire Sangam literature including Śilappadikāram was written before 1000 BCE. Therefore, it is totally absurd to speculate the influence of Jainism on the Sangam literature. In

fact, the Ajivika philosophy might have influenced the Sangam literature and not Jainism.

Muni Sarvanandi was the earliest known Jain monk who lived in the Pāndyan Kingdom. He was the author of *Lokavibhāga* in Prakrit. Probably, he was the contemporary of Acharya Māghanandi I (596-575 BCE). Simhasuri translated *Lokavibhāga* of Sarvanandi into Sanskrit around Śaka 380 (203 BCE). A Jain monk named Acharya Vajranandi convened a council of Jainism known as Dravida Sangha in Madurai around 194 BCE or 134 BCE.

The Later Pāndyas (From 718 BCE to the 5th century CE)

The Velvikudi plates clearly indicates that King Kadungon Manābharaṇa defeated the Kalabhras and re-established the Pāndyan kingdom. Most probably, Kadungon led the confederacy of the Pāndyas, Cheras & Cholas and routed the Kalabhras. Thus, the kingdoms of later Pāndyas, Cheras and Cholas have been re-established around 718-700 BCE. The Velvikudi plates give the following genealogy of later Pāndyas.

		In CE
1.	Kadungon Pāndyādhirāja	718-700 BCE
2.	Avanichudamani Maravarman	700-675 BCE
3.	Cheliyan Vanavan Chendan	675-650 BCE
4.	Arikesari Asamasaman Sri Maravarman (Vajrāṅga Pāndya)	650-610 BCE
5.	King Chadaiyan	610-575 BCE
6.	Mara	575-540 BCE
7.	Nedunjadaiyan	540-500 BCE

King Śālivāhana (659-630 BCE) and the Confederacy of Three Tamil Kings

A Tamil Manuscript of *Chola Purva Patayam* (the history of ancient Cholas) collected by Mackenzie[33] gives an interesting account of King Śālivāhana who defeated King Vikramāditya and established his powerful empire in Dakśiṇāpatha. The three kings, Vira Chola of Cholas, Ulara

Cheran of Cheras and Vajrāṅga Pāndyan of Pāndyas came together and vowed to destroy King Śālivāhana. Finally, these three kings defeated and killed King Śālivāhana in Kali year 2443 (659 BCE). The scribe of the manuscript wrongly mentioned 1443. Seemingly, the author mistook the year of 659 BCE for the death of Śālivāhana. In fact, King Śālivāhana defeated and killed King Vikramāditya in the year 659 BCE. Therefore, the three Tamil kings might have killed Śālivāhana around 630 BCE. Thereafter, these three kings separated to their respective dominions. A great number of temples were built.

Interestingly, this manuscript tells us that from Vajrāṅga Pāndya to Chokanatha Pāndya 26 Pāndya kings reigned. King Chokanatha Pāndya died in Madurai in Kali year 3537 (435 CE) and his son Minatchi Savuntira Pāndya ascended the throne in 435 CE. Most probably, Arikesari Asamasaman Sri Maravarman (650-610 BCE) had the title of "Vajrāṅga Pāndya".

Unfortunately, most of the Pāndyan inscriptions are dated in regnal years. Only one inscription, i.e., the Aivarmalai inscription of Varaguna is dated Śaka 792 (209 CE). Evidently, Pāndya King Varaguna flourished around 201-225 CE. Many Chola kings claimed that they had defeated the Pāndya kings. Parāntaka had a title of Madurai-konda. Aditya Chola II (300-320 CE) killed a Pāndya King named Vira Pāndya. Interestingly, Vira Pāndya claimed in his inscriptions that he had killed a Chola king in his 4th regnal year. The Pāndyan inscriptions refer to Sri Vallabha, Parāntaka, Varaguna, Viranārāyaṇa, Komaran Chadaiyan etc.

The Later Cholas (From 650 BCE to the 5th century CE)

According to the Manuscript of *Chola Purva Patayam*, Vira Chola (650-610 BCE) was the contemporary of King Śālivāhana. Most probably, "*Viracholiyam*", a Tamil grammar text was composed by Buddha Mitra or Perundevanar (or Vira Chola himself?) during the reign of Vira Chola. Thus, Viracholiyam was written in the 7th century BCE.

Chola Purva Patayam also informs us that from Vira Chola to Uttama Chola, 25 Chola kings reigned. After the death of Uttama Chola, Uriyur Chola ascended the throne in Kali Year 3535 (433 CE). This text mentions

that when Uriyur Chola died, his wife Singhammal was in a state of three months' pregnancy. She went to Kongudesha and gave birth to a son who became King Karikāla Chola in Kali Year 3567 (465 CE). In fact, he was Karikāla II whose grandfather was Uttama Chola. Some historians have mistakenly identified him to be the ancient Karikāla but it would be chronologically absurd to place Uttama Chola before Karikāla.

Interestingly, historians place Uttama Chola between Parāntaka and Rājarāja Chola around 970-985 CE but the genealogy given in all inscriptions of Cholas does not mention Uttama Chola at all. Evidently, Uttama Chola lived later than Rājendra Chola II. This manuscript gives the date of Uttama Chola around 410-433 CE which validates that the Śaka era (583 BCE) and the Śakānta era (78 CE) are not identical. Rājendra Chola I reigned in the middle of the 4th century who built the Brihadishvara Temple. According to Al Beruni (1016-1031 CE), Tanjavur was in ruins around 1016-1031 CE. If the Cholas reigned in the 11th century CE, King Rājendra Chola I was on the throne of Tanjavur during the visit of Al Beruni. Evidently, the inscriptions of Rājarāja and Rājendra etc., were dated in the Śaka era (583 BCE) and not in the Śakānta era (78 CE).

The Chronology of Later Cholas:

		In CE
	Vira Chola	**650-610 BCE**
	The Pallava dynasty occupied Kanchipuram and dominated in North Tamilnadu from 600 BCE to 150 CE. It appears that twelve Chola kings reigned after Vira Chola and before Vijayālaya. The Ganga King Srivikrama (82-52 BCE) married the daughter of a Chola king. We need to research further to reconstruct the list of Chola kings reigned before Vijayālaya.	
1.	Vijayālaya	150-180 CE
2.	Aditya I	180-210 CE
3.	Parāntaka	210-245 CE
4.	Gandarāditya	245-260 CE
5.	Arindama	260-280 CE

6.	Sundara Chola	280-300 CE
7.	Aditya II	300-320 CE
8.	Rājarāja Chola	320-353 CE
9.	Rājendra Chola I	353-383 CE
10.	Rājādhirāja	383-394 CE
11.	Rājendra Chola II	394-403 CE
12.	Vira Rājendra	403-410 CE
13.	Uttama Chola	410-433 CE

The Later Cheras (From 650 BCE to the 5th century CE)

According to the manuscript of *Chola Purva Patayam*, Ulara Cheran (650-610 BCE) was the contemporary of King Śālivāhana and from Ulara Cheran to Chengaranatha-Cheran 26 Chera kings reigned. After the death of Chengaranatha (Śaṅkaranātha) Cheran died in Konga Dharapuram, his son named Cheraman Perumal was crowned in Kali Year 3538 (436 CE).

After which Chraman Perumal, being at Kanchipuram, two other kings, the whole country was invaded by Turuṣkas. Evidently, this manuscript mentions the invasion of Turuṣkas in the 7th century. A Kannada chronicle "Ballala Rayana Yuddha" records: "Afterwards, in the Śakābdam 1246 (663 CE) corresponding with the year of era reckoned from destruction of Kollam (Kollam Azhinta Andu), 227 years agreeing with Aani month (June) of Rudhirodgari, when one named Parākrama Pāndya was reigning, Athi Sultan Mulk and one called Nemi Khan came from Dilli in the north and taking Parākrama Pāndya captive sent him to Dilli and conquered the country." This literary evidence clearly indicates an epoch of Śaka 1019 (1246-227), i.e., 436 CE considering the epoch of the Śaka era in 583 BCE. Evidently, the destruction of Kollam took place around 436 CE. "Kongudesharajakkal", a Tamil chronicle[34] informs us that the Chera kings were ruling in the Kongudesha before seven Ratta kings (580-480 BCE) and the Ganga dynasty reigned from 480 BCE to the 3rd century BCE.

The Origin of Tondaiman Dynasty, the Kings of Tondaimandalam

Tondaiman was the earliest King of Tondaimandalam of Tamilnadu. He was a junior contemporary of Śiva and lived around 11250-11150 BCE. In all probability, Danda or Dandaka was called Tondaiman in Tamilnadu. According to Uttarakānda of Rāmāyaṇa, Dandaka was King Ikśvāku's youngest son. King Ikśvāku banished Dandaka from his kingdom due to his ruthless behaviour. Kautilya Arthashastra indicates that Bhoja was a son of Dandaka who forcibly married a Brahmana girl.

According to another legend, Dandaka went south of Vindhyas and established his kingdom close to Dandakāraṇya. He wanted to marry a daughter of Śukrāchārya but she refused to marry him. One day, Dandaka forcibly entered the ashrama of Śukrāchārya and violated his daughter. Enraged Śukrāchārya ordered his disciples to punish Dandaka. Possibly, Dandaka had to leave his kingdom of Dandakāraṇya. He settled in the region of Kānchipuram. At that time, Śiva was also in the region of Kānchipuram. Śiva was married to Kāmākśi Ammal of Kānchipuram. According to the Tamil legends, King Tondaiman built the Śiva temple of Tirumullaivayil near Avadi, Chennai. He established his kingdom in Tonadaimandalam with the help of Śiva and Nandi. Traditionally, the descendants of King Tondaiman reigned in the region of Kānchipuram.

The Sangam era poetess Avvaiyar (1400-1300 BCE), a contemporary of Kambar (the author of Kamba Rāmāyaṇam) mentions King Tondaiman Ilandirayan in her *Puranānūru* poem. King Tondaiman Ilandirayan was in conflict with the Velir King Athiyaman. He was the progenitor of the lineage of Pallavas. According to Kalingattuparani, Karunakara Tondaiman, a Pallava prince conquered Kalinga serving as Sthalapati under Kulottunga Chola I (410 CE). Evidently, Pallavas were the descendants of Ikśvāku King Dandaka.

The Pallava Dynasty

The Pallavas were the descendants of King Tondaiman Ilandirayan (1400-1300 BCE). Unfortunately, the Pallava inscriptions are dated only in regnal years. We have to rely on references in other inscriptions to construct the

chronology of the Pallava dynasty. It is well known that the rise of Pallavas ended the rule of Ikśvāku dynasty in the lower Andhra regions. The earliest inscriptions of the Pallavas are written in Prākrit. Thus, the early Pallava inscriptions must be dated in the 6th century BCE. Simhavarman I was the earliest known ruler of the Pallavas and his likely contemporaries were Mayuraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty and Kongani Varman, the founder of the Gaṅga dynasty. His son, Śivaskandavarman succeeded him.

The Penukonda grant[35] of the Gaṅga King Mādhava Simhavarman tells us that the Pallava King Simhavarman coronated the Gaṅga King Aryavarman, the son of Mādhavavarman I and later, the Pallava King Skandavarman coronated Mādhava Simhavarman, the son of Aryavarman. According to Alvakonda plates, Vishnugopavarman was the son of Budhavarman. The Allahabad pillar inscription[36] of Samudragupta mentions Vishnugopa as the ruler of Kānchi. The Hoskote grant[37] of Avinita mentions the Pallava King Simhavishnu *(Simha Vishnu-pallavādhirāja-jananyā)*. The Jain scholar Simhasuri translated *"Lokavibhāga"*, a Jain work on cosmology into Sanskrit on Bhādrapada Amāvāsyā of Śaka 380 (23rd Aug 204 BCE) during the 22nd regnal year of the Pallava King Simhavarman.

Samvatsare tu dvāvimśe Kānchīśa-Simhavarmaṇaḥ ।
Aśītyagre Śakābdānām siddhametaccḥata-traye ॥[38]

Lokavibhāga was originally written in Prakrit by the Jain monk Sarvanandi around the 6th century BCE. Interestingly, *Lokavibhāga* expresses the number 13107200000 in reverse order as 00000 2 7 0 1 3 1 *"Pañcabhyaḥ khalu śūnyebhyaḥ param dvi sapta cāmbaram ekam tri ca rūpam ca"* which indicates that the decimal place-value system and the use of zero were well established in India much before the 6th century BCE.

According to *"Avantisundarikathā"*, a Sanskrit work of Dandin, Bhāravi met the Chālukya King Vishnuvardhana (Jayasimha I) and thereafter the Gaṅga King Durvinita. Later, he also met the Pallava King Simhavishnu in his capital Kānchi. The Indrapālanagara copper plate inscription[39] of the Vishnukundin King Vikramendra-Bhattārakavarman was issued in Saka 488 (95 BCE) in his 22nd regnal year in which the Vishnukundin king claimed victory over the Pallava King Simha. The

Manne grant[40] of Ganga King Mārasimha tells us that the Ganga King Śivamāradeva was coronated by the Pallava King Nandivarman and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Govindarāja.

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

	Śaka era (583 BCE)	**In CE**
Simhavarman I	83-108	500-475 BCE
(Śiva) Skandavarman I	108-138	475-445 BCE
Kumāravishnu (Elder son of Skandavarman I)	138-163	445-420 BCE
Simhavarman II (Younger son of Skandavarman I who coronated the Ganga King Aryavarman)	163-173	420-410 BCE
Skandavarman II (who coronated the Gaṅga King Mādhava Simhavarman)	173-198	410-385 BCE
Budhavarman	198-203	385-380 BCE
Vishnugopavarman	203-208	380-375 BCE
Viravarman	208-218	375-365 BCE
Skandavarman II	218-248	365-335 BCE
Simhavarman III	248-278	335-305 BCE
Vishnugopa (who fought against Samudragupta)	253-283	330-300 BCE
Simhavarman IV	283-323	300-260 BCE
Simhavishnu I (contemporary to the Gaṅga King Avinita)	323-358	260-225 BCE
Simhavarman V (Simhasuri translated "Lokavibhāga" in his 22nd regnal year)	358-403	225-180 BCE
Simhavishnu II (Bhāravi met him in Kānchi)	403-443	180-140 BCE
Simha (who was defeated by the Vishnukundin king)	443-488	140-95 BCE
.....		
Nandivarman (a descendant of Simhavarman III and the one who coronated Gaṅga King Sivamāradeva)	703-733	120-150 CE

The Chola kings dominated in Tamilnadu after the fall of the Pallava dynasty. Uttama Chola was the last great king of the Chola dynasty. Kulottunga Chodadeva I, the descendant of the Chola-Chālukya dynasty was the contemporary of Uttama Chola. Seemingly, Kulottunga Chodadeva I annexed the kingdom of Uttama Chola after his death. Though Pāndyan kings continued to reign in Madurai, the Nāyaka kings replaced them during the period of Vijayanagara Empire.

22

The Chronology of Kerala

Kerala, the 'Karmabhūmi' of Bhārgava Paraśurāma and the 'Janmabhūmi' of Ādi Śaṅkara, has many unresolved mysteries in its chronological history. The texts of "*Kerala-Māhātmyam*" (said to be the part of *Sahyādrikhanda* of Brahmānda Purāṇa) and "Keralolpathi" deal with the early period of Kerala history. These texts contain many historical legends which cannot be explained in modern chronological history. Since historians have miserably failed to explain these legends, they have resorted to demonizing them as Brahmanical legends and not historical facts. William Logan says "Kerala-Māhātmyam and Keralolpathi are a farrago of legendary nonsense, having for definite aim the securing to the Brahmin caste unbounded power and influence in the country." As a matter of fact, it is such nonsensical approach of colonial Indologists that led to many distortions in Kerala's chronological history.

According to *Kerala-Māhātmyam*, Paraśurāma was advised by Viśvāmitra and other Rishis to make amends for the sin of annihilating the Kśatriyas. He gave away his land to Brahmanas. Later, he obtained some land from Gokarnam to Kerala from God Varuna with the assistance of God Subrahmanya which came to be known as Paraśurāma or Bhārgava Kśetram.

Paraśurāma (~11177 BCE)

Paraśurāma, son of Jamadagni flourished around 11177 BCE in the Rigvedic era and he was a junior contemporary of Kārtaviryārjuna of Māhiṣmatī. Paraśurāma founded 64 villages which were reorganized into four groups namely, Tulu, Kupa, Kerala and Mūṣika. Out of 64 villages, 32 villages have been established in Tulu region. Many families of Brahmanas

had migrated from the banks of Vedic Sarasvati River to Paraśurāma Kśetram during the Rigvedic era. Paraśurāma brought a poor Brahmana and his family from the banks of Krishna River who became the preceptor (Yogatripad Yogiar) of all Namboodiri Brahmanas of Kerala. Paraśurāma also brought the Brahmanas of Bhāradwāja and Kaśyapa gotras from the Chola kingdom.

The Origin of Various Royal Dynasties of Kerala

Vāyu Purāṇa informs us that Vahni, a descendant of Turvaśa was the forefather of Pāndyas, Keralas (Chera), Cholas and Kollas. Marutta, the fifth descendant of Vahni adopted Dushkrita or Dushmanta, a son of King Raibhya of the Puru dynasty. Dushmanta's son was Karūtha. Janāpida was the son of Karūtha. Pāndya, Chola, Kerala (Cherala) and Kolla were the sons of King Janāpida or Ahrida. According to Harivaṁśa, they were the sons of Karūtha or Karandhama. Pāndya and Chola founded their kingdoms in Tamilnadu whereas Cherala or Kerala established his kingdom in Kerala and Kolla settled at Kollagiri region in North Kerala. These four kingdoms of four brothers came into existence roughly 200 years before the lifetime of Paraśurāma.

Kerala Māhātmyam also indicates that Paraśurāma appointed two brothers, Bhānuvikrama and Raṇavikrama to rule in South Kerala and in North Kerala respectively. Thus, Bhānuvikrama was the progenitor of the royal family of Travancore and Raṇavikrama was the progenitor of the royal family of Kolathunadu. The royal family of Balapuri (Kochi) is said to have descended from Lavaputra, a descendant of the Kśatriyas of Ayodhya. Paraśurāma made Lavaputra as King of Kochin. The Tamutiri (Zamorin) kingdom at Gopakutapuri (Eranadu) also came into existence during the time of Paraśurāma.

Kerala Māhātmyam tells us that Paraśurāma appointed himself as the first king of Kerala on Makham day of Kumbha month at the banks of Bharathapuzha (also known as Nila) River. When Paraśurāma became old, he brought an efficient archer from the eastern part and placed him on his throne who came to be known as Perumal. Thus, the custom selecting a Perumal from outside of Kerala lasted for a long period. According to Atula's *Mūṣikavaṁśa-Mahākāvya*, Rāmaghata Mūṣika, the progenitor

of the Mūṣika dynasty belonged to the Haihaya lineage of Māhiṣmati. Paraśurāma appointed him as a king in North Kerala close to Ezhimala.

Seemingly, the Chera, Kolla and Mūṣika kingdoms of Kerala came into existence during the Rigvedic era whereas Perumal, Kochi and Zamorin kings might have founded their kingdoms after Rāmāyaṇa era. It may be noted that there were many Paraśurāmas from the Rigvedic era to the Rāmāyaṇa era.

The Tiruvarungkodu (Travancore) Kingdom

Sreevalumkodu or Tiruvarungkodu (Travancore) kingdom was ruled by the descendants of ancient Chera dynasty. It was also known as Vanavanaud (Venad), Keralam, Vanji Deśam and Tiru Adi Deśam. The Chera kingdom was extended over Coimbatore, Salem, Tondainadu, South Malabar, Kochi and Kollam during the Sangam era. Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata refer to the Kerala kings.

According to *Kerala Māhātmyam*, Paraśurāma consecrated a temple at Sreevardhanapuram and appointed Bhānuvikrama as a King of Keralam. Bhānuvikrama had three brothers and the youngest was Kulaśekhara. Aditya Vikrama, a nephew of Bhānuvikrama also became the king. We have no information about the early kings of Kerala (Travancore) after Aditya Vikrama. Seemingly, Dridhavrata was the King of Kerala during the Mahābhārata era. Kulaśekhara Perumal Alwar, son of Dridhavrata was the first Chera King after the Mahābhārata war. According to legends, Kulaśekhara Perumal Alwar was born in the 28th year (27th elapsed year) of Kaliyuga, i.e., the epoch of Yudhiṣṭhira era (3162 BCE), Parābhava Saṁvatsara (3134-3133 BCE). He was born on Māgha śukla daśamī, Punarvasu nakśatra when Sun was in Kumbha Rāśi. The date regularly corresponds to 21 Jan 3133 BCE.

वर्षे पराभवे मासे कुम्भे वै शुक्लपक्षके।
श्रीमत् पुनर्वसूतारे दशम्यां गुरुवासरे।
कौस्तुभांशेन संजज्ञे महात्मा कुलशेखरम्॥
तस्याभूत् चेरकुलप्रदीपः श्रीकौस्तुभात्मा कुलशेखराख्यः।
महीपात् माघपुनर्वसू दिने हरेः पूर्णकटाक्षलक्ष्यः॥

Koyilolugu mentions that after Kali year 50, Kulaśekhara, the lord of Chera, Pāndya and Chola kingdoms married his daughter Cholakulavalli to God Srirangam and died at the age of 67 around 3066 CE.

King Koda Mārthānda of Travancore (~2180-2130 BCE)

It is not known when the temple of Padmanābhaswāmy was built in Tiruvanantapuram but the temple was in existence before the year 950 of Kaliyuga, i.e., 2151 BCE. According to "*Anantaśayana Māhātmya*", Diwākara Muni, a Tulu Brahmana consecrated the temple. Seemingly, Diwākara Muni flourished before the 950th year of Kaliyuga. During the reign of King Koda Mārthānda, the idol was reinstalled in the temple in the year 950 of Kaliyuga. King Koda Mārthānda also built the Abhiśravaṇa Mandapam in the year 960 of Kaliyuga, i.e., 2141 BCE.

There is another legend of Namboodari Sanyasi Vilvamangalathu Swamiyar related to the construction of a grand Padmanābhaswāmy temple. He was a disciple of Deveśvara who wrote "*Deveśvarāṣtakam*". Deveśvara was also the guru of Sarvajñātman (350-380 CE) who became a pontiff of Kānchi Pitham. Therefore, it can be concluded that Vilvamangalathu Swamiyar lived in the 4th century CE.

The Ay Kings of Travancore (From 1900 BCE to 3rd Century CE)

The Ay Kings belonged to the Vrishni lineage of the Yādava dynasty. According to legends, the Velirs of Tamilnadu and the Ays of Kanyakumari came to South India from Dwārakā along with Rishi Agastya. The Ays were ruling over the region around Potiyil hills. Seemingly, the Ays took over the Travancore kingdom from the descendants of King Koda Mārthānda after 2100 BCE.

The Ay King Potiyir Celvan (Tutiyan?) was the contemporary of Pāndya King Bhūta Pāndyan (~2100-2060 BCE). Both came to an agreement for fixing Bhutapandi Village as the western border of Pāndyan kingdom. Ay King Andiran (~1900 BCE) was the first Ay King who extended his kingdom from Coimbatore to Kanyakumari. Pāndya king Nedunchelian II (1850-1800 BCE) defeated the Ay king Tutiyan in the war of Talaiyalanganam. King Nedunchelian annexed Potiyil and Nanchilnad regions. Alakiya Pāndian (1210-1180 BCE?) defeated Ay King Atiyan.

Poet Paranar (1230-1140 BCE) described this war and mentioned that the victorious flag of Pāndyas was flying on the top of Potiyil hills. The Kalabhras ruled over the Pāndya, Chola and Chera kingdoms for ~300 years (1018-718 BCE). The Ay kings of Travancore became the vassals of the Pāndya kings after 500 BCE.

The Ay King Karunandakkan, son of Karunandan might have reigned around 197-224 CE. Vikramāditya Varaguna (224-251 CE) succeeded Karunandakkan. An interesting reference in the Ay King Karunandakkan's copper plates informs us that the grant is an endowment of a college and hostel for maintenance of 95 Vedic students who were admitted after an entrance test in Vyākaraṇa, Mīmāṅsā, Paurohitya and Trairājya Vyavahāra. In fact, Trairājya Vyavahāra was a law enforceable in three kingdoms of Chola, Chera and Pāndya. This college and hostel were located in a Vishnu temple at Parthivasekharapuram in South Travancore.

The Identification of Kolagiri, Naura, Thondi, Muzris and Nelcynda

Mahābhārata refers to Kolagiri and Murachi Pattanam (कृत्स्नं कोल्लगिरिं चैव मुरचीपत्तनं तथा).[1] Undoubtedly, Murachi Pattanam of the Mahābhārata era was the famous "Muzris" port. Sangam literature also refers to Muchiri port. Recently, historians have found an archaeological site at Pattanam in North Paravur, Ernakulam and they have wrongly identified this site as the Muzris port. In fact, Mahābhārata refers to Kollagiri located in the north of Murachi Pattanam. Evidently, Ezhimala hill is the Kollagiri. Moreover, the name of 'Kolathiri' kings of Ezhimala is also derived from Sanskrit word "Kollagiri". Thondi port city was the Capital of Chera kingdom. Periplus records; "Then come Naura and Tyndis, the first markets of Lymrike, and then Muziris and Nelkynda, which are now of leading importance. Tyndis is of the kingdom of Cerobothra; it is a village in plain sight by the sea. Muziris, in the same kingdom, abounds in ships sent there with cargoes from Arabia, and by the Greeks; it is located on a river, distant from Tyndis by river and sea 500 stadia, and up the river from the shore 20 stadia." Evidently, Thondi was located on the banks of a River that connected with sea. Seemingly, Naura city was Kannapuram and Thondi was modern Valapattanam.

Muzris was located 500 stadia (100-107 kms or 62-66 miles) after Thondi. Most probably, Muzris port city was situated on the north banks of Chaliyar River in Kozhikode. Periplus states that it was located 20 stadia (~4 kms) inside from sea shore. Ptolemy places Muziris port city north of the mouth of the Pseudostomus River in his work "*Geographia*". Historians have wrongly identified Periyar River as Pseudostomus River. In fact, it is indeed Chaliyar River which was also known as Beypore or Vaypore or Vadaparam or Vadaparappanad River.

Ptolemy refers to the city of Melkunda. Periplus records; "Nelcynda is distant from Muziris by river and sea about five hundred stadia, and is of another kingdom, the Pandian. This place also is situated on a river, about one hundred and twenty stadia from the sea." Most probably, Ne lcynda port city was located ~20-22 kms inside from sea shore and on the banks of Periyar River. Ptolemy also mentions that the 'Aioi' (Ay kingdom) territory was extended from Baris (Paravur Lake) to Cape Comarin (Kanyakumari).

King Uday Mārtānda Varmā of the Kulaśekhara Dynasty (166 CE)

The Kulaśekhara dynasty was a branch of ancient Chera dynasty and King Kulaśekhara Perumal Alwar (3133-3066 BCE) was the progenitor of this dynasty. King Koda Mārthānda reigned over the Travancore kingdom around 2150 BCE. Ay King Andiran (~1900 BCE) conquered the Travancore kingdom. Seemingly, the descendants of the Kulaśekhara dynasty settled in Kollam city and became allies or vassals of the Ay kings. King Kulaśekhara and his son Rajaśekhara were the contemporaries of Śaṅkarāchārya II (44 BCE-59 CE). Sanskrit Poet Vasudeva, the author of "*Yudhiṣṭhira Vijaya*" mentions that King Kulaśekhara was his patron. Guruvaṁśakāvya says that a Kerala King Rājaśekhara composed three plays and read out to Śaṅkarāchārya II. According to some scholars, King Rājaśekhara wrote three plays in the name of Śaktibhadra. The Valappalli or Vazhapalli copper plates and the Kurumattur Praśasti slab inscription refer to the King Rājaśekara. Unfortunately, these inscriptions are not dated but literary evidence clearly indicates that King Rājaśekhara was the contemporary of Śaṅkarāchārya II.

King Vira Mārtānda Varmā (80-140 CE) performed Hiraṇyagarbha Yajña and Tulāpuruṣadānam and reigned for long time. His nephew Udaya Mārtānda Varmā succeeded him. He might have founded two cities, Kurakkeni Kollam in the south and Pantalayani Kollam in the north around 166 CE. The words "*Kollam Tonri*" in inscriptions can only be interpreted as "Kollam came into existence". According to the traditional legends, King Udaya Mārtānda Varmā convened a great assembly of Kerala astronomers at the city of Kollam and it was decided to adopt the new calendar starting from Simha Saṅkrānti instead of from Kanyā Saṅkrānti. Thus, Udaya Mārtānda Varmā founded the epoch of the Kollam era in 166 CE and introduced the Simha Saṅkrānti calendar that commenced on 24th Jul 166 CE, 1st day of Chingham month of solar calendar. We have already discussed the epoch of the Kollam era in Chapter 7. King Udaya Mārtānda Varmā died in the 5th year of Kollam era, i.e., 171 CE.

The Origin of the Mūṣika Vaṁśa of North Kerala

The kings of the Mūṣika dynasty were the earliest rulers of North Kerala. Sanskrit poet Atula's *Mūṣikavaṁśa Mahākāvya* tells us that the Mūṣika kings originally belonged to Māhiṣmatī and the descendants of Haihaya branch of the lunar dynasty. Paraśurāma coronated the son of the first migrated princess from Māhiṣmatī as the King of Elimala (Ezhimala) who came to be known as Rāmaghata Mūṣika. The Ezhimala hill or Kollagiri was also known as Mūṣika Parvata in Sanskrit.

There are numerous references to the kingdom of Mūṣika dynasty in Mahābhārata, Purāṇas, Sangam literature and the epigraphic records. Atula's *Mūṣikavaṁśa Mahākāvya* mentions that total 118 kings of the Mūṣika dynasty reigned in North Kerala. King Srikanthan was the 118th King who lived at the end of the 4th century CE. The Kolathiri kings were the direct descendants of the Mūṣika Vaṁśa.

Cheraman Perumal Kings of Kerala (214-436 CE)

According to Keralolpathi of Thunchathu Ramanujan, the first Perumal Ceya Perumal or Cheraman Keralan was a Kśatriya from Ceyapuram (Coimbatore) and ruled in the Kali year 3316 (214 CE). The last Perumal ruled in in the Kali year 3528 (426 CE).

According to the manuscript of *Chola Purva Patayam*, Ulara Cheran (650-610 BCE) was the contemporary of King Śālivāhana. Total 26 Chera kings reigned starting from Ulara Cheran to Chengaranatha-Cheran. After the death of Chengaranatha (Śaṅkaranātha) Cheran died in Konga Dharapuram, his son named Cheraman Perumal was crowned in Kali Year 3538 (436 CE).

Keya Perumal was the first King who made Kodangallur as his capital. Total 25 Perumals reigned from 214 CE to 436 CE. According to *Kerala-Māhātmyam*, 21 Perumal kings ruled over Kerala. The names of Perumal kings as given in Keralolpathi:

	Perumal Kings	**In CE**
1.	Keyapperumal	
2.	Cholapperumal	
3.	Pandipperumal	
4.	Banapperumal	
5.	Thulubanperumal	
6.	Indrapperumal	
7.	Aryapperumal	
8.	Kundranperumal	
9.	Kottipperumal	214-398 CE
	.....	
15.	Madapperumal	
16.	Ezhipperumal	
17.	Kombanperumal	
18.	Vijayanperumal	
19.	Valabanperumal	
20.	Harichandranperumal	
21.	Mallapperumal	
	.....	
24.	Śaṅkaranātha Cheraman Perumal (as mentioned in Chola Purva Patayam)	398-436 CE
25.	Kulaśekhara Cheraman Perumal	436 CE

According to Keralolpathi, a Śaṅkarāchārya was born in the month of August under Ārdrā nakśatra, in the year 3501 of Kaliyuga (399 CE) and that within 38 years he established the Smārta sect during the reign of Kulaśekhara Cheraman Perumal.

The Myth of the Conversion of Cheraman Perumal

According to a popular fable from Muslim sources of Kerala, Cheraman Perumal Juma Masjid was built in Kodangallur (Mahodayapuram) in 629 CE when Mohammad was alive. Cheraman Perumal, a King of Mahodayapuram, went to Mecca and met Mohammad. He converted to Islam but died on return journey. Interestingly, the Christians also claimed that Cheraman Perumal was close to St. Thomas Christians settled in Kodangallur and converted to Christianity. They also claim that Perumal died in the house of Apostle St. Thomas in Mylapore and not in Mecca. Let us examine the sources that refer to this fable:

1. Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese traveler, states; "More than 600 years before of our time (around 1510 CE), there was a King named Chirimay Perumal, whose capital was a popular port for pepper trade. The Moors who came for trade converted the King to Islam. He went to Mecca in their company and died either there or on his way back; the Malabar people never saw their king again.
2. Sheikh Zainuddin, the author of *Tahafat-ul-Mujahidin* (written in latter half of the 16th century) gives the similar account but he clearly states that this incident did not happen during the lifetime of the Prophet.
3. Joas de Barros (1610 CE), a Portuguese writer, gives another version of the story. According to him, the Moors were religious fanatics and converted the King to Islam. The King moved to Calicut and Moors made him believe that he has to go to Mecca. Interestingly, Barros mentions that the King was Sarama Perumal and reigned 612 years before we landed in India. Considering the year 1498 CE in which Vasco da Gama landed at Calicut, the date works out to be 886 CE.
4. Diogo de Coutos (1610 CE), a Portuguese writer, apparently concocted that Cheraman Perumal was close to St. Thomas Christians and converted to Christianity.

5. Dutch chaplain Cantor Visscher also wrote this story in 1723 CE.
6. According to an inscription found at the Masjid, it was built in 1124 CE, two years after the disappearance of Cheraman Rāma Kulaśekhara.
7. William Logan mentioned that a friend of him came from Arabia and stated that a Tomb of Abdul Rahman Samiri is located on the outskirts of Zaphar, in Oman and dated in Hijrah 212. But all historians rejected it because there is no credible information about this tomb till date.
8. According to oral account of Cheraman Masjid, Cheraman Perumal was converted to Islam and changed his name to Tajuddin. He went to Mecca and met Prophet Mohammad and died there. After the death of Cheraman Perumal at Mecca, Malik ibn Dinar came to Kerala with letters written by Cheraman. The kings of Kerala honoured him and gave permission to construct Masjids in different places of Kerala. According to the legend, Saraf Ibn Malik, Malik Ibn Dinar, Malik Ibn Habib, Ibn Malik and their wives and friends were responsible for establishing the first mosques at Kodungallur, Kollam (in North, not Quilon), Maravi (Matayi), Fakanur, Manjarur (Mangalore), Kanjirakuttu (Kasergode), Jarfattan (Karippat), Dahfattan (Dharmatam), Fandarina (Pantalayani Kollam) and Caliyath (Chaliyam near Beypore).
9. Periya Puranam, which is much older than the oral tradition or the medieval text of Keralolpathi, mentions that when it was time for the Perumal's friend and Shaivite saint Sundaramurti to leave Tiruvanjikulam (Cranganore), the Perumal also followed him to Kailasa.
10. According to Keralolpathi, Cheraman Perumal was upset having reigned for a long period the land which was the gift of Paraśurāma and wanted to make amends. The Perumals were supposed to rule for 12 years and make way for the next one; this one ruled for 36 years.
11. Keralolpathi mentions that the Perumal in whose reign this successful war is said to have taken place, was appointed by as the ruler of Kerala by Anegundi Krishnadeva Rāya in the 9th century CE.

12. Keralolpathi also narrates that Cheraman proceeded to Mecca, met Mohammad, embraced Islam, lived some years there, married the daughter of the Arabian King, had children from her, and died at that place.

First of all, there is no traditional evidence to prove that Cheraman Perumal lived in 629 CE. Therefore, it is completely false that Cheraman Masjid was built in 629 CE. Periya Puranam is the oldest source which mentions that Cheraman Perumal went to Kailasa and disappeared. Therefore, the Cheraman Perumal mentioned in Periya Puranam and Keralolpathi might have lived in the 4th century CE.

Keralolpathi also mentions that Krishnadeva Rāya appointed a Perumal in whose reign the successful war is said to have taken place. As I have already established that Vijayanagara Empire established in the second half of the 7th century CE. King Krishnadeva Rāya I reigned in the 9th century CE. Most probably, Krishnadeva Rāya appointed one of his officials as governor in Northern Kerala. After the fall of Vijayanagara Empire during the reign of Rāmarāya, the Sultans of Bijapur took control over certain areas of Vijayanagara Empire. The governor appointed by Krishnadeva Rāya had to work under the Persian Sultans. In all probability, he might have converted to Islam and changed his name to Tajuddin. He went to Mecca and died there at the end of the 9th century CE. Malik ibn Dinar arrived in Kerala with the letters of Tajuddin and visited the court of the later Kulaśekhara kings of Mahodayapuram. They permitted Malik ibn Dinar to construct a Masjid at the end of the 9th century CE. The same Masjid might have undergone repairs around 1124 CE as mentioned in the inscription found at Masjid.

Therefore, Cheraman Perumal did not convert to Islam but he went to Kailasa along with Sundaramurti in the 4th century CE. In fact, a petty governor of Vijayanagara Empire had to accept Islam under compulsion at the end of the 9th century CE and went to Mecca. The later Kulaśekhara kings of Mahodayapuram only gave permission to Malik ibn Dinar for constructing a Masjid in Kodangallur.

The Destruction of Kollam City (436 CE)

A Kannada chronicle "Ballala Rayana Yuddha" records; "Afterwards, in the Śakābdam 1246 (663 CE) corresponding with the year of era reckoned

from destruction of Kollam (*Kollam Azhinta Andu*), 227 years agreeing with Aani month (June) of Rudhirodgari, when one named Parākrama Pāndya was reigning, Athi Sultan Mulk and one called Nemi Khan came from Dilli in the north and taking Parākrama Pāndya captive sent him to Dilli and conquered the country." This literary evidence clearly indicates an epoch of Śaka 1019 (1246-227), i.e., 436 CE considering the epoch of the Śaka era in 583 BCE. Seemingly, the Kollam city was completely destroyed in a fire accident in 436 CE. The city has been rebuilt later.

King Vira Kerala Varmā (Kaliyuga 3412 [310 CE])

According to a small pamphlet written in Malayalam language by Pachu Moothathu in the Malayalam year 1043 (1868 CE), the kingdom of Travancore was established under the auspices of Cheraman Perumal and it was given as a gift to his son Vira Kerala Varmā by his third wife in the Kali year 3412 (310 CE) and since then the kingdom flourished. Thus, King Vira Kerala Varmā was the founder of modern Travancore kingdom.

The tradition indicates that King Vira Kerala Varmā ascended the throne on the 12th day of Makaram solar month of the Kali year 3412, i.e., 2nd Jan 310 CE. He assumed the titles of Kireetapathi and Kulaśekhara Perumal. His capital was Virakeralapuram close to Sreevardhanapuram (Padmanābhapuram). The epigraphic evidence indicates that King Aditya Vermā reigned around 531 CE and King Kerala Varmā Tituvadi ascended the throne in 533-534 CE.

The Kulaśekhara Dynasty of Mahodayapuram (844-1102 CE)

Seemingly, the descendants of Vira Kerala Varmā shifted their capital to Mahodayapuram (Kodangallur) before the 9th century CE. Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa was the court astronomer of King Sthāṇu Ravi Varmā. He wrote "*Laghubhāskarīyavivaraṇa*" a commentary on *Laghubhāskarīyam* in Śakānta 791 (869 CE). Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa refers to a question put by King Sthāṇu Ravi Vermā about a particular solar eclipse and says that this eclipse took place on the afternoon of the day following the lapse of 1449066 days after the commencement of Kaliyuga (17 Feb 3101 BCE). This total solar eclipse took place on 16 Jun 866 CE. There is also a reference to the fact that there was a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in Dhanu Rāśi in

the 25th year, i.e., 869 CE after the accession of Sthāṇu Ravi Vermā. Such conjunction takes place only once in 60 years. Thus, we can conclusively establish that King Sthāṇu Ravi Vermā ascended the throne in 844 CE. The chronology of the Kulaśekhara dynasty of Mahodayapuram:

		In CE
1.	Sthāṇu Ravi Varmā	844-885 CE
2.	Rāma Varmā	885-917 CE
3.	Goda Ravi Varmā	917-944 CE
4.	Indu Kothavarmā	944-962 CE
5.	Bhāskara Ravi Varmā I	962-1019 CE
6.	Bhāskara Ravi Varmā II	1019-1021 CE
7.	Vira Kerala	1022-1028 CE
8.	Rāja Simha	1028-1043 CE
9.	Bhāskara Ravi Varmā III	1043-1082 CE
10.	Ravi Rāma Varmā	1082-1090 CE
11.	Rāma Varmā Kulaśekhara	1090-1102 CE

King Rāma Varmā Kulaśekhara shifted his capital from Mahodayapuram to Kollam. The chronology of the Kulaśekhara dynasty of Kollam:

The Kings of Venad-Travancore Kingdom:

		In CE
1.	Ravi Varmā Kulaśekhara	1299-1313 CE
2.	Vira Rāma Udaya Mārtānda Varmā	1313-1344 CE
3.	Vira Kerala Varmā	1344-1350 CE
4.	Vira Iravi Varmā	1350-1375 CE
5.	Aditya Varmā	1375-1383 CE
6.	Vira Udaya Mārtānda Varmā	1383-1444 CE
7.	Vira Ravi Varmā	1444-1458 CE
8.	Vira Rāma Mārtānda Varmā	1458-1469 CE

9.	Kotha Aditya Varmā	1469-1484 CE
10.	Vira Iravi Varmā	1484-1516 CE
11.	Bhūtala Vira Udaya Mārtānda Varmā	1516-1535 CE
12.	Vira Kerala Varmā	1535-1545 CE
13.	Vira Rāma Varmā	1545-1556 CE
14.	Vira Ravi Varmā	1595-1608 CE
15.	Vira Iravi Varmā	1611-1663 CE
16.	Aditya Varmā	1672-1677 CE
17.	Aswathi Tirunal Umayamma Rani	1677-1685 CE
18.	Iravi Varmā	1685-1718 CE
19.	Aditya Varmā	1718-1721 CE
20.	Unni Kerala Varmā	1721-1729 CE
21.	Mārtānda Varmā	1729-1758 CE
22.	Dharma Rāja	1758-1798 CE
23.	Balarāma Varmā	1798-1810 CE
24.	Gaurī Lakśmī Bai	1810-1815 CE
25.	Gaurī Pārvatī Bai	1815-1829 CE
26.	Swati Tirunal	1829-1846 CE
27.	Uthram Tirunal	1846-1860 CE
28.	Ayilyam Tirunal	1860-1880 CE
29.	Visakham Tirunal	1880-1885 CE
30.	Mulam Tirunal	1885-1924 CE
31.	Sethu Lakśmī Bai	1924-1931 CE
32.	Chitra Tirunal Balarāma Varmā	1931-1949 CE

The Antiquity of Shabarimala Temple

According to Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra, the sons of Rishi Viśvāmitra migrated to South India and became the progenitors of Andhras, Shabaras and Pulindas. The Shabaras of Viśvāmitra gotra settled close to the Shabarimala hills. Paraśurāma (~11177 BCE) established many temples in Kerala. The Shabarimala temple was undoubtedly one of them. The deity of the early Shabarimala temple was Ṣaṣṭha, i.e.,

Kārtikeya. Many kings of ancient Pandalam dynasty reigned over the region of Shabarimala. Some kings trace their origin from Bhārgava gotra (Paraśurāma) whereas some kings trace their origin from Rishi Viśvāmitra.

According to legends, a Pāndya King of Shabarimala found an abandoned child on the banks of Pampā River and adopted him. Rishi Agastya declared him to be the son of Hari and Hara. Seemingly, this story may belonged to the Rigvedic period around 11200-11100 BCE. Gradually, Ṣaṣṭha or Kārtikeya and the son of Harihara became identical. Ṣaṣṭha was celibate and killed the demon Mahiṣī. Tamil Śaiva Nayanar Saint Appar (1300-1200 BCE) wrote poetry about the deity Ṣaṣṭha. Thus, the Shabarimala temple was known as the temple of Ṣaṣṭha during the Sangam era.

During the later Sangam period, Ay King Aiyanar was ruling over the region of the Shabarimala hills. He had two wives. Periya Puranam tells us that he exposed the Tamil song of Nayanar saint Cheraman Perumal. He was popularly called as Ayyane Appane or Ayyappa. Gradually, the people started referring to the deity of Shabarimala temple as Ayyappa. After the decline of Ay dynasty, the Pandalam dynasty had re-established their kingdom in Shabarimala region around the year 79 of the Kollam era, i.e., 245 CE. The epoch of the Kollam era commenced in 166 CE. Probably, King Rajaśekhara of Pandalam dynasty was ruling over Shabarimala hills in the second half of the 4th century CE. Manikantha was the son of King Rajaśekhara. Most probably, an Arab Muslim named Vavar came to Kerala and became the friend of Manikantha. Manikantha was the great devotee of Ṣaṣṭha. He revived the tradition of "Vratam" for 41 days. Probably, Vavar also became a great devotee of Shabarimala temple. In fact, many legends of the Shabarimala temple have been mixed up during the course of thousands years in the past.

The Chirakkal (Kolathiri) and Arakkal Dynasties of North Kerala

The Kolathiri kings of North Kerala were the descendants of Mūṣika Vaṁśa. King Srikantha of the 4th century CE was the last known King of Mūṣika Vaṁśa. The Kolathiri kings moved their capital from Ezhimala to Karipatt and from Karipatt to Chirakkal at Valapattanam. Thus, the

Kolathiri dynasty came to be known as Chirakkal dynasty. Kannur became the main port of North Kerala after the 6th century CE.

The Arakkal dynasty originated from the Chirakkal dynasty. According to legends, Kolathunadu was ruled by a Chirakkal Raja. Once his daughter or sister (Sridevi) began to drown while bathing in the Chirakkal pond. A passing Muslim boy of the Mammali community saved her. Since she was touched by a Muslim, Chirakkal Raja had no other option to marry her to the Muslim boy. Chirakkal Raja granted her the land and a palace of Arakkal Kettu at Kannur. Thus, the Muslim boy became the ruler of Kannur and came to be known as Azhi Raja [the ruler of the land of Azhi (sea)].

In all probability, the Arakkal dynasty came into existence in Kannur during the 10th century CE. Gradually, the Arakkal dynasty also took control over Lakshadweep islands. The Arakkal dynasty was ruling in Kannur in 1498 CE when the Portuguese landed in Kerala. The Kolathiri King of Chirakkal dynasty allowed the Portuguese to build a fort (the fort of St. Angelo) at Kannur. The Portuguese fort at Kannur became a threat to the Arakkal dynasty. Baliya Hasan, a relative of the Arakkal dynasty led the force of Māppila fighters to destroy the Portuguese ships. On the request of the Portuguese, the Kolathiri King arrested Baliya Hasan and handed over to them around 1523 CE. The Portuguese sentenced him to death. Azhi Raja, the nephew of Pokker Azhi also led an attack on the Portuguese in 1557 CE. Finally Azhi Raja took over the fort St. Angelo from the Dutch in 1772 CE.

A coin of Ali Raja found in Cannanore, Kerala records the year 1631 in Hijrah. If the epoch of the Hijrah era commenced in 622 CE, the year 1631 would be 2204 CE. I have already explained the chronological error of ~660 years in the epoch of the Christian era and the Hijrah era. Thus, this coin of Ali Raja was issued around 1543 CE.

The Early Rajas of the Arakkal Dynasty:

		In CE
	Azhi Raja I	10th century CE
	.....	
1.	Ali Raja	1495-1545 CE
2.	Ali Raja Ali	1545-1591 CE
2.	Ali Raja Abubaker I	1591-1607 CE
3.	Ali Raja Abubaker II	1607-1610 CE

The Later Rajas of the Arakkal Dynasty:

According to legends, Kulangara Nair, a minister of the Kolathiri King adopted Islam and changed his name as Muhammad Ali. It appears that he married the daughter of Ali Raja of the Arakkal dynasty and became the Raja of Kannur. Since Muhammad Ali was originally a Nair, a matriarchal system of descent has been introduced into the family of Arakkal dynasty. Under this system, the eldest member of the family, whether male or female, became the Raja of Arakkal kingdom. The male Rajas were called Ali Raja and the female rulers were known as Arakkal Bibis.

		In CE
1.	Ali Raja Muhammad Ali I	1610-1647 CE
2.	Ali Raja Muhammad Ali II	1647-1655 CE
3.	Ali Raja Kamal	1655-1656 CE
4.	Ali Raja Muhammad Ali III	1656-1691 CE
5.	Ali Raja Ali	1691-1704 CE
6.	Ali Raja Kunhi Amsa I	1704-1720 CE
7.	Ali Raja Muhammad Ali IV	1720-1728 CE
8.	Ali Raja Bibi Harrabichi Kadavube	1728-1732 CE
9.	Ali Raja Bibi Junumabe I	1732-1745 CE
10.	Ali Raja Kunhi Amsa II	1745-1777 CE
11.	Ali Raja Bibi Junumabe II	1777-1819 CE
12.	Ali Raja Bibi Mariambe	1819-1838 CE
13.	Ali Raja Bibi Hayashabe	1838-1852 CE

14.	Ali Raja Abdul Rahman I	1852-1870 CE
15.	Ali Raja Musa Ali	1870-1899 CE
16.	Ali Raja Muhammad Ali V	1899-1907 CE
17.	Ali Raja Bibi Imbichi	1907-1911 CE
18.	Ali Raja Ahmad Ali	1911-1921 CE
19.	Ali Raja Bibi Ayesha	1921-1931 CE
20.	Ali Raja Abdul Rahman II	1931-1946 CE
21.	Ali Raja Bibi Arakkal Mariumma	1946-1947 CE

23

The Chronology of Kaliṅga

According to Purāṇas, Queen Sudeshna bore five sons named Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Pundra and Suhma to her husband the Ānava King Bali begotten on her by Rishi Dīrghatamas. Kaliṅga became the king of the region of modern Orissa during the Rigvedic period. Thus, the kingdom of King Kaliṅga came to be known as Kaliṅga janapada. The earliest reference to Kaliṅga janapada is found in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. The earliest kings of Kaliṅga belonged to the Anu branch of the lunar dynasty. Manu's son Sudyumna had three sons, Utkala, Gaya and Haritāśva or Vinatāśva. King Utkala might have reigned over northern Orissa. Rāmāyaṇa refers to Kaliṅga janapada. Mahābhārata also mentions Kaliṅga janapada and its capital Rājapura. Duryodhana eloped with the daughter of Kaliṅga King Chitrāṅgada of Rājapura and married her. Kaliṅga King Śrutāyudha or Śrutāyuṣa participated in the Mahābhārata war in support of Kauravas but got killed by Bhima.

The Rock edict no. 13 of King Aśoka indicates that Kaliṅga was conquered by King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśi. Purāṇas tell us that total 32 kings of Kaliṅga reigned from the Mahābhārata era to the time of Mahāpadma Nanda. Mahāmeghavāhana kings of the Aira dynasty reigned over Kaliṅga starting from the 13th century BCE. Khāravela was the most celebrated King of the Mahāmeghavāhanas.

The Date of King Khāravela

Khāravela was the earliest known King of Kaliṅga from the epigraphic sources. He was the author of the famous Hathigumpha inscription. Khāravela invokes *Namokāra mantra* of Jainism (*Namo Arihantanam Namo sava-Siddhanam*) in the beginning of the inscription.

Evidently, Khāravela was the follower of Jainism. The inscription refers to Khāravela as Aira, Mahāmeghavāhana, Chetarāja-Vaṁśa-Vardhana and Kaliṅgādhipati "ऐरेण महाराजेन महामेघवाहनेन चेतराज वस वधनेन पसथ सुभलखलेन चतुरंतलुठन गुणउपेनेत कललंगालधपलतना लसरर खारवेलेन". Aira means the progeny of mother Ira (इरायाः पुत्रः ऐरः). Thus, Khāravela belonged to the Mahāmeghavāhana branch of the Aira dynasty. It is also indicated that King Khāravela was born in the lineage of King Chetarāja.

Historians generally date Khāravela around 170-150 BCE. Some scholars have also speculated that Khāravela mentions the name of Yavana King Dimiti? or Demetrius I (200-180 BCE) and therefore, he must be dated around 200-180 BCE. It may be noted that the Hathigumpha inscription clearly mentions the date as 103 years from the reign of King Nandarāja but historians have either conveniently ignored or distorted this fact in fixing the date of Khāravela. Some historians suggest that Nandarāja must be identified as Aśoka and the date of the Hathigumpha inscription must be around 154 BCE considering 103 years elapsed from the date of the conquest of Kaliṅga by Aśoka (257 BCE). Some scholars have also read 103 years as 300 years and fixed the date of Khāravela around 45 BCE considering the date of Buddha nirvāṇa around 483 BCE and the date of Nanda Dynasty around 345 BCE. I have conclusively established that Buddha attained nirvāṇa in 1864 BCE and Mahāvira attained nirvāṇa in 1189 BCE as already discussed in detail in Chapter 3 and 4 respectivily.

The Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela clearly mentions that King Nandarāja had excavated a canal 103 years before the 5th regnal year of Khāravela. The same canal was repaired and enlarged by Kaliṅgādhipati Khāravela in his 5th regnal year. Evidently, the 5th regnal year of Khāravela was the 103rd year elapsed from the reign of King Nandarāja.

The sixth line of the Hathigumpha inscription reads: "*Panchame cha dānī vase* ***Nandarāja Ti-VasaŚata*** *oghātitam Tanasuliavātā….*" Some historians distorted the meaning of "*Ti-Vasa-Śata*" as 100 x 3 = 300 years. It may be noted that the eleventh line of the inscription mentions "*Terasa vasa-Śatikam*" which unambiguously indicates 113 years not 1300 years. It states that Khāravela breaks up the confederacy of the Tramira (Dramira)

countries that was formed one hundred and thirteen years ago. Evidently, *Ti-vasa-Śata* means 103 years and *Terasa vasa-Śatikam* means 113 years.

Who was the Nandarāja?

The Hathigumpha inscription clearly mentions the name of Nandarāja in the 6th line and the 12th line. It states that Khāravela repaired the canal built by Nandarāja. Khāravela also attacked Uttarāpatha and the king of Magadha and brought back the idol of Jina of Kaliṅga which had been taken away by Nandarāja.

Historians have mistakenly identified King Mahāpadma Nanda of the Nanda dynasty as Nandarāja. According to Purāṇas, nine kings of the Nanda dynasty reigned for ~100 years. Mahāpadma Nanda was the founder of the Nanda dynasty. He had eight sons. Sumālya was the eldest son. A commentary of Daśarupa mentions that after the death of Yogananda, Chandragupta, the son of Pūrvananda, ascended the throne of Magadha.

Evidently, all nine kings of the Nanda dynasty had their own names and the last Nanda ruler was Yogananda. Since Mahāpadma was not the son of a Kśatriya mother, he could not claim himself to be the successor of his father King Mahānandin of the Śiśunāga dynasty. Mahāpadma and his eight sons had names ending with "Nanda", therefore, they have been referred to as the Nanda dynasty. The Nandarāja referred to in the Hathigumpha inscription can never be chronologically established as the king of Nanda dynasty because it is impossible to date Khāravela 103 years after the date of Mahāpadma Nanda.

In fact, Jain King Nandarāja of Magadha is mentioned in the Hathigumpha inscription. He reigned around 1129 BCE. Kalpaka was the Jain minister of King Nandarāja of Pataliputra. Jain text "*Haribhadriya Vritti*" says that Mahāvira went to Kaliṅga where his father's friend was ruling. Evidently, Mahāvira preached Jainism in Kaliṅga and it appears that the forefathers of Khāravela were the patrons of Jainism during the lifetime of Mahāvira. Therefore, King Nanda was indeed the Nandarāja of the Hathigumpha inscription and he ascended the throne of Magadha around 1129 BCE. Thus, the date of Khāravela must be fixed 98 years after 1129 BCE.

		In CE
1.	Khāravela ascended the throne in the 98th year elapsed from 1129 BCE.	1031 BCE
2.	Khāravela renovated the canal in his 5th regnal year which was built 103 years before by Nandarāja.	1026 BCE
3.	Khāravela sacked Goradhagiri in his 8th regnal year that caused pressure on Rājagriha. Yavana King Vimaka retreated to Mathura.	1023 BCE
4.	Khāravela attacked Uttarāpatha & Magadha in his 12th regnal year. He brought back the idol of Jina of Kaliṅga which had been taken to Magadha by Nandarāja. He also appointed Bahasatimita (Brihaspatimitra) as the king of Magadha. Probably, Brihaspatimitra was a later descendant of the Śuṅga dynasty.	1019 BCE
5.	The Hathigumpha inscription was engraved in the 13th regnal year of Khāravela.	1018 BCE.

Thus, King Khāravela flourished in the 11th century BCE around 1031-1000 BCE. When Khāravela invaded Goradhagiri close to Rājagriha in his 8th regnal year (1023 BCE), the Yavana King, i.e., the Kushana King Vimatakha fled from Rājagriha to Mathura. Evidently, Khāravela uprooted the rule of Kushanas from Magadha, Kāshi and Kauśāmbi janapadas.

According to *Himavant Therāvali*,[1] Śobhanarāja, son of King Chetaka took refuge in the court of Kaliṅga King Sulochana when Kunika invaded the Vaiśāli kingdom. Śobhanarāja was also the son-in-law of King Sulochana. Śobhanarāja succeeded King Sulochana because the Kaliṅga king had no sons. Chandrarāja, the fifth successor of Śobhanarāja ascended the throne in the 149th year of the Mahāvira nirvāṇa era (1189 BCE), i.e., 1040 BCE. Kśemarāja, the eighth successor of Śobhanarāja became the king in the 227th year, i.e., 962 BCE. Ujjain King Chandragupta's grandson King Bhāskara defeated Kaliṅga King Kśemarāja in the 239th year, i.e., 950 BCE and founded the epoch of Āguptāyika era. Buddharāja was a son

of Kśemarāja. Bhikśurāja, son of Buddharāja ascended the throne in the 300th year, i.e., 889 BCE. Bhikśurāja's son Vakrarāja became the king in the 330th year, i.e., 859 BCE. Viduharāja, son of Vakrarāja succeeded him and died in the 395th year, i.e., 794 BCE.

The Chronology of Kaliṅga King Śobhanarāja and his successors can be shown as under:

		In CE
1.	Śobhanarāja	1190-1160 BCE
2.	1st successor	1160-1130 BCE
3.	2nd successor	1130-1100 BCE
4.	3rd successor	1100-1070 BCE
5.	4th successor	1070-1040 BCE
6.	Chandrarāja	1040-1010 BCE
7.	6th successor	1010-982 BCE
8.	7th successor	982-962 BCE
9.	Kśemarāja	962-925 BCE
10.	Buddharāja	925-889 BCE
11.	Bhikśurāja	889-859 BCE
12.	Vakrarāja	859-839 BCE
13.	Viduharāja	839-794 BCE

Interestingly, some Jain scholars have speculated that the reference of "Chetarāja" in the Hathigumpha inscription is all about the Vaiśāli King Chetaka. Therefore, Khāravela was a descendant of Śobhanarāja and Bhikśurāja must be identified with Khāravela. This is just a baseless speculation because King Chetaka belonged to the Licchavi dynasty of Vaiśāli. Khāravela referred to himself as "ऐरेण महाराजेन महामेघवाहनेन चेतराज वस वधनेन" which clearly indicates that Khāravela belonged to the Mahāmeghavāhana branch of the Aira dynasty. King Chetarāja of Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty was the progenitor of the lineage of Khāravela. Mahābhārata refers to Meghavāhana (*Kalabho Meghavāhanaḥ*). Thus, the Meghavāhana kings existed since the Mahābhārata era. Therefore, the Licchavi King Chetaka cannot be identified with the Meghavāhana

King Chetarāja. Unfortunately, we have no further information of the successors of King Khāravela.

The Date of Nāga King Śatrubhañja (850-830 BCE)

According to the Asanpat inscription,[2] King Śatrubhañja of the Nāga clan reigned in Kaliṅga from Vindhyatabi, i.e., Keonjhar district of Orissa. He was the son of Mahārāja Mānabhañja and queen Damayanti. He mastered the knowledge of Itihasa, Purāṇas, Mahābhārata, Vyākaraṇa, Samīkśā, Nyāya, Mīmāṅsa, Cḥandas, Vedas, Sānkhya and Buddhist texts. He was a contemporary of the Śaka Muruṅḍas. The Jain sources indicate that the Śaka Muruṅḍas reigned around 884-844 BCE. King Śatrubhañja fought many battles with Muruṅḍas and finally overthrew them around 844 BCE.

The Māṭhara Kings (800-650 BCE)

Many inscriptions of the Māṭhara kings found till date indicate that they also ruled over the Kaliṅga region. The so-called Pitṛbhaktas were probably a branch of the Māṭharas. Seemingly, the Māṭharas and the Pitṛbhaktas ruled around the 8th and 7th centuries BCE. Simhapura was the capital of Māṭhara and Pitṛbhakta kings of Kaliṅga.

The Māṭhara Kings

1. Śaṅkaravarman
2. Śaktivarman
3. Prabhañjavarman
4. Anantaśaktivarman
5. Viśākhavarman
6. Umāvarman
7. Nandaprabhañjavarman
8. Chandravarman

The Eastern Gaṅga Dynasty (657-107 BCE)

The Gaṅga Kings of Kaliṅga have referred to the Gāṅgeya era (657-656 BCE) in their inscriptions. We have already discussed in detail about the epoch of Gāṅgeya era in Chapter 7. The earliest inscription, i.e., the

Jirjingi grant of the eastern Gaṅga King Indravarman I[3] is dated in the year 39 (618 BCE). It is quite likely that the father of Indravarman I was the founder of this dynasty. He also founded an era that was referred to as Pravardhamāna Saṁvat (Gāṅgeya era). Indravarman proclaimed himself as the King of Trikaliṅga and ruled from Dantapura. Sāmantavarman I succeeded Indravarman I. His Ponnuturu grant[4] is dated in the year 64 (593 BCE). Hastivarman was the next king. His Urlam grant[5] is dated in the year 80 (577 BCE). It appears that the capital was shifted to Kaliṅganagara during the reign of Hastivarman. The Santa Bommali grant[6] dated in the year 87 (570 BCE) indicates that Indravarman II succeeded Hastivarman. Two grants[7] dated in the year 128 (529 BCE) and 146 (511 BCE) reveal that Indravarma III ruled from Kaliṅgapura and he was probably also known as Lokārṇava *(Sri-Lokārṇavadevasya)* as referred to in the Andhavaram grant[8] dated in the year 133 (524 BCE).

According to the Tekkali grant,[9] Indravarman IV, the son of Dānārṇava, was reigning in Kaliṅgapura and was also known as Guṇārṇava. His son Devendravarman I was ruling in the year 183 (474 BCE).[10] A grant found in Andhavaram tells us that Anantavarman I was on the throne in the year 216 (441 BCE).[11] Anantavarman had two sons, Nandavarman and Devendravarman II. The Santa Bommali grant[12] dated in the year 221 (435 BCE) was issued during the reign of Nandavarman and Chicacole grant[13] dated in the year 251 was issued during the reign of Devendravarman II. The Alamanda grant[14] informs us that Anantavarman II, the son of Rājendravarman I, was ruling in the year 304 (353 BCE). Rājendravarman II had two sons, Anantavarman II and Devendravarman III and probably both ruled at the same time from Kaliṅgapura because three grants[15] of Devendravarman III are dated in the year 306 (351 BCE), 308 (349 BCE) and 310 (347 BCE). Anantavarman II's son Rājendravarman II became Yuvarāja in the year 313 (344 BCE)[16] and ruled up to the year 342 (315 BCE). Chicacole plates tell us that Satyavarman, the son of Devendravarman III, ruled in the year 351 (306 BCE).[17] Anantavarman II, the second son of Devendravarman III, also became king around the year 358 (299 BCE).[18]

According to two grants found in Kalahandi[19] and Ganjam,[20] Anantavarman IV, the son of Bhūpendravarman was ruling in the year 383

(274 BCE) and Devendravarman IV, the son of Bhūpendravarman, was ruling in the year 397 (259 BCE). A grant from Galavalli[21] was issued in the year 393 (264 BCE) by Manujendravarman, the son of Devendravarman IV. Unfortunately, no inscriptions are available between the years 397 (259 BCE) to 520 (137 BCE). The Santa Bommali grant[22] tells us that the eastern Gaṅga King Devendravarman V, the son of Anantavarman V was ruling in the year 520 (137 BCE). This grant was issued by Rāṇaka Dharmakhedi of the Kadaṁba dynasty, the son of Rānaka Bhīmakhedi and it refers to the unified victorious reign of the Gaṅga and Kadaṁba dynasties. Some historians distorted the date of the Madagrama grant issued by Rāṇaka Bhīmakhedi during the reign of Devendravarman V and the Mandasa grant of Anantavarman VI and concocted the myth that these grants refer to the Śakānta era.[23] They linked these grants to the later Gaṅga kings Vajrahasta and Rājarāja. Undoubtedly, these grants belonged to the early Gaṅga kings and cannot be linked to the later Gaṅga kings. Most probably, these grants are referred to the Gāṅgeya era.

Madhukāmārṇava, the second son of Anantavarman V, was ruling in the year 526 (131 BCE).[24] Finally, Anantavarman VI, probably the son of Madhukāmārṇava, ruled in the year 550 (107 BCE).[25] As no further inscriptions were found after the year 550, it can be concluded that the Gāṅgeya era might have come to an end after 107 BCE.

The Chronology of the Eastern Gaṅgas:

		Gāṅgeya era (657-656 BCE)	**In CE**
1.	Father of Indravarman I	1-25	657-632 BCE
2.	Indravarman I	25-55	632-602 BCE
3.	Sāmantavarman I	55-70	602-587 BCE
4.	Hastivarman	70-85	587-572 BCE
5.	Indravarman II Rājasiṁha	85-120	572-537 BCE
6.	Indravarman III (also known as Lokārṇava)	120-148	537-509 BCE
7.	Indravarman IV (The son of Dānārṇava)	148-180	509-477 BCE
8.	Devendravarman I (son of Guṇārṇava)	180-200	477-457 BCE

9.	Anantavarman I (son of Devendravarman I)	200-220	457-437BCE
10.	Nandavarman (son of Anantavarman I)	220-240	437-417 BCE
11.	Devendravarman II (son of Anantavarman I)	240-270	417-387 BCE
12.	Rājendravarman I	270-300	387-357BCE
13.	Anantavarman II (son of Rājendravarman I)	300-314	357-343BCE
14.	Devendravarman III (son of Rājendravarman I)	306-310	351-347BCE
15.	Rājendravarman II (son of Anantavarman II)	313-342	342-315BCE
16.	Satyavarman I (son of Devendravarman III)	343-357	314-300BCE
17.	Anantavarman III (son of Devendravarman III)	357-365	300-292 BCE
18.	Bhūpendravarman	365-375	292-282 BCE
19.	Anantavarman IV (son of Bhūpendravarman)	375-385	282-272 BCE
20.	Devendravarman IV (son of Bhūpendravarman)	385-398	272-259 BCE
21.	Manujedravarman (son of Devendravarman IV)	393-398	264-259 BCE
No epigraphs available between the year 397 to 520 (259-137 BCE)			
22.	Anantavarman V	—	—
23.	Devendravarman V (son of Anantavarman V)	520	137 BCE
24.	Madhukāmārṇava (son of Anantavarman V)	526-528	131-129 BCE
25.	Anantavarman VI	550	107 BCE

Evidently, the kingdom of the eastern Gaṅgas had weakened due to the rise of the Imperial Guptas. This is the reason why no epigraph of the eastern Gaṅgas is available between the year 397 to 520 (259-137 BCE). They attempted to re-establish themselves along with the Kadaṁbas but the rise of the Chālukyas in the south and the rise of the Maukharis in the north finally ended the rule of the eastern Gaṅgas by 107 BCE. The Imperial Guptas were ruling Kaliṅga indirectly through their feudatories and the

Gupta era was introduced in Kaliṅga during the reign of Chandragupta II. Gradually, the Gupta era became popular and the Gāṅgeya era was forgotten by the 1st century BCE.

The Kings of Śarabhapurīyas, Vigrahas, Mudgalas and Śailodbhavas

The Śarabhapurīya dynasty reigned over Chhattisgarh and Orissa around 300-160 BCE. The Pānduvaṁśi kings (160 BCE to 1st century CE) were the successors of the Śarabhapurīyas in Sirpur. Śarabha, Narendra, Jayarāja, Sudevarāja I, Pravararāja, Sudevarāja II and Vyaghrarāja were the Śarabhapurīya kings of Kaliṅga.

The inscriptions of the Vigraha kings dated in Gupta era 250 (84 BCE), 253 (74 BCE) and 280 (54 BCE)[26] provide valuable information about the royal families ruling in Orissa in the 1st century BCE. The Sumandala plates dated in Gupta era 250 (84 BCE)[27] tell us that King Prithvi Vigraha was ruling the region of Kaliṅga. The Kanas plate dated in Gupta era 280 (54 BCE) indicates that Lokavigraha was the King of Kaliṅga. The copper plate inscriptions of the Mudgala King Sambhūyasa are dated in Gupta era 211 (123 BCE), 235 (99 BCE) and 260 (74 BCE). The Patiakela plate of Sivarāja is dated in Gupta era 283 (51 BCE).

According to the Ganjam grant dated in Gupta era 300 (34 BCE),[28] Kaliṅga King Mādhavarāja of the Śailodbhava dynasty was a feudatory of the Gauda King Śaśāṇka. It's a matter of grave concern that historians wrongly identified the Gauda King Śaśāṅka to be a contemporary of the Puṣpabhūti king Sri Harsha. The Gauda King Śaśāṅka was ruling around 34 BCE whereas Śri Harsha flourished around 457 BCE.

The Kings of Bhaumakaras, Bhañjas, Śvetaka Gaṅgas, Somavaṁśis and Śulkis

Most probably, the Bhaumakaras originally belonged to the Bhauma dynasty of Pragjyotiṣa (Assam) and they were the descendants of Naraka and Bhagadatta. The kings of Bhaumakara dynasty referred to the Bhaumakara era (75 CE) in their inscriptions. We have already discussed the epoch of the Bhaumakara era in Chapter 7. Most probably, Śāntikaradeva I founded the Toshala kingdom of Bhaumakaras in Utkala in 75 CE. His successors reigned in the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE.

The Bhañjas, the Śvetaka Gaṅgas, the Somavaṁśis and the Śulkies were feudatories of the Bhaumaka Kings.

	The Bhaumakara Kings	**In CE**
1.	Śāntikaradeva I	
2.	Kśemakaradeva	
3.	Śivakaradeva I	
4.	Śubhakaradeva I	
5.	Śivakaradeva II	
6.	Śāntikaradeva II	
7.	Śubhakaradeva II	
8.	Śubhakaradeva III	
9.	Tribhuvana Mahādevi I	
10.	Śāntikaradeva III	75-290 CE
11.	Śubhakaradeva IV	
12.	Śivakaradeva II	
13.	Tribhuvana Mahādevi II	
14.	Śāntikaradeva V	
15.	Śubhakaradeva V	
16.	Gauri Mahādevi	
17.	Danḍi Mahādevi	
18.	Vakula Mahādevi	
19.	Dharma Mahādevi	

The Later Gaṅga Dynasty

The descendants of the eastern Gaṅga dynasty known as the later Gaṅgas re-established their kingdom in Kaliṅga. According to the grant of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, Kāmārṇava I conquered Kaliṅga by defeating Bālāditya and ruled for 36 years at Jantavura or Dantapura. The Ramapuram grant of Vajrahasta II is dated in the Gupta era 495 (161 CE). Two grants dated in Gupta era 500 (165 CE)[29] were issued during the reign of Vajrahasta II. The Nadagam grant[30] dated in Śaka 979 (396 CE) tells us that Vajrahasta V was coronated in Śaka 960 (377 CE) on the 3rd tithi of the bright fortnight, the Sun being in Vṛṣabha, Moon in Rohiṇī

constellation, in the auspicious lagna of Dhanuṣ and on Sunday, i.e., 26th April 377 CE. According to the Viśākhapatnam grant[31] dated in Śaka 1003 (420 CE), Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga was coronated in Śaka 999 (416 CE) on the 3rd tithi of the bright fortnight, the Sun being in Kumbha, Moon in Revatī constellation, during Nṛyugma lagna and on Sunday, i.e., 17th February 416 CE. The Kalachuri King of South Kosala, Ratnadeva II (463-486 CE) defeated Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga and his feudatory Gokarṇa as claimed by Pratāpamalla in his Pendrabandh grant.[32]

Another Viśākhapatnam grant[33] of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga gives the complete genealogy of the later Gaṅgas which starts from the great Rishi Atri. Once a glorious King named Kolāhala, the son of Pragalbha, built a city called Kolāhalapura. Virochana was the son of Kolāhala and Kolāhalapura became the capital of 81 kings born after Virochana. Vīrasiṁha was the 82nd king and had five sons, Kāmārṇava I, Dānārṇava, Guṇārṇava I, Mārasiṁha and Vajrahasta I. Kāmārṇava I conquered the Kaliṅga region by defeating Bālāditya and founded the kingdom of the Gaṅgas.

The Chronology of Later Gaṅgas:

	Duration	**Śaka era (583 BCE)**	**In CE**
Vīrasiṁha, Kāmārṇava I, Guṇārṇava I	—	—	—
Mārasiṁha	36 years		21-57 CE
Vajrahasta I			
Dānārṇava	40 years		57-97 CE
Kāmārṇava II	50 years		97-147 CE
Raṇārṇava	5 years		147-152 CE
Vajrahasta II	15 years	500 (165 CE) *(Gupta era)*	152-167 CE
Kāmārṇava III	19 years		167-186 CE
Guṇārṇava II	27 years		186-213 CE
Vajrahasta III	44 years		213-257 CE
Jitāṅkusa	15 years		257-272 CE
Kaliṅgalankusa	12 years		272-284 CE
Gunḍamarāja I	7 years		284-291 CE

Kāmārṇava IV	25 years		291-316 CE
Vinayāditya	3 years		316-319 CE
Vajrahasta IV	35 years		319-354 CE
Kāmārṇava V	6 months		354 CE
Gunḍamaraja II	3 years		355-358 CE
Madhukāmārṇava (Son of Vajrahasta IV)	19 years		358-377 CE
Vajrahasta V	33 years	960-992	377-409 CE
Rājarāja I	8 years	992-999	409-416 CE
Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga	70 years	999-1069	417-486 CE

Kāmārṇava VI, the son of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, was coronated in Śaka 1069 (486 CE)[34] or Śaka 1064 (481 CE).[35] The Kendupatana grant[36] of Narasiṁha II dated in Śaka 1217 (634 CE) and in the 21st regnal year and the Puri grant[37] of Narasiṁha IV dated in Śaka 1305 (722 CE) and in the 8th regnal year give the genealogy of the later Gaṅgas after Chodagaṅga. Generally, the successor was probably coronated during the lifetime of the reigning Gaṅga king.

	Duration	**Śaka era (583 BCE)**	**In CE**
Kāmārṇava VI (son of Choḍagaṅga)	10 years	1069-1079	486-496 CE
Rāghava(son of Choḍagaṅga)	15 years	1069-1084	486-501CE
Rājarāja II (son of Choḍagaṅga)	25 years	1069-1094	486-511 CE
Aniyaṅkabhīma (son of Choḍagaṅga)	10 years	1094-1104	511-521 CE
Rājarāja III	17 years	1104-1120	521-537 CE
Anaṅgabhima	34 years	1116-1150	533-567 CE
Narasiṁha I	33 years	1150-1183	567-600 CE
Bhanudeva I	18 years	1183-1200	600-617 CE
Narasiṁha II	34 years	1196-1230	613-647 CE
Bhānudeva II	24 years	1230-1254	647-671 CE
Narasiṁha III	24 years	1252-1275	669-692 CE
Bhānudeva III	26 years	1274-1300	691-717 CE
Narasiṁha IV	22 years	1296- 1316	713- 733 CE

Narasiṁha IV was the last known king from the available copper plate inscriptions. His last grant[38] is dated in Śaka 1316 (733 CE) and in his 22nd regnal year.

King Narasimha I (567-600 CE) built the Konark Sun temple. Abul Fazl gives interesting facts about the Konark temple. He writes; "Near Jagannath is a temple dedicated to the Sun. Its cost was defrayed by twelve years revenue of the province. Even those, whose judgment is critical and who are difficult to please stand astonished at its sight. The height of the wall is 150 cubits high and 19 thick. It has three portals. The eastern has carved upon it the figures of two finely designed elephants, each of them carrying a man upon his trunk. The western side has sculptures of two horsemen with trappings and ornaments and an attendant. The northern has two tigers, each of which is rampant upon an elephant that it has overpowered. In front is an octagonal column of black stone, 50 yards high. When nine flights of steps are passed, a spacious court appears with a large arch of stone upon which are carved the sun and planets. Around them are a variety of worshippers of every class, each after its manner with bowed heads, standing, sitting, prostrate, laughing, weeping, lost in amaze or in rapt attention and following these are diverse musicians and strange animals which never existed but in imagination. It is said that somewhat over 370 years ago, Raja Narsing Deo completed this stupendous fabric and left this mighty memorial to posterity. Twenty-eight temples stand in its vicinity; six before the entrance and twenty-two without the enclosure, each of which has its separate legend."

The Gajapati Dynasty

The rise of the Gajapati dynasty was the likely reason behind the downfall of the later Gaṅgas. King Kapileśvaradeva was the founder of the Gajapati dynasty. Two grants of Raghudeva,[39] the viceroy of Kapileśvara in Rājamahendravaram, are dated in Śaka 1376 (793 CE) and Śaka 1378 (795 CE). Veligalani grant[40] dated in Śaka 1380 (797 CE) was issued by Kapileśvara. Interestingly, this grant is trilingual as it was written in the Sanskrit, Telugu and Oriya languages. It appears that Kapileśvara was a great warrior. The Veligalani grant and Chiruvroli grant claim that Kapileśvara conquered Hampā, Dhārā, Kālubariga (Gulbarga) and Dhilli (Delhi).

"Hampā kampamagāt tato'dhikadharā Dhārā ca dharātura-
DvārāKālubariga vimukta-turagā Dhilli ca Bhilli-vṛta ॥"[41]

Kapileśvara had two sons, Hamvira and Pratāpa Puruṣottamadeva. Hamvira's Chiruvroli grant is dated in Śaka 1383 (800 CE). The Potavaram grant dated in Śaka 1412 (829 CE)[42] and in the 30th regnal year tells us that the Gajapati King Pratāpa Puruṣottamadeva was *Gauḍeśvara* (the king of Gauḍa) and *Navakoṭi-Karṇāṭa-Kālubarigeśvara* (the king of nine crores of Karṇāṭa and Kālubariga [Gulbarga]).The Velicherla grant dated in Śaka 1432 (849-850 CE)[43] was issued by Pratāparudradeva, the son of Puruṣottamadeva. He was referred to as *Śrimad-Rājādhirājendra-Pañca-Gauḍādhināyakaḥ* (king of the five regions of Gauḍa). It's a matter of concern that some historians wrongly identified Pratāparudra to be the contemporary of the Vijayanagara King Śri Krishnadeva Rāya and concocted that the Velicherla grant was issued in the 17th regnal year of Pratāparudra. There is no reference to the regnal year in the Velicherla grant.

The Chronology of the Gajapati Dynasty:

	Śaka era (583 BCE)	**In CE**
Kapileśvaradeva	1360-1380	777-797 CE
Hamvira	1380-1383	797-800 CE
Pratāpa Puruṣottamadeva	1383-1417	800-834 CE
Pratāparudradeva	1417-1432	834- 849 CE

Thus, Kaliṅga has had a great history right from the Mauryan era. The Eastern Gaṅgas used the Gāṅgeya era in their inscriptions with the starting point being in 657 BCE. The Gupta era replaced the Gāṅgeya era during the period from the 1st century BCE to the 2nd century CE. The later Gaṅgas and the early Gajapati kings used the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) in their inscriptions. Since historians were ignorant of the epoch of the Śaka era, they simply assumed the epoch of Śakānta era (78 CE) as the basis for dating the inscriptions of the later Gaṅgas and Gajapatis thereby giving birth to many contradictions.

King Mukunda Deva (899-920 CE)

King Mukunda Deva reigned over Orissa around 899-920 CE. Narasimha Vājapeyi, the author of "*Nityāchāra Pradīpa*" gives an historical account

of his ancestors.[44] According to him, Mrityuñjaya of the Kautsa gotra had two sons, Nārāyaṇa and Jaleśvara. Nrisimha, son of Jaleśvara was in the court of Gajapati King Kapileśvaradeva and he was entrusted with the judicial administration of the kingdom. Nrisimha had two sons, Ananda and Balabhadra. Balabhadra was the Rājaguru of Gajapati King Pratāparudradeva. Ananda's son was Dharādhara and Murāri was the son of Dharādhara. Narasimha Vājapeyi, son of Murāri was in the court of King Mukunda Deva.

Mughal Subahdars (10th and 11th Centuries CE)

After the reign of Mukunda Deva, seemingly, Mughal Subahdars were appointed as governors in Orissa. Abul Fazl mentions that Akbar apportioned Orissa into five Sarkars, viz., Jalesar, Bhadrak, Katak, Kaling Dandpāt and Raja Mahendra.

Gaṅga King Arkkeśvara and the Princely State of Paralakhemundi (1122 CE onwards)

According to eminent historians, Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga reigned around 1077-1147 CE. The inscriptions claim that he was the most powerful king in the eastern region between the Godāvari and Gaṅga Rivers. The Polasara grant dated in Kaliyuga era 4248 (1145-1146 CE)[45] clearly tells us that a later Gaṅga King Arkkeśvara was ruling from the city of Hingula located on the banks of Rishikulya River in Ganjam District. This grant was issued in his 24th regnal year and on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on full moon day of Māgha, i.e., 11th Jan 1145 CE. It can therefore, easily be seen that the Gaṅga King Arkkeśvara reigned from 1122 CE. He was the son of Pramādideva and the grandson of Guṇārṇavadeva. Evidently, King Arkkeśvara was a direct descendant of the eastern Gaṅga dynasty. Interestingly, Jhāḍakhanḍa (modern Jharkhand) was also a part of Arkkeśvara's kingdom. It certainly would have been impossible for Arkkeśvara to establish a large kingdom at the same time when one of the mightiest kings, Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga was ruling between the Godāvari and the Gaṅga Rivers. Moreover, Arkkeśvara established his capital in the Ganjam District which was also the capital of Choḍagaṅga. The fact is that Choḍagaṅga flourished around 416-486 CE whereas

Arkkeśvara reigned around 1122-1160 CE.

We have no information about the successors of King Arkkeśvara from 1160 CE to 1566 CE. Undoubtedly, the rulers of Paralakhemundi Zamindari princely state of Ganjam district were the direct descendants of King Arkkeśvara and the eastern Gaṅga dynasty.

The Chronology of the Kings of Paralakhemundi:

		In CE
1.	Sibalinga Narayan Bhanudeo	1566–1590 CE
2.	Subarna Kesari Govinda Gajapati Narayan Deo	1590-1630 CE
3.	Mukunda Rudra Gajapati Narayan Deo	1630-1656 CE
4.	Mukunda Deo	1656-1674 CE
5.	Annanta Padmanabha Gajapati Narayan Deo	1674-1702 CE
6.	Sarbajgan Jagannatha Gajapati Narayan Deo	1686-1702 CE
7.	Narahari Naraya Deo	1702-1729 CE
8.	Bira Padmanabha Narayana Deo	1729-1748 CE
9.	Prataprudra Gajapati Narayan Deo	1748-1751 CE
10.	Jagannath Gajapati Narayana Deo	1751-1770 CE
11.	Goura Chandra Gajapati Narayana Deo	1771-1802 CE
12.	Purushottama Gajapati Narayana Deo	1802-1805 CE
13.	Jagannatha Gajapati Narayana Deo	1821-1851 CE
14.	Prataparudra Gajapati Narayana Deo	1851-1885 CE
15.	Gourachandra Gajapati Narayan Deo	1885-1904 CE
16.	Gourachandra Gajapati Narayan Deo	1904-1913 CE
17	Krushna Chandra Gajapati Narayan Deo	1913-1974 CE

The Chauhan Kings of Orissa (1158 CE onwards)

The Chauhan kings established their kingdom in the 12th century CE at Patnagarh (Balangir) in Orissa. *Kosalananda Kāvya* and *Jayachandrikā* embody the history of Chauhan kings of Orissa. Pandit Gangadhar Mishra, a contemporary of Sambalpur Chauhan King Baliar Singh (1660-1690 CE) wrote *Kosalananda Kāvya* in Sanskrit in 1664 CE. Prahallad Dubey, the court poet of Sarangarh wrote *Jayachandrikā* in Hindi (Lanya dialect

of Chauhans) in Saṁvat 1838 (1782 CE). According to the historical legends, Chauhan king (Visala Dev or Hamir Dev) of Garh Sumbul, Mainpuri was killed by a Muslim ruler. His pregnant queen Asavati or Yayanti managed to escape and took shelter in the house of Chakradhara Pāṇigrahi of Patnagarh (Balangir) in Orissa. She gave birth to Ramai Dev who eventually founded the Chauhan kingdom in Patnagarh. The Orissa Chauhans claim themselves to be Mainpuris as well as Garh-Sambharis.

Ramai Dev defeated Ashtamallik, i.e., the eight Chieftains of eight forts (Patnagarh, Kagaongarh, Salebhattagarh, Jarasinghagarh, Sindhekelagarh, Kholangarh, Goragarh & Kumnagarh) and founded the Chauhan Kingdom at Patnagarh. He married a princess of the Gaṅga Vaṁśa. According to *Kosalananda Kāvya*, Ramai Dev reigned for 52 years and died in the year 4312 of Kaliyuga era (3102 BCE), i.e., 1210 CE.[46] Gajapati King Rājarājeśvara was his contemporary.

द्विपञ्चाशत् समा राज्यं कृत्वा राम महायशाः।
इत्यन्तिकेस्ति तत्रत्यैरमरैरावृतः परः॥
वर्तमाने गजपतौ राजराजेश्वरे क्षितौ।
रविरामयुगाख्याते विद्यमानाब्दके कलौ॥
तस्य पुत्रो महालिङ्गः समा षड् बुभुजे महीम्
पितुः प्रतापतपनार्दितभुपतिसेवितः॥

Kosalananda Kāvya informs us that Mahāliṅga, son of Ramai Dev reigned for six years. His son Vaijala Dev succeeded him and reigned for 65 years. An inscription of Vaijala Dev in the Narasimhanātha temple was engraved on Chaitra Pūrṇimā, Hasta nakśatra and Friday in the Vikāri Saṁvatsara. This date regularly corresponds to 21 Mar 1239 CE.

In other context, *Kosalananda Kāvya* tells us that King Raṇasimha flourished in Kosala in the year 4200 of Kaliyuga era, i.e., 1098 CE. Since *Kosalananda Kāvya* indicates that Mahāliṅga, son of Ramai Dev ascended the throne in 1210 CE, Ramai Dev might have founded the Chauhan kingdom of Patnagarh in 1158 CE.

The Chronology of the Chauhan kings of Patnagarh:

	Vamsavali	**Regnal years**	**In CE**
1.	Ramai Dev	52	1158-1210 CE
2.	Mahaling Simha Dev	6	1210-1216 CE

3.	Baijal Dev	65	1216-1281 CE
4.	Baikraj Dev	13	1281-1294 CE
5.	Bujang Dev	34	1294-1328 CE
6.	Pratap Rudra Dev	39	1328-1367 CE
7.	Bhupal Dev	11	1367-1378 CE
8.	Narasingh Dev I	30	1378-1408 CE
9.	Vikramaditya Dev	34	1408-1442 CE
10.	Baijal Dev II	30	1442-1472 CE
11.	Bhanjan Hiradhar Dev	30	1472-1502 CE
12.	Narasingh Dev II	20	1502-1522 CE
13.	Chhatrapal Dev	3	1522-1525 CE
14.	Baijal Dev III	63	1525-1588 CE
15.	Hridaya Narayana Dev	15	1588-1603 CE
16.	Pratap Dev	22	1603-1625 CE
17.	Vikramaditya Dev II	15	1625-1640 CE
18.	Mukund Dev	30	1640-1670 CE
19.	Balram Dev	8	1670-1678 CE
20.	Hirde Shah Dev	7	1678-1685 CE
21.	Raisingh Dev	80	1685-1762 CE
22	Prithviraj Dev	3	1762-1765 CE
23.	Ramachandra Singh Dev	55	1765-1820 CE
24.	Bhupal Singh Dev	28	1820-1848 CE
25.	Hiravajra Singh Dev	18	1848-1866 CE
26.	Sur Pratap Singh Dev	12	1866-1878 CE
27.	Ramachandra Singh Dev II	17	1878-1895 CE
28.	Dalaganjan Singh Dev	15	1895-1910 CE
29.	Prithviraj Singh Dev		1910-1924 CE
30.	Rajendra Narayan Singh Dev		1924-1975 CE

The Chauhan Kings of Sonepur

Raja Balrama Dev, son of Narsingh Deo became the first Chauhan king of Sambalpur. King Madhukar Dev was ruling in Sambalpur in the first

half of the 16th century. Madan Gopal Singh Dev, the 2nd son of Madhukar Dev founded the Sonepur kingdom in 1556 CE. The chronology of the Chauhan kings of Sonepur:

		In CE
1.	Madan Gopal Singh Dev	1556-1606 CE
2.	Lal Saheb Dev	1606-1635 CE
3.	Purushottam Singh Dev	1635-1673 CE
4.	Raj Singh Dev	1673-1709 CE
5.	Achal Singh Dev	1709-1725 CE
6.	Divya Singh Dev	1725-1766 CE
7.	Jarwar Singh Dev	1766-1767 CE
8.	Sobha Singh Dev	1767-1781 CE
9.	Prithvi Singh Dev	1781-1841 CE
10.	Niladhar Singh Dev	1841-1891 CE
11.	Pratap Rudra Singh Dev	1891-1902 CE
12.	Bir Mitrodaya Singh Dev	1902-1937 CE

24

The Chronology of Andhras

According to Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Andhras were the exiled sons of Rishi Viśvāmitra. They settled on the banks of Godavari River. Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra narrates that Viśvāmitra had 100 sons. Madhuccḥandas, the author of the first sūkta of Rigveda was the 50th son. Rishi Viśvāmitra asked the fifty elder brothers of Madhuccḥandas to leave his ashrama because they could not follow the discipline. These exiled sons of Viśvāmitra came to be known as Andhras, Pundras, Śabaras and Muchipas (तस्य हैकशतं पुत्रा आसुः । पञ्चाशदेव ज्यायांसो मधुच्छन्दसः पञ्चाशत् कनीयांसः। तद्ये ज्यायांसो न ते कुशलं मेनिरे। तानन्व्याजहार। अन्तं वः प्रजा भक्षीष्टेति। त एते आन्ध्राः पुण्ड्राः शबरा मूचीपा इति।).[1] Purāṇas inform us that Aśmaka, son of Ayodhya King Saudāsa Kalmāṣapāda established his kingdom in modern Telangana region and founded his capital city named Paudanya (Bodhan). Thus, the Andhras and the Aśmakas settled in Andhra and Telangana regions during the Rigvedic era.

Rāmāyaṇa refers to Andhras along with Cholas, Cheras and Pāndyas. Sahadeva subjugated Andhras in the course of Rājasūya Yajña during the Mahābhārata era. The Aśmaka kings sided with Pāndavas in the Mahābhārata war. According to the Purāṇas, 25 Aśmaka kings reigned from Mahābhārata era to the time of Mahāpadma Nanda. Śūdraka's "*Vīṇāvāsavadattam*" mentions that prince Sañjaya, son of the Aśmaka king was the contemporary of King Udayana (3000 BCE). The Buddhist texts *Avadāna Śataka, Manorathapurani* and a commentary on *Dhammapāda* tell us that Kapphina or Mahākapphina, the son of Kalpa, was the king of Kukkutavati-nagara. He was the contemporary of Buddha (1944-1864 BCE). According to Śivasvāmi's *Kapphināhbyudaya Kavya*, Prasenajit was the king of Kosala when Kapphina invaded Śrāvasti. Total

41 vassal kings were under King Kapphina including Pāndya, Andhra, Utkala and Surashtra. Evidently, the Aśmaka kings reigned over Andhra and Telangana regions since the pre-Mahābhārata era. Mahāpadma Nanda subjugated and annexed the Aśmaka kingdom during the 17th century BCE.

The Ikśvāku Kings of Śriparvata and Vijayapuri (~950-850 BCE)

The later descendants of the Aśmaka kings came to be known as the Ikśvāku kings because the Aśmaka kings originally belonged to the Ikśvāku dynasty of Ayodhya. They have been referred to as "Śri-Parvatiya Andhras" in Matsya Purāṇa. Seemingly, the Śātavāhanas of Pratiṣṭhāna were traditionally the feudatories of Andhra or Aśmaka kings. Therefore, Purāṇas refer to the Śātavāhanas as "Andhrabhrityas". Megasthanes, the ambassador of Seleucus, visited the courts of King Chandragupta and King Puru around ~970-930 BCE and mentioned that the Andhras (Ikśvāku kings) had 30 fortified cities and the army of 1,00,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry and 1000 elephants. The available epigraphic evidence indicates that the following four Ikśvāku kings reigned around 950-850 BCE.

1. Vāsiṣṭhīputra Chāntamula
2. Māṭharīputra Virapuruṣadutta
3. Vāsiṣṭhīputra Ehuvala Chāntamula
4. Vāsiṣṭhīputra Rudrapuruṣadatta

The Pātagandigudem plates of Ehavula Chāntamula[2] records a grant to the Buddhist monastery of Pithunda. The Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela (1031-1000 BCE) also refers to Pithunda. The Śātavāhanas conquered Magadha and became the powerful rulers of entire Dakśiṇāpatha.

The Later Śātavāhanas (828-350 BCE)

Seemingly, the later Śātavāhanas subjugated the kings of Ikśvākus and reigned over Andhra region around 828-350 BCE. We have already discussed the chronology of the Śātavāhana kings in Chapter 9. The epigraphic evidence indicates that the Brihatphalāyanas and the

Ānandagotrikas also reigned in Andhra during the period 800-500 BCE. The Pallava kings of Kānchipuram reigned over the Rayalasima region of Andhra after 600 BCE.

The Śālaṅkāyanas (400-250 BCE)

The Śālaṅkāyana kings reigned over Andhra region around 360-200 BCE. Their capital was Vengi. Seemingly, the Śālaṅkāyanas were either the allies or vassals of the Pallava kings of Kānchipuram. The epigraphic evidence indicates that Devavarma, Hastivarma, Nandivarma, Vijayadeva Varma and Vijayanandi Varma were the kings of Śālaṅkāyana dynasty. Samudragupta's Prayāga Praśasti inscription mentions the Śālaṅkāyana King Hastivarma. The rise of the Viṣṇukundin dynasty led to the decline of the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty.

The Viṣṇukundins (300-95 BCE)

The Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty was ruling in the Āndhra region during the reign of Vākātakas. According to the Chikkulla, Tummalagudem and Tundi copper plate inscriptions[3] of Viṣṇukuṇḍin King Vikramendravarman II, Mādhavavarman II's son Vikramendravarman I belonged to both the Viṣṇukuṇḍin and Vākātaka dynasties *(Viṣṇukuṇḍi-Vākāṭaka-vaṁśa-dvayālankṛta-janmanah)*. This means the Viṣṇukuṇḍin King Mādhavavarman II married a Vākātaka princess, probably, the daughter of Pravarasena II. Some historians speculated that Mādhavavarman II might have defeated the Vākātakas but it is just a wild speculation. Vākātakas were more powerful than Viṣṇukuṇḍins. The Indrapālanagara (in Nalgonda district) inscription[4] of Vikramendravarman II is dated in Śaka 488 (95 BCE) and also in his 22nd regnal year. Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings were the successors of Śālaṅkāyana kings and ruled in the Āndhra region. Based on the date given in Indrapālanagara inscription, the chronology of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty can be reconstructed as given below.

		Śaka era (583 BCE)	**In CE**
1.	Indravarman	283-318	300-265 BCE
2.	Mādhavavarman I	318-348	265-235 BCE
3.	Govindavarman I	348-378	235-205 BCE
4.	Mādhavavarman II	378-408	205-175 BCE

5.	Vikramendravarman I	408-438	175-145 BCE
6.	Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman	438-466	145-117 BCE
7.	Vikramendravarman II or Vikramendrabhaṭṭārakavarman	467-488	116-95 BCE

The Eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgi (46 BCE – 542 CE)

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

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

The selected text of the copper plates of Amma Rāja II:[5]

> *"Giri-rasa-vasu saṅkhyābde Śaka-samaye Mārgaśīrṣa-māse'smin Krishna -trayodaśadine bhṛguvāre Maitra-nakśatre. Dhanuṣi ravau Ghāta-lagne dvādaśavarṣe tu janmataḥ paṭam (ṭṭam)"*

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

Considering the epoch of the Śaka era in 583 BCE, 283-284 CE was 867th year of Śaka. Thus, 3rd Dec 283 CE was the date of the coronation of Amma II. It was Krishna trayodaśī of the Mārgaśīrṣa month and the moon was also in Anurādhā (Maitra) nakśatra. The lagna was Ghāta and Sun was in Dhanu Rāśi. The day was Bhṛguvāra, i.e., Friday.

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

The selected text from the copper plates of Rājarāja I:[6]

"Yo rakśitum vasumatīm Śakavatsareṣu,
Vedāmburāśi-nidhi varttiṣu Siṁhage'rke ।
Kṛṣṇa-dvitīya-divasottarabhadrikāyām,
Vāre guror vaṇiji lagna-vare'bhiṣiktaḥ ॥"

Eastern Chālukya King Rājarāja I was coronated in the year of Śaka 944 on 2nd tithi of the Krishna pakśa. Sun was in Siṁha Rāśi and Moon was in Uttarabhadrā nakśatra.

Considering the epoch in 583 BCE, 360-361 CE is 944th year of Śaka. The word "*varttiṣu*" clearly indicates that the year 944 was the current year. Thus, 14th Aug 360 CE was the 2nd tithi of the Krishna pakśa of Bhādrapada month, the moon in Uttarabhadrā nakśatra and the Sun in Siṁha rāśi. The day was Guruvara, i.e., Thursday.

Considering the epoch in 78 CE, 1021-1022 CE is 944th year, the date is 28th Jul 1021 CE and it corresponds to the 2nd tithi of Krishna pakśa of Bhādrapada month but the moon was in Śatabhiṣaj nakśatra and not in Uttarabhadrā. Therefore, the epoch of 78 CE cannot explain the date of the coronation of Rājarāja II.

The selected text from the Chittoor copper plates of Kulottuṅga Choḍadeva II:[7]

> *"Śakābdānām pramāṇe rasa-viśikha-viyaccandra-saṅkhyām prayāte deśe ..... Ārdrarkśe pūrvapakśe viṣuvati sutithau ....." (In Śaka era, 1056 years elapsed, vernal equinox in Ārdra nakśatra and in pūrvapakśa, i.e., śuklapakśa.)*

Considering the epoch in 583 BCE, 472-473 CE was elapsed and 473-474 CE was current. Vernal equinox took place on 21st Mar 473 CE. It was the 7th tithi of śukla pakśa in the month of Chaitra and the nakśatra was Ārdra.

Considering the epoch in 78 CE, 1133-1134 CE was elapsed and 1134-1135 CE was current but vernal equinox did not occur in Ārdra nakśatra.

The selected text from the copper plates of Vishnuvardhana III:[8]

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

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

The selected text from the Chīpurupalle copper plates of Vishnuvardhana I:[9]

> *"Satyaśraya-Śrivallabha-Mahārājaḥ, Tasya priyānujaḥ..... Śri Vishnuvardhana Mahārājaḥ..... Śrāvaṇa māse Candragrahaṇa nimitte..... Saṁ 10 8 ma 4 di 10 5 " (Lunar eclipse on the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa month and in 18th regnal year of Vishnuvardhana I.)*

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

The Chronology of Eastern Chālukyas

Satārā grant[10] of Vishnuvardhana I dated in the 8th regnal year of Mahārāja or Pulakeśin II gives the title of "Yuvarāja" to Vishnuvardhana I. Hyderabad plates are dated in the 3rd regnal year of Pulakeśin II which was 535th year of Śaka. Thus, Śaka 540 was the 8th regnal year. The Chipurupalle plates mention the lunar eclipse on the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa month in the 18th regnal year of Vishnuvardhana I. Considering that the lunar eclipse occurred on 26th Jul 29 BCE, 46-45 BCE was the 1st regnal year and 29-28 BCE was the 18th regnal year of Vishnuvardhana I.

Based on the coronation date of Amma Rāja II in Śaka 867 (3rd Dec 283 CE), the date of the coronation of Rājarāja I in Śaka 944 (14th Aug 360 CE) and the date of the copper plate grant of Kulottuṅga Choḍadeva II in Śaka 1056 elapsed (21st Mar 473 CE), the chronology of Eastern Chālukya Dynasty can be reconstructed as shown below:

	Duration	**Śaka era (583 BCE)**	**In CE**	**Chronology given by JF Fleet**[11]
Vishnuvardhana I (Brother of Satyāśraya Pulakeśin II)	18 years	538-555	46-29 BCE	615-633 CE
Jayasimha (Brother of Kubja Vishnuvardhana)	30 years	555-584	28 BCE – 2 CE	633-663 CE
Indrarāja	7 days	584	2 CE	663 CE
Vishnuvardhana II (elder son of Indrarāja brother of Jayasiṁha)	9 years	585-593	3 – 11 CE	663-672 CE
Mangi Yuvarāja (son of Vishnuvardhana II)	25 Years	594-619	11 – 36 CE	672-696 CE
Jayasimha II (Son of Mangi Yuvarāja)	13 Years	619-631	36 – 48 CE	696-709 CE
Kokkili (Jayasimha's Brother, the son of his step mother)	6 Months	632	49 CE	709 CE
Vishnuvardhana III also named as Vishnu Rāja (Elder brother of Kokkili and younger Son of Indra Bhattāraka)	37 Years	632-669	49 – 86 CE	709-746 CE
Vijayāditya Bhattāraka (Son of Vishnuvardhana III)	18 Years	670-687	87 – 104 CE	746-764 CE
Vishnu Rāja or Vishnuvardhana IV	36 Years	688-723	105 – 140 CE	764-799 CE
Vijayāditya Narendra Mrigarāja	40 Years	724-763	141 – 180 CE	799-843 CE

Kali Vishnuvardhana	1 year & 6 months	763-764	180 – 181 CE	843-844 CE
Gunagānka Vijayāditya	44 Years	765-809	182 – 226 CE	844-888 CE
Chālukya Bhima I (Drohārjuna)	30 Years	810-839	227 – 256 CE	888-918 CE
Kollabiganda Vijayāditya	6 Months	839	256 CE	918 CE
Amma Rāja I Vishnuvardhana Sarvalokāśraya	7 Years	840-846	257 – 263 CE	918-925 CE
Tadapa	1 Month	847	264 CE	925 CE
Vikramāditya (Son of Chālukya Bhima I)	11 Months	847	264 CE	926-927 CE
Yuddhamalla (Son of Tadapa)	7 Years	848-855	265 – 272 CE	927-934 CE
Bhima II (Brother of Amma Rāja I)	12 Years	855-867	272 – 283 CE	934-945 CE
Amma Rāja II Vijayāditya (Son of Bhima II)	25 Years	867-892	283 – 309 CE	945-970 CE
Indrarāja	7 days	892	309 CE	970 CE
Dānārnava (Son of Bhima II & Ankidevi and half-brother of Amma Rāja II)	3 years	893-896	310-312 CE	970-973 CE
Badapa and his brother Tala II	--	896	312 CE	--
Dark period (No King)	27 years	897-923	313-340 CE	973-1003 CE
Saktivarman or Chālukya Candra (son of Dānārnava)	12 years	924-936	341-353 CE	1003-1015 CE

Vimalāditya (Brother of Saktivarman) Vimalāditya married Rājendra Choda's sister Kundavamahādevi	7 years	936-944	353-360 CE	1015-1022 CE
Rājarāja I (son of Vimalāditya)	41 years	944-985	360-401 CE	1022-1063 CE
Kulottunga Chodadeva I (Son of Rājarāia I)	49 years	985-1033	401-450 CE	1063-1112 CE
Vira Choda (son of Kullottunga Chodadeva I)	31 years	1001-1033	417-450 CE	--
Vikrama Choda (Son of Kulottunga Chodadeva I)	15 years	1033-1048	450-465 CE	1112-1127 CE
Kulottunga Chodadeva II (Son of Vikrama Choda)		1048-1056	465-473 CE	1127 1134 CE

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

Probably, Kulottuṅga Choḍadeva II was the last eastern Chālukya ruler of Veṅgi. The Pithapuram pillar inscription of Malladeva[12] tells us that King Malladeva, the descendant of the eastern Chālukya dynasty, was coronated in Pithapuri on the 10th tithi of the dark fortnight of Jyeṣṭha month, when moon was in Aśvinī nakśatra in Śaka 1124 (541 CE). Considering the epoch in 583 BCE, 540-541 CE is elapsed and 541-542 CE was current, the date corresponds to 5th Jun 541 CE. Here is the comparative analysis of verifiable epigraphic evidence:

		The epoch: 583 BCE (*Śaka era*)	**The epoch : 78 CE (*Śakānta era*)**
1.	Lunar Eclipse on full moon day of Śrāvana month in 18th regnal year of Vishnuvardhana I.[13]	Lunar eclipse was visible on 26th Jul 29 BCE.	No Lunar eclipse in 632 CE (18th regnal year).
2.	Amma Rāja II was coronated when he was 12 years old, in the year of 867 Śaka, on Krishna pakśa trayodaśi in Mārgaśirsha month, moon in Maitra (Anurādhā) Nakśatra, Ghāta lagna, Sun in Dhanu sign.[14]	The year 283-284 CE was 867th year of Śaka. The date 3rd Dec 283 CE meets all requirements. Lagna was also Ghāta.	944-945 CE was 867th year but we have to consider 867th year as elapsed and 868th year as current. Then, 5th Dec 945 CE meets the requirements but lagna was not Ghāta.
3.	Rājarāja I was coronated in the year of 944 Śaka on 2nd day of Krishna pakśa. Sun was in Simha rāśi, moon was in Uttarabhadrā nakśatra.[15]	The year 360-361 CE was 944th year of Śaka. The date 14th Aug 360 CE meets all requirements.	1021-1022 CE was 944th year. 28th Jul 1021 CE meets the requirements but the nakśatra was Śatabhishaj not Uttarabhadrā.
4.	13th day of the bright half of the month, Śrāvana Nakśatra, Sun in Simha (Leo) sign, Vriśchika lagna and Guruvāra (Thursday).[16] (the 1001st year of the Śaka era)	The year 417-418 CE was Śaka 1001. The date was 11th Aug 417 CE.	The date cannot be explained in the year of 1078-1079 CE.
5.	Vernal equinox in Ardra nakśatra and in pūrvapakśa or śuklapakśa (1056th Śaka year elapsed and 1057th year current).[17]	472-473 CE elapsed and 473-474 CE is current. Vernal equinox took place on 21st Mar 473 CE. It was 7th day of śukla pakśa and the nakśatra was Ardra.	1133-1134 CE elapsed and 1134-1135 CE is current. Vernal equinox did not occur when moon was in Ardra nakśatra.

6.	10th (daśami) tithi of Chaitra and moon was in Maghā nakśatra in 2nd regnal year of Vishnuvardhana II.[18]	The date is 20th Mar 4 CE.	In 664 CE, Chaitra daśami was a kśaya tithi.
7.	On the occasion of Solar eclipse on new moon day of Phālguna month and in 5th regnal year of Vishnuvardhana, the son of Indra Bhattāraka.[19] (It seems that Indra Bhattāraka had two sons. Vishnuvardhana II was the elder and Vishnuvardhana III was the younger.)	Vishnuvardhana III ruled for 37 years between 49 CE to 86 CE. 5th regnal year was 53-54 CE. A Solar eclipse was visible on 9th Mar 53 CE in the morning between 6:34 hrs to 6:49 hrs	Solar eclipse in the tenure of Vishnuvardhana II cannot be explained. It was only possible in 6th regnal year of Vishnuvardhana III.

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

The grant of Ammarāja I[20] and subsequent grants tell us that Narendra Mrigarāja (141-180 CE) fought a hundred and eight battles with the forces of the Raṭṭas (Rāṣṭrakūṭas) and Gaṅgas. These grants also tell us that Guṇagāṅka Vijayāditya (182-226 CE), at the instigation of the king of Raṭṭas, killed the king of Noḍamba-rāṣṭra in a great battle of Maṅgi and also defeated the Gaṅgas who took refuge on the peak of Gaṅgakūṭa. He subjugated Krishna (Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Akālavarṣa Krishnarāja II) and burnt his city. He also defeated Saṅkila, the king of Dahāla (Probably, a king of Chedi dynasty), who was joined by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Vallabha. Later, the province of Veṅgi was overrun by the new Raṭṭa claimants but it appears that Chālukya Bhīma I (227-256 CE) re-established the authority of the Eastern Chālukyas.

The Maṅgallu grant of Amma Rāja II[21] says that Amma Rāja's half-brother, Dānārṇava, the son of Aṅkidevi, had taken over the country from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Vallabha and ruled the kingdom according

to the principles of Manu ("*Tasya dvaimāturaḥ kśmām sakala-jana-mude Vallabhādāpta-rājyo Bhaimo Dānārṇaveśopyavati Manu-nayād Aṅkidevi-tanūjaḥ*"). The grant also states that, after ruling for eleven years, Amma Rāja II proceeded to the Kaliṅga country in wrath against Krishna ("*Dharitrīm Rakśan ekādaśābdam jitaripu-ragamat Kṛṣṇa-kopāt Kaliṅgam*"). The "Krishna" mentioned here is probably the Chedi king of Tripuri who also ruled over Magadha and Kaliṅga (as mentioned in Sudi plates of the Ganga King Butuga II). He cannot be a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king because Rāṣṭrakūṭas never ruled over Kaliṅga.

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

Rājarāja also ensured that his grandson Rājarāja II, the son of Kuṅdavamahādevi and Vimalāditya, took over the reins of Veṅgi. Thus, the successors of the Eastern Chālukya kingdom became more Choḍas than Chālukyas and gradually, the territory of Veṅgi was absorbed by the Choḍa Empire. By this period, the Western Chālukyas re-established themselves in Northern Karṇātaka by overthrowing the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. They were outraged by the absorption of Veṅgi into the Choḍa Empire. Veṅgi became a bone of contention resulting in repeated conflicts between the Choḍas and the Western Chālukyas.

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

The selected text from the stone inscription at Bāṇeśvara Temple at Belaturu:[22]

> *"Śaka variṣa tombhaynūra-nalvatta-mūra (943) neya variṣada Raudra saṁvatsarada Āṣāḍha-māsada punnave Uttarāṣāḍha-nakśtram Makara-chandram brihaspativaram ..... Śri-Mudigoṇḍa Rājendra Cholam" (Śaka year 943, "Raudra" (Jovian) year, the full moon day of Āṣāḍha month, Uttarāṣāḍha nakśatra, Moon in Makara (Capricorn) and Thursday.)*

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

Kielhorn quotes one more inscription of Rājendra Choḍa at the same temple.[23]

> *"Svasti Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śatamga 955 neya Śrimukha saṁvatsarada Mārgaśīrṣa-śuddha-paḍivam Mūlarkkadamdu"*

This inscription unambiguously refers to *Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta* era which is the Śakānta era. Thus, the Rājendra Choḍas mentioned in these two inscriptions are two different personalities from different eras. Actually, it is easy to identify the Śaka or Śakānta eras from Sanskrit inscriptions because the Sanskrit references are generally unambiguous. Interestingly, Kannada inscriptions say "*Śaka variṣam..... neya*" and Telugu inscriptions say "*Śakavarṣambulu*" for both eras. Therefore, we have to study the Kannada and Telugu inscriptions carefully to ascertain the actual era intended. Sometimes, the date can be explained satisfactorily in both eras. In such cases, we need to depend upon supporting evidence to draw any conclusions about the chronology.

The Origin of the Chālukyas and the Early Chālukyas of Rājamahendravaram

The grant of Vīra Choḍa[24] contains valuable information about the origin of the Chālukyas. At the outset, it gives the genealogy of Soma Vamśa (Lunar dynasty) from Atri Muni to Pāndavas and Arjuna to Udayana. Starting from King Udayana, total 59 kings ruled over Ayodhyā. Vijayāditya was the 60th king of Ayodhyā. He went on to conquer *"Dakśiṇāpatha"* and attacked Trilochana Pallava but unfortunately got killed in the battle. His queen, who was pregnant (*ṣaṇmāsagarbhiṇī*), reached an "*agrahāra"* called *Muḍivemu* along with the family-priest and the old ministers. Viṣṇubhaṭṭa-somayājin protected her like a daughter and she gave birth to a son, Vishnuvardhana. After coming of age, Vishnuvardhana founded a kingdom in *Dakśiṇāpatha*. Thus, Vishnuvardhana founded the rule of Chālukya dynasty.

Two grants of the Early Chālukyas who ruled at Rājamahendravaram are available today. These grants are dated in the Kaliyuga era. One grant available at the Govt Museum of Hyderabad[25] is unambiguously dated in Kali year 2628 elapsed (473-472 BCE). The date of this grant regularly corresponds to 4th Feb 473 BCE. It was issued by King Vishnuvardhana II, the grandson of King Vishnuvardhana I. Historians have identified this grant with Vishnuvardhana I or Vishnuvardhana II of the Eastern Chālukyas and assumed that the Kali year given is incorrect. However, there should be no doubt that these grants belong to the Early Chālukyas who ruled at Rājamahendravaram, much before the establishment of the Eastern Chālukya kingdom at Veṅgi. It appears that the Chālukyas were attempting to establish a kingdom in *Dakśiṇāpatha* from the beginning of the 6th century BCE till the end of the 3rd century BCE. I have also referred to five more grants of the Early Chālukyas in the context of the early Chālukyas of Badami which may also belong to this period. Jayasiṁha I or Vishnuvardhana, who married the daughter of a Pallava king, established a strong Chālukya kingdom between the Narmadā and Setu by defeating the Kadaṁba and Gaṅga kings. His grandson, Pulakeśin I made Badami or Vātāpi as the capital city of the Chālukya Empire.

The Kākatiyas of Warangal

The Kākatiyas of Warangal claimed their descent from King Durjaya. Chālukya king Pulakeśin II defeated King Durjaya and annexed Andhra region. He placed his younger brother Vishnuvardhana at Vengi who founded the famous dynasty of Vengi Chālukyas. Considering the epoch of Śaka era (583 BCE), Pulakeśin II reigned around 52-26 BCE. In all probability, King Durjaya, the progenitor of Kākatiyas was a contemporary of Pulakeśin II. It would be fruitful to critically examine the traditional history of Kākatiyas written by Ekāmranātha.

Ekāmranātha's Pratāparudracharitra

Ekāmranātha was the author of "*Pratāparudracharitra*" in Telugu language. He refers to his Adiguru Nāganātha in the beginning of *Pratāparudracharitra*. The Ainavolu inscription of Reddi King Anavota indicates that Nāganātha, son of Pashupati Pandita was the author of the inscription. Nāganātha wrote "*Madanavilāsabhānam*" in Sanskrit and "Vishnu Purāṇa" in Telugu. The Ainavolu inscription is dated in Śaka 1291 (708 CE). Accordingly, we can conclusively fix the date of Nāganātha around 675-750 CE. Thus, Ekāmranātha might have written his work "*Pratāparudracharitra*" around 1350-1370 CE and referred to Nāganātha, the Adiguru of his Guruparamparā. Therefore, the chronological history of Kākatiyas written by Ekāmranātha is certainly authentic because it was written within 50 years after the death of Kākatiya King Pratāparudra. We hear about Ekāmranātha to be a disciple of Pālakurti Somanatha who was a contemporary of Pratāparudra. Thus, we can fix the lifetime of Ekāmranātha around 1310-1400 CE.

Kāse Sarvappa narrated the history of Kākatiyas in his work "*Siddheśvara Charitra*" in Dvipada meter. Sarvappa himself stated that he will narrate the story of Kākatiyas that was ably expounded by Ekāmranātha. Kuchumanchi Jagga Kavi also presented the history of Kākatiyas in his work "*Somadevarājiyamu*" which he wrote in poetry and prose in Champū kāvya paddhati. Evidently, Sarvappa (~1500-1600 CE) and Jaggakavi (~1700 CE) simply followed the chronological history of Kākatiyas as narrated by Ekāmranātha (~1350-1430 CE).

Colonial historians and their followers have rejected the chronology of Kākatiyas given by Ekāmranātha, Kāse Sarvappa and Jaggakavi because they have considered only one epoch of the Śaka era in 78 CE. I have already established that the epochs of Śaka and Śakānta eras are not identical. Actually, the colonial historians have simply followed the only epoch of 78 CE and established that Vijayanagara kingdom was founded after the fall of Kākatiyas but Pratāparudra *Charitra* of Ekāmranātha and *Siddheśvara Charitra* of Kase Sarvappa often refer to the kings of Vijayanagara Empire. Therefore, historians have questioned the authenticity of the traditional chronology of Kākatiyas. As discussed in detail in Chapter 18, I have conclusively established that the Vijayanagara kingdom was founded around 660-675 CE. Therefore, there is no chronological inconsistency in the traditional chronology of Kākatiyas.

The Origin of the Kākatiyas

According to Ekāmranātha, the Kākatiyas belonged to the Chandra Vaṁśa.[26] The genealogy of the Kākatiyas:

1. Brahma
2. Atri
3. Chandra
4. Budha
5. Puruhūta (Purūravā)
6. Nahuṣa
7. …..
8. Bharata
9. ……
10. Arjuna of Mahābhārata era
11. Abhimanyu
12. Parīkśit
13. Janamejaya
14. Śatānīka
15. Kśemaṅkara
16. Somendra
17. Uttuṅgabhuja

King Uttuṅgabhuja migrated to the city of Dharmapuri, on the banks of Godavari and founded his kingdom. His son was Nanda. King Nanda made Nandagiri as his capital. He had a daughter named Sumati and a son named Vijayapāla. Sumati's son was Vriṣasena and Vijayapāla's son was Agnivarṇa. Vijayapāla died at an early age. King Nanda divided his kingdom and coronated Vriṣasena and Agnivarṇa as kings.

Vriṣasena's descendants came to be known as the Vrishti dynasty. Many kings of the Vrishti dynasty flourished after Vriṣasena. Seemingly, Durjaya (1st century BCE) was a descendant of Vriṣasena. His lineage came to be known as the Kākati dynasty. Kannadadeva made Kandāra as his capital around ~275-300 CE. His son Somarāja succeeded him. Mādhava Varma was born to King Somarāja and Siriyāla Devi.

Mādhava Varma (324 CE)

Ekāmranātha gives the chronology of the Kākatiyas starting from the coronation of King Mādhava Varma to the death of King Pratāparudra.[27] Mādhava Varma, ascended the throne in the Tāraṇa Saṁvatsara and Pratāparudra died in the Rudhirodgāri Saṁvatsara. He clearly mentions that total 1000 years have been elapsed from the coronation of Mādhava Varma to the death of Pratāparudra. According to one manuscript, Mādhava Varma ascended the throne in Śakānta 291 (369 CE) whereas another manuscript indicates his date in Śakānta 236 (314 CE) but the Tāraṇa Saṁvatsara was Śakānta 246 (324 CE). Pratāparudra died in the Rudhirodgāri Saṁvatsara, i.e., Śakānta 1245 (1323-1324 CE). Thus, the Kākatiyas exactly reigned for 1000 years from Śakānta 246 (324 CE) to Śakānta 1245 (1323-1324 CE). Accordingly, I have corrected the chronology of Kākatiyas given by Ekāmranātha.

According to Ekāmranātha, Mādhava Varma ascended the throne on Mārgaśirṣa Śukla Pañcamī, Śrāvaṇa nakśatra, Thursday in Śakānta 246. The date regularly corresponds to 8th Nov 324 CE. Anumakonda or Ekaśilānagari was the capital of the successors of Mādhava Varma. *Siddheśvara Charitra* gives the date of Mādhava Varma around Śaka 230. The traditional Chronology of the Kākatiya kings of Anumakonda:

		Śakānta era	In CE
1.	Mādhava Varma and his successors	246-366	324-444 CE
2.	Padmasena and his successors	366-444	444-522 CE
3.	Vennamarāja and his successors	444-534	522-612 CE
4.	Poriki Vennamarāja and his successors	534-603	612-681 CE
5.	Gundamarāja and his successors	603-673	681-751 CE
6.	Kuntalidevi as regent of Erukudevarāja	673-682	751-760 CE
7.	Erukudevarāja	673-747	751-825 CE
8.	Bhuvanaikamalla	747-773	825-851 CE
9.	Tribhuvanaikamalla and his successors	773-847	851-925 CE

According to Ekāmranātha, Bhuvanaikamalla defeated the Tuluva King Vira Narasimha Rāya of Vijayanagara. Bhuvanaikamalla married Sri Rangamadevi, sister of Vira Narasimha. Venkatanātha was the son of Vira Narasimha. Venkatanātha wanted to invade Hanumakonda to take revenge but finally, Bhuvanaikamalla married off his daughter Pāñchāli to Venkatanātha. Chronologically, Vijayanagara King Vira Narasimha was a contemporary of Bhuvanaikamalla.[28] Vira Narasimha's inscriptions are dated in Śaka 1424-1432 (841-849 CE).

In fact, Ekāmranātha's main objective was to narrate the history of King Pratāparudra. However, he gives a brief history of some prominent Kākatiya kings since 324 CE. Though he has assigned 120 years for Mādhava Varma but this does not mean that Mādhava Varma reigned for 120 years. Seemingly, Mādhava Varma and his unknown successors reigned for 120 years. King Padmasena ascended the throne 120 years after Mādhava Varma. Thus, the regnal periods assigned to the Kākatiya kings by Ekāmranātha are nothing but a rough reconciliation of the chronological continuity of one-thousand year history of Kākatiyas.

After the reign of Tribhuvanamalla, It is also stated in *Pratāparudracharitra* that Prolarāja I founded the city of Orugallu (Warangal) on Kārttika Krishna Dvitīyā, Rohiṇī nakśatra in the Śubhakrit

Saṁvatsara. The date regularly corresponds to 22 Oct 1062 CE. King Prola II had two sons, Rudradeva and Mahādeva. Rudradeva killed his father and ascended the throne. After the reign of Rudradeva, his younger brother Mahādeva ascended the throne. Mahādeva died in a war with the kings of Devagiri. Gaṇapati, son of Rudradeva succeeded Mahādeva. He defeated the king of Devagiri and married his daughter Rudramma Mahādevi.

King Gaṇapati had only daughter named Mummamma. After the death of Gaṇapati, his wife Rudramma Devi ascended the throne. Pratāparudra was born to Gaṇapati's daughter Mummamma in the Ānanda Saṁvatsara on Chaitra Śukla Pañcamī, Thursday, Rohiṇī nakśatra when Sun, Mars and Brihaspati were on exaltation and Saturn was in its own house. The date regularly corresponds to 11 Apr 1255 CE.

Ekāmranātha indicates that Pratāparudra ascended the throne in Śakānta 1205 (1283 CE). Recently found Chandupatla stone inscription mentions that Rudramma Devi died in Śakānta 1211, Virodhi Saṁvatsara, on the 12th day of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśirṣa month. The date corresponds to 25th Nov 1289 CE. Pratāparudra married Viśālākśī and they had two sons, Virūpākśa and Virabhadra. He had a brother named Yennamadeva.

King Pratāparudra defeated the King of Kataka and the Pāndya king. He extended his kingdom up to Rameshvaram. Vijayanagara King Narasimharāya and his nephew Narasimhadeva were the contemporaries of Pratāparudra. He subjugated Parasiraju (a Persian king) of Maharashtra and Gujrat. Jumānul Mulk was the brother of Parasiraju. Ekāmranātha clearly mentions that Male Khan was the Sultan of Delhi and a contemporary of Pratāparudra. Male Khan might have reigned in Delhi around 1310-1330 CE.

Delhi Sultan Male Khan sent an army to invade Kākatiya kingdom. At the same time, Kataka king also attacked Ekaśilānagarī (Warangal). Pratāparudra asked the help of Narapatirāya of Vijayanagara. Narapatirāya defeated Kataka King Mukundasundara. Delhi sultan sent Alaghu Khan, Birud Khan and Ullākh Khan to defeat Pratāparudra. Padma Nāyaka kings and Bhojāreddy etc., supported Pratāparudra. Ullakh Khan took

Pratāparudra captive in the battlefield in the Rudhirogāri Saṁvatsara on Āśvayuja Śukla dvitīyā, Thursday, i.e., 4th Sep 1323 CE and sent him to the court of Delhi Sultan. Later, Pratāparudra was released on advice of the mother of Delhi Sultan. Thereafter, Pratāparudra went on pilgrimage to Kāshi from Delhi. He took bath at Manikarṇikā Ghat and performed Pujā in the Vishvanath temple. He returned to Ekaśilānagarī and coronated his son Virabhadra. He also married off his daughter Rudra Mahādevi to Narapatirāya. Pratāparudra and his wife Viśālākśī both died on Māgha Śukla Saptamī in the Rudhirodgāri Saṁvatsara, i.e., 2nd Feb 1324 CE.

According to Ekāmranātha, Telugu poet Tikkana Somayāji was a contemporary of Kākatiya kings Gaṇapatideva, Rudramma Devi and Pratāparudra. We can roughly fix the lifetime of Tikkana Somayāji around 1225-1305 CE. Śakavelli Mallikarjuna Bhattu, Palakurti Somanatha, Ranganatha, Krishnamachari and Bhaskara were the contemporaries of Pratāparudra. Ekāmranātha was himself a pupil of Pālakurti Somanātha. Ekāmranātha tells us that the famous female Telugu poet Molla was also a contemporary of Pratāparudra. Molla became the head of the poetic faculty in the court of Pratāparudra by the favour of Tikkana. She wrote Rāmāyaṇa in Telugu known as "Molla Rāmāyaṇa" and also a text in *Vachana Kavitvam* (poetry in prose). She was inspired by the great poet Potana who wrote Bhāgavata Purāṇa in Telugu. She also referred to Srinātha, brother in law of Potana.

Srinatha's grandfather Kamalanābha was the contemporary of a Kākatiya King (Kākatiya Sārvabhauma). He was the contemporary of King Teluṅgurāya, a feudatory of Vijayanagara kingdom. An inscription of Teluṅgurāya, son of Śambhurāya is dated in Śaka 1350 and his father's inscription is dated in Śaka 1348. Evidently, Teluṅgurāya succeeded his father in Śaka 1350. Another inscriptions of Teluṅgurāya are dated in Śaka 1360, 1364 and 1366. His son Tirumalayya Deva's inscription is dated in Śaka 1405. Since poet Molla, a contemporary of Kākatiya King Pratāparudra II (Śakānta 1205-1245) refers to Srinātha, the Teluṅgurāya's inscriptions undoubtedly refer to the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE). Thus, we can roughly fix the lifetime of Srinātha around Śaka 1310-1400 (727-817 CE).

Srinātha also visited the court of Vijayanagara King Deva Rāya II (763-783 CE) and defeated Kavisārvabhauma Gauda Dindimabhatta.

The chronology of the later Kākatiyas of Warrangal given by Ekāmranātha:

		Śakānta era (78 CE)
1.	Prolarāja	892-964
2.	Rudra Mahārāja	964-1052
3.	Mahādeva	1052-1059
4.	Gaṇapatirāja	1052-1127
5.	Rudramma Mahādevi	1127-1205
6.	Pratāparudra	1205-1289

Seemingly, a copyist might have edited these dates mistakenly considering the lifetime of Kākatiya kings as the regnal period. Unfortunately, we have only one or two manuscripts of Ekāmranātha's *Pratāparudracharitra* but the chronology of later Kākatiyas can be correctly established based on epigraphic evidence.

Inscriptions of the Kākatiyas

More than 400 inscriptions of the Kākatiyas have been found till date. ICHR has published a reference book titled "Inscriptions of the Kākatiyas of Warangal" in 2011 which contains 367 inscriptions. The majority of Kākatiya inscriptions refer to the Śakānta era (78 CE) but some Kākatiya inscriptions are dated in the Śaka era (583 BCE).

The Itikāla inscription mentions the Kākatiya King Gundaraju Hariharadevaraju who was the reigning king in Śaka 1071 (1061?), i.e., 487-488 CE. This inscription refers to a solar eclipse that occurred in Śaka 1071, Vibhava Saṁvatsara on Kārttika Amāvāsyā, Thursday. The date regularly corresponds to 1st Nov 487 CE. The occurrence of a solar eclipse on Kārttika Amāvāsyā cannot be explained in Śakānta 1071 or 1061. Another inscription found in Anamala village of Nalgonda district also refers to the occurrence of a solar eclipse in Śaka 1050. A solar eclipse occurred on 8th May 468 CE.

Some inscriptions of the Kākatiya Kings Beta and Prola or Polalarasa refer to the Śaka era and the Chālukya Vikrama era and mention the names of the Chālukya kings like Trailokyamalla, Tribhuvanamalla and Bhulokamalla. Beta and Prola were the feudatories of Chālukya kings of Kalyana. Undoubtedly, these inscriptions are dated in the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE). The Sanigaram inscription of Polalarasa refers to a solar eclipse that occurred in Śaka 1050, Kilaka Saṁvatsara on Āśvayuja Amāvāsyā, Sunday. The date regularly corresponds to 1st Nov 468 CE. The Kāzipeta inscription of Beta mentions the occurrence of a solar eclipse on Kārttika Amāvāsyā, Sunday in Śaka 1012. The date perhaps corresponds to 12th Dec 429 CE. There is another clue to segregate the Kākatiya inscriptions. Since the city of Orugallu or Warangal was founded in 1062 CE, the inscriptions having the reference of Orugallu are undoubtedly dated in the Śakānta era. There is a need for further comprehensive research to logically establish the exact dates of the Kākatiya inscriptions.

We can roughly reconstruct the chronology of the Kākatiyas of Warangal based on epigraphic evidence as shown below:

		In CE
1.	Beta I	1025-1052 CE
2.	Prola I	1052-1076 CE
3.	Beta II	1076-1108 CE
4.	Prola II	1108-1157 CE
5.	Rudradeva	1158-1195 CE
6.	Mahādeva	1196-1199 CE
7.	GaĀapatideva	1199-1262 CE
8.	Rudrammadevi	1262-1286 CE
9.	Pratāparudra	1286-1324 CE

The Reddi Kings

Vemā Reddi, son of Prola founded the Reddi kingdom of Andhra around 665 CE. The inscriptions of Reddi kings are dated in the Śaka era (583 BCE). The chronology of the Reddi kings:

		In CE
	Prola	-----
1.	Vema Reddi	665-693 CE
2.	Anavota or Anapota	693-710 CE
3.	Annavema	710-726 CE
4.	Kumaragiri	726-742 CE
5.	Komati Vema	742-760 CE
6.	Racha Vema	760-764 CE
7.	Virabhadra	764-788 CE

Errapragada, one of the three famous poets (Kavitrayam) who translated Mahābhārata into Telugu was in the court of Vema Reddi (665-693 CE). Nannaya, a court poet of Veṅgi Chālukya King Rājarāja Narendra (360-401 CE) could translate only Ādi Parva, Sabhā Parva and half portion of Aranya Parva of Mahābhārata into Telugu. Errapragada (~640-720 CE) completed the translation of the remaining half portion of Aranya Parva of Mahābhārata. Later, Tikkana Somayāji (1225-1305 CE), a contemporary of Kākatiya kings Gaṇapati, Rudrama Devi and Pratāparudra translated 15 Parvas (4th Parva to 18th Parva) of Mahābhārata. Thus, Errapragada lived ~600 years before Tikkana but historians place Errapragada after Tikkana due to ignorance of the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE). Historians have concocted that Tikkana did not undertake translating the remaining half portion of Aranya Parva because it was considered to be inauspicious to translate the half-finished Aranya Parva. It is completely a matter of speculation. In fact, Errapragada had already translated the remaining half portion of Aranya Parva at the end of the 7th century CE. The language used by Errapragada is also almost identical to the language used by Nannaya. Therefore, chronologically, Tikkana was the third poet of Kavitrayam and not the second poet as propagated by historians.

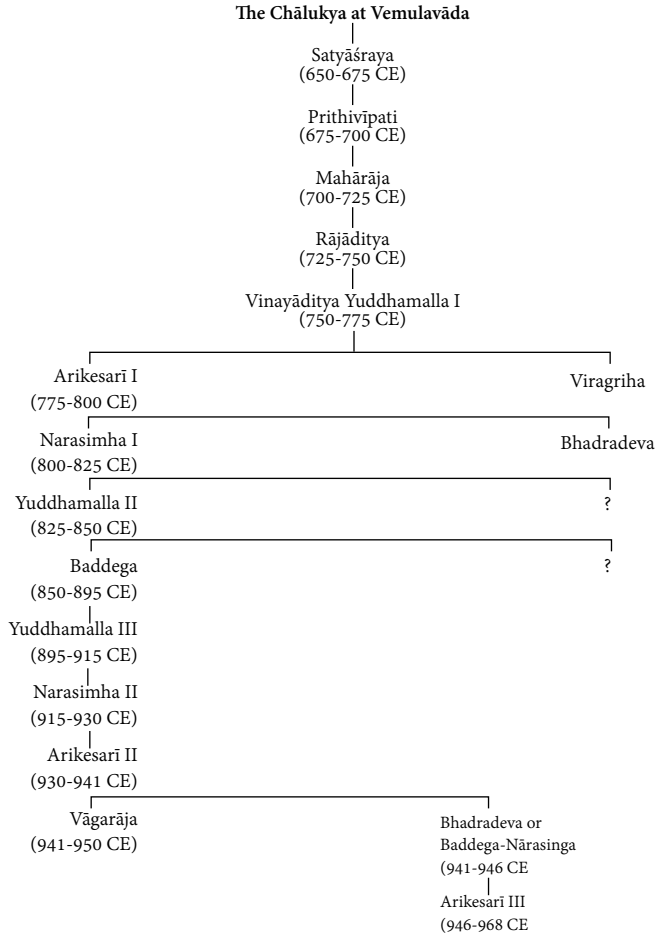
Nāyaka Kings of Andhra

Padma Nāyakas of Rachakonda and Devarakonda were the feudatories of the Kākatiya kings. After the decline of Kākatiya kingdom around 1324 CE, Prolaya Nāyaka of Musunuri dynasty founded his kingdom in the 14th century CE. Kāpaya Nāyaka succeeded Prolaya Nāyaka and reigned around 1336-1368 CE.

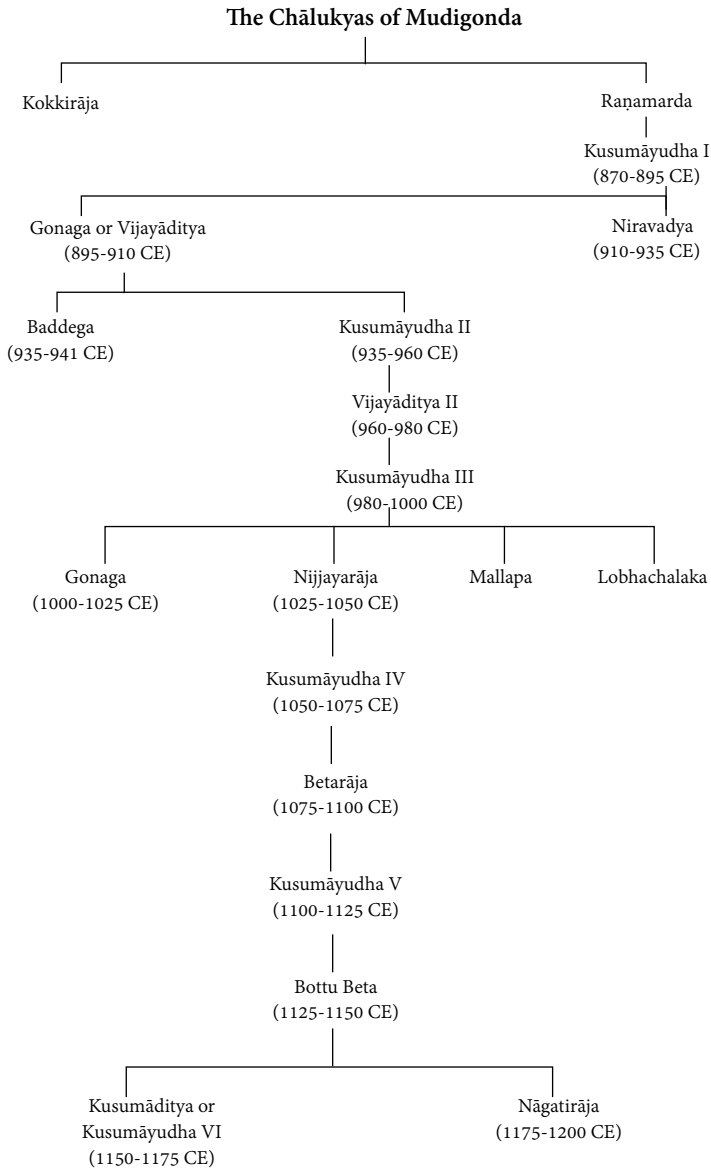
Various Branches of the Chālukyas

After the decline of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyana and the Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi, various branches of the Chālukyas established their kingdoms in Andhra. The genealogical chronology of the Vemulavada Chālukyas, Mudigonda Chālukyas, Jananāthapura Chālukyas, Elamanchii Chālukyas and Nidadavolu Chālukyas:[29]

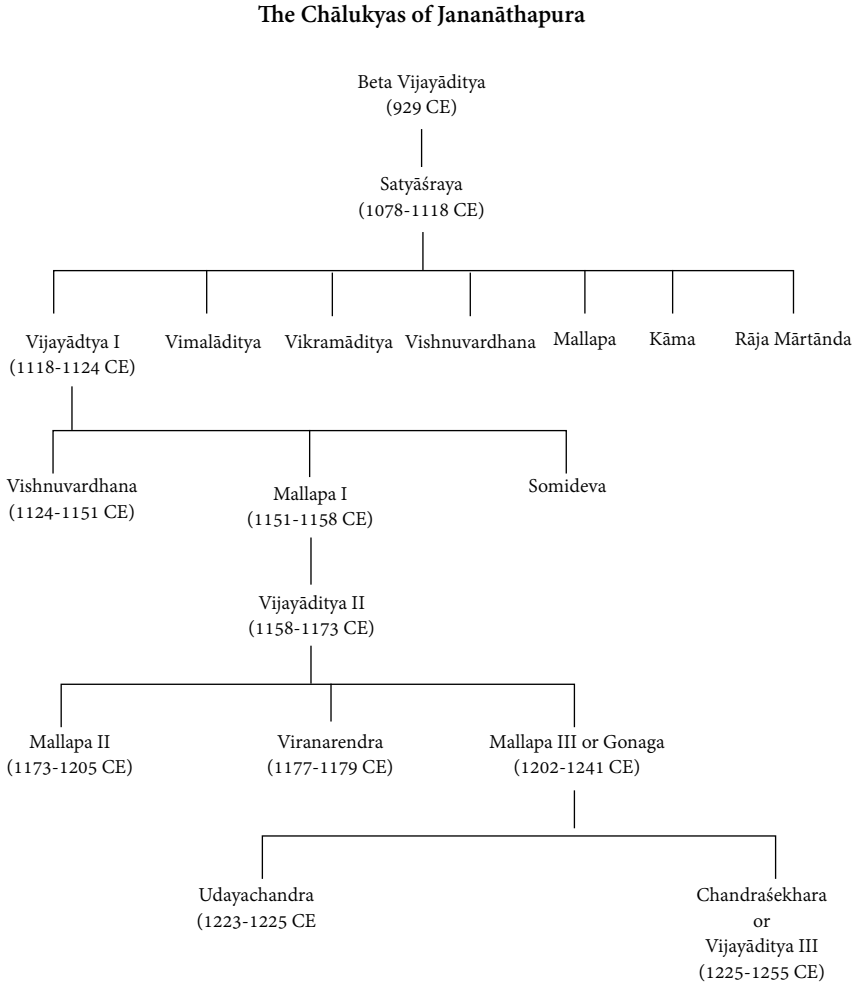
The Chālukyas of Vemulavāda



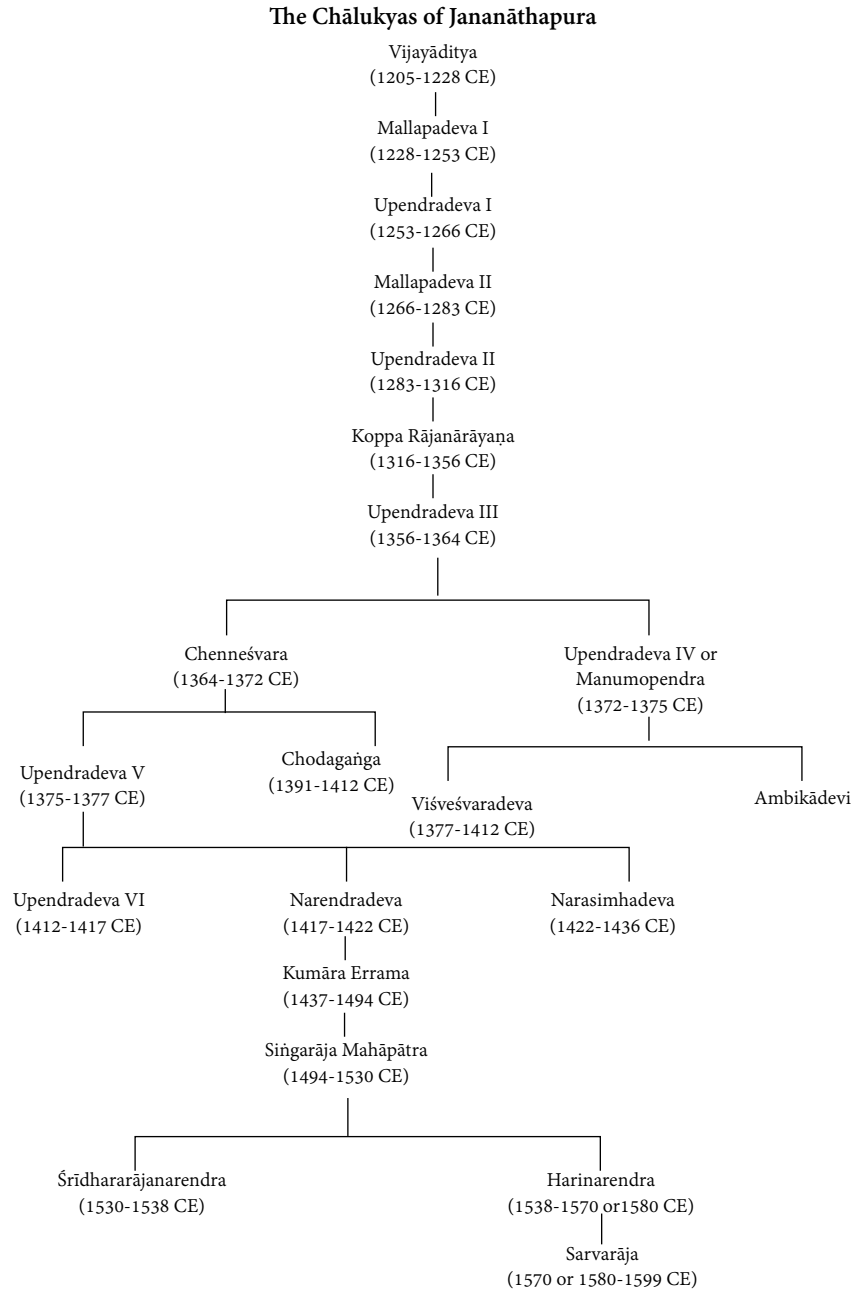
The Chālukyas of Mudigonda



The Chālukyas of Jananāthapura

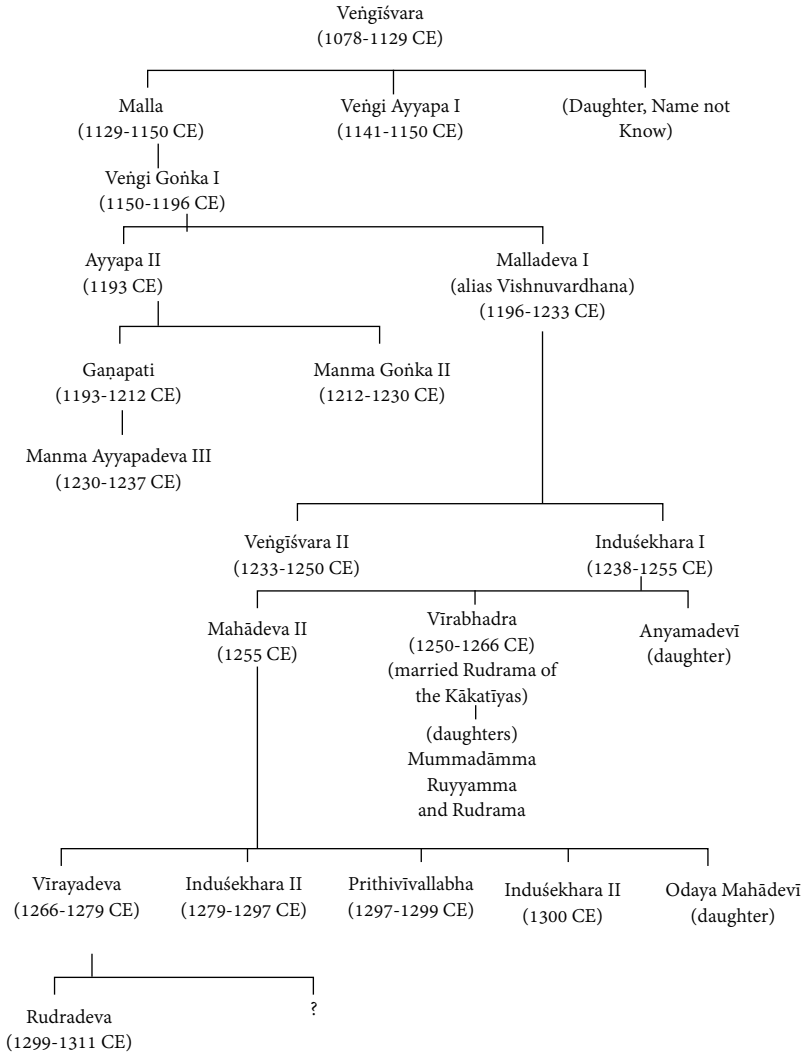


The Chālukyas of Elamanchii



The Chālukyas of Nidadavolu

The Chālukyas of Nidadavolu



❖❖❖

25

The Chronology of Bengal, Assam, Manipur and Tripura

Vaṅga (South Bengal), Pundra (North Bengal) and Suhma (Bangladesh) janapadas, the kingdoms of Prāgjyotiṣa or Kāmarūpa (Assam), Manipur & Tripura and the Rakkasapura kingdom of Burma came into existence during the Rigvedic period. Therefore, Bengal, Assam, Manipur and Tripura also have the chronological history starting from the Rigvedic era.

The Chronology of Bengal

Vaṅga, Pundra and Suhma were the sons of Rishi Dīrghatamas but born to Queen Sudeshna, wife of Ānava King Bali. Thus, the earliest kings of Bengal belonged to the Anu branch of the lunar dynasty. When the Vedic Sarasvati River lost in deserts during the later Rigvedic period, many Sārasvata Brahmana families settled in Bengal. This is the reason why Vaṅga also came to be known as Gauda. Though Vaṅga janapada existed since the Rigvedic era but the kings of Aṅga, Magadha janapadas and the kings of Ikśvāku dynasty dominated over Vaṅga during the period from the post Vedic era to the reign of the Maurya dynasty (1596-1459 BCE). During the Mahābhārata era, Bhimasena subjugated the King Vāsudeva of Paundra, King Samudrasena & King Chandrasena of Tāmralipta, the King of Vaṅgas and the King of Suhmas.

Seemingly, Vaṅga was also known as Aparīta. Vayu Purāṇa has the mention of Aparīta as northern country. Some historians have assumed Aparānta and Aparīta to be identical but Aparānta was a western country whereas Aparīta was a northern country. According to Taranatha, the Chandra dynasty (a branch of the Nāga dynasty) was reigning in Aparīta Kingdom. He indicates that the Chandra dynasty was ruling in Aparīta

country before the time of Puṣyamitra. King Harichandra was the founder of the kingdom of Chandra dynasty during the time of Kushanas. The chronology of the Chandra dynasty:

Chandra Kings	**In CE**
Nemachandra Phanichandra Bhimachandra	1490-1460 BCE
Harichandra	1150-1120 BCE
Akshachandra	1120-1100 BCE
Jayachandra	1100-1050 BCE
Salachandra or Sadvahana	1050-1020 BCE
King Chandra	1020-985 BCE
Sri Chandra (Chandragupta?)	984-930 BCE
Dharmachandra (Chandraprakasha?)	930-910 BCE
Karmachandra	900-890 BCE
Vrikshachandra	900-890 BCE
Vigamachandra	900-870 BCE

King Śūdraka II was the king of North Bengal (Pundravardhana) who reigned around 856-790 BCE. An inscription of the Pāla King Yakśapāla mentions that Śūdraka was the emperor of Gauda (Gaudeśvara).[1] According to this inscription, Śūdraka II was the son of Paritoṣa. Śūdraka's son Viśvarūpa became the king of Gayā. King Vimalachandra of Chandra dynasty, son of Balachandra was the contemporary of Dharmakirti (618-520 BCE). King Sri Harsha (457-405 BCE) of Puṣpabhūti dynasty conquered Bengal. The Gupta kings of Magadha Empire reigned over Bengal around 334-89 BCE. King Śaśāṅka reigned over Bengal around 34 BCE.

The Pala Dynasty

According to the *Gauḍavaho* of Vākpati, Yaśovarman of Kanauj (30-91 CE) killed a Gauḍa king in battle resulting in a state of anarchy in the Gauda region; taking advantage of the political turmoil in Gauḍa, Gopāla

founded the rule of the Pāla dynasty around 80 CE. The Khalimpur inscription[2] tells us that Gopāla, a patron of Buddhism and founder of the Odantapuri Mahāvihāra, was selected by the people to put an end to anarchy.

Gopāla was succeeded by his son Dharmapāla, the most illustrious king of the Pāla dynasty. Soḍḍhala, the author of "*Udayasundarīkathā*", refers to Dharmapāla as "*Uttarāpathasvāmi*" meaning the lord of north India. The Khalimpur inscription, dated in his 32nd regnal year clearly mentions that Dharmapāla was the master of Kanauj and his authority was accepted by the kings of Pāñchāla, Bhoja, Matsya, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gāndhāra and the Kira kings *(Bhojair-Matsyaiḥ sa-Madraiḥ Kuru-Yadu-Yavanāvanti-Gāndhāra-Kīraiḥ, Bhūpair-vyālola-mauli-praṇati-pariṇataiḥ.....)*. The king of Avanti was the Pratīhāra King Vatsarāja who may have also accepted the authority of Dharmapāla for a short period. According to the Bhagalpur inscription[3] of Nārāyaṇapāla, Dharmapāla dethroned Indrāyudha and coronated his younger brother Chakrāyudha on the throne of Kanauj *(Jitvendrarāja-prabhṛtīn-arātīnupārjita yena mahodayaśrīḥ, dattā punaḥ sā balinārthayitre Chakrāyudhāyānativāmanāya।)*. Jinasena's *Harivaṁśa* tells us that Indrāyudha ruled in Śaka 705 (122 CE). Evidently, Dharmapāla defeated Indrāyudha after 122 CE. His wife Rannadevi was the daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Parabala. Dharmapāla, who ruled for at least 32 years, founded the Vikramaśilā and Sonapura Mahāvihāras.

The Bhagalpur inscription tells us that Dharmapāla's brother Vākpāla played a crucial role in establishing the powerful Pāla kingdom and Vākpāla's son Jayapāla also conquered certain regions. Devapāla, the son of Dharmapāla, succeeded him. He conquered Prāgjyotiṣa (Assam) and Utkala (Orissa) but the rise of the Pratīhāras, followed by the Chedis and the Paramāras in the north gradually weakened the Pāla kingdom. Probably, the poet Abhinanda, the author of Rāmacharita was in the court of Yuvarāja Hāravarṣa (Devapāla or his brother) who was the son of Vikramaśīla, i.e., Dharmapāla. Vigrahapāla was the son of Devapāla. He married the daughter of a king of the Haihaya (Chedi) dynasty (quite likely Kokalladeva, the founder of the Chedi dynasty).

Nārāyaṇapāla, the son of Vigrahapāla, succeeded him. According to the Bangarh grant,[4] Nārāyaṇapāla's son was Rājyapāla, Rajyapāla's son was Gopāla II, Gopāla II's son was Vigrahapāla II and Vigrahapāla II's son was Mahipāla I. Nayapāla succeeded Mahipāla I. Vigrahapāla III was the son of Nayapāla. According to Sandhyākar Nandi's *Rāmacaritam*, Vigrahapāla III married Yauvanaśrī, the daughter of the Chedi King Karṇa (389-419 CE). The Manahali grant[5] informs us that Vigrahapāla III had three sons named Mahīpāla II, Śūrapāla and Rāmapāla. The poet Sandhyākar Nandi composed his work *Rāmacaritam* during the reign of Madanapāla, the son of Rāmapāla. Sandhyākar Nandi's father Prajāpati was the Sāndhi-vigrahika (the minister of peace and war) of the Pāla King Rāmapāla. Jagaddala, a Buddhist education center was founded by Rāmapāla. He also founded a city named Rāmavati. Rāmapāla also had three sons named Kumārapāla, Gopāla III and Madanapāla. Sandhyākar Nandi mentions the names of two more sons, Vittapāla and Rājyapāla.

An inscription of Madanapāla is dated in KV 1201 (482 CE)[6] and his Valgudar inscription[7] is dated in Śaka 1083 (500 CE) *[Śaka-nṛpateḥ 1083]* and in the 18th regnal year. Sandhyākar Nandi states that Madanapāla had to preserve the prestige of the Pāla Empire by a close alliance with Chandra. Most probably, Chandra was the Gāhadwāla King Govindachandra. Madanapāla's successor, Govindapāla ruled for at least 39 years because some manuscripts of Nepal are dated in his 37th, 38th and 39th regnal year (*Srimad-Govindapālapādānām Saṁ 39 bhādradine 14*).[8]

The Chronology of the Pāla Dynasty:

	In CE
Gopāla I	80-110 CE
Dharmapāla	110-160 CE
Devapāla	161-212 CE
Vigrahapāla I	212-220 CE
Nārāyaṇapāla	220-274 CE
Rājyapāla	274-298 CE
Gopāla II	298-300 CE
Vigrahapāla II	300-310 CE
Mahīpāla I	310-360 CE
Nayapāla	360-400CE

Vigrahapāla III	400-420 CE
Mahīpāla II	420-436 CE
Śūrapāla	—
Rāmapāla	436-478 CE
Kumārapāla	478-481 CE
Gopāla III	481-482 CE
Madanapāla	482-500 CE
Govindapāla	500-540 CE

Bengal was also known Rāḍha janapada. An Arab merchant called Suleiman visited Bengal and refers to the kings of Bengal as *Rahma (*Rāḍha*)* in his book "*Silsiltut-Tauarikh*".

Sāmantasena, the earliest known king of the Sena dynasty, was likely a feudatory of the Pāla kings. His son Hemantasena and grandson Vijayasena laid the foundations for the sovereign kingdom of the Sena dynasty. It was Ballālasena, the son of Vijayasena, who conquered Gauḍa from the Pālas and made Navadvīpa his capital. In general, the Sena kings ruled over the Mithilā region or the Bihar-Bengal region. The Edilpur grant[9] tells us that Ballālasena defeated his enemies and that his son, Lakśmaṇasena erected pillars of victory at Vārāṇasī, Prayāga and Purī. Probably, Ballālasena ascended the throne around 400 CE. Yuvarāja Lakśmaṇasena successfully led the army and established a strong kingdom. According to the *Samaya Prakāśa*, Ballālasena authored the treatise titled *Dānasāgara* in Śaka 1011 (428 CE) and lived for three years more, thereby indicating that he died in 431 CE.[10]

Though Lakśmaṇasena came to the throne in 431 CE, controlled the administration even during the lifetime of his father. Interestingly, Halāyudha, the author of *Brāhmaṇa Sarvasva*, tells us that Lakśmaṇasena made him the court Pandit when he was a boy, that when he became a youth he was made prime minister and that when he ceased to be a youth he was made Dharmādhikārī (Chief Justice).[11] Lakśmaṇasena founded a city named Lakśmaṇavatī (known as Lakhnauti) in Malda district of West Bengal on the India-Bangladesh border. A slab found inscribed in the doorway of the Lakśmaṇasena Palace tells us that there were five gems in the court of Lakśmaṇasena named Govardhana, Śaraṇa, Jayadeva, Umāpati and Kavirāja.

"Govardhanaśca Śaraṇo Jayadeva Umāpatiḥ ।
Kavirājaśca ratnāni samitau Lakśmaṇasya ca ॥"[12]

The famous poem *"Gīta-Govindam"* was composed by Jayadeva during the reign of Lakśmaṇasena. Some scholars identified Kavirāja with the poet Dhoyi who wrote *"Pavanadūtam"*that was inspired by Kālidāsa's *Meghadūtam*. Kavirāja was the author of *"Rāghava-Pāndavīyam"*. Sandhyākar Nandi mentions that there were only three poets who were experts in writing of Vakrokti (*vakrokti-mārga-nipuṇāḥ*), namely Subandhu, Bāṇabhaṭṭa and Kavirāja. Lakśmaṇasena himself was a great author who completed the treatise *"Adbhutasāgara"* started by his father Ballālasena. Probably, Lakśmaṇasena died in 445 CE. Viśvarūpasena was the son of Lakśmaṇasena and his Madanapāda grant[13] is dated in his 14th regnal year. The Edilpur grant was issued by Keśavasena, the second son of Lakśmaṇasena. Viśvarūpasena had two sons, named Sūryasena and Puruṣottamasena.

Lakśmaṇasena was the most illustrious and the most popular king of the Sena dynasty and the Lakśmaṇasena era (LS) was undoubtedly founded to pay homage to him. The reference to *"Lakśmaṇasenasya atītarājye"* in the inscriptions clearly indicates that the era has the epoch of the end of the reign of Lakśmaṇasena (458 CE). Two inscriptions of the time of King Aśokachalla are dated in LS 51 (509 CE) and LS 74 (532 CE).[14] The Janibigha grant of King Jayasena is dated in LS 83 (541 CE).[15] Interestingly, the Janibigha grant was issued to Vajrasena for the residence of a Simhalese monk Maugalasvāmi. The Khojpur Durga image inscription of Suryakara is dated in LS 147 (605 CE).[16]

The Bisapi grant dated in LS 293 (737 CE)[17] clearly informs us that the Lakśmaṇasena era commenced in 445 CE. Thus, the epoch of Lakśmaṇasena Saṁvat commenced in 445 CE whereas the epoch of Lakśmaṇasena Atītarājya Saṁvat commenced in 458 CE. The author of *Samaya Prakāśa* states that Ballālasena wrote the book *"Dānasāgara"* in Śaka 1011 (428 CE) and as he lived for three years more, it proves Lakśmaṇasena ruled around 431-458 CE.

The Chronology of the Sena Dynasty:

	In CE
Sāmantasena	300-330 CE
Hemantasena	330-350 CE
Vijayasena (Arirāja-Vṛṣabha-Śaṅkara)	350-410 CE
Ballālasena (Arirāja-Niśśaṅka-Śaṅkara)	404-431 CE
Lakśmaṇasena (Arirāja-Madana-Śaṅkara)	431-458 CE
Keśavasena	—
Viśvarūpasena (Arirāja-Vṛṣabhāṅka-Śaṅkara)	458-475 CE

Viśvarūpasena, the son of Lakśmaṇasena, proclaimed himself as Mahārājādhirāja and Gauḍeśvara. The Madanapada grant refers to Viśvarūpasena as *"Garga-Yavanānvaya-pralaya-kāla-rudra"* meaning the terrible destroyer of the Garga and Yavana dynasties.

Minhajuddin, the author of *Tabaqat-e-Nasiri*, records that Bakhtiar Khilji conquered Bengal in 547 CE and at that time a King named "Lakhmaniya" was on the throne of Navadvipa and he was eighty years old.[18] According to the *Ain-e-Akbari*;

"When the cup of life of Rāja Naujah overflowed, the sovereignty fell to Lakhmaniya, the son of Rai Lakhman. Nadia was at that time the capital of Bengal and the seat of various learning. ..... Bahktiar Khilji took possession of Bihar by force of arms, and when he marched upon Bengal, the Rāja escaped in a boat. Muhammad Bakhtiyar entered Bengal and having amassed enormous wealth, he destroyed the city of Nadia and transferred the capital to Lakhnauti."[19]

Eminent historians identified the so-called "Lakhmaniya" as Lakśmaṇasena, distorted the entire chronology of the Sena dynasty and arbitrarily fixed the date of Lakśmaṇasena. In fact, Lakhmaniya was a descendant of Lakshmanasena. According to Abul Fazl, Sukh Sen, Balal Sen, Lakhan Sen, Madhu Sen, Kesu Sen, Sada Sen, Raja Naujah and Lakhmaniya were the kings of Sena dynasty. Lakhmaniya was the king of Navadvipa when Bahktiar Khilji invaded Bengal. Thus, Bengal came under the rule of Muslims after 547 CE.

The Bisapi grant tells us that King Śivasimhadeva ruled in Bengal in KV 1455 elapsed (737 CE). Vidyāpati wrote *Puruṣa-Parīkśā* during the reign of Śivasiṁhadeva. He also wrote *Durgābhakti-Taraṅgiṇī* during the reign of Narasiṁhadeva, the son of Śivasimhadeva. Vidyāpati refers to Śivasimhadeva and his son Dhīrasiṁha as Pañca-Gauḍeśvara, i.e., lords of five regions of Gauḍa *(Śauryāvarjita-Pañca-Gauḍa-dharaṇī-nāthopanamrīkṛtān)*. Interestingly, Vidyāpati copied the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa in the year of Lakśmaṇasena era 349 (792 CE) with his own hand and this copy was in possession of his descendants around 1885 CE. It is evident from the Bisapi grant and the works of the poet Vidyāpati Śarma that the family of Śivasiṁhadeva ruled Mithilā and Gauda in the 8th century CE.

The genealogy of Śivasimhadeva:

	In CE
Bhavasimhadeva	690-710 CE
Devasiṁha	710-730 CE
Śivasimhadeva	720-750 CE
Narasiṁhadeva	750-775 CE
Dhīrasiṁhadeva	775-795 CE
Bhairavasiṁhadeva	—

Interestingly, Abul Fazl's Ain-i-Akbari gives the chronological history of Bengal starting from the Mahābhārata era. Seemingly, King Bhagadatta of Prāgjyotiṣa (Assam) and his descendants reigned over Bengal for 2318 (2418?) years. Interestingly, Abul Fazl says; "The First Raja (Bhagadatta) came to Delhi by reason of his friendship for Raja Durjodhan and fell manfully fighting in the war of the Mahabharat, 4096 years previous to the present time."[120] He wrote Ain-i-Akbari in 933-934 CE. Thus, he counted 4096 years starting from the traditional date of Mahābhārata war, i.e., 3162 BCE. The genealogy of Bhagadatta and his descendants (3162-844 BCE):

1. Bhagadatta (3162 BCE)
2. Anangabhim
3. Gajbhim
4. Devdatt

5. Jag Singh
6. Barmah Singh
7. Mohandat
8. Benod Singh
9. Silar Sen
10. Sattarjit
11. Bhupat
12. Sadhrak
13. Jaydhrak
14. Udai Singh
15. Bisu Singh
16. Birmath
17. Rukhdeva
18. Rākhvind
19. Jagjivan
20. Kaludand
21. Kamdeva
22. Bijai Karn
23. Sat Singh

Nine princes of the Kayasth family reigned in succession for 520 years (844-324 BCE?).

1. Raja Bhoj Gauriya
2. Lalsen
3. Raja Madhu
4. Samantbhoj
5. Raja Jaint
6. Prithu Raja
7. Raja Grrar
8. Raja Lachman
9. Raja Nandbhoj

Eleven princes of another Kayasth family reigned in succession for 410 (714?) years (324 BCE -86 CE?).

1. Raja Udsur (Adisur)
2. Jāmanibhān
3. Unrud
4. Pratap Rudra
5. Bhawdātt
6. Rukdeva
7. Giridhar
8. Pritidhar
9. Shishtdhar
10. Prabhakar
11. Jaidhar

Ten princes of another Kayasth family reigned for 298 (698?) years (86-384 CE):

1. Raja Bhopal
2. Dhripal
3. Devpal
4. Bhupatipal
5. Dhanpatipal
6. Biganpal
7. Jaipal
8. Rajpal
9. Bhogpal
10. Jagpal

Seven Sena princes reigned for 160 years (384-544 CE):

1. Sukh Sen
2. Balal Sen
3. Lachhman Sen
4. Madhu Sen

5. Keshu Sen
6. Sada Sen
7. Raja Naujah
8. Lakhmaniya, son of Lakhman

Seventeen governors of Delhi Sultanate ruled for a period of 136 (156?) years (544-680 CE). These were followed by –

		Regnal years	**In CE**
1.	Malik Fakhruddin Silahdar	2	680-682 CE
2.	Sultan Alauddin	1	682-683 CE
3.	Shamsuddin Bhangarah Ilyas	16	683-699 CE
4.	Sikandar shah	9	699-708 CE
5.	Sultan Ghiyasuddin	7	708-715 CE
6.	Sultan us Salatin	10	715-725 CE
7.	Shamsuddin	3	725-728 CE
8.	Kansi (Ganesh?) (native of Bengal)	7	728-735 CE
9.	Sultan Jalauddin	17	735-752 CE
10.	Sultan Ahmad	16	752-767 CE
11.	Nasir Shah	32	767-799 CE
12.	Barbak Shah	17	799-816 CE
13.	Yusuf Shah	7	816-823 CE
14.	Sikandar Shah	1	823 CE
15.	Fath Shah	7	824-831 CE
16.	Barbak Shah	--	831 CE
17.	Firoz Shah	3	832-835 CE
18.	Mahmud Shah	1	835-836 CE
19.	Muzaffar Habshi	3	836-839 CE
20.	Alauddin Hussain Shah	27	839-866 CE
21.	Nasrat Shah	11	866-877 CE
22.	Mahmud Shah	3	877-880 CE
23	Sher Khan		880 CE

24	Humayun	881 CE
25	Sher Khan (a second time)	881-886 CE
26	Muhammad Khan	886-895 CE
27	Bahadur Shah	895-900 CE
28	Jalaluddin	900-903 CE
29	Sulaiman	903-913 CE
30	Bayazid	913 CE
31	Dāud	913 CE

Dāud was defeated by the army of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. From 913 CE to 1757 CE, Mughal subedars, Zamindar families (Bhuyans) and Nawabs etc., reigned over Bengal.

The Chronology of Assam

Assam was known as Prāgjyotiṣapur or Kāmarup in ancient times. Narakāsura was the earliest known ruler of Prāgjyotiṣapur who lived around 11150-11100 BCE during the Rigvedic period. Seemingly, Naraka's descendants reigned over Prāgjyotiṣapur from the Rigvedic period to the post-Mahābhārata era. Bhagadatta II was the king of Prāgjyotiṣapur during the Mahābhārata era. Arjuna defeated King Bhagadatta and his allies, i.e., Kirātas and Chinas during the course of Rājasūya Yajña. Bhagadatta sided with Kauravas but he was killed by Arjuna on the 12th day of the Mahābhārata war. As recorded by Abul Fazl, Bhagadatta and his descendants reigned over Kamarupa and Bengal from Mahābhārata era to the 8th century BCE.

Bhāskaravarman was the king of Kāmarūpa during the 5th century BCE who became an ally of Sri Harsha. Bhāskaravarman was the most illustrious king of Assam and belonged to the Bhagadatta and Puṣyavarman dynasty. The Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena tells us that Mahāsenagupta defeated Susthitavarman, the father of Bhāskaravarman. According to the Nidhanpur copper plates,[21] it is said that the kings of the Naraka dynasty ruled for 3000 years. Thereafter, Puṣyavarman ascended the throne around the 7th century BCE. Bhāskaravarman, a contemporary of Sri Harsha was the descendant of Puṣyavarman.

The genealogy of the Kāmarūpa kings as given in the Nidhanpur plates:

	In CE
Naraka, Bhagadatta, Vajradatta and their descendants	3700-700 BCE
Puṣyavarman	700-690 BCE
Samudravarman	690-670 BCE
Balavarman	670-660 BCE
Kalyāṇavarman	660-480 BCE
Gaṇapati	640-440 BCE
Mahendravarman	620-600 BCE
Nārāyaṇavarman	600-580 BCE
Mahābhūtavarman	580-560 BCE
Chandramukhavarman	560-540 BCE
Sthitavarman	540-520 BCE
Susthitavarman (also known as Mrigāṅka)	520-480 BCE
Supratiṣṭhitavarman	480-465 BCE
Bhāskaravarman	465-420 BCE

Nepal King Śivadeva II's son Jayadeva II (320-300 BCE) married Rājyamatī, the daughter of Sri Harshadeva, the king of Gauḍa, Ouḍra, Kaliṅga and Kosala and the descendant of the Bhagadatta royal dynasty. Harshadeva was the descendant of the same lineage of Bhāskaravarman and probably was the great grandson of Bhāskaravarman. Seemingly, Harshadeva reigned around 350-320 BCE. Thereafter, the Gupta kings of Magadha Empire had the control over the Kāmarūpa kingdom from 300-100 BCE.

The Mleccḥa Dynasty

King Śālastambha founded the rule of the Mleccḥa dynasty in the first century BCE. His capital was close to Tezpur. The following descendants of Śālastambha reigned over Kāmarūpa from the 1st century BCE to the 3rd century CE.

1. Śālastambha
2. Vijaya or Vigrahastambha
3. Pālaka
4. Kumara
5. Vajradeva

6. Balavarman
7. Salambha
8. Harjjaravarman
9. Vanamalavarmadeva
10. Balavarman II
11. Tyagasimha

The Pala Dynasty and the Khen Dynasty of Kamarupa

King Brahmapāla founded the rule of the Pāla dynasty in Kāmarūpa in the 3rd century CE. Jayapāla was the last ruler who was removed by King Rāmapāla of Bengal at the end of the 5th century CE. The Khen dynasty replaced the Pala dynasty in the beginning of the 6th century CE. King Prithu of the Khen dynasty was the king of Assam when Bakhtiar Khilji destroyed Nalanda and Vikramaśilā Mahāvihāras. King Prithu comprehensively defeated Bakhtiar Khilji. His successor Sandhya moved his capital from Kāmarūpanagara to Kamatapur. The chronology of the Khen dynasty or Kamata kingdom:

		In CE
1.	Prithu	525-568 CE
2.	Sandhya	568-600 CE
3.	Sindhu Rai	600-625 CE
4.	Rup Narayan	625-640 CE
5.	Singhadhwaj	640-645 CE
6.	Pratapdwaj	645-665 CE
7.	Dharma Narayan	665-670 CE
8.	Durlabh Narayan	670-690 CE
9.	Indra Narayan	690-705 CE
10.	Sasanka (Arimatta)	705-725 CE
11.	Gajanka	725-740 CE
12.	Sukranka	740-755 CE
13.	Mriganka	755-780 CE
14.	Niladhwaj	780-800 CE
15.	Chakradhwaj	800-820 CE
16.	Nilambar	820-839 CE

Alauddin Hussain Shah of Bengal (839-866 CE) invaded Kamata kingdom in 839 CE and removed the last ruler of the Khen dynasty. Thus, the Kamata kingdom finally came under the rule of the Bengal Muslim rulers. Later, the Mughal governors of Bengal controlled the Kamata kingdom from the 10th century CE to the 11th century CE.

The Ahom Kingdom (1228-1828 CE)

Sukaphaa, a Tai prince from Ming Mao founded the Ahom kingdom in Assam in 1228 CE. The Ahom kings were the Indravaṁśa Kśatriyas. They had the title of "Swarganarayan" or "Swargadeo". Charaideo was the capital of Ahom kings. The genealogical chronology of Ahom Kings:

		In CE
1.	Sukaphaa	1228-1268 CE
2.	Suteuphaa	1268-1281 CE
3.	Subinphaa	1281-1293 CE
4.	Sukhaangphaa	1293-1332 CE
5.	Sukhrangpha	1332-1364 CE
6.	Sutuphaa	1364-1376 CE
7.	Tyao Khamti	1376-1397 CE
8.	Sudangphaa	1397-1407 CE
9.	Sujangphaa	1404-1422 CE
10.	Suphakphaa	1422-1439 CE
11.	Susenphaa	1439–1488 CE
12.	Suhenphaa	1488–1493 CE
13.	Supimphaa	1493–1497 CE
14.	Suhungmung (Dihingiya Raja)	1497–1539 CE
15.	Suklenmung (Garhgaonya Raja)	1539–1552 CE
16.	Sukhaamphaa (Khora Raja)	1552–1603 CE
17.	Susenghphaa (Pratap Singha)	1603–1641 CE
18.	Suramphaa (Jayaditya Singha)	1641–1644 CE
19.	Sutingphaa (Nariya Raja)	1644–1648 CE
20.	Sutamla (Jaydhvaj Singha)	1648–1663 CE
21.	Supangmung (Chakradhvaj Singha)	1663–1670 CE

22.	Sunyatphaa (Udayaditya Singha)	1670–1672 CE
23.	Suklamphaa (Ramdhvaj Singha)	1672–1674 CE
24.	Suhung (Samaguria Raja)	1674–1675 CE
25.	Gobar Roja	1675–1675 CE
26.	Sujinphaa (Dihingia Raja)	1675–1677 CE
27.	Sudoiphaa (Parvatiya Raja)	1677–1679 CE
28.	Sulikphaa (Ratnadhvaj Singha)	1679–1681 CE
29.	Supatphaa (Gadadhar Singha)	1681–1696 CE
30.	Sukhrungphaa (Rudra Singha)	1696–1714 CE
31.	Sutanphaa (Siva Singha)	1714–1744 CE
32.	Sunenphaa (Pramatta Singha)	1744–1751 CE
33.	Suremphaa (Rajeshvar Singha)	1751–1769 CE
34.	Sunyeophaa (Lakshmi Singha)	1769–1780 CE
35.	Suhitpangphaa (Gaurinath Singha)	1780–1795 CE
36.	Suklingphaa (Kamaleshvar Singha)	1795–1811 CE
37.	Sudingphaa (Chandrakanta Singha)	1811–1818 CE
38.	Purandar Singha	1818–1819 CE
39.	Chandrakanta Singha	1819-1821 CE
40.	Jogeswar Singha	1821–1822 CE
41.	Purandar Singha	1833-1838 CE

The Chutia or Sutiya Kingdom

The Chutiya kings reigned over Upper Assam and Arunachal Pradesh. King Birpal was the founder of the Chutiya kingdom in the 6th century CE. The chronology of Chutiya kings:

	The Chutiya Kings	**In CE**
1.	Birpal	527-570 CE
2.	Ratnadhvajpal	570-840 CE
3.	Vijayadhvajpal	
4.	Vikramadhvajpal	
5.	Garudadhvajpal	

6.	Shankhadhvajpal	
7.	Mayuradhvajpal	
8.	Jayadhvajpal	
9.	Karmadhvajpal	
10.	Dharmadhvajpal	840-862 CE
11.	Nityapal	862-864 CE
	Interregnum	864-1210 CE
12.	Gaurinarayan	1210-1250 CE
13.	Shivanarayan	1250-1270 CE
14.	Jagatnarayan	1270-1285 CE
15.	Pramonarayan	1285-1305 CE
16.	Harinarayan	1305-1325 CE
17.	Goluknarayan	1325-1343 CE
18.	Bijonarayan	1343-1360 CE
19.	Nandeshvar	1360-1380 CE
20.	Satyanarayan	1380-1400 CE
21.	Laxminarayan	1400-1420 CE
22.	Dharmanarayan	1420-1440 CE
23.	Pratyashnarayan	1440-1465 CE
24.	Yasnanarayan	1465-1480 CE
25.	Purnadhabnarayan	1480-1500 CE
26.	Dhirnarayan	1500-1522 CE
27.	Chandranarayan	1522-1524 CE

After the fall of Chutiya kingdom, the Kachari kingdom came into existence in the 16th century CE.

The Baro-Bhuyans and the Koch Dynasty

The Baro-Bhuyans were the Zamindars and warrior chiefs who maintained an independent confederacy in Assam from the second half of the 10th century CE to the beginning of the 16th century CE. The Koch dynasty established their rule in Assam in 1515 CE. The Koch kings of the Cooch Bihar princely state reigned from 1515 to 1949 CE.

The Chronology of Manipur

Some Christian historians have concocted that King Meidingu Pamhelba (1714 CE) adopted Hinduism as state religion and changed his name to Gharib Nawaz and named the state in Sanskrit as Manipur. In fact, the Hindu kingdom of Manipur has been existed since the Rigvedic era. Jaiminiya Aśvamedha tells us that Arjuna married Chitrāngadā, daughter of Manipur King Chitravāhana. Babhruvāhana was born to Arjuna and Chitrāngadā. During the course of Aśvamedha Yajña, the horse of Dharmarāja reaches Manipura after crossing the Rakkasapura of Burma. Babhruvāhana mistakenly captures the horse.

There is no recorded history of Manipur available from the Rigvedic era to 1500 BCE. The chronicles of Manipur indicate that the Meitei King Ningthou Kangba, son of Taangja Leelaa Paakhangba was the earliest known king of Manipur who reigned in the 15th century BCE. Traditionally, the Meitei kings worshipped Vishnu. Interestingly, the Meitei people of Manipur preserved their traditional way of practicing Hinduism though Burma became a Buddhist nation after 1500 BCE. The traditional chronology of the Meitei Kings of Manipur:

	The Meitei Kings	**In CE**
1.	Taangja Leelaa Paakhangba	1445-1405 BCE
2.	Ningthou Kangba	1405-1359 BCE
3.	Maria Fambaalchaa	1359-1329 BCE
4.	Ningthou Kaksuba	1329-1297 BCE
5.	Ningthou Tonkonba	1297-1276 BCE
6.	Ningthou Pottingkoi	1276-1251 BCE
7.	Ningthou Laanbicha	1251-1229 BCE
8.	Ningthou Sapaiba	1229-1209 BCE
9.	Ningthou Puthiba	1209-1199 BCE
	The Great historical gap	
10.	Khoiyum Ingouba Khing Laangba Ngaangjeng Leitakpa Khing Ngaangba	1199-44 BCE

	Sana Manik Toukai Ngamba Tingkoi Ngamba Korou Nongdren Paakhangba Sentreng (and Kuptreng the elder) Mechi Sanaa Khuman Lalheiba Ahong Ningthou Haanba Ninghthou Kaangba Lamyaingamba	1199-44 BCE
11.	Samlunghphaa	44-34 BCE
12.	Poireiton Khunthokpa	34-18 BCE
13.	Singtabung	18-8 BCE
14.	Paangminnaba	8-1 BCE
15.	Luwaang Khunthiba	1 BCE-5 CE
16.	Luwaang Punshiba	5-33 CE
17.	Nongda Lairen Pakhangba	33-153 CE
18.	Khuiyoi Tompok	153-263 CE
19.	Taothingmang	263-363 CE
20.	Khui Ningomba	363-378 CE
21.	Pengsiba	378-393 CE
22.	Kaokhangba	393-410 CE
23.	Naokhamba	410-427 CE
24.	Naophangba	427-517 CE
25.	Sameiraang	517-567 CE
26.	Uraa Konthouba	567-657 CE
27.	Naothingkhong	662-762 CE
28.	Khongtekchaa	762-772 CE
29.	Keirencha	783-798 CE
30.	Yaaraba	798-820 CE
31.	Ayaangba	820-909 CE
32.	Ningthou Cheng	909-948 CE

33.	Chenglei Ipaan Laangba	948-968 CE
34.	Yanglou Keiphaba	968-983 CE
35.	Kainou Irengba	983-1073 CE
36.	Loiyumba	1073-1121 CE
37.	Loitongba	1121-1149 CE
38.	Atom Yoiremba	1149-1162 CE
39.	Hemtou Iwaan Thaaba	1162-1194 CE
40.	Thawaan Thaba	1194-1230 CE
41.	Chingthaang Laanthaaba	1230-1241 CE
42.	Thingbai Selhongba	1241-1246 CE
43.	Puroon Thaaba	1246-1262 CE
44.	Khumomba	1262-1277 CE
45.	Moraamba	1277-1301 CE
46.	Thaangbi Laanthaaba	1301-1323 CE
47.	Kongyaamba	1323-1334 CE
48.	Telheiba	1334 -1354 CE
49.	Tonaaba	1354-1359 CE
50.	Tabungba	1359-1394 CE
51.	Lairemba	1394-1399 CE
52.	Pengshiba	1399-1432 CE
53.	Ningthou Khomba	1432-1467 CE
54.	Senbi Kiyaamba	1467-1507 CE
55.	Koiremba	1507-1511 CE
56.	Chingkhong Lamgai Ngamba	1511-1522 CE
57.	Nongyin Phaaba	1522-1523 CE
58.	Senbi Khomba	1523-1541 CE
59.	Taangjaamba	1541-1544 CE
60.	Chalaamba	1544-1561 CE
61.	Mungyaamba	1561-1596 CE
62.	Khagemba	1596-1651 CE
63.	Khunjaoba	1651-1665 CE

64.	Paikhomba	1665-1696 CE
65.	Charairongba	1696-1708 CE
66.	Paamheiba	1708-1747 CE
67.	Chit Sai	1747-1751 CE
68.	Bhorot Sai	1751-1752 CE
69.	Maraamba	1752-1758 CE
70.	Chingthang Khomba	1758-1961 CE
71.	Maramba	1761-1763 CE
72.	Chingthang Khomba	1763-1798 CE
73.	Labeinachandra	1798-1801 CE
74.	Madhuchandra	1801-1804 CE
75.	Chourjit	1804-1814 CE
76.	Marjit	1814-1819 CE
77.	Herachandra	
78.	Yumjaotaba	
79.	Gambhirsing	
80.	Joysing	1819-1826 CE
81.	Jadusing	
82.	Raadhop	
83.	Bhadra	
84.	Gambhirsing	1826-1834 CE
85.	Chandrakirti	1834-1844 CE
86.	Narasingh	1844-1850 CE
87.	Devendra	1850-1850 CE
88.	Chandrakirti	1850-1885 CE
89.	Surchandra	1886-1890 CE
90.	Kullachandra	1890-1891 CE
91.	Churachand	1891-1941 CE
92.	Budhachandra	1941-1955 CE

The Chronology of Tripura

According to Rājamālā, a chronicle of the kings of Tripura written by King Dharma Mānikya, King Tripura, the 39th descendant of Druhyu II established his kingdom in Tripura region. Thus, Druhyu, a son of Yayāti was the progenitor of the kings of Tripura. Seemingly, King Tripura established his kingdom in Tripura in the post-Vedic era. Rājamālā tells us that total 117 kings reigned before the epoch of Tripura era (590 CE).

Sl No	Name of King	Sl No	Name of King
1.	Chandra	26.	Vasuman
2.	Budha	27.	Kirti
3.	Pururava	28.	Kaniyan
4.	Ayu	29.	Pratishrava
5.	Nahusha	30.	Pratishthita
6.	Yayati	31.	Shatrujit
7.	Druhyu II	32.	Pratardana
8.	Babhru	33.	Pramathi
9.	Setu or Angārasetu	34.	Kalinda
10.	Anarta	35.	Kratha
11.	Gāndhāra	36.	Mitrari
12.	Dharma	37.	Baribarha
13.	Dhrita	38.	Karmuk
14.	Durmada	39.	Kalinga
15.	Pracheta	40.	Bhishana
16.	Parachi	41.	Bhanumitra
17.	Paravasu	42.	Chitrasena
18.	Parikshit	43.	Chitraratha
19.	Arijit	44.	Chitrayudha
20.	Sujit	45.	Daitya
21.	Pururava II	**46.**	**Tripura**
22.	Vivarna	47.	Trilochan
23.	Purusena	48.	Dakshin
24.	Meghavarna	49.	Twidakshin
25.	Vikarna	50.	Sudakshin

Sl. No.	Name of King	Sl. No.	Name of King
51.	Tardakshin	76.	Muchung Fa (Harihar)
52.	Dharmataru (Dharmatar)	77.	Maichung Fa (Chandrashekhar)
53.	Dharmapal	78.	Chandraraj (Tabhuraj or Tarurai)
54.	Sadharma (Sudharma)	79.	Tarfanai (Tripaly)
55.	Tarbong	80.	Sumanta
56.	Debang	81.	Roopabanat (Shretha)
57.	Narangita	82.	Tarham (Tarhom)
58.	Dharmangad	83.	Kha Ham (Hariraj)
59.	Rukmangad	84.	Kotor Fa (Kashiraj)
60.	Somangad	85.	Kalator Fa (Madhob)
61.	Nojugrai (Nogjog)	86.	Chandra Fa (Chandraraj)
62.	Torjung	87.	Gajeshwar
63.	Tor Raj (Rajdharma)	88.	Beerraj - II
64.	Hamraj	89.	Nageshwar (Nagpati)
65.	Birraj	90.	Sikhiraj (Siksharaj)
66.	Shriraj	91.	Debraj
67.	Shriman (Shrimanta)	92.	Dhusrang (Durasha or Dhara Ishwar)
68.	Lakshmitaru	93.	Barkeerti (Birraj or Biraj)
69.	Tarlakshmi (Roopban)	94.	Sagar Fa
70.	Mailakshmi (Lakshmiban)	95.	Maloy Chandra
71.	Nageshwar	96.	Surjyarai (Surjya Narayan)
72.	Jogeshwar	97.	Achong Fanai (Indra Keerti or Uttang Fani)
73.	Ishwar Fa (Neeldhwaj)	98.	Beer Singha (Charachar)
74.	Rangkhai (Basuraj)	99.	Hachung Fa (Achang Fa or Surendra)
75.	Dhanraj Fa	100.	Bimar

101. Kumar
102. Sukumar
103. Twisarao (Beerchandra or Toksarao)
104. Rajyeshwar (Rajeshwar)
105. Nageshwar (Misliraj or Krodheshwar)
106. Twisong Fa (Tejong Fa)
107. Narendra
108. Indrakeerti
109. Biman (Paimaraj)
110. Yashoraj
111. Gandhar
112. Gangaraj (Rajganga)
113. Sukurai (Chitrasen or Chhakru Rai)
114. Pratit
115. Misli (Marichi, Malsi or Marusom)
116. Gagan (Kathuk)
117. Keerjit (Noaraj or Nabrai)

The Kings of Tripura after 590 CE:

S. No	The Tripura Kings	In CE
118.	Hamtor Fa (Jujaru Fa or Himti or Birraj	590-1266 CE
119.	Jangi Fa (Rajendra or Janak Fa)	
120.	Partha (Debrai or Debraj)	
121.	Sebrai	
122.	Durgur Fa (Dankuru Fa, Harirai, Kirit, Adhidharma Fa)	
123.	Kharung Fa (Kurung Fa, Ramchandra)	
124.	Sengfanai (Nrisingha, Singhafani)	
125.	Lalit Rai	
126.	Mukunda Fa (Kunda Fa)	
127.	Kamal Rai	
128.	Krishnadas	

129.	Jash Fa (Jashoraj)	590-1266 CE
130.	Muchung Fa (Udwab)	
131.	Sadhu Rai	
132.	Pratap Rai	
133.	Vishnuprasad	
134.	Baneshwar (Baneeshwar)	
135.	Beerbahu	
136.	Samrat	
137.	Champakeshwar (Champa)	
138.	Meghraj (Megh)	
139.	Sengkwchak (Dharmadhar)	
140.	Sengthum Fa (Kirtidhar, Singhatung Fa)	
141.	Achong Fa (Rajsurjya, Kunjaham Fa)	
142.	Khichung Fa (Mohon)	
143.	Dangar Fa (Harirai)	
144.	Raja Fa	
145.	Ratna Fa (Ratna Manikya)	1267-1430 CE
146.	Pratap Manikya	
147.	Mukut or Mukund Manikya	
148.	Maha Manikya	
149.	Dharma Manikya	1431-1462 CE
150.	Pratap Manikya II	1462-1477 CE
151.	Dhanya Manikya	1490-1515 CE
152.	Dhwaj Manikya	1515-1517 CE
153.	Devo Manikya	1520-1523 CE
154.	Indra Manikya	1523-1529 CE
155.	Vijay Manikya I	1529-1564 CE
156.	Ananta Manikya	1564-1577 CE
157.	Udai Manikya	
158.	Jai Manikya (Loktor Fha)	
159.	Amar Manikya	1577-1586 CE

160.	Rajdhar Manikya	1586-1714 CE
161.	Jashodhar Manikya	
162.	Kalyan Manikya	
163.	Gobinda Manikya (fl. 1660s)	
164.	Chhatra Manikya (Nakhshatra Rai)	
165.	Ramdev Manikya	
166.	Ratna Manikya II	
167.	Narendra Manikya	
168.	Mahendra Manikya	
169.	Dharma Manikya II	1714-1733 CE
170.	Mukunda Manikya	1733-1743 CE
171.	Jai Manikya	
172.	Indra Manikya II	
173.	Vijay Manikya II	1743-1760 CE
174.	Krishna Manikya	1760-1761 CE
175.	Rajdhar Manikya	1783-1804 CE
176.	Ramgana Manikya	1804-1809 CE
177.	Durga Manikya	1809-1813 CE
178.	Kashi Chandra Manikya	1826-1830 CE
179.	Krishna Kishore Manikya	1830-1849 CE
180.	Ishan Chandra Manikya	1849-1862 CE
181.	Bir Chandra Manikya	1862-1896 CE
182.	Radha Kishore Manikya	1896-1909 CE
183.	Birendra Kishore Manikya	1909-1923 CE
184.	Bir Bikram Kishore Debbarma	1923-1947 CE

26

The Chronology of Nepal

Recent geological studies have established that Kathmandu valley and Kashmir valley were originally lakes and gradually drained out by 11200-10000 BCE. Ancient Indian legends also tell us the same fact and link Rishi Kaśyapa with Kashmir valley and Rishi Nemuni with Kathmandu valley. According to Skanda Purāṇa and Pashupati Purāṇa, a rishi called "Ne" or "Nemuni" used to live in Himalayas and he is said to have practiced penance at the Bagmati and Kesavati rivers. Ancient Nepali legend tells us that Rishi Nemuni selected a cowherd to be the first King of Nepal who became the founder of the first royal dynasty, i.e., the Gopāla dynasty. It appears that "Nepala" word derived from the names of Nemuni and Gopāla. All Vaṁśāvalīs and Nepali traditions clearly inform us that the kings of Gopāla dynasty were the earliest rulers of Nepal. Many historians unreasonably declared the kings of Gopāla dynasty as mythical kings and concocted that Nepal has no history before the Kirāta dynasty.

The Sheet Anchors of the Chronology of Nepal

The following ancient eras have been referred to in the epigraphic and literary sources of Nepal. We have already discussed the epochs of these eras in Chapters 6 and 7.

1. The epoch of Licchavi era (966-965 BCE)
2. The epoch of Sri Harsha era (457 BCE)
3. The epoch of Mānadeva era (86 BCE)

Śri Paśupati era (3-2 BCE), Nepali Saṁvat (218 CE) and Newari Saṁvat (879-880 CE)

According to *Gopāla Rājavaṁśāvalī*, the Licchavi King Rāghavadeva founded an epoch of the era. The *Kaiser Vaṁśāvalī* records that King

Rāghavadeva founded an era of Śri Paśupati Bhaṭṭāraka. The Vaṁśāvalīs refer to the Nepali and Newari eras. Historians have concluded that the Nepali Saṁvat and Newari Saṁvat are identical and both commenced in 879-880 CE (Śakānta 801). As usual, historians followed the selective acceptance and rejection of the data to establish an identical epoch of Nepali and Newari eras. Such practices by historians must be eschewed. However, the Vaṁśāvalīs refer to the following dates:

1. The *Parvatīya Vaṁśāvalī* tells us that Nānyadeva conquered Nepal in the Śaka year 811 Śrāvaṇa śudi 7 or Nepali Saṁvat 9.
2. Another Nepal Rājavaṁśāvalī records that Nānyadeva came to Nepal with a big army in the year 948 and Saṁvat 230-231.
3. According to a Vaṁśāvalī tradition, there was a difference of 936-937 years between the Vikrama era and the Newari era.
4. Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa completed his work "*Navaratna*" on Monday, in Māgha nakśatra, Mārgaśīrṣa month, vadi 8, in the Śaka year 1607 and the Newari year 806. This colophon clearly indicates the difference between the Śaka and the Newari eras as 801 years.

Historians accepted that there was a difference of 801 years between the Śakānta era (78 CE) and the Newari era and a difference of 936 years between the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE) and the Newari era. But they rejected the different dates (Newari Saṁvat 9 & Nepali Saṁvat 230-231) given for the King Nānyadeva without any evidence and concluded that Newari and Nepali eras are identical and commenced in Śaka 801 = 879-880 CE. Since historians brought forward the date of Mānadeva by more than 1000 years and wrongly believed that the epoch of Sri Harsha era commenced in 606 CE, they had no other option to fix the chronology of Licchavi dynasty around 400 CE to 877 CE. Therefore, it is now impossible to place Nānyadeva in 890 CE (Śaka 811). Thus, historians have arbitrarily fixed the date of Nānyadeva around 1097 CE despite a number of glaring inconsistencies and discrepancies.

In reality, the epoch of Śri Paśupati era introduced by King Rāghavadeva and the epoch of Nepali Saṁvat are not identical. The above-mentioned literary evidences clearly reveal the following facts about the date of Nānyadeva.

1. Nine years of the Nepali Saṁvat have been elapsed in the Śaka year 811.
2. Two hundred thirty years have been elapsed in the Śaka year 811.

There was a difference of 221 years between the epoch of Śri Paśupati era and the epoch of Nepali era. Considering the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE), the year 811 is 227 CE. Since 230 years have been elapsed by 227 CE, we can conclusively fix the epoch of Śri Paśupati era in 3 BCE. Therefore, Nānyadeva conquered Nepal on 8th Jul 227 CE (Śrāvaṇa śudi 7) in the year 231 of Śri Paśupati era.

All literary sources of Nepal inform us that the epoch of the Nepali era commenced in the Śaka year 801 elapsed, i.e., 218 CE. Interestingly, *Sumatitantra* mentions that 498 years of the Śaka era and 304 years of Mānadeva era elapsed which indicates that *Sumatitantra* had referred to the epoch of 218 CE.

Cunningham speaks of King Rāghavadeva of the first Thakuri dynasty as the founder of the Newari era but Bhagwanlal Indraji speculated that King Jayadevamalla of the second Thakuri dynasty due to his chronological problems. Ancient Nepali tradition clearly tells us that King Rāghavadeva founded his Thakuri dynasty when the rule of the Licchavi dynasty came to an end and he founded the epoch of Sri Pashupati era. Evidently, King Rāghavadeva founded the epoch of a Saṁvat in 3-2 BCE and the calendar was Kārttikādi. It appears that the epoch of Śri Paśupati era (3-2 BCE) has been reset in 218 CE with an objective to introduce the Chaitrādi calendar.

Seemingly, the epoch of Nepali Saṁvat (218 CE) has been again reset in 879-880 CE considering the only epoch of Śakānta era (78 CE) which also came to be known as Nepali or Newari Saṁvat. According to a colophon given in the end-leaf of the manuscript of "*Kriya-Samucchaya*", there was a solar eclipse on Kārttika Amāvāsyā in the year 511 of Newari era (879-880 CE) during the reign of King Jayasthitirājamalla (*Saṁvat 511 K*ārttika *Śukla amāvāsyāpar pratipad*ā sū*rya grāsa svāti nakśatra* Ā*dityavāra… Rājādhir*āja … Jayasthitirājamalladevasya vijayarā*jye…*). This date regularly corresponds to 9th Oct 1390 CE.

Thus, Śri Paśupati Saṁvat (3 BCE), Nepali Saṁvat (218 CE) and Newari Saṁvat (879-880 CE) are also the sheet anchors of the chronology of Nepal.

There are many Rājavaṁśāvalīs found in Nepal but it appears that *Gopālarājavaṁśāvalī* is the oldest. It is difficult to fix the exact beginning date of the chronology of ancient Nepal but all Vaṁśāvalīs unanimously tell us that the Gopāla dynasty was the earliest Royal dynasty of Nepal.

The Gopāla Dynasty (~3966 - 3461 BCE)

According to *Gopālarājavaṁśāvalī* (GRV), this dynasty ruled for 505 years and 3 months whereas *Kaiser Vaṁśāvalī* (KV) gives 507 years and *Parvatīya Vaṁśāvalī* (PV) gives 521 years.

		GRV	KV	PV
1.	Bhumigupta	86 y	84 y	88 y
2.	Jayagupta	73 y 3 m	73 y 3 m	72 y
3.	Dharmagupta	91 y	91 y	80 y
4	Harshagupta	67 y	67 y	93 y
5.	Bhimagupta	34 y	38 y	38 y
6.	Manigupta	37 y	37 y	37 y
7.	Vishnugupta	46 y	46 y	46 y
8.	Jinagupta or Jayagupta or Yakshagupta	71 y	71 y 1 m	72 y

The Mahiṣapāla Dynasty (~3461-3300 BCE)

Gopālarājavaṁśāvalī gives 161 years and 2 months for the Mahiṣapāla dynasty whereas *Kaiser Vaṁśāvalī* gives 112 years.

		GRV	KV
1.	Varasimha	49 y	49 y
2.	Jayasimha	71 y 2 m	21 y 7 m
3.	Bhuvanasimha	41 y	41 y

The Kirata Dynasty (~3300-1500 BCE)

It appears that the Kiratas were ruling in Nepal during the Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE). Mahābhārata mentions about Kirātas along with Kāmbojas and Gāndhāras in Shanti Parva. *Parvatīya Vaṁśāvalī* records that Yelam, the first Kirata king came when twelve years were left of the Dvāpara Yuga and Jitedasi, the seventh king of Kiratas, supported the Pandavas in the Mahābhārata war. According to *Mudrārākśasa*m and *Pariśiṣṭaparva*, Chanakya and Chadragupta allied with Himavatkuta King Parvataka and made an army of Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Śakas, Kirātas, Pārasikas and Bāhlikas. *Gopālarājavaṁśāvalī* gives 1958 years and 8 months for 32 Kirāta kings whereas *Kaisar Vaṁśāvalī* gives 1730 years and 7 months for 28 Kirāta kings. *Parvatīya Vaṁśāvalī* gives the list of 29 kings and Bhagwanlal Indraji says that the Kirātas reigned for 1118 years. In view of the above, we can roughly say that the Kirātas started their rule in Nepal before the time of Mahābhārata war and probably, they reigned up to the Maurya era (1596-1459 BCE).

		GRV		**KV**
1.	Yelam	90 y	Yelam	90 y
2.	Pelam	81 y	Pammi	79 y 3 m
3.	Melam	89 y	Dhaskam	37 y
4	Cammim	42 y	Valamca	31 y 6 m
5.	Dhaskem	37 y	Hrinti	41 y 1 m
6.	Valumca	31 y 6 m	Humatti	50 y
7.	Humtim	40 y 8 m	Tuska	41 y 8 m
8.	Hurama	50 y	Srupastha	38 y
9.	Tuske	41 y 8 m	Parva	46 y
10.	Prasaphum	38 y 6 m	Jityadasti	60 y
11.	Pavah	46 y	Pamchyam	71 y
12.	Dasti	40 y	Kyamkyamkyam	56 y
13.	Camba	71 y	Svananda	50 y 8 m
14.	Kamkam	54 y	Sthumko	58 y
15.	Svananda	40 y	Gighr	60 y 6 m
16.	Phukom	58 y	Janya	73 y 2 m

17.	Schimghu	49 y 6 m	Luke	60 y 1 m
18.	Julam	73 y m 3	Thora	71 y
19.	Lukam	40 y	Thomkvo	83 y
20.	Thoram	71 y	Charmma	73 y 6 m
21.	Thuko	83 y	Gujam	72 y 2 m
22.	Varmma	73 y 6 m	Puskam	81 y
23.	Gumjam	72 y m 7	Tyasnu	56 y
24.	Puska	81 y	Sugman	58 y
25.	Tyapami	54 y	Sasa	63 y
26.	Mugamam	58 y	Gunam	74 y
27.	Shasaru	63 y	Khimnu	74 y
28.	Gumnam	74 y	Galijam	81 y
29.	Khimbum	76 y		
30.	Girijam	81 y		
31.	Khuramja	78 y		
32.	Khigu	85 y		

The Sūryavaṁśi Kings (1500-966 BCE)

According to *Gopālarājavaṁśāvalī*, the Sūryavaṁśi kings reigned for 942 years whereas *Kaisar Vaṁśāvalī* gives 1133 years. It appears that the authors of Vaṁśāvalīs adjusted the duration of the reign of certain kings according to their understanding of the chronology. *Parvatīya Vaṁśāvalī* gives certain dates in the epoch of Kaliyuga.

Here is the genealogy of the Sūryavaṁśa and the Ikśvāku dynasty given in *Gopālarājavaṁśāvalī:*

Suryavaṁśotpatti: Brahma – Marīchi – Kaśyapa - Bhagawan Sūrya – Manu – Kākustha – Venu -Puṣya - Anaraṇya – Prithu – Trisakkaraḥ - Dhundhumāra – Pavanāśva – *Māndhātā* – Susandhi - Dhritasandhi – Bharata – Asita – Sagara – Asamañjasa – Samsumana – Dilipa -Bhagirathi - Kākustha – Raghu – Kanyakapada – Sakkhana – Sudarśana - Agnivarṇa – Sri Garga – Maru – Paśuśrava - Ambarīṣa - Nahuṣa – Nabhāga – Aja – Daśaratha – Rāma – Lava Kusha *(Ete Ayodhyānṛpāḥ).* ***Ikśvāku Vaṁśa:***

Hemachandra – Suchandra - Dhūmāśva – Sriñjaya - Suvarṇakhati - Kriṣāśva – Somadatta – Janamejaya – Pāramita – Matiman - Viśvākśi *(Ete nṛpāḥ Vimalanagarīm avatārya Nepale Kirātān Nirjitya Licchavi Vaṁśaḥ Pravartitaḥ).*

Evidently, the Ikśvāku kings of Ayodhya and Mithila or Videha also reigned over some parts of Nepal from time to time. According to literary sources, when Aśoka (1765-1737 BCE) visited Lumbini on pilgrimage, the Kirāta king fled to the jungles of Gokarna leaving Kathmandu valley. Asoka married off his daughter Chārumatī to a Kśatriya prince Devapāla who was ruling over some parts of Nepal. In all probability, Devapāla was a prince of Sūryavaṁśa but his name is missing from the Vaṁśāvalīs. Since the Kirātas were still holding their kingdom of Nepal during the reign of Aśoka (Kālāśoka), the Vaṁśāvalīs did not consider the names of the Sūryavaṁśi kings who were contemporaries of the Kirāta kings. Devapāla founded a city named "Devapatana" near Paśupati Temple. It appears that the Sūryavaṁśi kings were ruling over Kathmandu valley since the 18th century BCE and King Nimityakala could defeat the Kirātas decisively in the 15th century BCE. Therefore, the Vaṁśāvalīs start the chronology of Sūryavaṁśi kings from Nimityakala as given below:

		GRV		**KV**	**PV**
1.	Nimityakala	50 y	Nimityakala	50 y	--
2.	Makaratta	41 y	Makaratta	91 y	--
3.	Kakavarma	76 y	Kakavarma	76 y	--
4.	Supushpadeva	76 y	Supushpadeva	56 y	Kali 1234?
5.	Bhaskaradeva	74 y	Bhaskaradeva	74 y	--
6.	Bhumigupta	41 y	Bhumigupta	41 y	Kali 1389?
7.	Chandravarma	21 y	Chandravarma	21 y	61 y
8.	Jayavarma	45 y	Jayavarma	62 y	82 y
9.	Varshavarma	58 y	Varshavarma	57 y	61 y
10.	Kuberavarma	74 y	Sarvavarma	40 y	78 y
11.	Harivarma	56 y	Prithvivarma	56 y	76 y
12.	Siddhivarma	41 y	Jyeshthavarma	48 y	75 y
13.	Haridattavarma	46 y	Kuberavarma	64 y	88 y

14.	Vasudattavarma	37 y	Harivarma	76 y	76 y
15.	Sripativarma	34 y	Siddhivarma	61 y	61 y
16.	Shivavriddhivarma	75 y	Haridattavarma	29 y	81 y
17.	Vasantavarma	41 y	Vasudattavarma	33 y	63 y
18.	Supushpavarma	56 y	Sripativarma	3 y	53 y
19.	--	--	Vriddhivarma	77 y	54 y
20.	--	--	Vasantadeva	61 y	61 y
21.	--	--	Shivadeva	57 y	62 y
22.	--	--	Rudradeva	--	66 y

In 1992, archaeologists discovered a sculpture of a king named Jayavarman in Kathmandu. Undoubtedly, Jayavarman was the 8th Sūryavaṁśi king. This sculpture contains an inscription written in Brāhmi script. Apparently, the script is the post-Mauryan Brāhmi and closer to the Kushana Brāhmi. Therefore, King Jayavarman must be dated in the 13th century BCE. This inscription is dated to the year 107 of unknown era. *Kaisar Vaṁśāvalī* tells us that the fourth king Supuṣpadeva founded an era. Most probably, King Jayavarman used the epoch of Supuṣpadeva's era.

The Licchavi Dynasty (966-50 BCE)

The Licchavis were a branch of the Sūryavaṁśa or Ikśvāku dynasty which came into existence around 5300 BCE after the Rāmāyaṇa era (5677-5577 BCE). Kautilya Arthaśāstra refers to Licchavis as a Gaṇa-Saṅgha. The Licchvis were reigning in Vaiśāli during the time of Mahāvira (1261-1189 BCE). Fortunately, we have the epigraphic evidence to fix the chronology of the Licchavi kings. King Jayadeva I was the founder of the rule of Licchavis in Nepal. The greatest Licchavi king Mānadeva I used an era in his inscriptions which clearly indicates that the Licchavi kings used an epoch of Licchavi era starting from the reign of Jayadeva I, the founder of Licchavi dynasty of Nepal. This Licchavi era commenced in 966-965 BCE.

Mānadeva I was the 16th king and his earliest inscription is dated to the year 386 of Licchavi era and the date corresponds regularly to 16th April 580 BCE (*Saṁvat 300 80 6 Jyeṣṭhamāse śuklapakśe pratipadi Rohiṇī-nakśatre chandramasi muhūrte praśaste'bhijiti*....).[1] Thus, it can be roughly

concluded that Jayadeva I might have founded the Licchavi era in 966-965 BCE. During the second half of the 5th century BCE, Puṣpabhūti King Sri Harsha invaded Nepal and subjugated the Licchavi King Śivadeva I and his Mahāsāmanta Aṅśuvarman. The epoch of Sri Harsha era was introduced in Nepal during the time of Aṅśuvarman. I have reconstructed the chronology of Licchavi dynasty based the epigraphic evidence as given below:

		Licchavi era (966 BCE)	**Sri Harsha era (457 BCE)**	**In CE**
1.	Jayadeva I	--	--	966 BCE?
2-12.	11 unnamed kings		--	
13.	Vriṣadeva	--	--	950-580 BCE?
14.	Śaṅkaradeva	--	--	
15.	Dharmadeva	--	--	
16.	Mānadeva	386-427	--	580-539BCE
17.	Mahīdeva	427-434	--	539-532 BCE
18.	Vasantadeva	434-454	--	532-512 BCE
19.	Manudeva?	455-459	--	511-507 BCE
20.	Vamanadeva	460-466	--	506-500 BCE
21.	Rāmadeva	467-477	--	499-489 BCE
22.	Gaṇadeva	478-510	--	488-456 BCE
23.	Śivadeva I	510-535	--	456-431 BCE
24.	Mahāsāmanta Aṅśuvarman I (Feudatory of Sivadeva I and Udayadeva)	--	29-47	428-410 BCE
25.	Udayadeva	--	42-47	415-410 BCE
26.	Dhruvadeva (Samanta Jivitagupta)	--	48-55	409-402 BCE
27.	Bhimārjunadeva (Sāmanta Vishnugupta)	--	55-66	402-391 BCE
28.	Narendradeva	--	66-118	391-351 BCE

29.	Śivadeva II	--	119-136	350-321 BCE
30.	Jayadeva II	--	137-157	320-300 BCE

The chronology of Licchavi kings as given in the Vaṁśāvalīs:

		GRV		**KV**
1.	Vrishvadeva	100 y	Vrishvadeva	57 y
2.	Mānadeva	41 y	Śaṅkaradeva	50 y
3.	Śaṅkaradeva	40 y	Dharmadeva	51 y
4.	Dharmadeva	41 y	Mānadeva I	39 y
5.	Mahīdeva	41 y	Mahīdeva	51 y
6.	Vasantadeva	49 y	Vasantadeva	56 y
7.	Udayadeva	45 y	Udayadeva	47 y
8.	Gaṇadeva	45 y	Mānadeva II	4 y
9.	Guṇakāmadeva	50 y	Guṇakāmadeva	50 y
10.	Śivadeva	41 y 6 m	Śivadeva	41 y 6 m
11.	Kampadeva	41 y 9 m	Narendradeva	34 y
12.	Narendradeva	34 y	Bhimadeva	16 y
13.	Bhimadeva	14 y		

According to the Vaṁśāvalīs, the following kings of Gopala dynasty defeated the Licchavi kings and reigned over Nepal again.

		GRV		**KV**
1.	Jishnugupta	74 y	Vishnugupta I	74 y
2.	Vishnugupta	71 y	Vishnugupta II	61 y
3.	Bhumigupta	45 y	Bhumigupta	45 y

Thereafter, the Licchavi kings again took over the reins of Nepal.

		GRV		**KV**
1.	Śivadeva	41 y	Śivadeva	41 y
2.	Aṅśuvarma	43 y	Aṅśuvarma	43 y
3.	Mānavarma	65 y	Mānavarma	?
4.	Kritavarma	76 y	King of Gauda	10 y

5.	Devaladeva	10 y	Kirtivarma	18 y
6.	Dhruvavarma	108 y	Bhimārjunadeva	37 y
7.	Bhimārjunadeva	35 y	Narendradeva	13 y
8.	Narendradeva	13 y	Śivadeva II	16 y
9.	Śivadeva II	16 y	Narendradeva	37 y
10.	Narendradeva	35 y	Baladeva	17 y
11.	Baladeva	17 y	Śaṅkaradeva	12 y
12.	Vardhamānadeva	16 y	Vardhamānadeva	16 y
13.	Shakkaradeva	12 y	Shakkaradeva	12 y
14.	Vasantadeva	21 y	Bhimārjunadeva	16 y
15.	Rudradeva	27 y	Jayadeva	19 y
16.	Jayadeva	42 y 5 m	Baladeva	16 y
17.	Baladeva	11 y	Kendradeva	27 y
18.	Bālārjunadeva	21 y	Jayadeva	49 y 11 m
19.	Mānadeva	31 y	Baladeva	11 y
20.			Bālārjunadeva	36 y 7 m
21.			Mānadeva	36 y

The chronology of Licchavi kings can be reconstructed based on the Vaṁśāvalīs because there is no epigraphic evidence after the Licchavi King Jayadeva II (320-300 BCE). The chronology of Licchavi kings after Jayadeva II can be presented as under:

			In CE
1.	Baladeva	17 y	300-283 BCE
2.	Śaṅkaradeva	12 y	283-271 BCE
3.	Vardhamānadeva	16 y	271-255 BCE
4.	Shakkaradeva	12 y	255-243 BCE
5.	Bhimārjunadeva	16 y	243-227 BCE
6.	Jayadeva	19 y	227-208 BCE
7.	Baladeva	16 y	208-192 BCE
8.	Kendradeva	27 y	192-165 BCE
9.	Jayadeva	49 y 11 m	165-115 BCE

10.	Baladeva	10 y	115-106 BCE
11.	Bālārjunadeva	21 y	106-86 BCE
12.	Mānadeva II	36 y	86-49 BCE

Sumatitantra mentions that the epoch of Mānadeva era commenced in Śaka 498 (86-85 BCE). *Kaiser Vaṁśāvalī* also mentions that Mānadeva founded an epoch of a new era. Evidently, Mānadeva II (not Mānadeva I) founded a new era in Śaka 498 (85-84 BCE).

The First Thakuri Dynasty, a Branch of the Sūryavaṁśa (49 BCE – 227 CE)

According to ancient Nepali traditions, King Rāghavadeva founded his Thakuri dynasty when the rule of the Licchavi dynasty came to an end and he founded a Saṁvat in 3 BCE. *Kaiser Vaṁśāvalī* records that Rāghavadeva founded an era of Śri Paśupati Bhaṭṭāraka. This era commenced in 3 BCE. The chronology of King Rāghavadeva and his descendants given in *Gopālarājavaṁśāvalī* and *Kaiser Vaṁśāvalī* is as follows:

		GRV		**KV**
1.	Rāghavadeva	43 y 6 m	Rāghavadeva	63 y 8 m
2.	Jayadeva	10 y	Śaṅkaradeva	18 y 6 m
3.	Vikramadeva	8 y 9 m	Sahadeva	33 y 9 m
4.	Narendradeva	1 y 6 m	Vikramadeva	1 y
5.	Guṇakāmadeva	85 y 6 m	Narendradeva	1 y 6 m
6.	Udayadeva	5 y 5 m	Guṇakāmadeva	85 y 6 m
7.	Lakśmīkāmadeva (Saṁvatsara Śate?)	21 y	Udayadeva	6 y
8.	Vijayadeva In Lalitapuri (ardharājyam karoti)	31 y	Nirbhayadeva	5 y
9.	Bhāskaradeva	3 y	Bhojadeva-Rudradeva	9 y 7 m
10.			Lakśmīkāmadeva	21 y
11.			Jayadeva	23 y
12.			Bhāskaradeva and Jayadeva Jointly ruled for 7 y 4 m	7 y 4 m

It seems that the chronology as given in *Kaiser Vaṁśāvalī* is more accurate. The chronology of Rāghavadeva and his descendants:

		KV	In CE
1.	Rāghavadeva	63 y 8 m	49 BCE – 17 CE
2.	Śaṅkaradeva	18 y 6 m	17-35 CE
3.	Sahadeva	33 y 9 m	35-69 CE
4.	Vikramadeva	1 y	69-70 CE
5.	Narendradeva	1 y 6 m	70-72 CE
6.	Guṇakāmadeva	85 y 6 m	72-157 CE
7.	Udayadeva	6 y	157-163 CE
8.	Nirbhayadeva	5 y	163-168 CE
9.	Bhojadeva-Rudradeva	9 y 7 m	168-177 CE
10.	Lakśmīkāmadeva	21 y	177-197 CE
11.	Jayadeva	23 y	197-220 CE
12.	Jayadeva and Bhāskaradeva jointly ruled.	7 y 4 m	220-227 CE

Gopālarājavaṁśāvalī mentions that Lakśmīkāmadeva sponsored ceremonies to bring peace in the nation in Śri Paśupati Saṁvat or Nepali Saṁvat 200. Considering the epoch of Śri Paśupati Saṁvat in 3-2 BCE, the 200th year corresponds to 197 CE.

The Karnata Dynasty (227-446 CE)

Jayadeva was ruling the half the kingdom of Lalitapura and his brother Bhāskaradeva was ruling the half of the kingdom in Śaka 811, i.e., 227 CE. During the joint rule of Jayadeva and Bhāskaradeva, Nānyadeva came from Karnataka and conquered Nepal on Śrāvaṇa śudi 7 of Śaka Saṁvat 811, i.e., 8th July 227 CE. Interestingly, *Kaiser Vaṁśāvalī* mentions that Bhāskaradeva sold the crown of his father.

The Date of Nānyadeva

It is rather disconcerting to find that historians arbitrarily fixed the date of Karnata King Nānyadeva based on a solitary literary evidence around Śaka 1019, i.e., 1097. According to majority of Nepali literary sources,

Nānyadeva invaded Nepal in Śaka 811 and not Śaka 1019. Some sources give the date of Nānyadeva as Saṁvat 948, Nepali Saṁvat 230 and Newari era 9. In almost all Bhasha Vaṁśāvalīs (written in Nepali language), the date of Śaka 811 & Newari Saṁvat 9 is assigned to Nānyadeva. Only one or two Vaṁśāvalīs mention that "In Śaka Saṁvat 1019, Śrāvaṇa śukla saptamī (Dvitīyā??), Svāti nakśatra, Saturday, Ripumarda Lagna, King Nānyadeva founded the kingdom of Tirahut at Simara Vana Gadha…." (*1019 Saṁvat Śaka-varṣe dhavale Muni-tithyadhastat, Sv*ātyā*m Śanaiśchara-dine Ripumarda-lagne, Sri-Nānyadeva-nripatir vidadhita vāstum…*). Unfortunately, the oldest Vaṁśāvalī, i.e., *Gopālarājavaṁśāvalī* mentions very little about Nānyadeva but it records that Nānyadeva's son Arjunadeva was born in Saṁvat 352.

The manuscript of *Kaiser Vaṁśāvalī* having the date of Nānyadeva as Śaka 1019 is written in modern Devanagari script. Evidently, the date of Śaka 1019 differs from the traditional date of Śaka 811. In fact, a confusion persisted over the epochs of ancient Nepali eras among the later authors of Vaṁśāvalīs during the medieval period. As explained above, the Mānadeva era (86-85 BCE), Raghavadeva's Śri Paśupati era (3-2 BCE) and Nepali Saṁvat (218 CE) were in vogue in ancient Nepal but literary sources generally referred to these eras as "Saṁvat". There was a difference of 304 years between the epochs of Mānadeva Saṁvat and the Nepali Saṁvat and also a difference of 221 years between the epochs of Śri Paśupati Saṁvat and the Nepali Saṁvat. Later authors of Vaṁśāvalīs might have forgotten the Mānadeva era and considered the epochs of Nepali era (218 CE) and Newari era (879-880 CE) as identical. Nānyadeva's date as Śaka 1019 is evidently a later speculative date.

The date of Nānyadeva given in Nepali literary sources

- **Gopālarājavaṁśāvalī:** Nānyadeva reigned in Nepala Saṁvat 231. On the leaf 34: Nānyadeva's son Arjunadeva born in Saṁvat 352.
- **Dhununga Vaṁśāvalī:** Nānyadeva attacked Kathmandu valley in Nepala Saṁvat 230.
- **Parvatīya Vaṁśāvalī:** Nānyadeva conquered the whole country on Śrāvaṇa śudi 7 of Nepala Saṁvat 9 or Śaka Saṁvat 811 and drove the two Mallas to Tirhut. He ruled at Bhatgam for 50 years.

Narasimhadeva, the grandson of Nānyadeva and the son of Gaṅgadeva was ruling in Phālguna śudi 6 of Nepala Saṁvat 111.

- **All Bhasha Vaṁśāvalīs:** Nānyadeva's establishment of his capital in Simraungarh in Śaka 811 and Nepali Saṁvat 9.
- **A Vaṁśāvalī in possession of Śivarāja Shreshth Malla**: Śaka Saṁvat 811 & Nepali Saṁvat 9.
- **A chronicle published by Deneil Wright:** Nānyadeva came from the South Karnataka country and entered Nepal in Śaka Saṁvat 811 and Nepali Saṁvat 9.
- **A chronicle copied by Hari Nath Dhungana (Micro Film Reel #239/14) by Department of Archaeology, Kathmandu:** Nānyadeva invaded Nepal in Saṁvat (Kārttikādi Vikrama era) 948 and Nepali Saṁvat 230 (*Varṣe mite Nāga (8) Samudra(4) nandaiḥ (9) Nepali Saṁvat Kha (0) Guṇa (3) akśi (2) mane, Sri Nānyadevo bāhusainyayuktaḥ Karnatakād atra Samāyayau saḥ ॥*).
- **A manuscript of Kaiser Vaṁśāvalī and one or two more manuscripts:** In Śaka Saṁvat 1019, on Śrāvaṇa Śukla Saptamī (Dvitīyā?), Svāti nakśatra, Saturday, Ripumarda Lagna, King Nānyadeva founded the kingdom of Tirahut at Simara Vana Gadha.

Evidently, historians accepted the date of Nānyadeva as Śaka 1019 (1097 CE) and rejected all other dates as erroneous. But if we consider the exact epochs of ancient eras, all dates of Nānyadeva given in Vaṁśāvalīs are found to be correct except Śaka 1019.

Considering the epoch of Śri Paśupati Saṁvat in 3 BCE, the date of Nānyadeva can be explained in the year 230 or 231 of Nepali Saṁvat, i.e., 227 CE. Similarly, considering the epoch of Mānadeva era in 86-85 BCE, Arjunadeva, the son of Nānyadeva, was born in Saṁvat 352, i.e., 267 CE. Nānyadeva ascended the throne in Nepal in Śaka 811, i.e., 227 CE and ruled for 50 years. Thus, Nānyadeva reigned around 227-277 CE and his youngest son Arjunadeva was born in 267 CE. Considering the astronomical epoch of Nepali era in 218 CE, Nānyadeva invaded Nepal in the 9th year of Newari Saṁvat, i.e., 227 CE. Undoubtedly, the year of 948 for Nānyadeva is given in Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 CE) which also corresponds to 227 CE. Therefore, we can convincingly fix the date of Nānyadeva around 227-277 CE.

As far as the date of Śaka 1019 is concerned, there was an error of ~200 years in the chronology of Nepal because the authors of later Vaṁśāvalīs mistakenly considered the epochs of Nepali era and Newari era as identical. This error of ~200 years can be clearly seen in the chronology given in *Parvatīya Vaṁśāvalī*. For instance, King Guṇakāmadeva was ruling in Kaliyuga 3824 (723 CE) and Bhojadeva and Lakśmīkāmadeva ruled immediately after Guṇakāmadeva. Therefore, Bhojadeva and Lakśmīkāmadeva can only be dated in the 8th century but the colophons given in the manuscript lead to 1015-1039 CE as mentioned by Bendall.

According to the literary sources, a branch of the Ikśvāku dynasty migrated to South Karnataka. Nānyadeva belonged to the same branch of Ikśvākus. Nānyadeva's ancestors were the officials of the early Chālukyas. Nānyadeva went to Indraprastha and stayed there for few years. Thereafter, Nānyadeva went Mithila and invaded Nepal on Śrāvaṇa śudi 7 of Śaka 811, i.e., 8th/9th July 227 CE. According to Vaṁśāvalīs, Nānyadeva established the capital in Simrungarh in Śaka 811 (227 CE) and ruled for 50 years. Thus, Nānyadeva flourished around 227-277 CE.

The Contradictions in Dating of Nānyadeva around Śaka 1019 (1097 CE)

1. Abhinavagupta refers to King Nānyadeva's commentary on Bharata Nātyaśāstra. According to Abhinavagupta, his ancestor Atrigupta migrated to Pravarapura (Srinagar), Kashmir from Antarvedi region of Madhyadeśa on invitation from Kashmir King Lalitāditya in the beginning of the 1st century CE. Abhinavagupta wrote a commentary on "*Dhvanyāloka*" of Anandavardhana who was in the court of Kashmir King Avantivarma (156-184 CE). Varāhagupta was the grandfather of Abhinavagupta. His father was Narasimhagupta (also known as Chukhulaka) and mother was Vimalakala. His famous work is "*Tantrāloka*". Kalhana did not mention about Abhinavagupta because he never went to the court of any king. Abhinavagupta gives certain personal details in his works "*Tantrāloka*" and "*Parātriṁśikā Vivaraṇa*". Ambā was the sister of Abhinavagupta. She married to Karṇa, the grandson of Vallabha. Vallabha was the minister of Kashmir King Yaśaskara (239-248 CE). Karṇa was one of the most favourite pupils of Abhinagupta. Karṇa and Ambā had a son, Yogeśvarīdatta.

Karṇa died when his son was probably a teenager. Abhinavagupta also mentions about his paternal uncle, Vāmanagupta and his brother, Manorathagupta. He also mentions his paternal cousins, Abhinava, Chakraka, Padmagupta, Ramagupta and Kśema. He also tells us about his disciples, Mandra, Kśema and Utpala. Mandra was the same age group friend of Karṇa. In fact, Mandra invited Abhinavagupta to stay at his suburban residence where he wrote "*Tantrāloka*". Mandra's aunt Vatsalikā looked after Abhinagupta during this period. Vatsalikā was the wife of Shauri, a minister of King Jayāpīda (probably, a feudatory king). Abhinavagupta records the dates of his two works in the Laukika era:

"Kramastava" was written in the 66th year, on the 9th day of the dark fortnight in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, i.e., 24th Nov 289 CE (*Ṣaṭṣaṣṭike nāmake varṣe Navamyām asite ahni । Mayā Abhinavaguptena Mārgaśīrṣe Stutaḥ Śivaḥ ॥*).

"Bhairavastava" was written in the 68th year, on the 10th day of the dark fortnight in the month of Pauṣa, i.e., 1st Jan 292 CE (*Vasurasa pauṣe krishna daśamyām Abhinagupta stavamimāmakarot । yenāvirbabhūva marusantāpam samayati janasya jhaditi dayāyihi ॥*).

A manuscript of "*Iśvarapratyabhijñā-Vivriti-Vimarśiṇī*" of Abhinavagupta contains a sloka at the end of the work (*iti navatitame'smin vatsare'ntye Yugāṁśe । Tithi-śaśi-jaladhisthe Mārgaśīrṣāvasāne ॥*). Based on this śloka, historians wrongly concluded that Abhinagupta wrote it in the 90th year and Kali year 4115 (1013 CE). If Abhinavagupta lived around 1013 CE and Nānyadeva lived around 1097 CE, how Abhinavagupta refers to Nānyadeva's commentary? Evidently, Abhinavagupta can be either a junior contemporary of Nānyadeva or lived later. Therefore, it is chronologically absurd to date Nānyadeva around 1097-1147 CE. Seemingly, the colophon given in the manuscript of *Iśvarapratyabhijñā-Vivriti-Vimarśiṇī* might have been edited by a scribe who had mistakenly assumed the Śaka and the Śakānta eras as identical.

In my opinion, Bhairavastava written in the 68th year may be the last work of Abhinavagupta and probably, he did not live up to the 90th year of the Laukika era. According to Kashmiri tradition, Abhinavagupta entered a cave while reciting the Bhairavastava along with 1200 disciples, and was never seen again. This cave, alleged to have received the mortal frame of Abhinavagupta, is situated at "Birwa" village some five miles from Magam on the hill range of Gulmarg. Therefore, the date of Abhinavagupta must be fixed around 220-295 CE. If Abhinavagupta lived up to the 90th year of the Laukika era, then the date must be around 220-320 CE. Since Nānyadeva died in 277 CE, Abhinavagupta was a junior contemporary of Nānyadeva and he quoted Nānyadeva's commentary in his works.

2. Nānyadeva was referred to as "*Pradhāna Pūrva Puruṣa*" of Newari Mallas. He must be the first Karnata King of Mithila, Tirahut and Nepal. Therefore, Nānyadeva must be placed before the rise of the Sena dynasty of Bengal because he was the first who established the kingdom in Mithila and Tirahut. It is quite absurd to place Sāmantasena and Hemantasena of the Sena dynasty earlier than Nānyadeva. All Vaṁśāvalīs also tell us that Nānyadeva served in Indraprastha before moving to the banks of Chandrabhāgā River. Thus, Nānyadeva was the founder of Karnata dynasty in Nepal and Mithila.
3. The Deopara inscription of Vijayasena clearly mentions Vijayasena as "*Nānya-Vira-Vijayī*" which means who is a conqueror like Nānyadeva (*Nānya iva Viraḥ ca Vijayī ca*). Evidently, Nānyadeva was a historic personality by the time of Vijayasena. Nānyadeva lived around 227-277 CE whereas Vijayasena lived around 340-402 CE. Historians distorted the meaning of "*Nānya-Vira-Vijayī*" and concocted that Vijayasena defeated Nānyadeva. But there is not even an iota of evidence to prove that Vijayasena and Nānyadeva were contemporaries.
4. Historians give the chronology of the Sena dynasty as Vijayasena (1095-1158 CE), Ballālasena (1158-1179 CE) and Lakśmaṇasena (1179-1206 CE). They ridiculously argue that the epoch of Lakśmaṇasena era (LS) commenced in 1119 CE. The earliest

inscription is dated in the year 51 of Lakśmaṇasena era. The 51st year of Lakśmaṇasena era was 1170 CE. This inscription refers to the LS era as "*Lakśmaṇasenasya atīta-rājye*". King Lakśmaṇasena started ruling only from 1179 CE. If so, how the reign of Lakśmaṇasena ended before 1170 CE?

The Chronology of Karnata Kings (219 years)

		PV	In CE
1.	Nānyadeva	50 y	227-277 CE
2.	Gaṅgadeva	41 y	277-318 CE
3.	Narasimhadeva	31 y	318-349 CE
4.	Śaktideva	39 y	349-388 CE
5.	Rāmasimhadeva	58 y	388-446 CE
6.	Harideva	?	?

Parvatīya Vaṁśāvalī tells us that Harideva attempted to transfer the capital to Kathmandu but the army of Patana rose in rebellion and drove Harideva to Thambhel.

The Second Karnata Dynasty

Harisimhadeva, a descendant of Nānyadeva, married Devaladevi and became the king of Nepal in Nepali Saṁvat (NS) 444 (662 CE). Thus, Karnata kings could re-establish their kingdom in Nepal in the 7th century CE. The epigraphic evidence suggests that Harisimhadeva had a son named Yakśamalla.

The inscriptions dated NS 757 (975 CE), NS 769 (987 CE), NS 778 (996 CE), NS 792 (1010 CE) and NS 810 (1028 CE) give the genealogy of the Karnata kings as given below.

Early Karnata Kings		Nepali Saṁvat	In CE
1.	Nānyadeva	9-59	227-277 CE

2.	Gangadeva		
3.	Nrisimhadeva		
4.	Rāmasimha	59-156	277-374 CE
5.	Śaktisimha		
6.	Bhūpālasimha		
Later Karnata Kings			
1.	Harisimhadeva	444-461	662-679 CE
2.	Yakśamalla		
3.	Sūryamalla		
4.	Amaramalla		
5.	Mahendramalla	461-741	679-959 CE
6.	Śivasiṁha		
7.	Hariharasimha		
8.	Lakśmīnrisimha		
9.	Pratāpamalla	741-781	959-999 CE
10.	Bhūpālendramalla	781-811	999-1029 CE

The Sūryavaṁśi Kings

An inscription dated NS 843 (1061 CE) mentions that King Siddhinrisimhamalla of the Sūryavaṁśa reigned in Lalitapattana who became Sanyasi and went to dwell on the banks of the Ganga. His son Srinivasa succeeded him. Srinivasa's son was Yoganarendramalla. Yogamati was daughter of Yoganarendramalla. Lokaprakāśa was the son of Yogamati who died before his mother.

The Descendants of King Rāghavadeva, a Branch of the Sūryavaṁśa

The descendants of King Rāghavadeva might have re-established themselves in the 11th century CE. Gopālarājavaṁśāvalī gives the chronology of the kings of Thakuri dynasty in the epoch of the Newari Saṁvat (879-880 CE). The chronology of the Thakuri dynasty given in *Gopālarājavaṁśāvalī* and Kaiser *Vaṁśāvalī* is as follows:

		GRV		KV	In CE
1.	Balavantadeva	12 y	Baladeva	12 y	1041-1053 CE
2.	Padmadeva	6 y	Padmadeva	6 y	1053-1059 CE
3.	Nāgārjunadeva	2 y	Nāgārjunadeva	3 y	1059-1062 CE
4.	Śaṅkaradeva	15 y	Śaṅkaradeva	17 y	1062-1079 CE
5.	Vāmadeva	3 y	Vāmadeva	3 y	1079-1082 CE
6.	Harshadeva	14 y	Harshadeva	16 y	1082-1098 CE

King Śivadeva (1098-1125 CE)

Śivadeva was the son of Śaṅkaradeva and born on Āṣāḍha krishna pratipadā, Wednesday, Uttarāṣāḍhā nakśatra, Siddha yoga in Newari Saṁvat 177 (1056 CE). The date regularly corresponds to 29/30 Jun 1056 CE. Śivadeva ascended the throne in the beginning of Newari Saṁvat 219 (1098 CE) and reigned for 27 years & 7 months. He died at the age of 69. He constructed a dam over the Rivar Balakhu. Śivadeva issued a silver coin with his name "Śri Simha" and a gold coin Śivakaṅka with his name "Śri Śiva".

King Anandadeva (1125-1166 CE)

Anandadeva was the son of Simhadeva Parameśvara (Śivadeva) and born on Vaiśākha krishna pañchamī, Uttarāṣāḍhā nakśatra in Newari Saṁvat 219 (1098 CE). The date regularly corresponds to 23 Apr 1098 CE. He ascended the throne on Māgha krishna pratipadā in Newari Saṁvat 267 (1146 CE). He ruled the whole Nepala Mandala for 20 years. He died on Pauṣa krishna trayodaśī in NS 287 (1166 CE)

			Newari Saṁvat	In CE
1.	Śivadeva or Simhadeva Parameśvara	27 y 7 m	219-246	1098-1125 CE
2.	Mahendradeva	??	??	??
3.	Indradeva	12 y	246-257	1125-1136 CE
4.	Mānadeva	4 y 7 m	257-261	1136-1140 CE
5.	Narendradeva	6 y 4 m	261-267	1140-1146 CE
6.	Anandadeva	20 y	267-287	1146-1166 CE
7.	Rudradeva	8 y 1 m	287-295	1166-1174 CE

8.	Amritadeva	3 y 11 m	295-299	1174-1178 CE
9.	Someśvaradeva	6 y 3 m	299-305	1178-1184 CE
10.	Guṇakāmadeva	3 y	305-308	1184-1187 CE
11.	Vijayakāmadeva	6 y 7 m	308-314	1187-1193 CE
12.	Arimalladeva	31 y 9 m	314-345	1193-1224 CE
13.	Abhayamalladeva	48 y 2 m?	345-375	1224-1254 CE
14.	Jayadeva	2 y 7 m	375-377	1254-1256 CE
15.	Anantamalladeva	32 y 10 m	377-410	1256-1289 CE

According to the *Kaiser Vaṁśāvalī*, many invaded Nepal during the misrule of Anantamalla. Kumāravana destroyed Bhaktapura. Jayatari entered Kathmandu valley in NS 408 (1287 CE). The Khasiyas entered the valley in NS 414 (1293 CE). The Tirahutiyas entered Bhaktagrāma in NS 411 (1290 CE) and Lalitagrāma in NS 413 (1292 CE).

Viramadevi performed Dhvajārohaṇa at the temple of Changu. Viramadevi was the widow of the King Jayādityadeva and mother of Jayaśaktideva. According to some sources, Viramadevi was the daughter of Kākatīya Gaṇapati Deva and married to a Gauda King Jayādityadeva.

During this period, Jayarudramalla was ruling in Nepal and died on Āṣāḍha Pūrṇimā in NS 446 (1325 CE). His daughter was Nāyakadevi. Her paternal grandmother, Padmaladevi and aunt (daughter of Padmaladevi) Devaladevi became the regents and ruled over Bhaktagrāma. Hariśchandradeva of the Soma dynasty of Kāshi besieged Lalitagrāma. Nāyakadevi was given in marriage to him. King Hariśchandradeva died of poisoning within few years.

Thereafter, Jagatsimhadeva of the Karnata dynasty married Nāyakadevi and a daughter, Rājalladevi was born to them. It appears that Devaladevi was the mother of Jagatsimhadeva. Thus, she was the paternal grandmother of Rājalladevi.

Devaladevi played a crucial role in controlling the reign of Nepal. *Gopālarājavaṁśāvalī* mentions that Sri Jayasthitirājamalladeva came from the south (a descendant of Karnata dynasty) and got married to Rajalladevi in NS 474 (1353 CE). Devaladevi died in NS 486 (1365 CE).

Jayasthitirājamalladeva became the king of Nepal around 1365 CE. A manuscript of *Kriyā-Samuchchaya* refers to the reign of Jayasthitirājamalla which is dated in NS 511 (1390 CE). An inscription of Jayasthitirājamalla is dated in NS 512 (1391 CE). Jyotirmalla was the son of Jayasthitirājamalla.

According to an inscription discovered at Pashupati Temple dated NS 533 (1412 CE), Jyotimalla was the reigning king of Nepal.[2] This inscription tells us that Jayasthitirājamalla belonged to the Suryavaṁśa and had three sons, Dharmamalla, Jyotimalla and Kirtimalla. This inscription is dated in NS 533, on the 13th tithi of śukla pakśa of Māgha month, on a Sunday, Punarvasu nakśatra, Sun in Makara (Capricorn) Rāśi and Moon in Yugma, i.e., Mithuna Rāśi (Gemini), during the Priti yoga. This date regularly corresponds to 26/27 Jan 1412 CE.

Mohan Khanal (based on unpublished manuscript) and Kamal P Malla (based on circumstantial evidence) have proposed the following family tree of Padmaladevi & Devaladevi.

"Jagatuṅgamalla married to Padmaladevi. They had a son, Jayarudramalla and a daughter Devaladevi. Jayarudramalla's daughter Nayakadevi married to Hariśchandradeva. Devaladevi married to Harisimhadeva of the Karnata dynasty and had a son, Jagatsimhadeva. When Hariśchandradeva poisoned to death, Nāyakadevi married to Jagatsimhadeva and had a daughter, Rājalladevi. The Suryavaṁśi King Jayasthitirājamalla married to Rājalladevi."

According to Vaṁśāvalīs, Harisimhadeva of the Karnata dynasty became the king of Nepal in Śaka 1245 elapsed (662-663 CE) and Nepali Saṁvat 444 (662-663 CE). Therefore, it is chronologically incorrect to assume that Devaladevi (1300-1365 CE) married Harisimhadeva. Moreover, Jagatsimha was the son of Devaladevi whereas Yakśamalla succeeded his father Harisimhadeva. Therefore, Devaladevi was not the wife of Harisimhadeva. Devaladevi successfully defeated the numerous invasions and married off her granddaughter Rājalladevi to the Suryavaṁśi prince Jayasthitimalladeva. After the death of Devaladevi in Newari Saṁvat 486 (1365 CE), Jayasthitirājamalla and his son Jyotimalla controlled Nepal beyond NS 533 (1412 CE). Jyotimalla had two sons,

Yakśamalla & Jayantarāja and a daughter, Jivarakśa who married to Jaya Bhairava as recorded in the Paśupati inscription.

According to a manuscript of Brihat Saṁhitā, Sri Jayaprāṇamalla was reigning in Bhaktapattaṇa of Nepal in NS 658 (1536-1537 CE). This manuscript has been copied by Daivajña Jayakirtirāja on Śrāvaṇa śukla ṣaṣṭhi, Svāti nakśatra and Brihaspativāra in NS 658 [*Saṁvat 658 Śrāvaṇaśuklaṣaṣṭhyām tithau Svātinakśatre Brihaspativāre likhitam sampūrṇam. Śri-Bhaktapattaṇe Sri-Jayaprāṇamalladevasya svabhujyarājye likhitamidam Śāstram Varāhasaṁhitā Daivajña-Jayakīrtarājena svārthamiti śubhamastu ।*]. The date regularly corresponds to 24 Jul 1536 CE.

The Shah Dynasty of Nepal (1559 CE onwards)

Kulamandan Shah was the king of Lamjung kingdom. His son Yaśobrahma Shah succeeded him. Dravya Shah, son of Yashobrahma Shah founded the rule of the Shah dynasty over the kingdom of Gorkhas in Nepal. The chronology of the Shah dynasty:

		In CE
	Kulamandan Shah	
	Yaśobrahma Shah	
1.	Dravya Shah	1559-1570 CE
2.	Puma Shah	1570-1605 CE
3.	Chatra Shah	1605-1609 CE
4.	Rama Shah	1609-1633 CE
5.	Dambar Shah	1633-1645 CE
6.	Krishna Shah	1645-1661 CE
7.	Rudra Shah	1661-1673 CE
8.	Prithvipati Shah	1673-1716 CE
9.	Nara Bhupal Shah	1716-1743 CE
10.	Prithvi Narayan Shah	1743-1775 CE
11.	Pratap Singh Shah	1775-1777 CE
12.	Rana Bahadur Shah	1777-1799 CE
13.	Girvan Yuddha Bikram Shah	1799-1816 CE

14.	Rajendra Bikram Shah	1816-1847 CE
15.	Surendra Bikram Shah	1847-1881 CE
16.	Prithvi Bir Bikram Shah	1881-1911 CE
17.	Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Shah	1911-1950 CE

It is truly fascinating that the Vaṁśāvalīs of Nepal provide the chronology of Nepal starting from 3966 BCE. Though the chronology given in Vaṁśāvalīs from the Gopāla dynasty to the Karnata dynasty is almost accurate but the chronology from the Karnata dynasty to the Shah dynasty needs further research. I could not get the texts of Bhasha Vaṁśāvalīs. I do not know whether these Bhasha Vaṁśāvalīs have been translated or not. Historians have rejected them as unreliable. According to my opinion, Bhasha Vaṁśāvalīs may give an authentic chronology of Nepal from early medieval to medieval period. Therefore, the critical study of Bhasha Vaṁśāvalīs is also very important for arriving at the true chronology of Nepal.

27

The Chronology of Sri Lanka

According to Tamil Sangam literary sources, Eelam was one of the provinces (nādus) of the early Pāndyan kingdom during the period of the first Sangam era (11226-6826 BCE). Puhalendi, a poet of Sangam era and the contemporary of Ottakuttan & Kamban, records that the Chola kingdom was extended from sea to the east, the overflowing Vellar River to the south, Kottakarai to the west and Elam to the north covering 24 Kavātams. Seemingly, Elam was situated between Tamilnadu and Sri Lanka in the north side of Nalasetu or Rāmasetu as shown in the map above. A sutra of Agattiyam also indicates that Elam and Simhala were two different regions. Sri Lanka was also referred to as "Nāganādu" in Tamil sources. It appears that Nāgas and Asuras were the first known settlers of Sri Lanka.

Before ~6500 BCE, ancient Sri Lanka was not an island but it was well-connected through land route with Indian peninsula. Tāmraparṇi River that originated in Tamilnadu used to flow from Tirunelveli district to Puttalam of western Sri Lanka.

A major area of Elam was submerged by sea around 6826 BCE. At the same time, Then Madurai, the first capital of the Pāndyan kingdom was also submerged by sea.

The Date of King Vijaya, the Progenitor of Simhalas

Nāgas and Yakśas were the earliest settlers of Sri Lanka. The Nāgas migrated to Kerala, Tamilnadu and Sri Lanka regions during the early Vedic period. Most probably, Rishi Pulastya had two sons, Rakśas and Yakśa. The progeny of Rakśas came to be known as the Rākśasas and the progeny of Yakśa came to be known as the Yakśas. The descendants of Rishi Pulastya and Pulaha had to emigrate from the banks of Saraswati or Sapta Sindhu to the southern banks of Narmada during the early Vedic period. Later, many families of Yakśas settled in Sri Lanka.

Mahāvaṁśa and Dīpavaṁśa are the earliest extant chronicles of Sri Lanka. According to these chronicles, Simhabāhu was the father of King Vijaya. Susima, the mother of Simhabāhu belonged to the Vaṅga-deśa whereas the father of Simhabāhu belonged to the Lāta-deśa (Lālarattha?). Simhabāhu became the king of Lāta country and built a city named Simhapura. Vijaya and Sumitta were the sons of Simhabāhu. Vijaya and his 700 followers were of evil conduct. King Simhabāhu ordered to put them on ship and sent them forth upon the sea. Vijaya first landed at Śūrpāraka (modern city of Sopara in northern Maharashtra) but being in danger, he embarked again. He and his 700 followers finally landed in Sri Lanka in the region called Tāmraparṇi. If Lālarattha was a region in Kaliṅga, Simhapura of Orissa was the capital of Simhabāhu.

Seemingly, Vijaya landed on the banks of Tāmraparṇi River in Sri Lanka. He successfully encountered Yakśas and married Kuvanna, a Yakśiṇī. Vijaya defeated the Yakśas of Sirishavatthu city and founded his Tāmraparṇi kingdom. He also married the daughter of a Pāndyan king of Madura to proclaim himself to be a legitimate Kśatriya ruler. Kuvanna had one son and one daughter from Vijaya. The Yakśas of the city of Lankapura killed Kuvanna and her children. Thus, King Vijaya had no successors. Dīpavaṁśa mentions that King Vijaya invited his younger brother Sumitta from Simhapura to take over the reins of Sri Lanka. Mahāvaṁśa says that Panduvasudeva, the son of Sumitta succeeded King Vijaya.

According to all ancient sources of Sri Lanka, King Vijaya was the progenitor of Simhalas of Sri Lanka. Most probably, Simhabāhu built his capital Simhapura close to modern Girnar city of Gujarat. Girnar was known as Raivata or Urjayanta in ancient times. The lion (Simha) of Girnar became the symbol of the royal power of Simhabāhu. King Vijaya inherited the royal symbol of Simha and introduced it in his Tāmraparṇi kingdom of Sri Lanka. Thus, the descendants of King Vijaya came to be known as Simhalas.

Apparently, ancient Buddhist historians of Sri Lanka had concocted that King Vijaya arrived in Sri Lanka on the day of Buddha Mahāparinirvāṇa. Buddha attained nirvāṇa around 1864 BCE. Mahābhārata records that Simhalas presented gifts as tribute to King Yudhiṣṭhira. Agattiyam also refer to Simhalas. Evidently, Simhalas existed in Sri Lanka much before Mahābhārata era. Though Agastya (11226 BCE) of the first Sangam period wrote the fundamental rules of Tamil grammar but Agattiyam was finally codified in the beginning of second Sangam period (6826 BCE). *Rāvaṇarājāvalīya* of Sri Lanka also indicates that Rāvaṇa was a king of Simhalas. Therefore, King Vijaya must be dated before the Rāmāyaṇa era. Moreover, Tāmraparṇi River of Tamilnadu flowed into Sri Lanka in ancient times. Thus, we can roughly date the arrival of King Vijaya in Sri Lanka around 7500-7000 BCE.

King Rāvaṇa of the Rāmāyaṇa Era (5677-5577 BCE)

Rājāvalīya, a Simhalese chronicle mentions that Simhala King Rāvaṇa reined over Sri Lanka around 3609 BCE 1844 years before the epoch of the Theravāda Buddhism 1765 BCE.[1] Historians calculated this date around 2300 BCE considering the date of Buddha nirvāṇa around 483 BCE. Numerous sources and traditions of Sri Lanka also establish that Rāvaṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa were the kings of Sri Lanka. Buddhist text *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* mentions that Rāvaṇa was a great follower of Buddhism. Evidently, Buddhists concocted it to convince the Simhalese people that their great King Rāvaṇa also followed Buddhism.

The descendants of Rishi Pulastya and Rishi Pulaha came to be known as Asuras or Rākśasas. After Devāsura Saṅgrāma in the Rigvedic period, the Asuras had to migrate westwards and southwards. Many

Asuras settled in Gujarat, northern Maharashtra and the southern banks of Narmada River. Rāvaṇa belonged to the Pulastya gotra. The ancestors of Rāvaṇa had politically dominated in South India and Sri Lanka during the pre-Rāmāyaṇa era. Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa informs us that Rāvaṇa and Vaiśravana were the sons of Viśravas and Kaikesi. Seemingly, Vaiśravaṇa became the king of Sri Lanka and Rāvaṇa inherited the kingdom of his father in South India. The golden city of Lankapuri was designed and built by Viśvakarmā. Lankapuri was the most beautiful city of the world during the Rāmāyaṇa era. Rāvaṇa forcibly took over the city of Lankapuri and Puṣpaka Vimāna from his brother Vaiśravaṇa also known as Kubera. Thus, Rāvaṇa became the emperor of a vast kingdom extended from Sri Lanka to Dandakāraṇya of South India. Vaiśravaṇa had no other option to emigrate northwards along with Yakśas and settled at Alakāpuri situated on the ancient silk route close to Uttara Kuru region.

Viśvakarmā and Maya

Viśvakarmā was the earliest civil engineer of the Rigvedic period. His descendants were also known as Viśvakarmā. They were also great scientists. Viśvakarmā, the contemporary of Vaiśravaṇa and Rāvaṇa made a flying chariot named as Puṣpaka Vimāna. In all probability, Puṣpaka Vimāna was like a hot air balloon carrying a specially designed chariot. Rāma along with Sita, Lakśmaṇa and Hanuman boarded the Puṣpaka Vimāna and returned to Ayodhya from Sri Lanka. Rāmāyaṇa describes Puṣpaka Vimāna resembling a summit of mount Meru (*tam Meruśikharākāram nirmitam Viśvakarmaṇā*) that indicates the size of an air balloon. The statement "*Utpapāta Vihāyasam*" also indicates the virtual ride of a hot air balloon.

Maya was also a great astronomer and civil engineer. Maya wrote the famous text "*Sūrya Siddhānta*" in 6778 BCE. In all probability, the Yakśas of Sri Lanka built the city of Lankapuri before 6778 BCE. This may be the reason why Maya named the point on equator as Lanka where the Ujjain meridian intersects. There is a Śilpaśāstra written by Maya. Maya designed and constructed a "Mayasabhā" for Duryodhana during the Mahābhārata era.

King Vibhīṣaṇa of the Rāmāyaṇa Era (5677-5577 BCE) and King Vibhīṣaṇa of the Mahābhārata Era (3162 BCE)

Vibhīṣaṇa, the younger brother of Rāvaṇa succeeded him in Sri Lanka. Simhala people adore Vibhīṣaṇa as one of the four heavenly kings. Mahābhārata tells us that King Vibhīṣaṇa, the descendant of Pulastya, also accepted the sway of Yudhiṣṭhira.[2] Evidently, Vibhīṣaṇa, a later descendant of the lineage of Vibhīṣaṇa of the Rāmāyaṇa era was the king of Sri Lanka during the Mahābhārata era.

The Sheet Anchor of the Chronology of Sri Lanka (from 1765 BCE onwards)

Theravāda Buddhism came to Sri Lanka during the reign of Maurya King Aśoka. Mahinda and Saṅghamitrā visited Sri Lanka and established Buddhism. Theravāda traditions of Sri Lanka and Burma followed the epoch of Thervāda Buddhism (1765 BCE) as the Jinachakra era (the same has been mistakenly assumed as the Buddha nirvāṇa era). During the second council of Buddhism that held around 1765 BCE 100 years after Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE), Theravāda Buddhism formally separated from Mahāsāṅghikas. Theravāda Buddhist historians of Sri Lanka used this epoch for arriving the chronology of Sri Lanka. Unfortunately, Sri Lanka lost her chronological history before 1765 BCE. In fact, Buddhist historians had no interest in the history of Sri Lanka before 1765 BCE. Thus, Sri Lanka irretrievably lost all records of her chronological history of before 1765 BCE. Therefore, the epoch of 1765 BCE must be considered as the sheet anchor for the chronological history of Sri Lanka.

All Sri Lankan chronicles agree that Devānāmpiya Tissa became the king of Sri Lanka in 1529 BCE 236 years after 1765 BCE. The following kings flourished before Tissa as given in Dīpavaṁśa.

	Early Kings of Sri Lanka		**In CE**
1.	Panduvasa	32 y	1713-1681 BCE
2.	Abhaya	22 y	1681-1659 BCE
3.	Panduka or Pakundaka	70 y	1659-1589 BCE
4.	Mutashiva	60 y	1589-1529 BCE

Rājāvalīya gives the following chronology:

	Early Kings of Sri Lanka		**In CE**
1.	Panduvasa	32 y	1783-1751 BCE
2.	Abhaya	22 y	1751-1729 BCE
3.	Pandukabhaya I	30 y	1729-1699 BCE
4.	Pandukabhaya II	70 y	1699-1629 BCE
5.	Ganatissa	40 y	1629-1589 BCE
6.	Mutashiva	60 y	1589-1529 BCE

The available Rājāvalīya published in 1900 CE was compiled by a Christian during the 18th century. This text apparently contains many distortions. It indicates that the Śaka era commenced in the 623rd year of Buddha nirvāṇa during the reign of King Chūlanāga but there is no mention of the Śaka era in Dīpavaṁśa and Mahāvaṁśa. AV Suraweera of the University of Ceylon mentions that there are seven distinct recensions of Rājāvalīya (Rāvaṇarājāvalīya, Buddharājāvalīya, Vannirājāvalīya, Vijayarājāvalīya, Rājāvalī etc.). Unfortunately, I could get only one text of Rājāvalīya written by a Christian historian.

It is evident that all Buddhist chronicles concocted that Panduvasa was the successor of King Vijaya, the progenitor of Simhalas. But Simhalas existed in Sri Lanka before the Mahābhārata era. Therefore, Panduvasa cannot be an immediate successor of King Vijaya. He was a later descendant of King Vijaya.

The Chronology of Sri Lanka After 1529 BCE

Mahinda, the son of Aśoka was born in 1561 BCE, the 204th year from 1765 BCE. Mahinda and Saṅghamitrā's visit to Sri Lanka and the coronation of Devānāmpiya Tissa took place in the 236th year, i.e., 1529 BCE. Purāṇa and Attakathas were the earliest chronicles of Sri Lanka but not available today. Dīpavaṁśa and Mahāvaṁśa give the chronology of Sri Lanka from King Devānāmpiya Tissa to King Mahāsena.

	Kings of Sri Lanka	**Duration of reign**	**In CE**
1.	**Devānāmpiya Tissa**	**40 y**	**1529-1489 BCE**
2.	Uttiya	10 y	1489-1479 BCE
3.	Shiva or Mahashiva	10 y	1479-1469 BCE
4.	Sura Tissa or Suvannapinda Tissa	10 y	1469-1459 BCE
5.	Sena and Guttaka (Tamil Princes)	20 y or 22 y	1459-1437 BCE
6.	Asela	10 y	1437-1427 BCE
7.	Elara or Elala (a Tamil King)	44 y	1427-1383 BCE

Tamil princes Sena and Gutta (probably, the Velir princes) subjugated Sura Tissa and reined over Sri Lanka for 20 or 22 years. Prince Asela, the son of Mahāśiva put Sena and Gutta to death and reigned ten years. The Chola Prince Elara or Elala killed Asela and reined over Sri Lanka for 44 years. Sri Lankan prince Abhaya Duttagamini, the son of Kākavanna, defeated Elala and reigned for 24 years. The chronology from Abhaya Duttagamini to Śubharāja:

8.	Abhaya Duttagamini	24 y	1383-1359 BCE
9.	Saddha Tissa	18 y	1359-1341 BCE
10.	Thulathanaka	1 m 10 d	1341-1341 BCE
11.	Lanja or Lajji Tissa	9 y 6 m	1341-1332 BCE
12.	Abhaya Vattagamini or Valagambāhu (first term)	5 m	1326-1326 BCE
Five Tamil Kings (14 years and 7 months)			
13.	Alavatta or Puhattha (Pulastya?),	3 y	1326-1323 BCE
14.	Sabhiya or Bahiya	2 y	1323-1321 BCE
15.	Panaya or Panayamara	7 y	1321-1314 BCE
16.	Palaya or Palayamara	7 m	1314-1313 BCE
17.	Dathika or Dathiya	2 y	1313-1311 BCE

18.	Abhaya Vattagamini or Valagambāhu (second term)	12 y	1311-1299 BCE
19.	Mahachuli-Mahatissa	14 y	1299-1285 BCE
20.	Choranāga	12 y	1285-1273 BCE
21.	Tissa	3 y	1273-1270 BCE
22.	Shiva	1 y 2 m	1270-1269 BCE
23.	Vatuka (a Tamil King)	1 y 2 m	1269-1268 BCE
24.	Katthabhati or Darubhatika Tissa	1 y 1 m	1268-1267 BCE
25.	Nihya Tamilaraja	3 m	1267 BCE
26.	Anula	4 m	1267 BCE
27.	Kutikanna or Kalakanna Tissa	22 y	1266-1244 BCE
28.	Abhaya or Bhatikabhaya	28 y	1244-1216 BCE
29.	Mahanaga	12 y	1216-1204 BCE
30.	Abhaya Amandagamini	9 y	1204-1195 BCE
31.	Kanijanu Tissa	3 y	1195-1192 BCE
32.	Chulabhaya	1 y	1192-1191 BCE
33.	Sivali-Revati (a Queen)	4 m	1191 BCE
34.	Illanaga	6 y	1191-1185 BCE
35.	Chandamukha Shiva	8 y 7 m	1185-1177 BCE
36.	Yasalala TIssa	7 y 8 m	1177-1169 BCE
37.	Śubharāja	6 y	1169-1163 BCE

Vasabha defeated Śubharāja and founded the rule of Lambakarna dynasty. He reigned 44 years. The chronology from King Vasabha to King Mahāsena:

38.	Vasabha (Gajabāhu I?)	44 y	1163-1119 BCE
39.	TIssa	3 y	1119-1116 BCE
40.	Gajabāhuka Gamini (Gajabāhu II)	22 y	1116-1094 BCE
41.	Mahallanaga	6 y	1094-1088 BCE

42.	Bhatika Tissa	24 y	1088-1064 BCE
43.	Kanittha Tissa	18 y	1064-1046 BCE
44.	Chulanaga or Khujjanaga	2 y	1046-1044 BCE
45.	Kuddanaga or Kunjanaga	1 y	1044-1043 BCE
46.	Sirinaga I	19 y	1043-1024 BCE
47.	Tissaka	22 y	1024-1002 BCE
48.	Abhayanaga	22 y	1002-980 BCE
49.	Sirinaga II	1 y	980-979 BCE
50.	Vijayakumaraka	1 y	979-978 BCE
51.	Sangha Tissa or Asanga	4 y	978-974 BCE
52.	Sanghabodhi	2 y	974-972 BCE
53.	Abhaya Meghavahana	13 y	972-959 BCE
54.	Jettha Tissa	10 y	959-949 BCE
55.	Mahāsena	27 y	948-921 BCE

After the reign of Mahāsena, his son Siri Meghavanna became the king. Jettha Tissa, Buddhadasa and Upatissa succeeded Siri Meghavanna. According to Mahāvaṁśa, these four kings after Mahāsena reigned for 108 years and Mahānāmā became the king of Sri Lanka in the 942nd year of Theravāda Buddhism (1765 BCE), i.e., 823 BCE. The Burmese sources tell us that Buddhaghoṣa visited Sri Lanka in the year 930 of Buddha religion (835 BCE) and in the 15th regnal year of Sri Lankan King Mahānamā who ascended the throne in the year 915 (850 BCE). Thus, there is a chronological error of 27 years in dating of King Mahānāmā. Mahāvaṁśa may be more authentic than the Burmese sources. Generally, the Buddhist sources agree that total 845 years elapsed from 1765 BCE to the end of the reign of Mahāsena. The chronology from King Siri Meghavanna to King Dhātusena:

56.	Siri Meghavanna	28 y	921-894 BCE
57.	Jettha Tissa	9 y	894-885 BCE
58.	Buddhadasa	29 y	885-856 BCE
59.	Upatissa	32 y	856-824 BCE

60.	**Mahanama**	**22 y**	**824-802 BCE**
61.	Sothisena	1 day	802 BCE
62.	Jantu	1 y	802-801 BCE
63.	Mittasena	1 y	801-800 BCE
Six Tamil Kings (51 years 9 months 1 day)			
64.	Pandu	5 y	800-795 BCE
65.	Pārinda	3 y	795-792 BCE
66.	Khudda-Pārinda	16 y	792-776 BCE
67.	Tiritara	2 m	776 BCE
68.	Dathiya	3 y	776-773 BCE
69.	Pithiya	7 m	773-772 BCE
70.	Dhātusena	18 y	772-754 BCE

Kassapa I took his father Dhātusena as a prisoner and thus usurped the throne. His step brother Mogallana defeated Kassapa I in his 18th regnal year and took over the reins of Sri Lanka. The chronology of Kassapa I to Mahinda V:

71.	Kassapa I	18 y	754-736 BCE
72.	Moggallana I	18 y	736-718 BCE
73.	Kumāra-Dhātusena	9 y	718-709 BCE
74.	Kitti Sena	9 m	709-708 BCE
75.	Shiva	25 d	708 BCE
76.	Upatissa II	1 year 6 months	708-707 BCE
77.	Amba Samanera Silakala	13 y	707-694 BCE
78.	Dathapabhuti I	6 m 6 d	693 BCE
79.	Moggallana II	20 y	693-673 BCE
80.	Kitti Siri Meghavanna	19 d	673 BCE
81.	Mahanaga	3 y	673-670 BCE
82.	Aggabodhi I	34 y	670-636 BCE
83.	Aggabodhi II	10 y	636-626 BCE
84.	SanghaTissa	2 m	626 BCE
85.	Moggallana III	6 y	626-620 BCE

86.	Sila Meghavanna	9 y	620-611 BCE
87.	Aggabodhi III	6 m	611 BCE
88.	Jettha Tissa	5 m	610 BCE
89.	Aggabodhi III	12 y	610-599 BCE
90.	Dathopatissa I	4 y	599-595 BCE
91.	Kassapa II	9 y	595-586 BCE
92.	Dappula I	7 d	586 BCE
93.	Datthopatissa II	9 y	586-577 BCE
94.	Aggabodhi IV	16 y	577-561 BCE
95.	Datta	2 y	561-559 BCE
96.	Hatthadatha	6 m	559 BCE
97.	Manavamma	35 y	558-523 BCE
98.	Aggabodhi V	6 y	523-517 BCE
99.	Kassapa III	7 y	517-510 BCE
100.	Mahinda I	3 y	510-507 BCE
101.	Aggabodhi VI	40 y	507-467 BCE
102.	Aggabodhi VII	6 y	467-461 BCE
103.	Mahinda II	20 y	461-441 BCE
104.	Dappula II	5 y	441-436 BCE
105.	Mahinda III	4 y	436-432 BCE
106.	Aggabodhi VIII	11 y	432-421 BCE
107.	Dappula III	16 y	421-405 BCE
108.	Aggabodhi IX	3 y	405-402 BCE
109.	Sena I or Silamegha	20 y	402-382 BCE
110.	Sena II	35 y	382-347 BCE
111.	Udaya I	11 y	347-336 BCE
112.	Kassapa IV	17 y	336-319 BCE
113.	Kassapa V	10 y	319-309 BCE
114.	Dappula IV	7 m	309 BCE
115.	Dappula V	12 y	309-297 BCE
116.	Udaya II	3 y	297-294 BCE

117.	Sena III	9 y	294-285 BCE
118.	Udaya III	8 y	285-277 BCE
119.	Sena IV	3 y	277-274 BCE
120.	Mahinda IV	16 y	274-258 BCE
121.	Sena V	10 y	258-248 BCE
122.	Mahinda V	48 y	248-200 BCE

The Cholas occupied Polannaruwa (Anurādhāpura) in Sri Lanka in the 36th regnal year of Mahinda V. They took Mahinda V, his wife and all his treasures to the Chola country. Mahinda died 12 years later around 200 BCE. According to Rājāvalīya, Sena V attacked Tamils and routed them. A Chola king brought an army of 95000 Tamils and landed in Sri Lanka. Finally, Tamils took Mahinda V as a prisoner in his 36th regnal year. The Kalyani inscriptions and the Polannaruwa inscription tell us that Siri Saṅghabodhi Parākramabāhu I was reigning in his 18th regnal year in the 1708th year of Buddha Varṣa (1765 BCE). Considering the epoch of Buddha Varṣa in 1765 BCE, Parākramabāhu I ascended the throne in the 1690th year of Buddha Varṣa (75 BCE). It is stated in Nikāyasaṅgraha and Rājaratnākara that Parākramabāhu I became the king of Sri Lanka after the lapse of 1696 years from Buddha nirvāṇa. The Nikāyasaṅgraha also states that Parākramabāhu came to hear of the decline of Buddhist religion during the 1254 years intervening between the 15th year of King Valagambāhu Abhaya or Vattagamini Abhaya and the 4th year of his own reign.[3] Thus, the epigraphic and literary sources clearly indicate that the ascension of Parākramabāhu I took place around 75 BCE.

123.	The Chola Kings (in Northern Sri Lanka)	96 y	212-116 BCE
124.	Vikramabāhu I	12 y	211-199 BCE
125.	Kitti	8 d	199 BCE
126.	Mahela Kitti	3 y	199-196 BCE
127.	Parakrama Pandita	3 y	196-193 BCE
128.	Jagatpala	1 y	193-192 BCE
129.	Parakrama Pandu	6 y	192-186 BCE

Kings of the Sūryavaṁśa and Okkaka (Ikśvāku) Dynasty [The Ikśvāku Kings Migrated from Andhra and Kaliṅga]

130.	Mahela Vijayabāhu I	72 y	186-114 BCE
131.	Jayabāhu I	1 y	114-113 BCE
132.	Vikramabāhu II	21 y	113-92 BCE
133.	Gajabāhu II	22 y	92-70 BCE
134.	**Siri Sanghabodhi Parākramabāhu I** (At war with Gajabāhu for six years (75-70 BCE)	33	**75-42 BCE**
135.	Vijayabāhu III	---	42 BCE
136.	Kilinkesda or Mahinda VI	5 d	42 BCE

Rājāvalīya mentions that the Cholas reigned over Sri Lanka for 96 years from 212 BCE to 116 BCE. It appears that Mahela Vijayabāhu lived for 80 years but reigned only 10 years from 116 BCE to 106 BCE. Chūlavaṁśa and Rājāvalīya gives the details of six kings reigned in the southern kingdom of Rohana from 211 BCE to 186 BCE. Mahela Vijayabāhu attacked Tamils and pursued them. He successfully brought all three kingdoms of Sri Lanka under his control by 116 BCE. Vijayabāhu was his younger brother and reigned only 3 years. Vijayabāhu's son Vikramabāhu succeeded him.

Siri Sanghabodhi Parākramabāhu I was the son of Mānābharaṇa. It is not clear how he succeeded Vikramabāhu but he became the most celebrated king of Buddhists. The Kalyani and Polannaruwa inscriptions record that Parākramabāhu I re-established Buddhism in Sri Lanka and reconciled all the differences among the various schools of Sri Lankan Buddhism.[4] He erected eight Vihāras. His nephew Vijayabāhu succeeded him but he was murdered within 5 days.

Kaliṅga King Nisshanka Malla brought the tooth relic of Buddha to Sri Lanka and became the king. Nisshanka Malla was the son of Kaliṅga King Jaya Gopa and Parvati Devi. Probably, Simhapura of Srikakulam or Jajpur was their capital. Nisshanka Malla claimed that King Vijaya indeed

belonged to his capital Simhapura and himself was the descendant of him. He built Dambulla Vihāra. Interestingly, Nisshanka Malla says in his Anurādhāpura inscription that he bestowed Kambodis (Cambodians) gold, cloths etc. and commanded them not to kill birds.[5] The Polannaruva slab inscription of Nisshanka Malla also mentions that Nisshanka Malla (having titles as Sri Viraraja Aprati-Malla Kaliṅga-Lankeśvara Sri Parākramabāhu Chakravarty) formed friendly alliance with the kings of Karnata, Nelluru, Gurjara, Aramana, Choda, Gauda, Kalinga, Tilinga and Kamboja (Cambodia). He also received tribute from Chola and Pāndya kings.[6] The Polannaruva inscription tells us that Sāhasa Malla, the brother of Nisshanka Malla and the son of Kaliṅga King Gopa and Loka Mahadevi ascended the throne of Sri Lanka in the 12th day of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada month on Wednesday after the expiration of 1743 years, 3 months and 27 days of Buddha Varṣa.[7] The date corresponds to 4th Aug 22 BCE and it was Wednesday.

Thechronology from Nisshanka Malla to Parākramabāhu II:

137.	Nisshanka Malla	9 y	41-32 BCE
138..	Virabāhu I	--	31 BCE
139.	Vikramabāhu III	3 m	31 BCE
140.	Chodaganga	9 m	31 BCE
141.	Lilavati (Queen of Parākramabāhu I)	3 y	30-27 BCE
	There is a gap of 6 years. I have reconciled it considering the dates of Epigraphs more authentic than the dates of literary sources.		
142.	Sahasa Malla	9 y	22-13 BCE
143.	Kalyanavati (Queen of NIsshanka Malla)	6 y	13-7 BCE
144.	Dhammashoka	1 y	7-6 BCE
145.	Anaikanga	17 d	6 BCE
	Lilavati (Queen of Parākramabāhu I)	1 y	6-5 BCE
146.	Lokeshvara	9 m	5-4 BCE

	Lilavati (Queen of Parākramabāhu I)	7 m	4 BCE
147.	Parākrama Pandu	3 y	4-1 BCE
148.	Magha, King of Kaliṅga, or Kaliṅga Vijayabāhu	21 y	1 BCE – 20 CE
	An error of 5 years in the chronology.		
149.	Vijayabāhu IV	24 y	25-49 CE
	Parākramabāhu II (At war with Magha's successors)	10 y	49-59 CE

According to Attanagaluvaṁśa, Parākramabāhu II ascended the throne in the year 1824 of Buddha Varṣa, i.e., 59 CE. Pūjāvalīya tells us that Parākramabāhu II reigned for 33 years. He repulsed two raids by Chandrabhānu, a king of Malaya and Java. He had five sons, Vijayabāhu, Bhuvanikabāhu, Tilokamalla, Parākramabāhu and Jayabāhu. The eldest son Vijayabāhu V succeeded him. The chronology from Parākramabāhu II to Viravikrama:

150.	Parākramabāhu II	33 y	59-92 CE
151.	Vijayabāhu V	5 y	92-97 CE
152.	Bhuvanaikabāhu I	11 y	97-108 CE
153.	Parākramabāhu III	7 y	108-115 CE
154.	Bhuvanaikabāhu II	10 y (estimated)	115-125 CE
155.	Parākramabāhu IV		
156.	Vanni-Bhuvanaikabāhu III		
157.	Vijayabāhu		
158.	Bhuvanaikabāhu IV	30 y	125-155 CE (BV 1890)
159.	Parakramabāhu & Vikramabāhu (two kings)	15 y	155-170 CE
160.	Alagokkonāra or Bhuvanaikabāhu V	20 y	170-190 CE
161.	Virabāhu	3 y	190-193 CE

162.	Parākramabāhu V	39 y	193-232 CE (BV 1958)
163.	Jayabāhu	20 y (estimated)	230-250 CE
164.	Bhuvanaikabāhu VI	7 y	250-257 CE
165.	Pandita Parākramabāhu VI		
166.	Vira Parākramabāhu	62 y	257-319 CE
167.	Vijayabāhu		
168.	Bhuvanaikabāhu VI		
169.	Viravikrama or Vikramabāhu	12 y (estimated)	320-332 CE

During the reign of Bhuvanaikabāhu I (97-108 CE), Dalada or the Tooth-relic came into the possession of Pāndyan King Kulaśekhara. Parākramabāhu III persuaded King Kulaśekhara by friendly negotiation and received back the Tooth-relic from him. He placed it in the Tooth-relic temple of Polannaruva. Parākramabāhu III's inscription at Kitsirimevan-Kalani-Vihāra is dated in the year 1876 of Buddha Varṣa, i.e., 111 CE. Bhuvanaikabāhu II shifted the Tooth-relic from Polannaruva to Kurunegala. According to Nikāyasaṅgraha, the 14thregnal year of Bhuvanaikabāhu III was the 1929 year of Buddha Varṣa, i.e., 164 CE. A Buddhist council was held under the leadership of Dhammakitti III in the year 1939 year of Buddha Varṣa, i.e., 174 CE. Nikāyasaṅgraha and Mahāvaṁśa mention that Virabāhu became Yuvarāja in the 20thregnal year of Bhuvanaikabāhu IV. The Kalyani inscriptions indicate that Bhuvanaikabāhu was the reigning king in the year 837 of the Śaka era (583 BCE) and in the year 2019 of Buddha Varṣa (1765 BCE), i.e., 254 CE. The Kelamya inscription records that Parākramabāhu VI ascended the throne in the year 2051 of Buddha Varṣa, i.e., 286 CE. According to Chūlavaṁśa, Viravikrama became king in the year 2085 of Buddha Varṣa, i.e., 320 CE. Rājarāja Chola (320-353 CE) invaded and annexed Anurādhāpura in Sri Lanka. Thus, Sri Lanka became part of the Chola Empire in the 4th century CE. The inscription of Chola King Rājādhirājadeva dated in Śaka 968 (385 CE) relates that the Cholas had deprived the following four kings of Simhala of their crowns:

Viravikrama or Vikramabāhu

170.	Vikramapāndya	332-385 CE
171.	Virasalamegha	
172.	Sirivallabhamadanaraja	

Chūlavaṁśa also tells us that Viravikrama had surrendered his bliss of royal dignity and sojourned to northern town of Madhura (Mathura) and settled there. When the Cholas occupied Anuradhapura on 332 CE in the northern Sri Lanka and Viravikrama migrated to Mathura, Mayadhanu, a descendant of the Sūryavaṁśa founded his kingdom in Gangasiripura close to the harbor of Kolamba (Columbo). His son Rajasimha I succeeded him. After the death of Rajasimha I, his successor Vimaladharmasuriya I had to flee to the province of Gova. Seemingly, Buddhist community leaders did not support the kings of Sūryavaṁśa. After sometime, Vimaladharmasuriya returned to Sri Lanka and killed many Buddhists. Chūlavaṁśa states that there were no Bhikshus in the Sri Lanka during the reign of Vimaladharmasuriya I who ascended the throne in the year 2135 of Buddha Varṣa, i.e., 370 CE. Senāratna succeeded him but started celebrating the festival of Tooth-relic for political reasons. Thereafter, Rājasimha II reigned for 52 years and Vimaladharmasuriya II reigned for 22 years. Narindasimha succeeded Vimaladharmasuriya II.

Sirivijayarajasimha, the brother of the queen of Narindasimha became king. He realized the importance of the political support of Buddhists. He fetched princesses of Viravikrama family from Mathura and made them his chief queens. Thus, Sirivijayarajasimha established his own dynasty and won over the people of Sri Lanka. Kirthisirirajasimha succeeded him in the year 2290 of Buddha Varṣa, i.e., 525 CE. He invited the Great Thera Viśuddhāchārya from Ayodhya to Sri Lanka in the year 2301 of Buddha Varṣa, i.e., 536 CE. His younger brother Sirirajadhirajasimha also reigned for 18 years. Sirivikramarajasimha, the successor of Sirirajadharmasimha was a cruel king and reigned for 18 years. During his reign, the city of Kolamba rebelled and ousted him. The chronology from Mayadhanu to Sirivikramarajasimha:

173.	Mayadhanu		332-365 CE
174.	Rajasimha I		
175.	Vimaladharmasuriya I	20 y (estimated)	370-390 CE
176.	Senaratna	20 y (estimated)	390-410 CE
177.	Rajasimha II	52 y	410-462 CE
178.	Vimaladharmasuriya II	22 y	462-484 CE
179.	Narindasimha	16 y	484-500 CE
180.	Sirivijayarajasimha	25 y	500-525 CE
181.	Kirthisirirajasimha	35 y	525-560 CE
182.	Sirirajadhirajasimha	18 y	560-578 CE
183.	Sirivikramarajasimha	18 y	578-596 CE

The Date of Dīpavaṁśa, Mahāvaṁśa and Chūlavaṁśa

Attakatha was the earliest text written on the Buddhist history of Sri Lanka. Buddhaghoṣa, the greatest scholar of Theravāda Buddhism lived during the reign of King Mahānāmā. Mahāvaṁśa gives the biography of Buddhaghoṣa who visited Anuradhapura Vihāra of Sri Lanka during the reign of King Mahānāmā (850-828 BCE). The Burmese sources tell us that Buddhaghoṣa visited Sri Lanka in the year 930 of Buddha religion (835 BCE) and in the 15th regnal year of Sri Lankan King Mahānāmā who ascended the throne in the year 915 (850 BCE). Thus, we can roughly fix the lifetime of Buddhaghoṣa around 865-780 BCE. Buddhaghoṣa refers to Dīpavaṁśa in his treatise "Samantapāsādikā". Mahāvaṁśa tells us that King Dhātusena ordered the Dīpavaṁśa to be recited in public at an annual festival held in honour of an image of Mahinda. Evidently, Dīpavaṁśa was written before the arrival of Buddhaghoṣa in Sri Lanka in 835 BCE and after the death of Mahāsena (921-920 BCE). The author of Dīpavaṁśa is not known.

Mahānāmā was the author of Mahāvaṁśa but Sri Lankan sources do not provide any clue about his date. A Bodhgaya inscription refers to a Sri Lankan named Mahānāmā who built a shrine in the north of the Mahābodhi temple. This inscription is dated in the year 267 and written in Brāhmi characters of the Gupta era. The Basavakkulma Rock

inscription of King Mahānāmā (824-802 BCE) is written in old Brāhmi characters. Thereuntry of Tambarattha and a great monk named Ananda. Historians speculated Tambarattha to be a province of Chola Kingdom but Chūlavaṁśa clearly distinguishes between Tāmraparṇi and Tambarattha. Therefore, Tambarattha must be identified with Tammarat of Thailand in the Malay Peninsula. Nikāyasaṅgraha informs us that a Buddhist Council was held under the leadership of Dhammakitti III in the year 1939 of Buddha Varṣa, i.e., 174 CE. Thus, Dhammakitti III must be dated around 110-180 CE.

In all probability, Dhamakitti III wrote the first part of Chūlavaṁśa up to the reign of Bhuvanaikabāhu IV (up to the 90th Chapter) around 150-160 CE. The second part of Chūlavaṁśa up to the 100th Chapter was composed by Tibbotuvave Siddhatta around 560 CE and the last Chapter or supplement of Chūlavaṁśa was added by Hikkaduve Siri Sumangala around 596 CE. Most probably, Mayūrapāda Thera, the author of Pūjāvali was the contemporary of Dhammakitti III.

Historians Committed a Blunder in Dating of Chūlavaṁśa

The 100th Chapter of Chūlavaṁśa clearly mentions that Kitti Siri Rajasimha ascended the throne in the year 2290 of Buddha Varṣa and reigned for 35 years. Thus, Kitti Siri Rajasimha died in the year 2325 of Buddha Varṣa. The 101st Chapter or supplement to the 100th Chapter informs us that Siri Rajadhirajasimha succeeded his brother Kitti Siri Rajasimha and reigned for 18 years. Thereafter, Siri Vikramarajasimha reigned for 18 years. During the 19th regnal year of Siri Vikrama Rajasimha, the people of Kolamba (Colombo) rebelled and captured the criminal king. They brought the criminal king to the opposite coast (eastern coast of Sri Lanka opposite to Colombo).

Evidently, the reign of Siri Vikramarajasimha ended after the year 2361 of Buddha Varṣa. Amusingly, the clever colonial historians referred to the epoch of 545 BCE and claimed that the year 2361 of Buddha Varṣa corresponds to 1815 CE. But the same historians arrived the chronology of Mahāvaṁśa from the epoch of 483 BCE. This is nothing but a fraud and an intellectual dishonesty. I do not know how can we start the chronology from the epoch of 483 BCE and end the chronology with reference to the

epoch of 545 BCE. Historians concocted that ancient Sri Lanka used an epoch of 483 BCE but medieval Sri Lanka changed the epoch and started the chronology from 545 BCE. Till date, none of these historians ever presented any credible evidence to prove this baseless hypothesis.

George Turnour, who was appointed to the Ceylon Civil Service in 1820, translated Mahāvaṁśa into English in 1837. He had no information about Tibbotuvave Siddhatta and Hikkaduve Siri Sumangala who wrote Chūlavaṁśa in 1815. At least, the sons or the family or the disciples of Tibbotuvave Siddhatta and Hikkaduve Siri Sumangala must be alive during the time of George Turnour. Moreover, Sri Lanka of the 19th century had no information of these authors of Chūlavaṁśa except the names in literary and traditional sources. Seemingly, it is unbelievable that none of the Sri Lankans of the 19th century had the information about the whereabouts of Tibbotuvave Siddhatta and Hikkaduve Siri Sumangala who lived in the 19th century.

I have established that the epoch of Buddha Varṣa or Theravāda Buddhism commenced in 1765 BCE. Therefore, Tibbotuvave Siddhatta wrote the third part of Chūlavaṁśa around 560 CE and probably his disciple Hikkaduve Siri Sumangala wrote the supplement to Chūlavaṁśa around 596 CE. It may also be noted that there is no reference of Portuguese, Dutch or British traders or colonial rulers in Chūlavaṁśa. Portuguese controlled a part of Sri Lanka close to Colombo from 1505 CE to 1658 CE. Dutch Admiral Van Spillbergen came to Sri Lanka in 1603 CE. Sri Lankans invited Dutch to liberate Sri Lanka from Portuguese. The King of Kandy entered into a Treaty with Dutch in 1638 CE. Dutch ousted Portuguese and controlled Galle and Colombo region from 1640 CE to 1796 CE. British came to Sri Lanka around 1788 CE and captured the forts of Dutch in 1796 CE. British established their colonial rule in Sri Lanka around 1802 CE and Kandy kingdom became a protected princely state under British Empire around 1815 CE.

Interestingly, there is not an iota of information available in Chūlavaṁśa regarding Portuguese, Dutch and British colonial rule, the famous Dutch-Kandyan treaty and the Dutch-Portuguese war. There is a

reference to "Parangis" and "Olandas" in the 98th Chapter of Chūlavaṁśa. Historians claimed that Parangis were Portugese or Christians and Olandas were Dutch. There are two Simhalese literary works, "Parangi Hatana" and "Rajasimha Hatana". Hatana means war in Simhala language. Some speculated that Parangi is derived from Firangi. Parangi Hatana and Rajasimha Hatana used a word "Kapiri". Historians speculated that Kapiris were the African slaves in Portuguese army.

In fact, Chūlavaṁśa says that Parāntakas (not Parangis) came to Sri Lanka at the time of Rajasimha I and still lived in Anuradhapura during the reign of King Vijayarajasimha. In all probability, Parāntakas were the Parāntaka Cholas (the descendants of Parāntaka Chola) who occupied Anuradhapura during the reign of Chola King Rājarāja. It is also mentioned in Chūlavaṁśa that King Vijayarājasimha heard from Olandas the welcome news that the Buddhist religion is still existed in various countries Pegu, Rakkhanga, Saminda. Seemingly, the Olandas were the merchants of Indonesia. Urang Sundas or Orang Sundas are an ethnic group of Java Island of Indonesia who speak Sundanese language.

The End of the Use of Buddha Varṣa and the Introduction of the Śaka Era in Sri Lanka

Interestingly, Sri Lanka and Burma both stopped using the epoch of Buddha Varṣa at the end of the 6th century. Chūlavaṁśa of Sri Lanka referred to the year 2301 of Buddha Varṣa and indirectly continued the epoch up to the year of 2361 (596 CE). The last Burmese inscription dated in Buddha Varṣa referred to the year 2390 (625 CE). According to Chūlavaṁśa, King Kitti Rajasimha (525-560) invited more than ten Theras from Ayodhya led by the great Theras, Viśuddhāchārya and Varānana Muni. Viśuddhāchārya appears to be the contemporary of Śākyaśri of Vikramaśilā Vihāra. During the period from the 1st century CE to the 5th century CE, Jain historians mistakenly identified King Chandragupta of Ujjain, the disciple of Bhadrabāhu with Chandragupta Maurya. This mistaken identity led to a serious chronological error and Indians started believing in the contemporaneity of Buddha and Mahāvira. The Buddhist community of Magadha also accepted it to be a historical fact and reset the epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa in 1200 BCE.

When the Buddhist scholars of Ayodhya started frequently visiting Sri Lanka during the 5th and 6th centuries CE, the epoch of Buddha Varṣa used by Sri Lankans and Burmese became controversial. Though Magadha Buddhists started following the epoch of 1200 BCE as evident from the Bodhagaya inscription dated in the year 1813 (613 CE) but there was a divergence of opinion on the date of Buddha nirvāṇa. This controversy led to the end of the use of Buddha Varṣa in Sri Lanka and Burma. Since Burma was traditionally using the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) concurrently with the epoch of Buddha Varṣa (1765 BCE), Sri Lankans also started using the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) from the 7th century CE onwards. This was the only option available for Sri Lanka to maintain the continuity of the chronology when the epoch of Buddha Varṣa was discarded. This is the reason why the earliest use of the Śaka era in Sri Lanka is witnessed only from the year 1247 (664 CE).

The King "Ingirisi"? (596- 642 CE)

According to Chūlavaṁśa, the reign of Siri Vikramarajasimha ended in 596 CE when the people of Kolamba (Colombo) rebelled against him. Historians have speculated that the people of Kolamba were actually British. The last sentence of the supplement to the 100th Chapter of Chūlavaṁśa has been translated as "After they had brought the king, the torturer of his people, to the opposite coast the Ingirisi by name seized the whole kingdom." I could not get the original Pali text of Chūlavaṁśa to verify the exact name of the king as transliterated "Ingirisi". Historians have concocted that Ingirisi means English. If the last year of Siri Vikramarajasimha was 1815 CE, British had already been established their forts in Sri Lanka since 1788 CE and reigning the Galle and Colombo region from 1802 CE. Chūlavaṁśa unambiguously mentions that Kitti Sirirajasimha and his successors, Siri Rajadhirajasimha and Siri Vikramarajasimha reigned in Gangasiripura, close to the Colombo harbour. But Historians distorted that they reigned in Kandy. If the king was torturing his people, why British had to rebel against him. British had already established their authority by 1802 CE in Sri Lanka. The king of Kandy was the weakest ruler and surrendered his authority without any resistance to British in 1815 CE. Moreover, Kannasamy of Nāyaka

royal family was the king of Kandy who signed the Kandyan convention in 1815 CE.

The Chronology of Sri Lanka After 642 CE

According to Dalada Siritha, Parākramabāhu was on throne in Śaka 1247 (664 CE). A Tamil poem "Sarajotimalai" indicates that King Parākramabāhu was reigning in his 7th regnal year in Śaka 1232 (649 CE). Evidently, Parākramabāhu ascended the throne in 642 CE. The Lanka Tilaka inscription dated in Śaka 1266 (683 CE) informs us that Bhuvanaikabāhu became king in Śaka 1263 (680 CE). The Vigulavatta inscription is dated in the 4th regnal year of Vikramabāhu and in the year 1282 of the Śaka era. Thus, Vikramabāhu took over the reins in Śaka 1279 (696 CE). It is stated in Attanagulavihāra Vaṁśa that the work was translated in Śaka 1304 (721 CE) during the reign of Bhuvanaikabāhu. The Alampudi inscription of Vijayanagara King Virūpākśa I tells us that he had vanquished the king of Simhalas in Śaka 1305 (722 CE).[6]

	Later Kings of Sri Lanka	**Śaka era**	**In CE**
1.	Parākramabāhu	1225-1263	642-680 CE
2.	Bhuvanaikabāhu	1263-1279	680-696 CE
3.	Vikramabāhu	1279-1295	696-712 CE
4.	Bhuvanaikabāhu	1295-1305	712-722 CE

Vijayanagara King Virūpakśa I annexed Sri Lanka in 722 CE

Historians calculated the dates of the Śaka era in the epoch of the Śakānta era (78 CE) but mistakenly identified the above kings with Parākramabāhu IV, Bhuvanaikabāhu III, Vikramabāhu III and Bhuvanaikabāhu V. They have miserably failed in reconciliation of the regnal years with reference to the literary and epigraphic evidences.

Tamil Kings of Yalpana (Jaffna) Kingdom (800-1619 CE)
[Ariya Chakravarty Dynasty?]

Most probably, Sri Lanka was under the control of the Vijayanagara kings for some time. Vijayanagara King Kampana killed the Sultan of Madurai and returned the kingdom to the descendant of the Pāndya dynasty at the end of the 7th century CE. Tamil King Ugra Simha ascended the throne of

Jaffna around 795 CE. Historians mistakenly named this dynasty as the Ariya Chakravarty dynasty but Ariya Chakravarty was the contemporary of Vikramabāhu III and Bhuvanaikabāhu V (the second half of the 2nd century CE).

Yalpana Vaipava Malai

Tamil poet Mayil Vākānar wrote a book on the history of Tamil kings of Jaffna in 1736 CE during the Governor ship of Jan Maccara, a Dutch officer. Jaffna was under the control of Dutch in the 18th century CE. Mayil Vākānar says that he referred to the texts Kailaya Malai, Vaiyai Padal, Rasa Murai and Pararajashekharan Ula and wrote his book. The book of Yalpana Vaipava Malai is the most valuable source to arrive at the chronology of Tamil kings of Jaffna.[7]

Interestingly, Mayil Vākānar starts Sri Lankan history from the Rāmāyaṇa era. According to him, Rākśasas reigned over Sri Lanka for three Yugas. Rāma killed Rāvaṇa and gave the kingdom to Vibhīṣaṇa. He says that King Vijaya came to Sri Lanka and built many Koyils (temples). In the year Śaka 358 (225 BCE), Kulakkoddu Mahārāja, the son of Manu Nidhi Cholan of Kaveri Pum Pattanam took over the control over Anuradhapura. This perfectly reconciles with the Chūlavaṁśa which also confirms that the Cholas occupied Anuradhapura in the 36th regnal year of Mahinda V (212 BCE). Mayil Vākānar mentions that King Aggrabodhi? (Siri Sanghabodhi Parākramabāhu I) was ruling in Śaka 515 (68 BCE).

Mayil records that Ukkira Singkan (Ugra Simha) established his kingdom in Northern Sri Lanka. Since Mayil was not aware of the difference between the Śaka era (583 BCE) and the Śakānta era (78 CE), he gives the date of Ukkira Singkan as Śaka 717. We must consider this date in the epoch of the Śakānta era (78 CE) and not in the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE). Thus, Ukkira Singkan ascended the throne of Sri Lanka in Śaka 717, i.e., 795 CE. He married to a Chola princess. His son Jayatunga Vararaja Simha succeeded him. He died in his old age without any successor. At that time, Tamils and Sinhalese were jealous of each other and fought for supremacy. Malavan, a Tamil nobleman persuaded a prince of the Chola dynasty and a nephew of Simhaketu to take possession

of the vacant throne of Northern Sri Lanka. Thus, the Chola Prince named Kulang Kai Arian became the king. He built a temple of Kantha Swamy in Śaka 870 (948 CE). Kulaśekhara Singkai Arian was the son of King Kulang Kai Arian and succeeded him.

The chronology of Tamil Kings of Yalpana:

	Tamil Kings of Yalpana	**Śakānta era (78 CE)**	**In CE**
1.	Ukkira Singkan	717	795-840 CE
2.	Jayatunga Vararaja Simha	-	840-890 CE
3.	No king	-	890-920 CE
4.	Kulang Kai Arian	870	920-970 CE
5.	Kulaśekhara Singkai Arian	-	970-1020 CE
6.	Kulottungaka Singkai Arian		1020-1070 CE
7.	Vikrama Singkai Arian		1070-1120 CE
8.	Varodaya Singkai Arian		1120-1170 CE
9.	Martanda Singkai Arian		1170-1220 CE
10.	Kunnapushana Singkai Arian		1220-1280 CE
11.	Virodaya Singkai Arian (He died early.)		1280-1302 CE
12.	Jayavira Singkai Arian (He became king in young age and fought against the Kandy king Puvineya Vaku. He restored the kingdom of Kandy to Parākramabāhu who paid tribute to the kingdom of Yalpanam. Died after a long reign.)		1302-1380 CE
13.	Kunavira Singkai Arian		1380-1420 CE
14.	Kanaka Suriya Singkai Arian (He was a weak king. He went on pilgrimage to Kashi. Vijayabāhu, a leader of Sinhalese usurped the kingdom and reigned for 17 years. Pararaja Sekharan, the elder son of Kanaka Suriya killed Vijayabāhu.)		1420-1480 CE

15.	Pararaja Sekharan Singkai Ariyan	1480-1540 CE
16.	Para-nrupa singkan	1540-1581 CE
17.	Sangkili (A military official of Para nrupa Singkan became more powerful than king.)	1540-1581 CE

According to Mayil Vākānar, King Parākramabāhu of Kotta kingdom (Kolamba) gave permission for Portuguese to trade in his territories in Śaka 1428 (1505-1506 CE). Portuguese started spreading Christianity and forcibly converted many Simhalese. King Sangkili killed many Simhalese (600 converts) who accepted Christianity in the month of Adi (Āṣāḍha) of the year Kara, i.e., Śaka 1467 (1545 CE). At that time, Vijayabāhu was the king of Kotte.

Portuguese wanted to take revenge of the killing of 600 converts and landed in the kingdom of Yalpana disguised as traders. They built a fort in the year Supakirutu (Subhakratu), i.e., Śaka 1503 (1581 CE). With the help of some traitors, Portuguese won the war against Sangkili and captured him. They sentenced Sangkili to death. Thus, Portuguese commenced their reign in the month of Ani of the year Kalavutthi (Kalayukti), i.e., Śaka 1519 (1597 CE). Paranrupa Singkan died in the 9th year of Portuguese rule, i.e., 1606 CE. His son Pararaja Singkan was the last puppet ruler of Portuguese. After the death of Pararaja Singkan, Portuguese destroyed many temples. Dutch governor Ulanthesar captured the Portuguese governor Anthony Amral in the year 1614 CE, i.e., Kśaya Saṁvatsara. Finally, Dutch governor Ulanthesar eliminated Portuguese from the kingdom of Yalpanam in the Śaka 1571 and the year Vilambi, i.e., 1649 CE.

The Origin of the Tamils of Yalpana (Jaffna)

According to Mayil Vākānar, Yalpana Nayanar also known as Viraraghavan was a blind Brahmana but a minister of the Chola kingdom. Being blind, he was fully dependent of his wife. One day he quarreled with his wife and went to Sri Lanka. The king of Sri Lanka being pleased with his poetry granted uninhabited land of modern Jaffna. He invited a Chola

prince who was the natural son of a Chola king by a Brahmana woman and installed him as the king of his land under the title of Singhariya Chakravarty. This event took place in the Kali year 3000 (162 BCE or 102 BCE). Thus, Yalpana or Jaffna kingdom came into existence in the 2nd century BCE. Chūlavaṁśa indicates that King Ariya Chackravarty of Jaffna (a descendant of Singariya Chakravarty) flourished in the second half of the 2nd century CE.

The Chronology of the Kings of Kandy (1300-1739 CE)

Tamil kings of Yalpana or Jaffna dominated in Sri Lanka during the period 795-1200 CE. During this period, the descendants of Parākramabāhu (642-680 CE) established their kingdom in Kandy. Yalpana Vaipava Malai indicates that Bhuvanaikabāhu (Puvaneya Vaku), the king of Kandy was the contemporary of Yalpana King Jayavira Singkai Ariyan (1302-1380 CE). Parākramabāhu and Vijayabāhu were the successors of Bhuvanaikabāhu in Kandy.

	The Kings of Kandy	**Śakānta era (78 CE)**	**In CE**
1.	Bhuvanaikabāhu		1320-1350 CE
2.	Parākramabāhu		1350-1390 CE
3.	Vira Alakeshvara or Vijayabāhu		1390-1414 CE
4.	Parākramabāhu		1428-1473 CE
The Kings of Kandy belonged the royal family of Kotte Kingdom			
1.	Sena Samantha Vikramabāhu		1473-1511 CE
2.	Jayavira Astana (He became Christian in 1546 CE.)		1511-1551 CE
3.	Kariliyadde Bandara (He also became Christian to get protection from Portuguese.)	1503 (died)	1551-1581 CE
4.	Kusumana Devi or Dona Catherina (She was the daughter of Kariliyadde Bhandara and converted to Catholicism.)		1581 CE
5.	Rajasinghe I		1581-1591 CE

6.	Yamasinghe Bhandara or Don Philip (Nephew of Kariliyadde Bhandara.)		1591 CE
7.	Konappu Bhandara		1592-1595 CE
8.	Don Juan (He ousted Yamasinghe Bhandara's son Don Joao and married Dona Catherina-Kusumana Devi)		1595-1604 CE
9.	Senaratna (He also married Dona Catherina and became king.)	1557(died)	1604-1635 CE
10.	Rajasinghe II	1609 (died)	1635-1687 CE
11.	Son of Rajasinghe II	1629 (died)	1687-1707 CE
12.	Viraparakrama Narendra Singhe	1659 (died)	1707-1737 CE

Following the distorted epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa (483 BCE), colonial historians have mistakenly identified Vimala Dharmasuriya I of Chūlavaṁśa with Konappu Bhandara and Vimala Dharmasuriya II of Chūlavaṁśa with the son of Rajasinghe II.

Four Nayaka Kings of Kandy (1739-1815 CE)

According to recently published book "The Doomed King: A Requiem for Vikrama Rajasimha" by Gananath Obeyesekere in 2017, the last Simhala king of Kandy Sri Viraparakrama Narendra Singhe (1707-1739 CE) died childless in 1739 CE. His queen belonged to Telugu-Tamil Nāyaka dynasty. She made her brother the king of Kandy in 1739 CE. Total four Nāyaka kings reigned in Kandy. The last Nāyaka King Kannasamy surrendered to British in 1815 CE. In fact, the cunning British started provoking Simhalese people against Nāyaka King Kannasamy. Simhalese people saw the Nāyaka kings as Tamils. British cleverly made the Nāyaka King Kannasamy villainous. Finally, Kannasamy had no other option to sign the Kandy convention in 1815 CE and lived in exile in Vellore. Thus, Kandy became a princely state under British colonial rule of Sri Lanka. HMS Cornwalis brought Kannasamy and his family to Vellore in 1816 CE. Kannasamy died in 1832 CE in Vellore. His descendants are still living in Tamilnadu.

Pilimatalavuvas (originally from Tanjavuru but gradually became Simhalese) were the influential aristocrats of Kandy society. Muthusamy was the rightful nominated successor of Kandy kingdom around 1798 CE. But Maha Adhikaram III of Pilimatalavuvas used his influence and made Kannasamy as the king of Kandy in 1798 CE. Kannasamy was an uneducated and 18 years old young man when he ascended the throne. Thus, Kannasamy was born in 1780 CE, became king of Kandy in 1798 CE, signed the Kandyan convention in 1815 CE and died in Vellore in 1832 CE.

Historians have committed a blunder in identifying Siri Vikrama Rajasimha, the last Simhala king of Chūlavaṁśa with the Nayaka King Kannasamy.

The Chronology of the Kings of Kotte

The kingdom close to Kolamba (Colombo) was referred to as Kotte. Chūlavaṁśa mentions that Mayadhanu of the 4th century CE founded his kingdom in Gangasiripura near Kolamba. Seemingly, the Cholas occupied Anuradhapura in the North Sri Lanka in the 4th century CE. Thus, Gangasiripura continued to be the royal capital till the 12th century CE.

Prince Sapumal Kumaraya conquered Jaffna in 1391 CE. Later, he killed Jayavira to capture Kotte Kingdom. He renamed it as "Sri Jayavardhanapura".

	The Kings of Kotte	**In CE**
1.	Sapamul Kumaraya	1391-1440 CE
2.	Vira Parākramabāhu	1440-1470 CE
3.	Dharma Parākramabāhu	1470-1500 CE
4.	Vijayabāhu	1500-1550 CE
5.	Dharmapala (He was converted to Christianity in 1555).	1551-1597 CE

King Dharmapala was forced to sign a deed with Portugese. After the death of Dharmapala, Portuguese ruled over the Kotte kingdom from 1597 CE to 1658 CE. Dutch took over the Kotte kingdom from Portuguese in

1658 CE and reigned till 1796 CE. Dutch handed over the Kotte kingdom to British in 1796 CE.

The Date of Kumāradāsa

Kumāradāsa was the celebrated Sri Lankan author of Jānakīharaṇa Kāvya. He was a contemporary of Kālidāsa. Pūjāvali of Mayurapada Thera (3rd century CE) identifies the King Kumara Dhātusena (718-709 BCE) with Kumāradāsa and refers to his tragic end at the funeral pyre of his friend Kālidāsa. According to Mahāvaṁśa, Kumara Dhātusena was the son of a Moggallana. A Simhalese work "Parākramabāhu Charita" also mentions the story of Kumāradāsa and Kālidāsa. The Simhalese works like Nikāyasaṅgraha, Saddharma Ratnākara, Rājaratnākara, and Rājāvalī also mention that Kumāradāsa II was a contemporary of Kālidāsa.

"Janāśrayī Cḥandovicchitti", a treatise of King Janāśraya refers to the verses of Kumāradāsa. Epigraphic sources clearly indicate that the Vishnukundin King Mādhavavarman II, the son of Govindavarman was known as Janāśraya. King Mādhavarman II reigned around 205-175 BCE. Rājaśekhara's Kāvyamimāṁsā informs us that Kumāradāsa was a blind ("Medhāvi-Rudra-Kumāradāsādayaḥ Jātyandhāḥ") which needs to be verified from other sources. A verse of the Madras manuscript of Jānakīharaṇa Kāvya indicates that Kumāradāsa was the son of Mānita. Manita was the military official of Sri Lankan king who honoured him with title of "Kumāramaṇi". Sri Megha and Agrabodhi were the maternal uncles of Kumāradāsa.

नित्यं सद्गुणभक्तिरिन्द्रियदमश्रीसंयतः संयतः
शस्त्रद्योतितमूर्ध्नि मुक्तहृदयोऽभीसङ्गतः सङ्गतः ।
विद्वानस्य कवेः पितार्यहृदयं धीमानितो मानितः
लङ्कैश्वर्यभुजः कुमारमणिरित्यासन्नयः सन्नयः ॥

येनारिप्रकृतिं निराकृतवता सम्मानितो मानितः
यस्य स्वाङ्गमभिघ्नतो रिपुभृशं नाशोऽभितः शोभितः ।
श्रीमेघोऽस्य कवेरसौ किल बृहद्धामातुलो मातुलः
दृष्टस्त्रासजडं द्विषामधिगतत्रासेनया सेनया ॥

श्रीमानेकः शरण्यः परिभवविपदाभाजनानां जनानां
रूपेणानुप्रयातो दिवमतिसुभगं रञ्जयन्तं जयन्तम् ।
भ्राता तन्मातुरन्यः शशिधवलयशःकारणानां रणानां
कर्ता पुत्रोऽग्रबोधिर्जनशिरसि लसद्भासुराज्ञः सुराज्ञः ॥

According to the anecdotes, King Kumāradāsa wrote one line of a verse "*Kamale Kamalotpattiḥ Śrūyate na tu driśyate"* and asked his court poets to complete it. It was Kālidāsa who completed the verse as "*Bāle tava mukhāmboje driṣtamindīvaradvayam*".

Udayasundarīkathā of Sodhala indicates that Kumāradāsa lived before Bhāsa. Rāmilla, Saumilla and Bhartrimentha lived in the second half the 5th century BCE and the contemporaries of King Sri Harsha. Bhāsa lived before Rāmilla and Saumilla. Therefore, Bhāsa must be a senior contemporary of King Sri Harsha (457-405 BCE). Evidently, Sri Lankan King Kumāra Dhātusena (718-709 BCE) was indeed the famous Kumāradāsa who authored *Jānakīharaṇa Kāvya.*

Tibetan scholar Taranatha gives the details of Vararuchi and Kālidāsa. According to him, Vararuchi and Saptavarman were the grammar teachers of King Udayana. He belonged to the country of Radha, east of Magadha. He authored many Buddhist texts. Vararuchi also went to Varanasi during the reign of King Bhumishukla. The king wanted to marry off his daughter Vāsantī to Vararuchi but arrogant Vāsantī refused to marry Vararuchi because she considered herself a great scholar than him. Vararuchi II vowed to teach a lesson to Vāsantī. He found a handsome cowherd in Magadha who was cutting the branch while sitting on it. He somehow managed to befool Vāsantī and convinced her to marry the cowherd. After knowing the real identity of his husband, Vāsantī tried to educate him. The cowherd used to worship the goddess Kāli every day with flowers. Gradually, he became a learned man and came to be known as Kālidāsa. Taranatha mentions that this Kālidāsa wrote *Meghadūtam* and Maṅgalāṣṭakam. Evidently, Kālidāsa I was the author of Meghadūtam and not *Kālidāsa II*, a contemporary of King Vikramāditya of the 1st century BCE. In all probability, *Kālidāsa I,* the author of Meghadūtam was the contemporary of Kumāradāsa or Kumāra Dhātusena (718-709 BCE).

According to Taranatha, Saṅghavardhana of Li-yul (Khotan), Āchārya Vāmana of Thogar (Traigarta?), Kuṇāla of Kashmir, Śubhaṅkara of central Aparāntaka and Kumāralābha were the contemporaries of Vararuchi II and Saptavarman. Historians mistakenly considered Kumāralāta and Kumāralābha as the same person. In reality, Kumaralāta lived around 1325-1250 BCE whereas Kumaralābha lived in the 8th century BCE.

"Kārṣāpaṇa" Reference in Chūlavaṁśa

It is stated in Chūlavaṁśa that a Brahmana woman brought the Tooth-relic from Kaliṅgadeśa to Anuradhapura during the 9th regnal year (912 BCE) of King Siri Meghavanna (921-894 BCE), the son of Mahāsena (948-921 BCE). Siri Meghavanna spent nine lakhs Kārṣāpaṇas and arranged a grand festival. Historians have dated Siri Meghavanna in the second half of the 4th century CE. Kārṣāpaṇas were not in vogue during the Gupta period. Western Kśatrapa kings of Ujjain introduced Dinara and Dramma coins in India. Therefore, King Meghavanna flourished before the time of western Kśatrapas and reigned around 921-894 BCE.

The Identity of Sri Lankan King Mo-ho-Nan as Mentioned in Chinese Sources

According to Chinese sources, Sri Lankan King Mo-ho-nan sent a letter to the Chinese Emperor in 428 CE. Considering the error of 660 years in the chronology of ancient China as I have already established, the date must be 232 BCE and not 428 CE. King Mahinda V was the reigning king of Sri Lanka around 248-212 BCE. Therefore, Mahinda V must be identified with Mo-ho-nan. Historians speculated him to be King Mahānāmā but they failed to establish the chronology.

Chinese Invasion of Sri Lanka (1413-1414 CE)

The Christian author of Rājāvalīya mentions that Chinese invaded Sri Lanka in the year 1958 of Buddha Varṣa. King Vijayabāhu, the father of Parākramabāhu is said to have been taken captive and carried to China. His Queen Sunetra Devi left the city and took shelter in a monastery. Vijayabāhu's son Parākramabāhu ascended the throne in the year 1973 of Buddha Varṣa. The Chinese sources also confirm that in 1459 CE, a king of Sri Lanka Pu-la-ko-ma Bazae had sent tribute to China for the last time. In the years 1416 CE and 1421 CE, it is even related in the Chinese sources that the king of Sri Lanka brought the tribute in person during the reign of Chinese Emperor Yung Lo (1402-1424 CE). The Chinese came into conflict with the Sri Lankan ruler who is called Alekonar and took king away with them as prisoner. This Chinese expedition was led by Tshung Huo. Rājāvalīya calls him as Maha China Dosraja.

It may be noted that the dates of Ming dynasty of China (after Yuan or Mongolians kings) are accurate and this dynasty reigned for 276 years from 1368 CE to 1644 CE. Yung Lo was the third emperor of the Ming dynasty and reigned around 1402-1424 CE. The Christian author of Rājāvalīya assumed that the Buddha Varṣa commenced 623 years before the Śakānta era (78 CE). Therefore, Rājāvalīya states that Vijayabāhu was captured in the year 1958 of Buddha Varṣa (1413-1414 CE) considering the epoch of 545 BCE. Evidently, Chinese invaded Sri Lanka around 1414-1421 CE and took the King Vira Alakeshvara or Vijayabāhu away with them as prisoner.

Historians have ridiculed the authors of Chūlavaṁśa and Mahāvaṁśa for not recording this important and remarkable episode. They blamed that the author of Chūlavaṁśa was only interested in recording the details of the Tooth-relic festivals. In reality, Chūlavaṁśa was finally updated at the end of the 6th century CE whereas Chinese invaded Sri Lanka in the beginning of the 15th century CE.

The History of Sri Lankan Buddhism Given in the Kalyani Inscription of Burma

The Kalyani inscription states that one Mahāmahindathera, who was sent by Moggaliputta-Tissa-Mahāthera, went to Tambapanni dvipa (Sri Lanka) and established the religion 236 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. Devānāmpiya Tissa became the king of Sri Lanka and founded Mahāvihāra monastery in the year 1529 BCE (1765 - 236). From the date of the foundation of Mahāvihāra, the religion remained pure for 218 years (1529-1311 BCE). Then King Vattagamini-Abhaya conquered Dadhiya, King of Damilas (Tamil regions) and attained to kingship in Lankadvipa. A confederacy of seven Damila princes defeated King Vattagamini-Abhaya. The Sri Lankan King Vattagamini-Abhaya fled and remained in hiding for 14 years. Thereafter, he restored his kingdom and invited a Thera named Mahātissa who assisted him during his exile and founded Abhayagiri-Vihāra monastery. Thenceforward, the Buddhists were divided into two sects, namely Mahāvihāra and Abhayagiri-Vihāra. Thus, Abhayagiri-Vihāra was founded in 1297 BCE. In the 357th year that had elapsed since the foundation of the Abhayagiri-Vihāra,

a king called Mahāsena ruled over Lankadvipa for 27 years. Thus, we can fix the reign of Mahāsena around 948-921 BCE. Mahāsena founded Jetavana Vihāra and presented it to Tissa Thera. Thus, a third sect of Jetavana Vihāra came into existence.

The Kalyani inscription further informs that since three sects have been established within 600 years from the establishment of religion in Lankadvipa, i.e., 1529 BCE, gradually, the religion became impure and tainted. Therefore, Sri Lankan King Sirisanghabodha-Parākramabāhu I purified the religion by commanding the expulsion of large number of unorthodox and sinful priests and declared that the Mahāvihāra will be the only sect in Lankadvipa. This event occurred in the year 1708 of the Buddha religion (1765 BCE), i.e., 57 BCE and in the year 1472 of the establishment of the religion in Lankadvipa and in the 18th regnal year. The Kalyani inscription of Rāmannadeśa also mentions that King Siri-Sanghabobhi Parākramabāhu I purified the religion in Lankadvipa in Śakkaraj era 526 (57 BCE). Thus, we can fix the date of coronation of the King Sirisanghabodha-Parākramabāhu I in 75 BCE. Thereafter, Vijayabāhu and Parākramabāhu also took various steps to purify the religion. The Kalyani inscription also informs that Sri Lankan king Bhuvanaikabāhu V was the contemporary of King Rāmādhipati of Rāmannadeśa (237-282 CE). The Kalyani inscription gives the chronology of Sri Lanka up to Mahāsena who ruled around 948-921 BCE. Thereafter, this inscription simply skips the Sri Lankan history of 800 years and mentions that King Sirisanghabodha-Parākramabāhu I purified the religion in 57 BCE.

28

The Chronology of Burma

Burma was also an integral part of ancient India. Rakhine or Arakan state of Burma situated on the border of Bangladesh was known as Rakkasapura during the Rigvedic period. Undoubtedly, the words "Rakhine" and "Arakan" derived from "Rakkasapura". According to Jaiminiya Aśvamedha, King Bhishana, son of Baka was ruling over Rakkasapura in Burma around 11100 BCE. The Aśvamedha horse of Dharmarāja entered Rakkasapura after crossing Nāripura of East Bengal. King Bhishana had captured the Aśvamedha horse and challenged Arjuna but got killed.

The ancient legends of Burma relate that Bāhubali was the earliest king. The first section of the inscription of King Ananda Chandra gives the list of eight earliest rulers of Burma but only the titles of three kings, i.e., Bāhubali, Raghupati and Chandrodaya have survived. Seemingly, Bāhubali, a son of King Rishabha (14300 BCE) and the younger brother of Bharata (14275 BCE) became the king of the region of Bengal and Burma. It appears that King Baka and his son Bhishana were the descendants of King Bāhubali. Evidently, Burma was part of ancient Bhāratavarṣa since the early Vedic era.

According to the inscription of Ananda Chandra,[1] King Raghupati also reigned over Burma. Seemingly, King Raghu and his descendant Sri Rama of the Ikśvāku dynasty extended their kingdom up to Burma around 6000-5600 BCE. Thus, the Raghuvaṁśa or Suryavaṁśa ruled over Burma. The ancient chronicles of Arakan (Rakkasapura) contain that Vesali or Vaiśāli was the capital of Arakan in the pre-Mahābhārata era. Seemingly, the kings of Vaiśāli extended their kingdom up to Burma during the pre-Mahābhārata era and founded the city of Vesali in Burma. Many kings reigned over Vesali. According to some other chronicles of Arakan, one

son of a king of Varanasi founded his dynasty in Burma who had his capital at Rāmavati. Around 4719 BCE, a barbaric foreign tribe invaded Vesali and rendered it without a king. Marayu, probably, the son of a Brahmana Rishi drove the barbaric invaders away and established his rule in 4707 BCE. He founded the city of Dhānyavati known as Dhānyawaddy and ruled over for 62 years. Buddha visited Dhānyavati kingdom during his lifetime (1944-1864 BCE). Deva Chandra founded the rule of the Chandra dynasty around 1055 BCE who had his capital at Vesali. The chronology of Dhānyavati kingdom of ancient Burma as follows:[2]

The First Dhānyavati Period (4707-2866 BCE)

		In CE
1.	Mara Yu	4707-4645 BCE
2.	Mara Zi I	4645-4613 BCE
3.	Mara Onlin	4613-4560 BCE
4.	Mara Rwaylin	4560-4512 BCE
5.	Mara Bin	4512-4457 BCE
6.	Mara Zi II	4457-4424 BCE
7.	Mara Kin	4424-4392 BCE
8.	Nga Sha Po	4392-4371 BCE
9.	Dwara Sanda	4371-4331 BCE
10.	Thola Sanda	4331-4298 BCE
11.	Sanda Thuriya Sanda	4298-4261 BCE
12.	Kala Sanda	4261-4221 BCE
13.	Ti Sanda	4221-4190 BCE
14.	Madhutha Sanda	4190-4170 BCE
15.	Zeya Sanda	4170-4130 BCE
16.	Mokkha Sanda	4130-4104 BCE
17.	Gunna Sanda	4104-4092 BCE
18.	Three Nobles	4092-4091 BCE
19.	Kan Raza I	4091-4050 BCE
20.	Kan Raza II	4050-4014 BCE

21.	Athurinda Thuriya	4014-3979 BCE
22.	Tharameta	3979-3921 BCE
23.	Thuriya	3921-3890 BCE
24.	Min Thi	3890-3868 BCE
25.	Min Ba	3868-3846 BCE
26.	Si Aung	3846-3818 BCE
27.	Tataingthin	3818-3787 BCE
28.	Kyaw-Khaung Win	3787-3756 BCE
29.	Thuriya Nandameit	3756-3735 BCE
30.	Athu Yindabaya	3735-3704 BCE
31.	Letya Sithugyi	3704-3672 BCE
32.	Thihaka	3672-3629 BCE
33.	Min Bun Than	3629-3598 BCE
34.	Thayet Hmwe	3598-3549 BCE
35.	Zeya Nandathu	3549-3498 BCE
36.	Tekkathu	3498-3452 BCE
37.	Lekkhana	3452-3415 BCE
38.	Gunnarit	3415-3367 BCE
39.	Thiwarit	3367-3326 BCE
40.	Min Hla Hmwe	3326-3295 BCE
41.	Marinda	3295-3233 BCE
42.	Theiddat Kumara	3233-3211 BCE
43.	Min Hla I	3211-3164 BCE
44.	Min Hla II	3164-3140 BCE
45.	Nga Sarit	3140-3102 BCE
46.	Myet-hna Wun	3102-3071 BCE
47.	Let Thut Kyi	3071-3044 BCE
48.	Thiri Kamma Thunda	3044-3013 BCE
49.	Nanda Kotabaya	3013-2986 BCE
50.	Min Nan Phyu	2986-2966 BCE
51.	Min Manu	2966-2938 BCE

52.	Minkhaung	2938-2919 BCE
53.	Laukkhaung Raza	2919-2879 BCE
54.	Min Nge Pyaw-Hla-Si	2879-2873 BCE
55.	Three nobles	2873-2866 BCE

The Second Dhānyavati Period (2866-1895 BCE)

		In CE
1.	Kan Raza III	2866-2829 BCE
2.	Thila Raza	2829-2781 BCE
3.	Wasa Thura	2781-2750 BCE
4.	Nandawi Thura	2750-2710 BCE
5.	Puna Thuriya	2710-2678 BCE
6.	Thuranda	2678-2655 BCE
7.	Sandima	2655-2618 BCE
8.	Thiri Sanda	2618-2578 BCE
9.	Thiha Ran	2578-2532 BCE
10.	Thiha Nu	2532-2512 BCE
11.	Payaka	2512-2481 BCE
12.	Nela Gun	2481-2440 BCE
13.	Rohaha Gun	2440-2409 BCE
14.	Thiri Gun	2409-2385 BCE
15.	Thamaza	2385-2350 BCE
16.	Kummara	2350-2330 BCE
17.	Thet Htin Phyu	2330-2290 BCE
18.	Tha Bin U	2290-2248 BCE
19.	Teza Wun	2248-2212 BCE
20.	Munzayaba	2212-2178 BCE
21.	Kummara Withuddi	2178-2091 BCE
22.	Wathu Mun Dala	2091-2057 BCE
23.	Thurinda	2057-2026 BCE
24.	Ralamayu	2026-2004 BCE

25.	Nalamayu	2004-1973 BCE
26.	Wada Gun	1973-1951 BCE
27.	Withu Raza	1951-1930 BCE
28.	Thiri Raza	1930-1895 BCE

The Third Dhānyavati Period (1895-1253 BCE)

According to Burmese tradition, Buddha (1944-1864 BCE) visited Dhānyavati kingdom during time of King Sanda Thuriya, who was the first king of the third Dhānyavati period.

		In CE
1.	Sanda Thuriya	1895-1843 BCE
2.	Thuriya Dipati	1843-1796 BCE
3.	Thuriya Patipat	1796-1743 BCE
4.	Thuriya Rupa	1743-1728 BCE
5.	Thuriya Mandala	1728-1666 BCE
6.	Thuriya Wunna	1666-1623 BCE
7.	Thuriya Natha	1623-1582 BCE
8.	Thuriya Wuntha	1582-1573 BCE
9.	Thuriya Banda	1573-1567 BCE
10.	Thuriya Kalyana	1567-1549 BCE
11.	Thuriya Mokkha	1549-1528 BCE
12.	Thuriya Teza	1528-1497 BCE
13.	Thuriya Ponnya	1497-1489 BCE
14.	Thuriya Kala	1489-1466 BCE
15.	Thuriya Pabba	1466-1441 BCE
16.	Thuriya Sitya	1441-1423 BCE
17.	Thuriya Thehta	1423-1401 BCE
18.	Thuriya Wimala	1401-1393 BCE
19.	Thuriya Renu	1393-1371 BCE
20.	Thuriya Gantha	1371-1355 BCE
21.	Thuriya Thagya	1355-1347 BCE
22.	Thuriya Thiri	1347-1327 BCE

23.	Thuriya Kethi	1327-1318 BCE
24.	Thuriya Kutta	1318-1295 BCE
25.	Thuriya Ketu	1295-1253 BCE

King Chandrodaya and His Successors (1253-1055 BCE)

		In CE
1.	Chandrodaya	1253-1055 BCE
2.	Anāveta kings	
3.	Rimbhyappa	
4.	Kuverami	
5.	Umavirya	
6.	Jugna	
7.	Lanki	

The Chandra Kings of Vaiśāli and Their Successors (1055 BCE – 100 CE)
According to the inscription of Ananda Chandra, Deva Chandra subdued 101 kings and founded the rule of the Chandra dynasty. He then laid out a Nagaram. Most probably, Deva Chandra (~1055-1000 BCE) constructed a fort city in Vaiśāli or Vesali at the end of the 11th century BCE. Seemingly, the city of Vaiśāli existed before the foundation of the city of Dhānyavati. As already discussed, the kings of Chandra dynasty reigned over Bengal around 1500-400 BCE.

Seemingly, many kings of the Chandra dynasty reigned in Vaiśāli but only the following thirteen names of the kings are found mentioned in the Ananda Chandra's inscription.

1. Deva Chandra
2. Raja Chandra
3. Kala Chandra
4. Deva Chandra
5. Yajna or Yintya Chandra
6. Chandra Bandhu
7. Bhumi Chandra

8. Bhuti Chandra
9. Niti Chandra
10. Vira or Virya Chandra
11. Priti Chandra
12. Prithvi Chandra
13. Dhriti Chandra

The inscriptions of the Chandra kings mention seven Chandra kings namely Purnachandra, Suvarnachandra, Trailokyachandra, Srichandra, Kalyanachandra, Ladahachandra and Govindachandra. The numismatic evidence also indicates that Sandra Bandhu, Thuriya Sandra, Simghaganda Sandra, Simgha Vikrama Sura Chandra, Simgha Ganapati Sura Chandra etc., were the kings of Chandra dynasty. Therefore, there is a genuine need for further comprehensive research to explore and establish an authentic chronological history of the Chandra kings of Vaiśāli.

The Purempura Dynasty (60-11 BCE)

		In CE
1.	Mahāvira	60-48 BCE
2.	Vrayajap	48-36 BCE
3.	Sevinren	36-24 BCE
4.	Dharma Sura	24-11 BCE

Sri Dharmarajandaja Vaṁśa (11 BCE-80 CE)

King Anandachandra refers to his dynasty as "Sri-Dharmarajandaja Vaṁśa" because his ancestors were the descendants of the deity Garuda. The Garuda motif in the inscription also indicates the same. Seemingly, Vajrashakti was the founder of the Dharmarajandaja Vaṁśa. King Anandachandra was the 5th descendant of him.

		In CE
1.	Vajrashakti	11 BCE-5 CE
2.	Dharma Vijaya	5-41 CE
3.	Narendra Vijaya	41-44 CE

4.	Dharma Chandra	44-60 CE
5.	Ananda Chandra	60-75 CE

Four Unrecorded Kings of Arakan (75-128 CE)

The numismatic evidence suggests that Lalitakara, Ramyakara, Pradyumnakara, Antakara or Annakara reigned over Arakan. The coins of these kings have the humped bull on observe. Seemingly, these kings belonged to the ancestors of the Bhaumakara dynasty because the seal of Bhaumakara kings contains bull motif.

The Later Kings of Vaiśāli (128-358 CE)

		In CE
1.	Maha Taing Sanda	128-150 CE
2.	Thuriya Taing Sanda	150-170 CE
3.	Mawla Taing Sanda	170-189 CE
4.	Pawla Taing Sanda	189-215 CE
5.	Kala Taing Sanda	215-224 CE
6.	Tula Taing Sanda	224-243 CE
7.	Thiri Taing Sanda	243-275 CE
8.	Thinkha Taing Sanda	275-291 CE
9.	Chula Taing Sanda	291-297 CE
10.	Amyahtu	297-304 CE
11.	Pe Phyu	304-334 CE
12.	Nga Pin Nga Ton	334-358 CE

The Kings of Lemro (358-443 CE)

		In CE
Pyinsa (358-443 CE)		
1.	Khittathin	358-368 CE
2.	Sandathin	368-379 CE
3.	Min Yin Phyu	379-389 CE
4.	Naga Thuriya	389-392 CE
5.	Thuriya Raza	392-394 CE

6.	Ponnaka	394-398 CE
7.	Min Phyugyi	398-400 CE
8.	Sithabin	400-401 CE
9.	Min Nangyi	401-406 CE
10.	Min Lade	406-412 CE
11.	Min Kala	412-415 CE
12.	Min Bilu	415-418 CE
13.	Thinkhaya	418-432 CE
14.	Min Than	432-440 CE
15.	Min Pati	440-443 CE
Parin (443-507 CE)		
1.	Letya Min Nan	443-449 CE
2.	Thihaba	449-450 CE
3.	Razagyi	450-452 CE
4.	Thagiwin I	452-455 CE
5.	Thagiwin II	455-473 CE
6.	Kawliya	473-493 CE
7.	Datharaza	493-505 CE
8.	Ananthiri	505-507 CE
Khrit (507-520 CE)		
1.	Minonsa	507-514 CE
2.	Pyinsakawa	514-516 CE
3.	Keinnayok	516-519 CE
4.	Salinkabo	519-520 CE
Pyinsa (520-577 CE)		
1.	Misuthin	520-531 CE
2.	Ngaranman	531-533 CE
3.	Ngapogan	533-535 CE
4.	Ngarakhaing	535-538 CE
5.	Ngakyon	538-541 CE
6.	Ngasu	541-545 CE

7.	Swe Thin	545-546 CE
8.	Minkhaung I	546-547 CE
9.	Minkhaung II	547-548 CE
10.	Kabalaung I	548-549 CE
11.	Kabalaung II	549-550 CE
12.	Letya I	550-558 CE
13.	Letya II	558-569 CE
14.	Thanabin	569-572 CE
15.	Nganathin	572-574 CE
16.	Nganalon	574-577 CE

Launggyet (577-746 CE)

1.	Alawmaphyu	577-583 CE
2.	Razathu I	583-586 CE
3.	Saw Lu	586-591 CE
4.	Uzana I	591-600 CE
5.	Saw Mon I	600-608 CE
6.	Nankyagyi	608-612 CE
7.	Min Bilu	612-616 CE
8.	Sithabin I	616-619 CE
9.	Min Hti	619-713 CE
10.	Saw Mon II	713-720 CE
11.	Saw Me	720-725 CE
12.	Uzana II	725-727 CE
13.	Thiwarit	727-730 CE
14.	Thinhse	730-734 CE
15.	Razathu II	734-735 CE
16.	Sithabin II	735-737 CE
17.	Myinhseingyi	737 CE
18.	Razathu	737-741 CE
19.	Theinkhathu	741-744 CE
20.	Narameikhla	744-746 CE
	Interregnum	746-770 CE

The Muslim Sultanate of Arakan (770-1000 CE)

King Narameikhla of Arakan was forced to flee to Bengal due to the growing power of the Ava kingdom of Burma. He sought refuge in the court of Sultan Ahmed Shah. He reconquered Arakan with the help of Ahmed Shah but he was forced to agree to abide by the following conditions. They are:

- To receive Muslim title for the kings of Arakan from Bengal.
- The court emblem must be inscribed in Persian.
- The coins must be inscribed in Persian.
- To use the Persian as court language of Arakan.
- To pay taxes and presents annually.

Thus, Narameikhla ascended the throne of Arakan in 770 CE in the name of Solaiman Shah. His successors reigned for more than 200 years.

		In CE
1.	Solaiman Shah	
2.	Ali Khan	
3.	Kalima Shah	
4.	Mathu Shah	
5.	Mohammad Shah	
6.	Noori Shah	
7.	Sheik Abdulih Shah	
8.	Ilias Shah I	
9.	Ilias Shah II	
10.	Jalal Shah	770-1000 CE
11.	Ali Shah	
12.	EI-Shah Azad	
13.	Zabuk Shah	
14.	Daud Khan	
15.	Sikender Shah	
16.	Salim Shah I	
17.	Hussain Shah	
18.	Salim Shah II	

The Launggyet Kings of Arakan (1000-1430 CE)

The Bengal Sultanate declined during the Mughal period. Only Mughal governors were ruling over Bengal. Seemingly, the Launggyet kings re-established their kingdom in Arakan with the help of the Ava kingdom of Burma. The Chronological genealogy of these kings needs to be reconstructed.

The Mrauk-U Kingdom (1429-1785 CE)

King Min Saw Mon founded the city of Mrauk-U which became the capital of Arakan kingdom in 1430 CE. The kings of Mrauk-U kingdom promoted Buddhism as a state religion. This Buddhist kingdom flourished up to 1785 CE. The Konbaung dynasty conquered the kingdom of Mrauk-U in 1785 CE. The chronology of the Mrauk-U kingdom:

		From (In CE)	**To (In CE)**
1.	Saw Mon	18 Apr 1429	9 May 1433
2.	Khayi	9 May 1433	Jan 1459
3.	Ba Saw Phyu	Jan 1459	5 Aug 1482
4.	Dawlya	5 Aug 1482	Feb 1492
5.	Ba Saw Nyo	Feb 1492	Jan 1494
6.	Ran Aung	Jan 1494	Jul 1494
7.	Salingathu	Jul 1494	Feb 1502
8.	Raza	Feb 1502	Nov 1513
9.	Gazapati	Nov 1513	Jan 1515
10.	Saw O	Jan 1515	Jul 1515
11.	Thazata	Jul 1515	Apr 1521
12.	Minkhaung	Apr 1521	27 May 1531
13.	Min Bin	27 May 1531	11 Jan 1554
14.	Dikkha	11 Jan 1554	6 Mar 1556
15.	Saw Hla	6 Mar 1556	24 Jul 1564
16.	Sekkya	24 Jul 1564	7 Feb 1572
17.	Hpalaung	7 Feb 1572	4 Jul 1593
18.	Razagri	4 Jul 1593	4 Jul 1612

19.	Khamaung	4 Jul 1612	14 May 1622
20.	Thiri Thudhamma	14 May 1622	29 May 1638
21.	Sanay	29 May 1638	17 Jun 1638
22.	Narapati	17 Jun 1638	13 Dec 1645
23.	Thado	13 Dec 1645	May 1652
24.	Sanda Thudhamma	May 1652	11 Jun 1674
25.	Oaggar Bala	11 Jun 1674	16 Apr 1685
26.	Wara Dhamma	16 Apr 1685	20 Jun 1692
27.	Mani Dhamma	20 Jun 1692	20 Dec 1694
28.	Sanda Thuriya I	20 Dec 1694	4 Aug 1696
29.	Nawrahta	4 Aug 1696	18 Aug 1696
30.	Mayuppiya	18 Aug 1696	13 May 1697
31.	Kalamandat	16 May 1697	5 Jun 1698
32.	Naradipati	5 Jun 1698	17 Jun 1700
33.	Sanda Wimala I	18 Jun 1700	30 Mar 1707
34.	Sanda Thuriya II	3 Apr 1707	Sep 1710
35.	Sanda Wizaya	Nov 1710	Apr 1731
36.	Sanda Thuriya III	Apr 1731	1734
37.	Naradipati II	1734	1735
38.	Narapawara	1735	Sep 1737
39.	Sanda Wizala	Sep 1737	25 Mar 1738
40.	Madarit	28 Mar 1738	6 Feb 1743
41.	Nara Apaya	6 Feb 1743	28 Oct 1761
42.	Thirithu	28 Oct 1761	3 Feb 1762
43.	Sanda Parama	3 Feb 1762	1 May 1764
44.	Apaya	1 May 1764	17 Jan 1774
45.	Sanda Thumana	17 Jan 1774	5 May 1777
46.	Sanda Wimala II	6 May 1777	5 Jun 1777
47.	Sanda Thaditha	5 Jun 1777	1 Dec 1782
48.	Maha Thammada	2 Dec 1782	2 Jan 1785

The Chronology of Śrikśetra Kingdom of Burma

Śrikśetra kingdom, also known as Tagaung kingdom was an ancient kingdom of Burma. According to Burmese chronicle "Hmannan Yazawin", Abhi Raja, a descendant of the Ikśvāku dynasty migrated to Burma and founded his kingdom on the banks of Irrawaddy River. Some Arkanese chronolcles also tell us that Abhi Raja, a son of the king of Varanasi founded his dynasty in Burma who had his capital at Rāmavati. Seemingly, Abhi Raja founded his kingdom in pre-Mahābhārata period.

The First Ikśvāku Dynasty of Burma (~4000-2500 BCE):

1. Abhi Raja
2. Kan Rajange
3. Jambudipa Raja
4. Thingatha Raja
5. Weippanna Raja
6. Dewata Raja
7. Munika Raja
8. Naga Raja
9. Einda Raja
10. Thamuti Raja
11. Dewa Raja
12. Maheindra Raja
13. Wimala Raja
14. Thihanu Raja
15. Mingana Raja
16. Kantha Raja
17. Kaleinga Raja
18. Thindwe Raja
19. Thihala Raja
20. Thamuti Raja
21. Hantha Raja
22. Wara Raja

23. Alaung Raja
24. Kawlaka Raja
25. Thuriya Raja
26. Thingyi Raja
27. Taingchit Raja
28. Madu Raja
29. Minhlagyi Raja
30. Thanthu Thiha Raja
31. Daninga Raja
32. Heinda Raja
33. Mawriya Raja
34. Beinnaka Raja

The Second Ikśvāku Dynasty of Burma (~2500-1765 BCE):

1. Daza Raja
2. Thado Taing-Ya
3. Thado Yahta-Ya
4. Thado Tagun-Ya
5. Thado Hlanbyan-Ya
6. Thado Shwe
7. Thado Galon-Ya
8. Thado Naga-Ya
9. Thado Naga-Naing
10. Thado Yahawlaw
11. Thado Paungshe
12. Thado Kyaukshe
13. Thado Hsinlauk
14. Thado Hsinhtein
15. Thado Taingchit
16. Thado Mingyi
17. Thado Maha Raja

The Kings of Śrikśetra (1705-1138 BCE)

According to Hmannan Yazawin, Maha Thanbawa and Sula Thanbawa, sons of Thado Maha Raja founded the city of Śrikśetra in the 60th year of the era of Buddha religion, i.e., the epoch of Theravāda Buddhism (1765 BCE). Thus, the city of Śrikśetra became the capital in 1705 BCE. Total 27 kings reigned in Śrikśetra for 578 years from the 60th year to the 638th year of the era of Buddha religion.

			In CE
1.	Maha Thanbawa	6 y	1705-1699 BCE
2.	Sula Thanbawa	35 y	1699-1664 BCE
3.	Duttabaung	70 y	1664-1594 BCE
4.	Duttayan	22 y	1594-1572 BCE
5.	Yan Baung	50 y	1572-1522 BCE
6.	Yan Man	51 y	1522-1471 BCE
7.	Yetkhan	31 y	1471-1440 BCE
8.	Khanlaung	38 y	1440-1402 BCE
9.	Letkhaing	34 y	1402-1368 BCE
10.	Thirikhan	28 y	1368-1340 BCE
11.	Thiriyit	9 y	1340-1331 BCE
12.	Taba	51 y	1331-1280 BCE
13.	Papiyan	66 y	1280-1214 BCE
14.	Yan Mukha	15 y	1214-1199 BCE
15.	Yan Theinkha	3 y	1199-1196 BCE
16.	Yan Monsaleinda	15 y	1196-1181 BCE
17.	Bereinda	12 y	1181-1169 BCE
18.	Monsala	5 y	1169-1164 BCE
19.	Ponna	3 y	1164-1161 BCE
20.	Thakha	3 y	1161-1158 BCE
21.	Thathi	3 y	1158-1155 BCE
22.	Kan Nu	1 y	1155-1154 BCE
23.	Kan Tet	3 y	1154-1151 BCE
24.	Beizza	4 y	1151-1147 BCE

25.	Thumondari	7 y	1147-1140 BCE
26.	Atitya	3 y	1140-1137 BCE
27.	Thupyinnya	11 y	1137-1127 BCE

The Burmese tradition informs us that King Sumundri founded the city of Prome (Pyay) between the 623rd year and the 638th year of the epoch of Buddha religion around 1142-1127 BCE. According to Hmannan Yazawin, Thamoddarit, was a nephew of King Thupyinnya, the last king of Śrikśetra. He founded the city of Arimaddanapura (came to known as Pagan) in the 651st year, i.e., 1114 BCE. He reigned for 45 years.

The Kings of Arimaddanapura:

			In CE
1.	Thamoddarit (Sumundri)	45 y	1114-1069 BCE
2.	Yathekyaung	15 y	1069-1054 BCE
3.	Pyusawhti	75 y	1054-979 BCE
4.	Hti Min Yin	57 y	979-922 BCE
5.	Yin Min Paik	25 y	922-897 BCE
6.	Paik Thinli	20 y	897-877 BCE
7.	Thinli Kyaung I	43 y	877-834 BCE
8.	Kyaung Tu Yit	25 y	834-809 BCE
9.	Thihtan	23 y	809-786 BCE
10.	Thuye	55 y	786-731 BCE
11.	Tharamun Pya	22 y	731-709 BCE
12.	Thaik Taing	7 y	709-702 BCE
13.	Thinli Kyaung II	9 y	702-693 BCE
14.	Thinli Paik	15 y	693-678 BCE
15.	Khan Laung	10 y	678-668 BCE
16.	Khan Lat	12 y	668-656 BCE
17.	Htun Taik	13 y	656-643 BCE
18.	Htun Pyit	16 y	643-627 BCE
19.	Htun Kyit	15 y	627-612 BCE

20.	Popa Sawrahan	27 y	612-585 BCE
21.	Shwe Ohnthi	12 y	585-573 BCE
22.	Peit Thon	8 y	573-565 BCE
23.	Peit Taung	50 y	565-515 BCE
24.	Nga Khwe	6 y	515-509 BCE
25.	Min Kywe	10 y	509-499 BCE
26.	Theinga Kha	8 y	499-491 BCE
27.	Thein Khun	6 y	491-485 BCE
28.	Shwe Laung	9 y	485-476 BCE
29.	Htun Htwin	9 y	476-467 BCE
30.	Shwe Hmauk	23 y	467-444 BCE
31.	Htun Lut	17 y	444-427 BCE
32.	Saw Khin Hnit	27 y	427-400 BCE
33.	Khelu	17 y	400-383 BCE
34.	Pyinbya	32 y	383-351 BCE
35.	Tannet	28 y	351-323 BCE
36.	Sale Ngahkwe	9 y	323-314 BCE
37.	Theinhko	16 y	314-298 BCE
38.	Nyaung-u Sawrahan	33 y	298-265 BCE
39.	Kunhsaw Kyaunghpyu	22 y	265-243 BCE
40.	Kyiso	6 y	243-237 BCE
41.	Sokkate	25 y	237-212 BCE
42.	Anuruddha	42 y	212-170 BCE

Sāsanavaṁsa relates that King Anuruddha ascended the throne in the Jinachakka (the epoch of Theravāda Buddhism) year 1561 and Śakaraj 371. Considering the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE), King Anuruddha began to reign in Śaka 371, i.e., 212 BCE in Arimaddanapura (also known as Pugama or Pagan). The Kalyani inscription also tells us that King Anuruddha brought a community of Buddhist priests together with the Tripitaka from Rāmannadeśa and established the religion in Arimaddanapura (Pagan) in the year 1601 of the Jinachakka era and Śakaraj 419 (164 BCE). Thus, we can conclusively fix the date of Pagan

King Anuruddha around 212-164 BCE based on the above epigraphic evidence.

An inscription of Shwezigon Pagoda informs that the Pagoda was built by King Anuvrata in Śakaraj 421 (162 BCE). Evidently, Anuvrata was the son of Anuruddha and ruled from Śaka 420 to Śaka 446 (163-137 BCE). The Myazedi inscription tells us that King Tribuvanaditya ascended the throne in the year 1628 of the Buddha religion and ruled for 28 years. Therefore, we can fix the date of King Tribhuvanaditya around 137-109 BCE. Rajakumara, the son of King Tribhuvanaditya succeeded his father around 109 BCE. According to the Kalyani inscription, King Narapatijayasura was ruling at Pagan around Śaka 543 (40 BCE). The Kalyani inscription mentions that King Ramadhipati was ruling in Hamsavatinagara, Rāmannadeśa in the year 2002 of the Buddha religion and Śakaraj 820 (237 CE). He assumed the title of Siripavaramaha-Dhamma-Rajadhiraja. He ruled over Rāmannadeśa which comprised the three provinces of Kushimandala, Hamsavatimandala and Muttimamandala. The chronology of the kings of Arimaddanapura as indicated in the inscriptions:

		In CE
1.	Anuruddha	212-164 BCE
2.	Anuvrata	163-137 BCE
3.	Tribhuvanaditya	137-109 BCE
4.	Rajakumara	109-60 BCE
5.	Narapatijayasura	60-1 BCE
Early Kingdom of Hamsavatinagara		
1.	Ramadhipati Siripavaramaha-Dhamma-Rajadhiraja	237-282 CE

The historians have fixed the Burmese epoch of Buddha religion and Buddha nirvāṇa around 544 BCE and mistakenly identified King Tribhuvanāditya (137-109 BCE) as King Kyansittha and King Ramadhipati Siripavaramaha-Dhamma-Rajadhiraja of Hamsavatipura (237-282 CE) as King Dhammaceti of Pegu. We have already discussed the epochs of Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE) and Theravada Buddhism (1765 BCE) in

Chapter 3. Thus, historians have contracted the chronology of Burma by 1182 years.

The Early Hamsavatinagara and Ava Kingdoms (200-1000 CE)

The Kalyani inscription tells us that King Ramadhipati was ruling in Hamsavatinagara. Evidently, the early Hanthawaddy or Hamsavatinagara Kingdom was established in the beginning of the 3rd century CE. Seemingly, the early Ava kingdom also came into existence in lower Burma at the same time. The Mongols invaded Burma in the 7th century CE. The Ava kings of lower Burma reigned in the 8th and 9th centuries CE. There is a need for further research to establish the chronology of upper Burma and lower Burma for the period 200-1000 CE. In fact, historians have mixed up the chronological references of the Śakaraj era and the Burmese era (638 CE) leading to numerous chronological issues in the Burmese history.

The Later Pagan Kingdom (1044-1297 CE)

		In CE
1.	Anawrahta	1044-1077 CE
2.	Saw Lu	1077-1084 CE
3.	Kyansittha	1084-1112 CE
4.	Sithu I	1112-1167 CE
5.	Narathu	1167-1171 CE
6.	Naratheinkha	1171-1174 CE
7.	Sithu II	1174-1211 CE
8.	Htilominlo	1211-1235 CE
9.	Naratheinga Uzana (as regent)	1231-1235 CE
10.	Kyaswa	1235-1251 CE
11.	Uzana	1251-1256 CE
12.	Narathihapate	1256-1288 CE
13.	Kyawswa	1289-1297 CE

The Later Hanthawaddy Kingdom (1287-1552 CE)

		In CE
1.	Wareru	1287-1307 CE
2.	Hkun Law	1307-1311 CE
3.	Saw O	1311-1323 CE
4.	Saw Zein	1323-1330 CE
5.	Zein Pun	1330 CE
6.	Saw E	1330 CE
7.	Binnya E Law	1330-1348 CE
8.	Binnya U	1348-1384 CE
9.	Maha Dewi (as regent)	1384 CE
10.	Razadarit	1384-1421 CE
11.	Binnya Dhammaraza	1421-1424 CE
12.	Binnya Ran I	1424-1446 CE
13.	Binnya Waru	1446-1451 CE
14.	Binnya Kyan	1451-1453 CE
15.	Leik Munhtaw	1453-1454 CE
16.	Shin Sawbu	1454-1471 CE
17.	Dhammazedi	1471-1492 CE
18.	Binnya Ran II	1492-1526 CE
19.	Taka Yut Pi	1526-1539 CE
20.	Smim Sawhtut	1550 CE
21.	Smim Htaw	1550-1552 CE

There is a need for further research to review the chronology as presented above based on the original Burmese chronicles. I have roughly presented the chronology of Burma, considering the epochs of the Theravada Buddhism (1765 BCE), the Śakaraj era (583 BCE) and the Burmese era (638 CE) as the sheet anchors. It would be quite pertinent to discuss here the following Burmese epochs.

The Śrikśetra or Prome Epoch (1142-1127 BCE): According to ancient Burmese sources, Prome became the capital city of government in

Burma in the year 623 or 638 of the epoch of Theravāda Buddhism (1765 BCE) during the reign of King Sumundri and continued to be a major center of Buddhism for 395 years. Thereafter, the capital city was removed to the city of Pagan where it continued for more than fifteen centuries. Thus, the so-called Prome epoch is only a date when Prome city became the capital of Burma. Historians have speculated without firm evidence that the Prome epoch and the Śakānta epoch of 78 CE are identical.

The Mahāśakaraj Era (583 BCE) and the Chūlaśakaraj Era (78 CE): The East Asian Buddhist literature and traditions refer to two different epochs as the Mahāśakaraj era and the Chūlaśakaraj era. Mahā means greater and Chūla means lesser. It is obvious that the Mahāśakaraj era was the Śaka era (583 BCE) whereas the Chūlaśakaraj era was the Śakānta era (78 CE). Since the epoch of 583 BCE was not known to historians, they have concluded that the Mahāśakaraj era commenced in 78 CE and the Chūlaśakaraj era commenced in 638 CE. Historians have also concocted that the Mahāśakaraj era and the Prome epoch are identical and the Chūlaśakaraj era and the so-called Burmese era are identical.

There is not an iota of evidence to prove that the Chūlaśakaraj era commenced in 638 CE. The Burmese inscriptions generally refer to the Śakaraj era. In reality, both Śakaraj eras of East Asia have been borrowed from India. Therefore, we must conclude that the Mahāśakaraj era was identical with the Śaka era (583 BCE) whereas the Chūlaśakaraj era was identical with the Śakānta era (78 CE).

The Burmese Era or the Magwe Era (638 CE): Historians have speculated that the Pagan kingdom followed the Prome epoch but in 640 CE, King Pouppa-tsau-Rahan recalibrated the calendar, naming the new era as Kawza Thekkarit and started on 22nd Mar 638 CE. In reality, the Burmese kings followed the epoch of Theravada Buddhism (1765 BCE) not a fictitious epoch of 544 BCE. The so-called Prome epoch (78 CE) is a fictitious epoch – a figment of the imagination of eminent historians. In all probability, the Burmese era (638 CE) is identical with the Magi or Magwe era which was prevalent in the district of Chittagong.

The Mohnyin Era (1435 CE): Historians have found that there was also an epoch of "Mohnyin era" which commenced in the 798th year. They

have counted 798 years from 638 CE and concluded that the Mohnyin era started in 1436 CE. According to the Burmese tradition, the astrologers convinced King Mohnyin that the current era was going to end two years before its time and that he should sacrifice himself allowing a new era to begin. Evidently, the year 798 must be counted from the epoch of 638 CE, i.e., the epoch of Magi or Magwe era. Thus, the epoch of "Mohnyin" era commenced on 30 Mar 1435 CE, Chaitra Śukla Pratipadā, Aśvinī Nakśatra and Sunday.[3] It is a matter of fact that the epochs of 638 CE and 1435 CE had been introduced by the Burmese astronomers.

29

The Chronology of Tibet

Tibetans were generally referred to as Bhotas or Bhauttas in Sanskrit literature since the post-Buddhist period. There is no reference to Bhotas or Bhauttas in Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. Ancient Tibet was called as Bod or Bod-yul. Mahābhārata mentions that a tribe of Bodhas residing in the northern and north-eastern side of Magadha fled westwards along with Śūrasenas, Bhadrakāras, Śālvas, Pataccharas, Sustharas, Sukuttas, Kuṇindas and Kuntis out of fear of Magadha Emperor Jarāsandha.

उदीच्यभोजाश्च तथा कुलान्यष्टादशाभितो
जरासंधभयाद् एव प्रतीचीं दिशमाश्रिताः ॥
शूरसेनाः भद्रकराः बोधाः शाल्वाः पटच्चराः
सुस्थराश्च सुकुट्टाश्च कुणिन्दाः कुन्तिभिः सह ॥[1]

The Bodha tribe (Bodo tribe in modern times) was traditionally living on the north bank of Brahmaputra River (Assam and Arunachal Pradesh) and in the foothills of Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh since pre-Mahābhārata era. The Bodha people living in the foothills of Bhutan had to immigrate to Western and Central Tibet fearing the oppression by King Jarāsandha of Magadha. Thus, Western Tibet and Central Tibet was gradually populated by the Bodha tribe of India. Western Tibet emerged as the kingdom of Zhang Zhung after the Mahābhārata era and the Central Tibet came to be known as Bodh or Bod. The word "Bodh" became "Bhota" in Prakrit and "Bhautta" in later Sanskrit literature. Evidently, Tibet and Bhutan names derived from the Prakrit word "Bhota". Kalhana mentions that King Lalitāditya defeated Bhauttas. A copper plate of Vijayanagara kings also refers to Bhauttas and Mahā-Bhauttas. Though there is no literary evidence but my speculation is that Western, Central and Eastern

Bhotas were collectively known as Tri-Bhotas (Three regions of Bhotas). Most probably, Tri-Bhota word had been evolved into Tibet. It may also be noted that the region of Tibet, Bhutan, and Arunachal Pradesh was indeed an integral part of ancient India since pre-Mahābhārata era. Therefore, India has more genuine cultural claims over this region than China.

Modern historians generally believe that Buddhism was introduced in Tibet around the 7th and 8th centuries CE. According to Tibetan sources, Bon or Bonpo was the ancient religion of Tibet but it cannot be distinguished from Tibetan Buddhism. Therefore, historians reject the historical account of Bon sources. In reality, historians have mistakenly fixed the date of Buddha nirvāṇa in 483 BCE which led to numerous chronological inconsistencies in the history of Tibetan Buddhism. Let us discuss the Tibetan chronology considering the true epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa in 1864 BCE.

The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism

There are four major schools of Tibetan Buddhism namely Nyingma, Kagyu, Sakya and Gelug. Nyingma or Ngangyur School is the oldest. In fact, Nyingma means ancient in Tibetan language. The earliest Tibetan Buddhist manuscripts are apparently influenced by Mahayana Buddhism. According to Nyingma School, Samantabhadra taught Dzogchen (Mahayana/Vajrayana Buddhism) to Vajrasattva. Prahevajra or Garab Dorje learnt Dzogchen from Vajrasattva. The Nyingma School also refers to Padmasambhava, the second Buddha, as the founder of their tradition. Evidently, Samantabhadra and Padmasambhava were the same person. It is also recorded that Garab Dorje was the first human teacher of Dzogchen in Tibet.

The Bon or Bonpo Tradition of Western Tibet

Most probably, the Bon or Bonpo tradition is older than the Nyingma tradition. In fact, the Bon is the ancient Tibetan religion that transformed later into Buddhism whereas the Nyingma School is originally belonged to Mahayana Buddhism. According to Bon tradition, there are four transcendent lords.

1. **Satrig Ersang or Yingkyi Yum Chemma:** The female deity of Bon tradition ranks with the highest of all Bon deities. This deity has mainly three manifestations as a meditational deity (Saraswati), a deity of healing (Lakshmi) and a protector deity in horrific appearance (Durga or Kāli).
2. **Shenlha Okar:** This deity represents wisdom of white light. The deity has also many manifestations as a creator deity, a deity of compassion etc.
3. **Sangpo Bumtri:** The creator deity of Bon tradition is like Brahma.
4. **Tonpa Shenrab Miwoche:** According to Bon tradition, Tonpa Shenrab Miwoche was the earliest teacher who introduced Terma (Dharma = Religion) in Tibet.

Tonpa Shenrab Miwoche, the First Religious Teacher of Tibet

Tonpa Shenrab Miwoche was the founder of Bon religion in the western Tibet. According to Bon mythology, three brothers, Dagpa, Salba and Shepa studied Bon religion in heaven and visited Shenlha Okar, the god of compassion. Shenlha Okar advised them to become religious teachers of mankind. Following the God's advice, Dagpa was born in the past age and taught religion to mankind. Salba born in the present age and took the name of Shenrab Miwoche. Thus, he became the first teacher of Bon religion in the present age. Shepa will born in the future age.

The biographical account of Shenrab Miwoche indicates him to be a historical person. According to Bon tradition, Shenrab Miwoche lived much before the lifetime of Gautama Buddha and Padmasambhava. He might have been born in Olmo Lungring, a part of Tazig country which is located to the west and the north of Tibet. Shenrab Miwoche was also a prince but he renounced his kingdom at the age of 31 and embraced the path of Bon religion. After spreading the doctrine of Bon in India, Kashmir and China, Shenrab Miwoche arrived in the land of Shang Shung near Mount Kailash.

Many Tibetologists have calculated the date of Shenrab Miwoche based on the traditional chronologies but a divergence of opinion still exists. Kvaerne says that Shenrab was born 23000 years ago. Lopon Tenzin

Namdak places him 18000 years back. Another Tibetan scholar says that he was born 13500 years ago. Some of the Tibetologists say that he was born 8000 years back. Namkhai Norbu (1995) has fixed the birth of Shenrab in 1917 BCE (Wood Male Mouse Year) whereas some others say that he was born in 1857 BCE (Wood Male Mouse Year). Thus, it is extremely difficult to arrive at a date of Shenrab Miwoche but undoubtedly, he might have been born in remote past and much before the birth of Gautama Buddha and Padmasambhava.

Most probably, Shenrab Miwoche was a Vedic Rishi who migrated from the land of Mount Meru to Mount Kailash and founded "Terma" (religion). Interestingly, Vedic Swastika (Yundrung) is the symbol of wisdom of Bon religion. Shenrab was also called as Buddha Shenrab. Seemingly, Shenrab had been transformed as a past incarnation of Buddha. In fact, the Bon scriptures were written in the language of Zhang-Zhung and translated later into Tibetan. Bon religion also faced persecutions when Zhang-Zhung became part of Tibetan kingdom. Consequently, the practice of Bon religion went underground. Later, the Bon religion was revived as a school of Buddhism. Therefore, it is now extremely difficult to separate the pre-Buddhist biography of Shenrab Miwoche.

The Date of Samantabhadra (~1650-1550 BCE)

According to the Nyingma tradition, Samantabhadra Vajradhara or Padmasambhava, the second Buddha was the founder of Dzogchen. Three Bodhisattvas namely Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi, Mañjuśrī and Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna Vajrapāṇi were the founders of Mahayana Buddhism. Avalokiteśvara was also referred to as Padmapāṇi, Padmasambhava, Samantabhadra etc. According to Gilgit Manuscripts, Vajrapāṇi attained nirvāṇa 400 years before King Kanishka. Samyuka-Ratna-Pitaka-Sutra of Chinese Suttapitaka indicates that King Kanishka flourished 700 years after Buddha nirvāṇa. Thus, there was at least 300 years difference between the date of Buddha nirvāṇa and the date of nirvāṇa of Vajrapāṇi. Seemingly, Samantabhadra Vajradhara was identical with Nāgārjuna Vajrapāṇi.

The Tibetan Phug-lugs School of chronology gives a date of nirvāṇa of Bodhisattva. Western historians have calculated it to be 881 BCE.

As I have pointed out, there is a chronological error of 660 years in the Sino-Tibetan chronology. If we correct this error, the date of nirvāṇa of Bodhisattva works out to be ~1541 BCE. The date of 1541 BCE also closely reconciles with the date given in the Gilgit Manuscripts. Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi attained nirvāṇa 400 years before King Kanishka (1150-1118 BCE). Now, we can conclusively fix the date of nirvāṇa of Vajrapāṇi not later than 1541 BCE and not earlier than 1565 BCE. Thus, Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi or Samantabhadra Vajradhara or Padmasambhava lived around 1650-1550 BCE.

Most probably, Samantabhadra or Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi introduced Buddhism in Tibet for the first time. Tibetan sources also indicate that the Dzogchen teachings first appeared in Tibet during the reign of Triwer Sergyi Jyaruchan, the king of Zhang-Zhung. John Myrdhin Reynolds states in his book "The Golden Letters" that some 3600 years have elapsed from the time of King Triwer Sergyi Jyaruchan until the present time (1990). Most probably, King Triwer Sergyi Jyaruchan was ruling in Zhang-Zhung around 1600 BCE and Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi or Samantabhadra was his contemporary. Evidently, Mahayana Buddhism or Dzogchen was introduced in the western Tibet for the first time in the beginning of the 16th century BCE.

Padmasambhava, the Second Buddha vs. Padmasambhava, the Disciple of Shrisimha

Modern historians have mistakenly considered Padmasambhava, the disciple of Shrisimha as the founder of the Nyingma tradition and propagated that Tibetan Buddhism has the history starting from the 8th century CE. In reality, Padmasambhava, the second Buddha was none other than Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi or Samantabhadra who lived around 1650-1550 BCE whereas Padmasambhava, the disciple of Shrisimha visited Tibet during the reign of Tibetan King Trisong Detsan (95-144 CE).

The Contemporary Tibetan King of Samantabhadra

According to Tibetan sources, King Nyatri Tsenpo was the first emperor. Interestingly, most of the ancient Tibetan sources mention that the first

Tibetan king had descended from an Indian royal dynasty. The history of Bu ston Rinpoche informs us that the first king of Tibet was either the third in the lineage of King Prasenajit of Kosala or the third in the lineage of Bimbisāra. According to *bKa-Chems Ka-Khol-ma*, King Pāndu and Śatānīka were born simultaneously after Dharmarāja in the lineage of the Mountain Sākya. Śatānīka's youngest son, Rupati became the king of Tibet. Seemingly, the first king of Tibet was a descendant of Indian King. The reference of King Śatānīka's youngest son indicates that the dynastic history of Tibet starts from the post-Mahābhārata era because Śatānīka was the son of King Janamejaya.

Ancient Tibet before King Nyatri Tsenpo was divided into many small kingdoms but seemingly, Zhang-Zhung kingdom of western Tibet dominated in the 2nd millennium BCE. It appears that King Triwer Sergyi Jyaruchan of Zhang-Zhung of the 16th century BCE was the contemporary of Samantabhadra Vajrapāṇi because Tibetan sources say that the Dzogchen teachings first appeared in Tibet during the reign of King Triwer Sergyi Jyaruchan. In all probability, Zhang-Zhung kings of western Tibet were the descendants of King Rupati, the grandson of King Janamejaya of the Mahābhārata era.

The Date of Garab Dorje, the First Human Teacher of Dzogchen in Tibet (1321-1221 BCE)

According to Mahayana Buddhism, Gautama Buddha, Samantabhadra or Padmasambhava (the second Buddha) and Mañjuśrī were the divine trinity of Bodhisattvas. This is the reason why Tibetans say that Garab Dorje was the first human teacher. The Nyingma school of Tibet mistakenly believes that Samantabhadra is also the name of Ādi Buddha (the first Buddha). In fact, *Amarakośa* of Amarasimha (1st century BCE) mentions Samantabhadra as another name of Gautama Buddha. Evidently, Mahayana Buddhism started believing that Samantabhadra Vajrapāṇi and Gautama Buddha were the same person before the 1st century BCE. This mistaken identity led to a chronological error of 300 years because there was a difference of 300 years between the nirvāṇa of Gautama Buddha and the nirvāṇa of Vajrapāṇi.

Garab Dorje was the founder of ancient Tibetan Buddhism. Most probably, he was the first who taught Buddhism to his Tibetan students. According to the *rNying-ma'I Chos-'byung* of Dudjom Rinpoche, Garab Dorje is said to have been born 166 years after the parinirvāṇa of Ādi Buddha (1864 BCE) or Samantabhadra (1550 BCE). The Tibetan hagiography of Garab Dorje (Lo-rgyus-chen-mo) informs us that Garab Dorje was born 360 years after parinirvāṇa of Buddha. According to the Pali tradition of Dzogchen, Garab Dorje attained nirvāṇa in the 544th year elapsed from Buddha nirvāṇa. Since the Pali tradition is the most ancient, the date of 544th year elapsed appears to be more authentic. I have already explained that Theravada School came into existence during the second Buddhist council (1765 BCE). The Theravadins traditionally followed the epoch of 1765 BCE as the era of Buddha religion or Jinachakka. Therefore, the 544th year elapsed must be counted from the epoch of 1765 BCE. Thus, we can fix the date of Garab Dorje's nirvāṇa in 1221 BCE.

Garab Dorje was known as Prahevajra, Praharshavajra or Pramodavajra in Sanskrit. According to Tibetan sources, Garab Dorje was born in the region of Dhanakosha in the country of Uddiyana. Kudharma, the daughter of King Uparaja, became Bhikshuni but she became pregnant after seeing a divine dream. Thus, Nirmāṇakāya Buddha incarnated as Garab Dorje. He became a great Buddhist scholar and came to be known as Āchārya Vetālakśema. The Blue Annals give the following lineage of the Anuyoga Tantra.

1. Vajrapāṇi (1650-1550 BCE)
2. King Dza
3. King Indrabhuti
4. King Kukaraja or Uparaja
5. Vetālakśema or Garab Dorje (1321-1221 BCE)
6. Vajrahasta
7. Prabhahasti
8 Śākya Simha (1190-1110 BCE) [a senior contemporary of Kanishka.]

We can also validate the date of Vetālakśema or Garab Dorje with reference to the lineage of Anuyoga Tantra. Vajrapāṇi attained nirvāṇa 400 years before King Kanishka. Kashmiri Buddhist scholar Śākya Simha was a senior contemporary of Kanishka (1131-1090 BCE). In fact, Śākya Simha was a king of Kashmir who renounced the throne to become a Buddhist monk. Kanishka went to Kashmir to meet him. According to Kashmiri sources, Śākya Simha preached Buddhism in Kashmir before Nāgārjuna (1100-1030 BCE). Seemingly, Śākya Simha lived around 1190-1110 BCE. Thus, it is evident that Āchārya Vetālakśema or Garab Dorje lived in the 13th century BCE around 1321-1221 BCE.

There is a controversy about the identification of the birthplace of Garab Dorje. Tibetan sources give the name of the birthplace as O-rgyan or U-rgyan or Uddiyana which is located in North-western India. Historians have identified it to be Swat valley. It may be noted that Nāgārjuna Vajrapāṇi or Padmasambhava and Garab Dorje were born in the same country. Nāgārjuna was a king of the Nāga kingdom of Kashmir before he renounced the throne. Nāga kingdom of Kashmir existed close to Wular Lake. Wular Lake was called as Mahāpadmasaras in Sanskrit. This lake had big lotus flowers. Since Nāgārjuna was born in the city close to Mahāpadmasaras, he was also called as Padmasambhava.

Kudharma, the mother of Garab Dorje was also living close to the Wular Lake. According to Tibetan sources, Indrabhuti was the king of Sambhola or Shumbhala. He had a sister named Lakshminkara. She married a son of King Jalandhara but later she became Bhikshuni. King Indrabhuti placed his son Uparaja or Kukaraja on the throne and became a Buddhist monk. Garab Dorje or Vetālakśema was the son of Kudharma, the daughter of Uparaja. Most probably, King Indrabhuti and Uparaja were the Nāga kings. In Sanskrit, the Nāgas were also called Uragas. The Tibetan word O-rgyan or U-rgyan might have derived from Sanskrit word Uraga. Therefore, the Nāga kingdom of Kashmir was the birthplace of Garab Dorje not Swat valley. Sumbal is an ancient town of Kashmir. King Lalitāditya built the city of Parihāsapura in the same town. The Village Sumbal is presently located in the Gandarbal district of Kashmir. Seemingly, the Asura named Shumbha was killed in this region, therefore, the village came to be known as Shumbhala.

The History of Early Tibetan Buddhism (1300-600 BCE)

According to Tibetan legends, Tibetan valleys were under water in ancient times. When water receded, Bod (Tibet) became habitable. Rupati, the youngest son of Śatānīka and the grandson of King Janamejaya became the king of Western Tibet (Zhang Zhung) around 3050-3000 BCE. King Triwer Sergyi Jyaruchan reigned in Zhang Zhung in the 16th century BCE. Tibetan sources say that Nyatri Tsenpo was the first emperor who reigned over entire Tibet. Tibetan Buddhists speculated Nyatri Tsenpo to be a descendant of the Śākya branch of Ikśvāku dynasty. The author of Blue Annals mentions that King Nyatri Tsenpo was probably a descendant of the Liccḥavi dynasty.

Evidently, ancient Tibet was ruled by the descendants of the Liccḥavi clan of Ikśvāku dynasty. Therefore, the religion of ancient Tibet may not be different from Hinduism. The basics of the Bon religion of western Tibet were also influenced by Hinduism. Though Buddhism was introduced in Tibet during the time of Samantabhadra (16th century BCE) but Āchārya Vetālakśema [Garab Dorje] (1321-1221 BCE) was the first teacher of Tibetan Buddhism. It appears that early Tibetan Buddhists followed Indian Buddhist scholars like Vetālakśema (13th century BCE), Śākya Simha (12th century BCE), Nāgārjuna II (11th century BCE), Aryadeva (11th century BCE), Vasubandhu (960-880 BCE), Sthiramati (925-850 BCE) and Dharmapāla (7th century BCE). Interestingly, Mantrayana and Vajrayana Buddhism evolved under the influence of Tantrism starting from the 11th century BCE. The rise of the Tantrism of Natha Sampradaya from the 9th century BCE also influenced the Tibetan Vajrayana Buddhism. Seemingly, ancient Tibetan Buddhism was limited to some scholars & their followers and it did not get royal patronage till 600 BCE.

The Yarlung Dynasty of Tibet

Traditional Tibetan sources mention that ancient Bod or Tibet consisted of twelve states ruled by twelve chieftains. King Nyatri Tsenpo from India (Magadha) arrived in Tibet and became the emperor of entire Tibet. Thus, King Nyatri Tsenpo was the progenitor of the Yarlung Dynasty. Modern Tibetan scholars have fixed the date of enthronement of King Nyatri Tsenpo in 127 BCE considering the beginning of Tibetan Royal

calendar but there is no ancient literary evidence to support this theory. Ancient Tibetan sources clearly indicate that King Nyatri Tsenpo reigned few centuries after the reign of King Triwer Sergyi Jyaruchan of Zhang Zhung (16th century BCE). Taranatha mentions that Tibetan King Lha-tho-tho-ri-gnan-btsan was the contemporary of Vasubandhu. King Lha-tho-tho-ri was the fifth in succession. Vasubandhu lived 900 years after the epoch of Buddha nirvāṇa (1864 BCE) around 960-880 BCE. Thus, Taranatha states that King Lha-tho-tho-ri-gnan-btsan must be dated 933 years after Buddha nirvāṇa, i.e., 932 BCE. Many Sanskrit Buddhist texts including *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra* have been introduced in Tibet for the first time during his reign. Most probably, Buddharakśita has brought Sanskrit Buddhist texts to Tibet. Since King Lha-tho-tho-ri-gnan-btsan was the fifth in succession, King Nyatri Tsenpo, the first king of the Yarlung dynasty must be at least dated in the beginning of the 11th century BCE. Historians have mistakenly considered him to be the 28th king of Tibet. Interestingly, Nyang-ral and Bu ston stated that King Nyatri Tsenpo should be the offspring of King Udayana of Vatsa kingdom. King Udayana was the son-in-law of Chanda Pradyota who died in the same night of Mahāvira nirvāṇa (1189 BCE). If the first Tibetan emperor Nyatri Tsenpo was the son of Vatsa King Udayana, we can conclusively fix the date of Nyatri Tsenpo in the 2nd half of the 12th century BCE.

Though King Nyatri Tsenpo was the progenitor of the Yarlung dynasty, King Gri-gum btsan-po (Drigum Tsenpo), the eighth king was probably the real founder of the powerful Tibetan kingdom. Therefore, the history of Tibet begins with the reign of King Gri-gum btsan-po. Pu-de kun-rgyal (Pudekungyal) was the 9th king and the successor of King Gri-gum btsan-po. He was the contemporary of the Han king of China, Han Wudi or Liu Che Wudi (801-747 BCE).

The Date of King Srong-bstan-sgam-po, the First Royal Patron of Tibetan Buddhism (571-491 BCE)

Taranatha mentions that Dharmakīrti was the contemporary of Tibetan King Srong-btan-gampo who married a Chinese princess Kong-Cho who came to Tibet. The King Srong-btan-gampo's period is given in the works of Bai'Du'rya dkar-po, which have been cited in 'Tibetan Grammar' by

L Soma de Koros. Modern historians have mistakenly fixed the date of Dharmakirti in the 7th century and arrived the date of *King* Srong-bstan-sgam-po around 604-648 CE.

I have conclusively established in Chapter 14 that Dharmakirti lived around 610-520 BCE considering the date of Buddha nirvāṇa in 1864 BCE and he was the contemporary of Kumarila Bhatta (617-550 BCE) and Ādi Śaṅkara (568-536 BCE). The erroneous dating of King Srong-bstan-sgam-po in the first half of the 7th century led to numerous inconsistencies in the Tibetan history. Historians say that Srong-bstan-sgam-po was the 33rd king but Tibetan sources do not confirm it. In fact, historians have mistakenly considered Srong-bstan-sgam-po and Khri-srong-bstan, the 33rd king as the same person but King Srong-bstan-sgam-po flourished at least 500 years before Khri-srong-bstan, the 33rd king.

William Woodville Rockhill has compiled a book titled "Life of Buddha" derived from Tibetan works in Bkah-Hgyur and Bstan-Hgyur in 2007. According to this Tibetan source, Srong-bstan-sgam-po was the 7th successor of the king. Though Nyatri Tsenpo was the first king but Tibetan dynastic history starts from Gri-gum btsan-po, the 8th king. Therefore, Srong-bstan-sgam-po was the 7th successor of King Gri-gum btsan-po and not Nyatri Tsenpo. Thus, Srong-bstan-sgam-po was the 8th king from Gri-gum btsan-po and the 15th King from Nyatri Tsenpo. King Pu-de kun-rgyal was the 9th and a contemporary of Chinese King Han Wudi (801-747 BCE). There were five Tibetan kings between Pu-de kun-rgyal (790-750 BCE) and Srong-bstan-sgam-po (558-491 BCE). We can roughly arrive the following chronology of the early kings of the Yarlung dynasty:

1.	Nyatri Tsenpo (The son of Vatsa King Udayana)	1100-1060 BCE
2-4.	----	1060-932 BCE
5.	Lha-tho-tho-ri-gnan-btsan (The contemporary of Vasubandhu)	932-900 BCE
6-7.	----	900-830 BCE
8.	Gri-gum btsan-po	830-790 BCE
9.	Pu-de kun-rgyal	790-750 BCE

10-14.	----	750-558 BCE
15.	Srong-bstan-sgam-po	558-491 BCE

Most probably, Srong-bstan-sgam-po was born in the Ox year (571 BCE) and ascended the throne in 558 BCE when he was thirteen years old. He married Bhrikuti Devi (*Lha-mo Khro-gnyer-can-ma)* a Nepali princess and Wencheng Kong-Cho, a Chinese princess. Most probably, Wencheng Kong-Cho was the daughter of a Chinese king of the later Han dynasty (635-440 BCE). According to Tibetan sources, Chinese princess was a Buddhist. Nepali princess Bhrikuti Devi also brought with her an idol of Ashobhya-Buddha. It appears that Chinese Princess influenced her husband King Srong-bstan-sgam-po to make Buddhism as a state religion. Many Buddhist monks from Li-yul (Khotan) came to Tibet and Chinese princess provided royal patronage of them. Chinese sources starting from time of the Tang dynasty (42 BCE – 242 CE) record that princess Wenchung introduced Chinese culture into Tibet. The Tang Emperor Zhongzong had admired Wenchung for civilizing Tibet in the year 50 CE.

Historians say that Chinese princess belonged to a minor branch of Tang dynasty but Tibetan sources clearly record that she was a daughter of the sovereign king of China. The kings of Tang dynasty were militarily and economically powerful since the establishment of their dynasty. Actually, earlier Chinese kings (before the reign of Tang dynasty) followed a diplomacy that also included granting of Chinese princesses to the neighboring kings. According to the diplomatic standards, the granting of a princess in marriage implied an equal or greater status of the neighboring king. Tibetan King Srong-bstan-sgam-po was superior in military power than the kings of Han dynasty. But later Tibetan Kings were neither greater nor equal to the status of the kings of the Tang dynasty. Moreover, the Tang dynasty fought a war with Tibetans when a later Tibetan King Khri-srong-bstan demanded a Chinese princess in marriage. Tibetan King Khri-srong-bstan was defeated in this war but the king of Tang dynasty probably offered a Chinese girl who may not have belonged to the reigning royal family. This is the reason why historians

have concocted that the Chinese princess Wenchung belonged to a minor branch of the Tang dynasty.

In reality, the chronological error in dating of Srong-bstan-sgam-po and Khri-srong-bstan led to this concoction. Historians think that both are the same person but King Srong-bstan-sgam-po was the contemporary of Dharmakirti and lived in the 6th century BCE whereas Khri-srong-bstan lived in the 1st century BCE and a contemporary of the Tang dynasty of China. Thus, King Srong-bstan-sgam-po was a contemporary of the Later Han dynasty and not the Tang dynasty. King Srong-bstan-sgam-po did not wage a war to demand a Chinese princess in marriage. A king of the Han dynasty himself offered his daughter Wenchung to Tibetan King Srong-bstan-sgam-po. It appears that marrying a Chinese princess became a symbol of political power after the reign of King Srong-bstan-sgam-po. Many descendants of King Srong-bstan-sgam-po might have married Chinese royal girls. When the Tang dynasty started ruling China, they refused to give Chinese princess to Tibetan King Khri-srong-bstan leading to a military conflict. Though the Tibetans and the Chinese claimed the defeat of each other but the Tang king sent a Chinese girl of second rank royal family to ensure peace with the Tibetans. Seemingly, Chinese rulers of the Tang dynasty hated Tibetan King Khri-srong-bstan. According to a Tibetan tradition, the red palace of Lhasa was burnt down by the Chinese troops after the death of King Khri-srong-bstan. Historians have rejected it because there is no such reference in the annals of Tibet and China.

In fact, King Srong-bstan-sgam-po (15th king) died in 491 BCE whereas King Khri-srong-bstan (33rd king) died in 11 BCE. Evidently, the Chinese troops burnt the palace of Lhasa immediately after the death of Khri-srong-bstan, the 33rd king in 11 BCE. This event did not occur after the death of Srong-bstan-sgam-po, the 15th king. Therefore, there is no such reference in Tibetan and Chinese annals. It is a blunder committed by historians who have considered King Srong-bstan-sgam-po (15th king) and King Khri-srong-bstan (33rd king) as identical. Historians fix the date of the death of Khri-srong-bstan, the 33rd king in 649 CE because there is also a chronological error of 660 years in the history of Tibet and China.

Srong-bstan-sgam-po, the 15th king was the first who patronized Buddhism under the influence of his Chinese wife. Tibetan Buddhists consider him to be an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara Buddha and his both the wives to be an incarnation of Tārā. King Srong-bstan-sgam-po sent his minister Thonmi Sambhota to Kashmir. He learnt Buddhism, Sanskrit and Siddhamatrika script of Brāhmi from Devavitsimha and devised the Tibetan script for classical Tibetan language. He also translated *Ratnamegha Sūtra* into Tibetan language. Thus, King Srong-bstan-sgam-po was credited with the invention of the Tibetan script.

King Srong-bstan-sgam-po also founded the city of Lhasa and constructed Potala Palace on Mount Marpori in 539 BCE. According to Tibetan sources, King Srong-bstan-sgam-po lived for 80 years. Thus, we can fix his lifetime around 571-491 BCE. The Blue Annals mention that "The year Earth-Male-Tiger was in the 50th year of King Srong-bstan-sgam-po and in the preceding year, he had completed his 49th year." According to the *rGyal-rabs Bon-Gyi Byungnas*, the king (Khri-srong-bstan) was short-lived and is said to have died at the age of 36. The manuscript No. 252 found in Dunhuang, China mentions that Chinese princess spent six years in Tibet before being presented to the king. She could live with the king for three years only. Evidently, King Srong-bstan-sgam-po (571-491 BCE) lived for more than 50 years (up to 80 years) and married to the Chinese Princess Wenchung for long time whereas Khri-srong-bstan (47-11 BCE) lived for 36 years and married to a Chinese princess at the age of 33 for only three years. Thus, Srong-bstan-sgam-po (571-491 BCE) and Khri-srong-bstan (47-11 BCE) should not be identified as the same king.

The Evidence of Old Tibetan Chronicle and Old Tibetan Annals

Ancient Tibetans had no script for their language till the reign of Dharmarāja Srong-bstan-sgam-po (571-491 BCE). Seemingly, the historical account of ancient Tibet was orally transmitted for many centuries. The old Tibetan Chronicle of Yarlung dynasty is the oldest historical document of ancient Tibet which was found in the 7th cave of Mogao, near Dunhuang, China. A fragment of the old Tibetan Annals was also found in the same cave. Historians have declared that the old

Tibetan Chronicle is a less-reliable document because it contradicts with the chronological account given in the old Tibetan Annals. In reality, the old Tibetan Chronicle gives the account of ancient Tibetan kings starting from Nyatri Tsenpo, the 1st king to Srong-bstan-sgam-po, the 15th king and his immediate successors whereas the old Tibetan Annals give the chronological account starting from Khri-srong-bstan, the 33rd king to King Trisong Detsen. This is the reason why the old Tibetan Chronicle differs from the old Tibetan Annals.

The extant fragment of old Tibetan Chronicle consists of 16 paragraphs and 536 lines. In the beginning, the chronicle gives the account of eight kings starting from Nyatri Tsenpo (11th century BCE) to Grigum Tsenpo (*830-790 BCE)*. It narrates the overthrow of the prince Zingpoje. It appears that prince Zingpoje succeeded his father Grigum Tsenpo but Pu-de kun-rgyal (790-750 BCE) overthrew him to take over the reins. Thereafter, the chronicle gives the historical account of Srong-bstan-sgam-po, Khri srong lde brtsan and Khri dus-srong btsan. Historians have mistakenly identified these three Tibetan kings with three later kings and disputed that Tridu Songtsen (Khri dus-srong btsan) must be placed between Khri-srong-bstan (Srong-bstan-sgam-po) and Trisong Detsen (Khri srong lde brtsan).

Actually, Khri srong lde brtsan succeeded Srong-bstan-sgam-po after his death in 491 BCE whereas Khri-srong-bstan died in 11 BCE and Trisong Detsen ascended the throne in 95 CE. The old Tibetan Chronicle also records the victory of Khri srong lde brtsan over King Lig-Myi-rhya of Zhang Zheng. According to the early Tibetan accounts, King Srong-bstan-sgam-po and King Lig-Myi-rhya of Zhang Zheng had married each other's sisters for political reasons but the sister of King Srong-bstan-sgam-po complained of ill-treatment later. Seemingly, Khri srong lde brtsan ambushed and killed King Lig-Myi-rhya of Zhang Zheng during the lifetime of King Srong-bstan-sgam-po. Thus, the kingdom of Zhang-Zheng (Western Tibet) was annexed to Central Tibet.

The old Tibetan Chronicle did not record that King Srong-bstan-sgam-po established Buddhism but it clearly mentions that "The incomparable religion of the Buddha had been received during the reign

of Khri srong lde brtsan and there were Vihāras in the Central Tibet as well as the borderlands of the country." Khri 'dus-srong btsan succeeded Khri srong lde brtsan who had subjugated the Gar clan, one of the twelve kingdoms of pre-imperial Tibet. The list of the Tibetan emperors given in the chronicle ends with U'I dum brtan. Historians again mistakenly identified U'I dum brtan with Langdarma.

Shameless Concoctions by Historians

Evidently, the chronological account of King Srong-bstan-sgam-po and his successors given in the old Tibetan Chronicle differs from the distorted Tibetan chronology presented by the historians. Geza Uray has floated an idea that the scroll of Old Tibetan chronicle was cut up and rearranged sometime after it was originally written. In this process, the paragraphs could not be rearranged in original sequence and the chronological problem results from this.

In fact, historians, the followers of the distorted chronology, have puzzled with the order of the paragraphs 10, 11 and 12. Here is the text of the Paragraphs 10-12:

Para 10: It contains the praise of King Srong-bstan-sgam-po's reign and a short estimation of his military campaigns.

Para 11: It tells about the conflict between the Tibetan sovereign and the king of Zhang Zhung, Lig-Myi-rhya (western Tibet) and the defeat of the latter.

Para 12: It describes the celebration of the victory over the king of Zhang Zhung. The ritual chants are performed by Khri srong lde brtsan. The celebration ends with the praise of the reign of King Srong-bstan-sgam-po.

According to the ancient Bon chronicles, Lig-Myi-rhya was the last king of Zhang Zhung. King Srong-bstan-sgam-po (571-491 BCE) sent the army under the leadership of Khri srong lde brtsan who ambushed and killed Lig-Myi-rhya. Thus, the kingdom of Zhang Zhung (western Tibet) was annexed to Central Tibet. Evidently, Srong-bstan-sgam-po and Lig-Myi-rhya were contemporaries. Khri srong lde brtsan was a junior contemporary of them. It may be noted that the kingdom of Zhang Zhung

ceased to exist after 500 BCE. It became an integral part of Tibet. Kalhana mentions that King Lalitāditya (0-36 CE) defeated Bhauttas. Evidently, there was no kingdom of Zhang Zhung in the east of Kashmir Valley by the time of Karkota dynasty of Kashmir because it had already been annexed to Central Tibet long back.

Since historians have mistakenly identified Srong-bstan-sgam-po (571-491 BCE) with Khri-srong-bstan (56-11 BCE) and Khri srong lde brtsan (515-465 BCE) with Trisong Detsen (95-144 CE), it is now impossible to establish the contemporaneity of Khri-srong-bstan and Trisong Detsen because there was a gap of 100 years between the death of Khri-srong-bstan and the beginning of the reign of Trisong Detsen. Moreover, the chronicle narrates the account of Khri 'dus-srong btsan in Paragraphs 13-16 which unambiguously indicates that Khri 'dus-srong btsan was the successor of Khri srong lde brtsan. Historians have again wrongly identified Khri 'dus-srong btsan with Tridu Songsten who was the predecessor of Trisong Detsen. Clueless historian Geza Uray has conspired to change the order of Paragraphs of the chronicle to defend the distorted chronology as shown below:[2]

The Paragraphs

Place		**Subject**	**The reign**
Original	**Present**		
6.	6. (VI.I.)	Beginning of the reign of Sron-brcan-sgam-po	
7.	7. (VI.2.)	The history of Khyun-po Spun-sad Zu-ce (part II)	Sron-brcan-sgam-po alias Khri Sron-brcan (629?-649 CE)
8.	11. (VIII. 2.)	The quarrel between the Tibetan king and Lig Myi-rhya	
9.	12. (VIII. 3.)	The celebration of the victory over Lig Myi-rhya; the eulogy of Khri Sron-brcan	
10.	13. (IX.1.)	The song of Dus-sron about the disloyalty of Mgar	Khri Dus-Sron (676-704 CE)

11.	14. (IX.2.)	Khe-rgad Rgyal-to-re Mdo-snan's song about the Gog-ro wife of Khri Dus-sron and the reply of the woman	
12.	15. (X.1.)	Mgar Khri-brin Bean-brod's victory at Stag-la Rgya-dur	
13.	16 (X.2.)	The flight of Mgar Man-po-rje Stag-rcan and Pa-chab Rgyal-ta-re to China	
14.	8. (VII.1.)	Eulogy of Khri Dus-Sron	
15.	9. (VII.2.)	The reign of Khri-Lde-gcug-brcan	Khri-Lde-gcug-brcan (704-754 CE)
16.	10. (VIII.1.)	The reign of Khri-Sron-Ide-brcan	Khri-Sron-Ide-brcan (755-797 CE)

It is nothing but another example of intellectual dishonesty of modern historians. It is shocking that many Tibetologists have admired the methodology of Geza Uray. It may also be noted that the traces of similar narrative of the old Tibetan Chronicle are found in the Mkhas-Pa'I Dga-ston (on the history of Buddhism in India and Tibet) written by Pawo Tsuglag Threngwa (844-906 CE?). Evidently, there is no reason to doubt the order of the paragraphs in the old Tibetan chronicle because similar narrative is given by Pawo Tsuglag Threngwa, a later Tibetan historian.

The Chronology of Srong-bstan-sgam-po and His Successors

		In CE
1.	Srong-bstan-sgam-po (15th)	571-491 BCE
2.	Khri srong lde brtsan (16th)	490-440 BCE
3.	Khri 'dus-srong btsan (17th)	440-390 BCE
4.	U'I dum brtan (18th?)	390-350 BCE

According to Tibetan sources, Licchavi King Narendradeva (391-351 BCE) wrested the throne from Vishnugupta with the aid of Tibetans.

Narendradeva's son Śivadeva II mentions in his inscription that Nepal paid tribute to Tibet. We need to study the diplomatic and political relations between the Tibetan kings and the Licchavi kings of Nepal.

The Chronological Inconsistencies in Tibetan Sources

The chronological Tibetan history given in the later Tibetan annals like Blue Annals etc., has many inconsistencies. The main reason is that there was no consensus about the exact date of Buddha nirvāṇa among the Tibetan scholars. Bu ston, who wrote his work on the history of Buddhism in India and Tibet at least 150 years before Blue Annals, mentions that from the point of view of the Kalachakra system, 2198 years should be reckoned to have passed from the time when Buddha preached Mulatantra of this system to 662 CE (1322 CE minus 660 years). According to Blue Annals,[3] Śākyaśribhadra of Kashmir was the originator of a major branch of Tibetan Buddhism and using his own chronology, the date of Śākyamuni's nirvāṇa is established to be 2020 years prior to the writing of Blue annals in 816 CE (1476 CE minus 660 years). Interestingly, the author of Blue Annals, Buddha was born during the reign of the 4th Emperor Chao Wang of Zhou dynasty and the Chinese sources say that 1566 years had passed up to the year 42 BCE (618 CE minus 660 years). Though the author of Blue Annals knew about the more ancient dates of Buddha nirvāṇa but he followed Śākyaśribhadra's chronology and presented the chronological history of Tibet considering the date of Buddha nirvāṇa around 1204 BCE. Thus, the author of Blue annals erroneously fixed the date of King Srong-bstan-sgam-po around 91-11 BCE which led to a chronological illusion of the identity of King Srong-bstan-sgam-po (571-491 BCE) and King Khri-srong-bstan (47-11 BCE).

Śākyaśribhadra introduced the date of Buddha nirvāṇa as 1204 BCE in Tibet in the 2nd half of the 6th century CE. Tibetans had no knowledge of the date of 1204 BCE before the arrival of Śākyaśribhadra. Tibetans had great respect for Śākyaśribhadra and started following the date of Buddha nirvāṇa as 1204 BCE. Most of the Tibetan annals and historical works were written after the 6th century CE. They have to reconcile the chronological history of Tibet with reference to the epoch of 1204 BCE

which led to numerous inconsistencies. This is the reason why the author of the Blue Annals (816-818 CE) mentions that 849 years had passed from the date of birth of King Srong-bstan-sgam-po to the year 816 CE.

The Date of King Trisong Detsen (95-144 CE), the Second Patron of Buddhism

When King Srong-bstan-sgam-po annexed the kingdom of Zhang Zhung, Tapahritsa was the teacher of Bon religion. Seemingly, Tapahritsa has transformed Bon Religion into a Buddhist sect to protect the heritage of Bon due to the changed political circumstances. He was the disciple of Dawa Gyaltsen, the Bon practitioner. Tapihritsa was the contemporary of King Srong-bstan-sgam-po and his successor Khri srong lde brtsan. According to the scholars of Bonpa tradition, Tapihritsa's disciple Gyerchen Nangzhar Lodpo (5th century BCE) was the first who introduced the teachings of Dzogchen in Tibet.

Though King Srong-bstan-sgam-po (571-491 BCE) patronized Buddhism under the influence of Chinese wife Wenchung and Nepali wife Bhrikuti Devi and his successor King Khri srong lde brtsan (490-440 BCE) built Buddha Vihāras but Tibetan Buddhism declined after 450 BCE. In fact, the fall of Buddhism in India after the lifetime of Ādi Śaṅkarāchārya (568-536 BCE) has also affected the progress of Tibetan Buddhism.

During the reign of King Khri-sron-deu-tsari or Trisong Detsen (95-144 CE), Indian Buddhist monks Śāntarakśita, Padmasambhava and Vimalamitra were invited to Tibet which led to the revival of Tibetan Buddhism. According to Tibetan sources, Śāntarakśita visited Tibet at the invitation of King Khri-sron-deu-tsari who was born around 67 CE. Śāntarakśita worked in Tibet for 13 years. Most probably, Śāntarakśita was born during the reign of Pāla King Gopāla and died during the reign of King Dharmapāla. Thus, we can fix the date of Śāntarakśita around 50-130 CE.

According to the 'Dra 'bag Chen-mo, Vairochana, the Tibetan translator and the traditional biographer went to India and studied Buddhism under Srisimha. Mahāpandita Vimalamitra, Padmasambhava II and Jñanasūtra were also the disciples of Srisimha. Padmasambhava II

or Padmakara was the founder of Tibetan Vajrayana Buddhism who came to be known as Guru Rinpoche. Later Tibetans mistakenly assumed him to be the second Buddha considering Padmasambhava I (Samantabhadra, Vajrapāṇi) and Padmasambhava II as identical. In reality, Padmasambhava or Samantabhadra Vajrapāṇi lived in the 16th century BCE and founded the Mahayana Buddhism whereas Padmasambhava II lived in the 2nd century CE and established Vajrayana Buddhism in Tibet.

Later Tibetan Kings:

		In CE
1.	Namri Songsten (32nd)	90-31 BCE
2.	Khri-srong-bstan (33rd)	31-11 BCE
3.	Mangsong Mangtsen (34th)	10 BCE – 16 CE
4.	Tridu Songtsen (35th)	16-44 CE
5.	Mes Ag Tshoms (36th)	45-95 CE
6.	Trisong Detsen (37th)	95-144 CE
7.	Tride Songsten (38th)	144-155 CE
8.	Ralpacan	155-178 CE
9.	Langdarma	178-186 CE

Langdarma was assassinated by a Buddhist monk named Pelgyi Dorje around 186 CE. After the death of Langdarma, the Tibetan empire collapsed. There was no central power in Tibet till the Mongol conquest of Tibet in the 2nd half of the 6th century CE. This period is known as the era of fragmentation in Tibetan history. The Mongol Yuan dynasty reigned over Tibet from 546 CE to 1354 CE. In fact, the Mongolian Yuan dynasty reigned over China and Tibet for ~800 years but modern historians inadvertently cut short the period of Yuan dynasty for ~140 years only due to the chronological error of 660 years. During the reign of Mongol Yuan dynasty over Tibet, Śākya Lamas became the de-facto autonomous rulers of Tibet.

The Date of Atiśa Dīpaṅkara Śrijñāna (321-393 CE)

According to Taranatha, Atiśa Dīpaṅkara Śrijñāna was the contemporary of Pāla kings Bheyapāla and Nayapāla (360-400 CE). He became the head

of the Odantapuri Vihāra and Vikramaśilā Vihāra. He preached Buddhism in Suvarṇabhūmi (Thailand, Malaysia, Cambodia and Indonesia). He stayed 12 years in Sumatra.

Atiśa was the key figure in establishment of Buddhism in Tibet. He revived Vajrayana in Tibet. According to the Blue Annals, Yeshe-O, the monk king of the Guge kingdom of Western Tibet sent his followers to learn and translate some of the Sanskrit Buddhist texts. Nagtso, one of the followers of Yeshe-O, studied Sanskrit texts at Vikramaśilā Vihāra under Atiśa. He on behalf of his Tibetan king persuaded Atiśa to visit Tibet. Atiśa visited Tibet in 381 CE and died there in 393 CE.

Kālachakra School of Vajrayana and Tibetan Calendar (367 CE)

Kashmiri scholar Pandita Somanatha introduced Kālachakra school of Vajrayana in Tibet around 367 CE. At the same time, an Indian Buddhist Chandranath introduced a lunisolar calendar and Indian cycle of 60 years in Tibet around 367 CE. Tibet and China borrowed the 60-year cycle from India.

The Date of Śākyaśribhadra (466-565 CE)

Śākyaśribhadra was born in 466 CE in Kashmir. He learnt grammar from Lakshmidhara and went to Magadha. He became a Buddhist monk and studied Buddhist texts from Śāntakaragupta, Daśabala and Dhavasaka. He was the last head of the Odantapuri and Vikramaśilā Vihāras. Muslim invaders destroyed the Vihāras of Vikramaśilā, Nālanda and Odantapuri around 540 CE. Śākyaśri had to flee towards east to save his life. Tropu Lotsawa Jampa Pel, a Tibetan young scholar, who studied with Buddhaśri, an Indian teacher in Bhaktapur, Nepal, met Śākyaśri in the town of Vaneśvara and invited him to Tibet. Śākyaśri travelled to Tibet in 544 CE and taught Buddhism at the Tropu Monastery for ten years. He left Tibet in 554 CE and went back to Kashmir. Śākyaśri died in 565 CE at the age of 99 years.

The Bon Religion and its Transformation into Tibetan Buddhism

As already discussed above, Bon or Bonpa religion of western Tibet was an offshoot of Hinduism. When King Srong-bstan-sgam-po (571-491 BCE) annexed western Tibet, Bon religion had gradually been evolved as a sect

of Tibetan Buddhsim. Tapihritsa and his disciple Gyerchen Nangzhar Lodpo (5th century BCE) have transformed Bon or Bonpa religion into Buddhism by preserving the fundamentals of Bon Religion. Swastika is the sacred symbol of this sect. Today, ten percent of Tibetans follow Bon Buddhism.

The Four Main Schools of Tibetan Buddhism:

1. Nyingma School
2. Sakya or Sa skya School
3. Kagyu School
4. Gelug School

The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism

Nyingma is the oldest school. Guru Rinpoche or Padmasambhava II, a Tantric Vajrayanist brought the Nyingma teachings to Tibet during the reign of Trisong Detsen (95-144 CE). Evidently, the Nyingma School was founded in Tibet in the first half of the 2nd century CE. Vimalamitra and Vairochana were the earliest teachers of Nyingma tradition. Vairochana translated many Buddhist texts into Tibetan language. Interestingly, the Nyingma School has no tradition of appointing heads.

The Sakya or Sa skya School of Tibetan Buddhism

Sakya is a city of Tibet. Atiśa Dīpaṅkara travelled through this city. Khon Khonchog Gyalpo built the Sakya monastery in 413 CE. Sachen Kunga Nyingpo, the son of Khon Khonchog Gyalpo was born in the Sakya monastery. He was the first of the following five Patriarchs of Sakya School. Sonam Tsemo, the son of Sachen Kunga Nyingpo was born in 482 CE.

1. Sachen Künga Nyingpo (432-498 CE)
2. Loppön Sonam Tsemo (482-522 CE)
3. Jetsün Drakpa Gyaltsen (487-556 CE)
3. Kunga Gyaltsen or Sakya Pandita (522-591 CE)
4. Drogön Chogyal Phagpa (575-620 CE).

Interestingly, Sakya Lamas became the de-facto autonomous rulers of Tibet during the reign of the Mongol Yuan dynasty. Prince Goden, the grandson of Genghis Khan sent a letter to Kunga Gyaltsen or Sakya

Pandita requesting his presence in the court. The Mongolian rulers had great respect for Sakya scholars. Chogyal Phakpa, the successor of Sakya Pandita, devised a new script for the Mongolian language.

Heyvajra is one of the principal deities of Sakya tradition. Though Sakya School founded in the 5th century CE but the teachings of Sakyas originated from Indian masters Virupa, Krishna, Damarupa, Avadhuti, Gayadhara and Śākyamitra II. Drogmi Lotsawa translated the teachings of Indian masters into Tibetan language. Most probably, Virupa lived around 837 CE and Gayadhara lived in the 11th century CE. Drogmi Lotsawa is dated around 992-1072 CE. Śākyamitra II was in Tibet around 1387 CE. There is a controversy about the chronology of Guruparampara of Sakya School. The following two lists clearly indicate the chronological inconsistencies.

Source: www.Sakyaling.de

		In CE
1.	Virupa	
2.	Krishnapa	
3.	Damarupa	
4.	Avadhutipa	
5.	Gayadhara	694-1043 CE
6.	Drokmi Lotsawa	992-1072 CE
7.	Seton Kunrig	1025-1113 CE
8.	Shangton Choebhar	1053-1136 CE
9.	Sachen Kunga Nyingpo	1092-1158 CE
10.	Loppon Sonam Tsemo	1142-1182 CE
11.	Jetsu Drakpa Gyaltsen	1147-1216 CE
12.	Sakya Pandita	1182-1251 CE
13.	Choegyal Phakpa	1235-1280 CE
14.	Shang Konchok Pal	1240-1308 CE
15.	Naza Drakphugpa	1277-1350 CE
16.	Lama Dhampa Sonam Gyaltsen	1312-1375 CE

17.	Lama Palden Tsultrim	1333-1399 CE
18.	Buddha Shree	1339-1419 CE
19.	Ngorchen Kunga Sangpo	1382-1456 CE
20.	Muchen Sempa Chenpo	1388-1469 CE
21.	Dhagchen Lodue Gyaltsen	1444-1495 CE
22.	Doring Kun Pangpa Chenpo	1449-1525 CE
23.	Tsarchen Losal Gyatso	1502-1566 CE
24.	Jmayang Khyentse Wangchuk	1524-1566 CE
25.	Khenchen Labsum Gyaltsen	1526-1577 CE
26.	Dorje Chang Wangchuk Rabten	1559-1636 CE
27.	Gonpo Sonam Chogdhen	1603-1659 CE
28.	Rinchen Sonam Chokdrup	1602-1681 CE
29.	Khyenrab Jampa	1633-1703 CE
30.	Morchen Kunga Lhundrup	1654-1728 CE
31.	Nesarwa Kunga Lekpa	1704-1761 CE
32.	Sachen Kunga Lodroe	1729-1783 CE
33.	Jampa Namkha Chemi	1765-1820 CE
34.	Jampa Kunga Tenzin	1776-1862 CE
35.	Jampa Kunga Tenpei Gyaltsen	1829-1870 CE
36a.	Ngawang Sonam Gyaltsen	1830- 1890 CE
37a.	Ngawang Lodroe Nyingpo	1840 CE
38a.	Ngawang Lodroe Shenphen Nyingpo	1876-1953 CE
39a.	His Holiness Sakya Trizin	1945 CE
39b.	Jamgon Loter Wangpo	1847-1914 CE
37b.	Dakpa Choekyi Nyima	
38b.	Ngawang Lodroe Seh"nphen Nyingpo	1876-1953 CE
39b.	His Holiness Sakya Trizin	1945 CE

Source: www.rigpawiki.org

		In CE
1.	Khön Könchok Gyalpo	1034-1102 CE
2.	Bari Lotsawa	1040-1111 CE

3.	Sachen Kunga Nyingpo	1092-1158 CE
4.	Sönam Tsemo	1142-1182 CE
5.	Jetsün Drakpa Gyaltsen	1147-1216 CE
6.	Sakya Pandita Kunga Gyaltsen	1182-1251 CE
7.	Chögyal Pakpa	1235-1280 CE
8.	Chung Rinchen Gyaltsen	1238-1279 CE
9.	Dharmapala Rakshita	1268-1287 CE
10.	Sharpa Jamyang Chenpo	1258-1306 CE
11.	Dagnyi Chenpo Sangpo Pal	1262-1324 CE
12.	Shyithokpa Khetsun Chenpo	1305-1343 CE
13.	Jamyang Donyö Gyaltsen	1310-1344 CE
14.	Dampa Sonam Gyaltsen	1312-1375 CE
15.	Lhakhang Labrang Tawan Lodrö Gyaltsen	1332-1364 CE
16.	Shyithokpa Tawan Kunga Rinchen	1339-1399 CE
17.	Shyithokpa Lodrö Gyaltsen	1366-1420 CE
18.	Rinchen Gangpa Jamyang Namkha Gyaltsen	1398-1472 CE
19.	Shyithokpa Kunga Wangchuk	1418-1462 CE
20.	Rinchen Gangpa Dakchen Gyagarpa Sherab Gyaltsen	1436/9-1495 CE
21.	Rinchen Gangpa Dakchen Lodrö Gyaltsen	1444-1495 CE
22.	Düchö Labrangpa Salo Jhampai Dorje Kunga Sonam	1485-1533 CE
23.	Düchö Labrangpa Ngagchang Chökyi Gyalpo Kunga Rinchen	1517-1584 CE
24.	Düchö Labrangpa Jamyang Sonam Sangpo	1519-1621 CE
25.	Düchö Labrangpa Dragpa Lodro Gyaltsen	1563-1617 CE
26.	Düchö Labrangpa Ngawang Kunga Wangyal	1592-1620 CE
27.	Düchö Labrangpa Jamgön Anye Shyap Kunga Sönam	1597-1659 CE
28.	Düchö Labrangpa Jamgön Sonam Wangchug	1638-1685 CE
29.	Düchö Labrangpa Jamgön Kunga Tashi	1656-1711 CE
30.	Düchö Labrangpa Jamyang Sonam Rinchen	1705-1741 CE

31.	Düchö Labrangpa Sachen Kunga Lodrö	1729-1783 CE
32.	Düchö Labrangpa Jamgön Wangdü Nyingpo	1763-1809 CE
33.	Düchö Podrang Pema Düdul Wangchuk	1792-1853 CE
34.	Phuntsok Podrang Jamgön Dorje Rinchen	1819-1867 CE
35.	Drolma Podrang Thegchen Tashi Rinchen	1824-1865 CE
36.	Phuntsok Podrang Ngawang Kunga Sonam	1842-1882 CE
37.	Drolma Podrang Kunga Nyingpo Samphel Norbu	1850-1899 CE
38.	Phuntsok Podrang Zamling Chegü Wangdü	1855-1919 CE
39.	Drolma Podrang Dragshul Thinley Rinchen	1871-1936 CE
40.	Phuntsok Podrang Ngawang Kunga Thutop Wangchuk	1900-1950 CE
41.	Kyabgon Gongma Trichen Rinpoche	Born in 1974 CE
42.	Kyabgon Gongma Trizin Rinpoche	Born in 1974 CE

There is a need for further study of the Guruparampara of Sakya Lamas to establish the true order and chronology.

The Kagyu School of Tibetan Buddhism

This school is also a branch of Vajrayana. Drupgyu was an ancient Buddhist lineage of Tibet. Kadampa lineage was founded by Atiśa. Gampopa (419-513 CE) brought Drupgyu and Kadampa lineages together and founded Dakpo Kagyu School. Later, Dakpo Kagyu School subdivided into the following four schools:

1. Karma Kagyu
2. Barom Kagyu
3. Tsalpa Kagyu
4. Pagdru Kagyu

Karma Kagyu school was founded by the first Karmapa Lama Dusum Khyenpa. The Guruparampara of Karmapas:

		In CE
1.	Düsum Khyenpa	1110-1193 CE
2.	Karma Pakshi	1206-1283 CE

3.	Rangjung Dorje	1284-1339 CE
4.	Rolpé Dorje	1340-1383 CE
5.	Deshyin Shekpa	1384-1415 CE
6.	Thongwa Dönden	1416-1452/3 CE
7.	Chödrak Gyatso	1454-1506 CE
8.	Mikyö Dorje	1507-1554 CE
9.	Wangchuk Dorje	1556-1603 CE
10.	Chöying Dorje	1604-1674 CE
11.	Yeshe Dorje	1676-1702 CE
12.	Changchub Dorje	1703-1732 CE
13.	Düddul Dorje	1733-1797 CE
14.	Thekchok Dorje	1797-1867 CE
15.	Khakhyap Dorje	1871-1922 CE
16.	Rangjung Rigpé Dorje	1924-1981 CE

There are currently two incarnations. Ogyen Trinley Dorje (b. 1985) and Trinley Thaye Dorje (b. 1983) are holding the title of the 17th Karmapa.

The Gelug School of Tibetan Buddhism

The Gelug School is the latest school of Tibetan Buddhism. It has its origin in the Kadampa lineage founded by Atiśa. Tsongkhapa was the founder of the Gelug School. The followers of Tsongkhapa came to be known as Gelugpas or New Kadampas. According to legends, Gendün Drup and Khedrup Gelek Pelzang were the main disciples of Tsongkhapa. Gendun Drup became the first Dalai Lama and Khedrup Gelek Pelzang became the first Panchen Lama.

There is a need for further comprehensive study of the Guru-parampara of Dalai Lamas and Panchen Lamas to establish the true order and chronology.

30

A Brief Chronological History of Sanskrit Literature

The chronological history of Vedic literature and post Vedic literature written in Vedic Sanskrit and post Vedic Sanskrit respectively has already been presented in my book titled "*The Chronology of India : From Manu to Mahābhārata*". Now, we will discuss the chronological history of Sanskrit literature written in Laukika Sanskrit. It is pertinent to review and establish the dates of ancient Sanskrit poets, astronomers and philosophers etc., with reference to the true epochs of Indians eras as critically examined in Chapters 2-7 of this volume. All Indian traditions unanimously consider that Valmiki was the Adikavi, i.e., the earliest Sanskrit poet who lived during the Rāmāyaṇa era. Though we have already discussed the dates of numerous ancient Sanskrit poets in the relevant context in preceding chapters but it is important to briefly present the chronological account of entire Laukika Sanskrit literature.

Valmiki (5677-5577 BCE)

The chronological history of Sanskrit literature begins from the lifetime of Adikavi Valmiki. Valmiki, the author of Rāmāyaṇa and Yoga Vāsiṣṭha flourished during the Rāmāyaṇa era. Rama was born on 3rd Feb 5674 BCE and eliminated Rāvaṇa in 5635 BCE. Therefore, the date of Valmiki can be roughly fixed around 5677-5577 BCE. Seemingly, the available texts of Rāmāyaṇa and Yoga Vāsiṣṭha have been recompiled around 1500-1000 BCE.

Vyāsa (3260-3125 BCE)
Vyāsa was the author of Mahābhārata and compiled eighteen Purāṇas. Probably, he also wrote a commentary on Yogasutras of Patanjali. The Mahābhārata war took place in 3162 BCE. Thus, the date of Vyāsa can be fixed around 3260-3125 BCE. It may be noted that Veda Vyāsa of the Rigvedic era and Vyāsa of the Mahabharata era were two different individuals.

Guṇāḍhya (2200-2100 BCE)
Guṇāḍhya wrote *Brihatkathā* in the Paiśāchi dialect. He flourished around 2200-2100 BCE. We have already discussed the date of Guṇāḍhya in Chapter 9.

Pāṇini (1670-1590 BCE)
Pāṇini, son of Dākśi (Dākśiputra) and the native of Śālātura village (Śālāturīya) was a contemporary of the Nanda kings of Magadha Empire (1664-1596 BCE). His teacher was Varsha, the elder brother of Upavarsha. Kātyāyana Vararuchi and Vyādi were his classmates. Pāṇini compiled the rules of Sanskrit grammar into eight chapters. He also wrote a Mahākāvya named "*Jāmbavatījayam*". The lifetime of Panini can be fixed around 1670-1590 BCE.

Kātyāyana Vararuchi (1670-1580 BCE)
Kātyāyana Vararuchi, a contemporary of Pāṇini and the minister of the Nanda king wrote Vārtikas on the Vyākaraṇa sūtras of Pāṇini. He recompiled and updated Guṇāḍhya's Brihatkathā into Prakrit dialect. His date can be fixed around 1670-1580 BCE.

Kautilya or Chanakya or Vishnugupta (1640-1570 BCE)
Kautilya was the author of "*Arthaśāstra*". He was the famous teacher of Takśaśilā University. King Chandragupta (1596-1572 BCE), the founder of the Maurya dynasty was his disciple.

Subandhu (1610-1530 BCE)
Subandhu was a nephew of Kātyāyana Vararuchi and the author of "*Vāsavadattā*". Dandi's *Avantisundarīkathā* tells us that Subandhu escaped from the prison of Bindusāra (*Subandhuḥ kila niṣkrānto Bindusārasya*

bandhanāt....). Maurya King Bindusāra reigned around 1572-1547 BCE. Therefore, we can fix the date of Subandhu around 1610-1530 BCE.

Patanjali (1490-1400 BCE)
Patanjali lived during the reign of the Śuṅga King Puṣyamitra (1459-1423 BCE). He wrote Mahābhāshya on the sūtras of Pāṇini. He referred to Subandhu's Vāsavadattā in his Mahābhāshya.

Aśvaghoṣa II (1080-990 BCE)
Aśvaghoṣa II was the author of "*Buddhacharitam*", "*Saundarananda*" and "*Śāriputra-Prakaraṇa*". He was also known as Mātricheta. The date of Aśvaghoṣa has already been discussed at length in Chapter 12.

Vātsyāyana (1050-970 BCE)
Vātsyāyana was the author of the famous 'Kāmasūtra'. He also wrote a commentary on Nyāya Sūtras of Gautama. He referred to Kautilya Arthaśāstra. We have discussed the date of Vātsyāyana in Chapter 14.

Bhartrihari I (935-860 BCE)
Bhartrihari was the famous author of "*Vākyapadīyam*", the greatest work on the philosophy of word and meaning. His father Vasurāta was a contemporary of Vasubandhu (960-880 BCE).

Śūdraka II (856-756 BCE)
According to an inscription of Pāla King Yakśapāla, Śūdraka II was the emperor of Gauda (Gaudeśvara).[1] Traditionally, the authorship of three works, "*Mricchakatikam*", "*Viṇāvāsavadattam*" and "*Padmaprabhritaka*" is being attributed to Śūdraka. According to *Mricchakatikam*, Śūdraka lived for 100 years and 10 days. He handed over the kingdom to his son and died by self-immolation. Evidently, Śūdraka cannot be the author of the famous Sanskrit drama "*Mricchakatikam*". Therefore, historians have speculated that Bhāsa or Bhartrimentha to be the author of *Mricchakatikam*. I have already established in Chapter 9 that there were two Śūdrakas. Śūdraka I of Avanti flourished around 2287 BCE whereas Śūdraka II of Gauda lived around 856-756 BCE. Thus, most probably, Śūdraka II was the author of "*Mricchakatikam*".

Vāmana and Jayāditya (750-680 BCE)
Vāmana and Jayāditya, the contemporaries of Sāhasānka Vikramāditya (719 BCE) wrote Kāśikā Vritti, a commentary on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

Kālidāsa I and Kumāradāsa (780-709 BCE)
Kālidāsa I was the author of "*Meghadūtam*" and a contemporary of Sri Lankan poet Kumāradāsa. According to Tārānatha, Vararuchi II and Saptavarman were the grammar teachers of King Udayana of Vatsa janapada and Kālidāsa, the author of *Meghadūtam* was a contemporary of Vararuchi II. We can fix the date of Kālidāsa around 780-709 BCE, considering him to be a contemporary of Kumāradāsa. The date of Kumāradāsa has already been discussed in Chapter 27.

The Author of Yavanajātakam (Śaka 56, i.e., 528-527 BCE)
"Yavanajātakam", the famous text on the Yavana School of astrology was originally written by Yavaneśvara in his language. Later, the Yavana King Sphujidhvaja (9th century BCE) translated it into Sanskrit. This Sanskrit translation contained 4000 verses written in the Indravajrā meter.

In the ancient Indian astronomical tradition, there were principally 18 siddhāntas: Sūrya, Paitāmaha, Vyāsa, Vaśiṣṭha, Atri, Pārāśara, Kaśyapa, Nārada, Gārgya, Marīchi, Manu, Aṅgira, Lomaśa (Romaka), Pauliśa, Chyavana, Yavana, Bhrigu, and Śaunaka. It is evident that the Yavana Siddhānta was one of the ancient siddhāntas of Indian astronomy and it was admired at par with other siddhāntas in ancient India. The last chapter (79th) of *Yavanajātakam* is called *"Horāvidhi"* in which the following verses were written:

Iti svabhāṣā-racanātiguptād
Viṣṇugrahārkendumayāvatārāt ।
Maharṣi-mukhyairanudṛṣṭa-tattvād
dhorārtha (horārtha)-ratnākara-vaksamudrāt ॥ 60 ॥
Sūryaprasādāgata-tattvadṛṣṭir
lokānubhāvāya vacobhirādyaiḥ ।
Idam babhāṣe niravadya-vākyo
Horārtha-śāstram Yavaneśvaraḥ prāk ॥ 61 ॥
Sphujidhvajo nāma babhūva rājā
ya indravajrābhiridam cakāra ।

Nārāyaṇārkendumayādidṛṣṭam
kṛtsnam caturbhir-matimān sahasraiḥ ॥ 62 ॥

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

Gate ṣaḍagre'rdhaśate samānām
Kālakriyāntattvamidam Śakānām ।
Raviryuge Sūryadine prapede
kramāt tadabdādi yugādi bhānoḥ ॥ 14 ॥

One of the main features of *Yavanajātakam* is the use of a solar Yuga or an astronomical cycle of 165 years *(Yugo Ravīndvoḥ Yavanottamānām ṣaṣṭiḥ śatam pañcayutam samānām)*. Indicating the date of the epoch of a solar Yuga of 165 years with reference to the Śaka era, it is stated that when the 56th year of Śaka era is current, on a Sunday, the beginning of that year is the beginning of the Yuga of the sun. Considering the epoch of Śaka era in 583 BCE, the 56th year current was 528-527 BCE. The date was 12th March 528 BCE when Sun and Moon were in conjunction, entered at the first degree of Meśa (Aries), when Meśa (Aries) was in the ascendant, on the tithi of Chaitra Śukla Pratipadā (*Tadādyatithyādi-yugādi Sauram meṣādibhāgasthitayoḥ Ravīndvoḥ, meṣodaye prāgṛtucaitraśukle pravartate mānagatiḥ krameṇa ॥ 4 ॥*). One 165-year Yuga consisted of 60272 days. The Yugas of *Yavanajātakam* can be calculated as under:

	The beginning date of the 165-year Yuga	**The last date of the 165-year Yuga**	**No. of Days**
1.	12th March 528 BCE	17th March 363 BCE	60272
2.	18th March 363 BCE	23rd March 198 BCE	60272
3.	24th March 198 BCE	29th March 33 BCE	60272
4.	30th March 33 BCE	3rd April 132 CE	60272
5.	4th April 132 CE	8th April 297 CE	60272
6	9th April 297 CE	15th April 462 CE	60272
7	16th April 462 CE	20th April 627 CE	60272

Seemingly, the calendar of 165-year Yuga might have had a concept of Kśaya Māsa (dropping of a lunar month) to keep the beginning of a Yuga at the first degree of Meśa (Aries).

The last chapter of *Yavanajātakam* deals with lunisolar astronomy on the basis of a solar Yuga of 165 years and the synodic motion of the planets. It is clear that the Śakas and Yavanas shared a common heritage and that the Śakas followed the astrology of Yavana Siddhānta. When the Western kśatrapas established their kingdom in Ujjain and introduced the Śaka era (583 BCE), a need was felt to present the Yavana Siddhānta with reference to lunisolar astronomy. Therefore, probably a later Yavana scholar wrote the 79th chapter of *Yavanajātakam*, not part of the original text of Sphujidhvaja. It is evident that Yavaneśvara and Sphujidhvaja lived much earlier and prior to the introduction of Śaka era (583 BCE). The available text of *Yavanajātakam* that includes the 79th chapter was written during the reign of the Western kśatrapas of Ujjain. Bhattotpala clearly mentions that Sphujidhvaja wrote his treatise before the commencement of the Śaka era (*Yavaneśvareṇa Sphujidhvajenānyat śāstram kritam Śakakālasya prāk jñāyate anuyavanāchāryaiḥ pūrvaiḥ kritamiti tad Sphujidhvajopyāha…..*). Some manuscripts read "arvāk" in place of "prāk" which indicates that a later scholar might have replaced "prāk" with "arvāk" considering the reference of the 56th year of Śaka era in the 79th chapter of *Yavanajātakam*.

David Pingree, a biased Indologist, translated the *Yavanajātakam* into English in 1978. It is evident from his translation that he undertook this work with the intention of establishing that the *Yavanajātakam* is originally a lost Greek text composed in Alexandria that was later translated into Sanskrit by Sphujidhvaja, an "Indianized Greek". David Pingree was one of the racist and Eurocentric research scholars who could not digest the fact that India was the birthplace of astral sciences. He committed a number of forgeries to prove his spurious theory. First of all, Pingree conspired to date the *Yavanajātakam* earlier than other Indian astronomical texts by inventing a fictitious *"Bhūtasaṅkhyā"* so that he could propagate the theory of Greek influence on Indian astronomy. He fraudulently distorted the phrase *"Nārāyaṇārkendumayādidṛṣṭam"*

of verse 62 of chapter 79 as *"Nārāyanāṅkendumitābda"* and declared that it meant Śākānta 191 (269-270 CE), the year in which Sphujidhvaja translated *Yavanajātakam* into Sanskrit. He also misinterpreted the phrase *"Viṣṇugraha"* of verse 60 of chapter 79 as "the year 71" to prove that Yavaneśvara wrote *Yavanajātakam* in Śākānta 71 (149-150 CE). He also distorted the phrase "*ṣaḍagre'rdhaśate*" ("56th year") of the verse 14 of the chapter 79 as *"ṣaḍ eke'rdhaśate"* ("66th year) deliberately to match the astronomical facts described in the verse. Undoubtedly, David Pingree committed a fraud in his translation of the *Yavanajātakam*. KS Shukla,[2] Harry Falk and Bill M. Mak[3] have rightly pointed out many "incorrect readings" (distortions) in the translation of David Pingree. Truly speaking, David Pingree has fraudulently fixed a particular date for Yavaneśvara and Sphujidhvaja so that he could establish the hypothesis of Greek influence on Indian astronomy.

Pingree also propagated the fallacy that the ideas of the precession of equinoxes and the trepidation of equinoxes were introduced into India by the Greeks.[4] It is a baseless claim. It is also a classic case of robbery of the ancient Indian treasure-house of knowledge by a racist and Eurocentric as well as ethnocentric scholar. Ancient Indians had the knowledge of precession and trepidation much before the birth of Hellenistic astronomy of the Greeks. David Pingree also speculated that Romaka meant Romans, that Pauliśa was a Greek and that the ancient Indian astronomer Maṇittha mentioned by Varāhamihira was not an Indian but a Greek named Manetho — all part of Pingree's mischievously creative imagination.

In his designs to prove that the Greeks were the pioneers of astronomy, David Pingree concluded fraudulently that the astronomy of Āryabhaṭa and later Indians was influenced by Hellenic astronomical ideas. He said that 'much of what we know about Greek astronomy between Hipparchus and the 4th century can be found in Sanskrit texts'. Racially biased Pingree even claimed that 'because of the Indian tendency to modify intellectual imports and also of the corrupt nature of the earliest surviving texts, it is often difficult to determine precisely the nature of Greek texts on which the Sanskrit texts are based'. In reality, Indians were well advanced in astronomy even before the birth of ancient Greek astronomy.

Yavaneśvara may have authored his *"Horāśāstra"* in his language and Sphujidhvaja translated it into Sanskrit before the commencement of the Śaka era in 583 BCE and the 79th chapter of *Yavanajātakam* was written by a later Yavana scholar during the reign of the Western kśatrapas after Śaka 56 (528-527 BCE). Most probably, Yavaneśvara flourished around 1500 BCE before the introduction of Sanskrit by Kanishka (1150-1118 BCE). Sphujidhvaja might have lived around 900 BCE. Sometimes, Sphujidhvaja was also referred to as Yavaneśvara because he was also the king of the Yavanas.

Bhāsa (490-420 BCE)

Bhāsa was one of the earliest dramatists of Sanskrit. He wrote many Sanskrit dramas. His drama "*Svapnavāsavadattam*" is based on Guṇāḍhya's *Brihatkathā*. Seemingly, he was the senior contemporary of Sri Harsha (457-405 BCE). According to Mammata's *Kāvyaprakāśa*, Dhāvaka got much wealth from King Sri Harsha. Dhāvaka was another name of Bhāsa. *Udayasundarīkathā* of Soḍhala indicates that Kumāradāsa (780-709 BCE) lived before Bhāsa.

Bhartrimentha, Rāmilla and Saumilla (470-390 BCE)

Bhartrimentha, Ramilla and Saumilla were in the court of King Sri Harsha (457-405 BCE). Kalhana mentions that Bhartrimentha was the author of *Hayagriva Vadha*. Ramilla and Saumilla were the authors of "*Śūdraka-Kathā*". Ātmabodhendra Sarasvati's commentary on "*Gururājaratnamālikā*" informs us that Ramilla wrote a drama titled "*Maṇiprabhā*".

Sarvanandi and Simhasūri (204 BCE)

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

Vaiśve sthite ravisute vṛṣabhe ca jīve,
rājottareṣu sitapakśamupetya candre ।
Grāme ca Pāṭalika-nāmni ca pāṇa-rāṣṭre
śāstram purā likhitavān Muni-Sarvanandī ॥[5]
Saṁvatsare tu dvāviṁśe kāñchīśa-Siṁhavarmaṇaḥ ।
Aśītyagre śakābdānām siddhametat śatatraye ॥[6]

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

Bhāravi (220-140 BCE)

Bhāravi, the legendary Sanskrit poet, was the author of "*Kirātārjunīyam*". According to "*Avantisundarikathā*" of Danḍin, Bhāravi was a contemporary of Chālukya King Vishnuvardhana (Western Chalukya King Jayasiṁha I or Pulakeśin I), Gaṅga King Durvinīta and Pallava King Simhavishnu. The Gaṅga King Durvinīta wrote a commentary on the 15th Sarga (canto) of *Kirātārjunīyam* in his 20th regnal year (173 BCE). Therefore, Bhāravi must have lived between 220 BCE to 140 BCE. The Sanskrit poet Danḍin relates an interesting story about Bhāravi in his work "*Avantisundarikathā*". Danḍin also tells us that his great-grandfather was a friend of Bhāravi and was introduced by him to King Vishnuvardhana which indicates that Danḍin must have flourished in the 1st century BCE.

Kālidāsa II (105-25 BCE)

Kālidāsa was one of the Navaratnas of Ujjain King Vikramāditya II. He was the author of three Kāvyas, *Raghuvaṁśa*, *Kumārasaṁbhavam* and *Ritusaṁhāram*. He also wrote *Mālavikāgnimitram*, *Vikramorvaśīyam*, *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* and *Jyotirvidābharaṇam*. We have already discussed the date of Kālidāsa in Chapter 4.

Viśākhadatta (70-0 BCE)

Viśākhadatta was the author of two Sanskrit dramas, *Mudrārākśasam* and *Devīchandraguptam*. He was the grandson of Vateśvaradatta and the son of Prithu (or Bhāskaradatta). Evidently, Viśākhadatta must be dated after Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty (278-242 BCE) because the Nāyaka of *Devīchandraguptam* is Gupta King Chandragupta II.

Viśākhadatta mentions the reigning King "Dantivarmā" at the end of *Mudrārākśasam*. Many manuscripts refers to Dantivarmā but Dhundhiraja of the 18th century, a later commentator of *Mudrārākśasam* mentions the king as Chandragupta II. It appears that the name of Dantivarmā got distorted in some of the manuscripts as "Rantivarmā" and "Avantivarmā".

Some historians have speculated Dantivarmā to be a Pallava king. But this identification of Dantivarmā is impossible. Viśākhadatta refers to the invasion of Hūṇas and Dantivarmā drove them away. Some others have identified Dantivarmā to be Dantidurga (78-93 CE) but it is chronologically impossible.

In fact, Dantivarmā was an ancient Rāṣṭrakūṭa king as recorded in the Daśāvatāra cave inscription of Ellora. Dantidurga (78-93 CE) was the 6th descendant of Dantivarmā. In all probability, Dantivarmā reigned in Northern Maharashtra and Lātadeśa around 60-30 BCE. Prithu or Bhāskaradatta, the father of Viśākhadatta, was the feudatory of Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Dantivarman. Vishakhadatta quotes one śloka from Bhartrihari's *Nītiśatakam* in his *Mudrārākśasam*. Bhartrihari was the elder brother of Vikramaditya II (101-1 BCE). Therefore, we must date Viśākhadatta as a junior contemporary of Bhartrihari. Māgha (20 BCE - 60 CE) reproduces a phrase from *Mudrārākśasam* in his work "*Śiśupālavadha*". Thus, we can roughly fix the date of Vishakhadatta around 70 BCE – 10 CE.

Māgha (20 BCE – 60 CE)

Māgha was the author of the famous Mahākāvya "*Śiśupālavadha*". He himself mentions at the end of *Śiśupālavadha* that Suprabhadeva was his grandfather, who was the prime-minister in the court of King Varmalāta and Dattaka was his father. Māgha's father Dattaka was the resident of Bhinnamālava or Bhinmal of Rajasthan (*Sri-Bhinnamālava-vāstavya-Dattaka-sunor-mahāvaiyākaraṇa-Māghasya kritau……*). *Prabhāvaka-Charita* of Prabhachandra also mentions that Māgha was the grandson of Suprabhadeva who was the prime-minister of King Varmalāta. The Vasantgarh inscription of Varmalāta found in Sirohi District of Rajasthan is dated in Kārttikādi Vikrama 682 (37 BCE) considering the epoch in 719-718 BCE.[7] Therefore, Māgha might have been born around 20 BCE and the lifetime of Māgha can, therefore, be fixed around 20 BCE-60 CE.

Interestingly, Māgha refers to *Kāśikāvritti* written by Vāmana & Jayāditya (750-680 BCE) and *Nyāsa*, a commentary on *Kāśikāvritti*, written by Jinendrabuddhi (*Anutsūtra-padanyāsā Sadvrittiḥ Sannibandhanā, Śabdavidyeva no bhāti rājanītirapaspaśā* ॥). Historians (Prof. Kielhorn and Dr. Konow) ridiculously concluded that Māgha and Jinedrabuddhi were contemporaries but Māgha clearly indicates that he has not only studied *Nyāsa*, the work of Jinedrabuddhi in his childhood but also says that *Nyāsa,* a must read for every grammarian. Probably, Jinendrabuddhi flourished in the 4th century BCE.

Udyotana Sūri (116 CE)

The Jain scholar Udyotana Sūri authored his work *"Kuvalayamālā"* on astrology in Śaka 700 (116-117 CE) during the reign of the Pratīhāra King Vatsarāja. An inscription of King Vatsarāja[8] tells us that he was ruling in Śaka 717 elapsed (134-135 CE) *[muni-śaśi-naga (717) saṁsthe yānti kāle Śakānām]*. It appears that Pratīhāra Vatsarāja ruled between 110 CE to 140 CE. The date given in *Kuvalayamālā* is Chaitra krishna caturdaśi of Śaka 700. Therefore, Udyotana Sūri authored *Kuvalayamālā* on 30th March 116 CE. Interestingly, *Kuvalayamālā* is also an exhaustive work on social and cultural history of the 2nd century CE and gives the description of 34 janapadas and 20 states of India.

Jinasena (122 CE)

A Jain scholar Jinasena flourished during the reign of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda, Indra and Amoghavarṣa. Lokasena's *praśasti* in *Uttarapurāṇa* tells us that Jinasena, the guru of Guṇabhadra, was a contemporary of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Amoghavarṣa. In the concluding *praśasti* of *"Harivaṁśa"* a Jain Purāṇa, Jinasena gives the date of completion in Śaka year 705 elapsed (122-123 CE).

> *"Śākeṣvabdaśateṣu Saptaṣu diśam pañcottareṣūttarām,*
> *Pātīndrāyudhanāmni Kṛṣṇanṛpaje Śrivallabhe Dakśiṇām ॥"* [9]

Guṇabhadra & Lokasena (237 CE)

Guṇabhadra was the author of *Uttarapurāṇa*. Lokasena, the disciple of Guṇabhadra, wrote a *"praśasti"* in Śaka 820 (237 CE) at the end of *Uttarapurāṇa* during the reign of Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Akālavarṣa. He clearly

mentions the Śaka era as *"Śaka-nṛpa-kālābhyantara"* to distinguish it from *"Śaka-nṛpa-Kālātīta-samvatsara"*.

"Akālavarṣa-bhūpāle pālayatyakhilānilam..... Śaka-nṛpa-kālābyantara-viṁśatyadhikāṣta-śata-mitābdānte Maṅgala-mahārtha-kāriṇi Piṅgala nāmani samasta-jana-sukhade." [10]

Sanskrit Poets After Kālidasa (105-25 BCE)

		In CE
1.	**Bānabhaṭṭa**, the author of *Kādambarī* and *Harshacharitam*.	40 BCE – 40 CE
2.	**Dandin**, the author of *Avantisundarīkathā* and *Daśakumāracharitam.*	40 BCE – 40 CE
3.	**Bhavabhuti**, the author of *Uttararāmācharitam* and *Mālatīmādhavam*.	30 BCE – 50 CE
4.	**Vākpatiraja**, the author of *Gaudavaho.*	10 BCE -70 CE
5.	**Śri Harsha** was the author of *Khandanakhandakhādyaka* and *Naiṣadhīyacharitam*.	250-320 CE
6.	**Rajaśekhara**, the author of *Bālarāmāyaṇa, Bālabhārata, Viddhaśālabhañjikā, Karpūramañjarī* and *Kāvyamīmāṁsā.*	250-320 CE
7.	**Soḍhala**, the author of *Udayasundarīkathā*.	1000-1070 CE

Indian Astronomers After Varāhamihira (146-74 BCE)

Brahmagupta (63 BCE – 17 CE)

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

Śri-Cāpa-vaṁśa-tilake Śri-Vyāghramukhe nṛpe Śaka-nṛpāṇām,
Pañcāśat-saṁyuktair varṣa-śataiḥ pañcabhiratītaiḥ ।
Brāhmaḥ Sphuṭasiddhāntaḥ sajjana-ganitajña-golavit-prītyai,
Triṁśadvarṣeṇa kṛto Jishṇu-suta-Brahmaguptena ॥[11]

Brahmagupta clearly refers to the Śaka era (583 BCE) by stating *"Śaka-nṛpāṇām"*. Brahmagupta also wrote *"Khanḍakhādyaka"* in the 37th year from the date of *Brahma Sphutasiddhānta* (Śaka 550), i.e., Śaka 587 (3-4 CE). We can thus fix the lifetime of Brahmagupta between Śaka 520 to Śaka 600 (63 BCE-17 CE). Interestingly, Western scholars edited the phrase *"Śaka-nṛpāṇām"* as *"Śaka-nṛpālāt"*. Some of the manuscripts erroneously included the verses quoted by the commentators. For instance, the 26th verse of Chapter 1 of *Brahama Sphuṭasiddhānta* was not in the manuscript[12] published in 1902. It seems that some statements of the commentators containing the phrase *"Śakānte", Śaka-nṛpānte"*, etc. were mixed up with the original text of *Brahma Sphuṭasiddhānta* due to which, it was assumed that Brahmagupta had knowledge of the epoch of 78 CE. We have to refer to the unedited version and the original manuscripts to ascertain the actual text of *Brahma Sphuṭasiddhānta*.

While studying the intercalated months referred to in the Nepali inscriptions, Shankarāman Rājavamshi, a research scholar of the Archaeological department has attempted to show that Brahma Siddhānta works successfully provided the epoch year is pushed back by 22 years prior to 78 CE, i.e., 56 CE.[13] He has produced a table where the years showing intercalated months completely agree with the epigraphic data. Historians ignored his research assuming that *Brahma Sphuṭasiddhānta* was written in Śākānta 550 (628 CE). Actually, Brahmagupta wrote his work in Śaka 550 (33-32 BCE) and not in Śākānta 550 (628 CE).

Lallāchārya (50-120 CE)

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

> *"Nandādricandrānala-saṁyuto bhavet,*
> *Śakakśitīśābda-gaṇo gataḥ kaleḥ ।*
> *Divākaraghno gatamāsa-saṁyutaḥ,*
> *Khavahninighnasthitibhiḥ samanvitaḥ ॥*[14]

Elaborating the above verse, Mallikārjuna Sūri, a commentator on "Śiṣyadhīvṛddhidatantra", states:

> *"Śakanṛpābdagaṇaḥ sahasratrayeṇaikonāśītyadhika-śatena (3179) sahitaḥ Kaligatābda-gaṇo bhavati".*

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

Explaining a formula for certain calculations, Lalla states: "Subtract 420 from the Śaka year elapsed, multiply the remainder severally by 25, 114, 96, 47 and 153. Divide each product by 250" *(Śāke nakhābdhi-rahite).*[15] It indicates that Lalla proposed certain necessary corrections in calculating the positions of planets with the constants given by Āryabhaṭa and the year in which these corrections to be effective was 250 years after Śaka year 420 (164 BCE) elapsed. Therefore, it can be concluded that Lalla authored his work in Śaka 670 (87 CE). It seems that the two verses, in which the above formula appears, may not be the part of *"Śiṣyadhīvṛddhidatantra"* because the commentary of Bhāskarāchārya and Mallikarjuna Sūri is not available on these verses but Sūryadeva Yajvā (12th century CE), Parameśvara (14th century CE) and Yallayya (15th century CE) quoted these verses as composed by Lalla. However, we can fix the date of Lalla in the 1st or 2nd century CE because Bhāskarāchārya (452-532 CE) wrote a commentary on his work.

Vateśvara (218-300 CE)

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

Muñjāla (Śaka 584 or 854)

Muñjāla wrote his work *"Laghumānasa"* in Śaka 584 (1 CE). According to Kedarnath Joshi, Muñjāla gave Śaka 434 elapsed (149-148 BCE) as the year of *Ayanachalana* or the year of zero *ayanāṁśa*.[16] Seemingly, Muñjāla

considered 22nd March 149 BCE as the epoch of *Ayanachalana*. Therefore, it seems that Muñjāla was a contemporary of Brahmagupta.

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

Bhaṭṭotpala (304 CE)

Bhaṭṭotpala wrote commentaries on the works of Varāhamihira and Brahmagupta. He wrote a commentary named *"Cintāmaṇi"* on Varāhamihira's *Brihat Saṁhitā*. In the commentary named *"Vivṛti"* on Varāhamihira's *Brihajjātaka*, Bhaṭṭotpala stated that he completed the commentary on Chaitra śukla pañcamī of Śaka 888 (304-305 CE) i.e. 27th February 304 CE.

Chaitramāsasya pañcamyām sitāyām guruvāsare ।
Vasvaṣṭāṣṭamite Śāke kṛteyam Vivṛtir-mayā ॥

Interestingly, Bhaṭṭotpala mentions that the *ayanāṁśa* was 7 days during his time or to be more accurate 6 ½ degrees *(sārdha-ṣatkāṁśaḥ)* according to one reading. V Tiruvenkatācharya proved that the interval between the epoch of *Pañcasiddhāntikā* and the completion of the commentary on *Brihajjātaka* is 888-427 = 461 years. Therefore, the value of the annual rate of precession of equinoxes is 6 ½ degrees / 461 = 390 x 60 / 461 seconds = 50.8 seconds which may be considered as a fairly accurate value.

Śripati (378 CE)

Śripati wrote his works *"Siddhāntaśekhara"* and "*Dhīkoṭikaraṇa*" in Śaka year 961 elapsed (378-379 CE) *[Candrāṅganando 961 naśako'rkanighnaśchaitrādimasair.....]*.[17] Śripati was probably 40 years old when he authored *"Siddhāntaśekhara"* and must have been born in Śaka 921 (338-339 CE). He also authored "*Dhruvamānasa*" in Śaka 978 (395-396 CE) and many other works like *Jātaka-paddhati* and *Jyotiṣa-ratnamālā,* etc.

Bhāskarāchārya (452-535 CE)

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

Rasa-guṇa-pūrṇa-mahī (1036) sama
Śaka-nṛpa-samaye'bhavanmamotpattiḥ ।
Rasa-guṇa (36) varṣeṇa mayā
Siddhānta-Śiromaṇī racitaḥ ॥[18]

Thus, Bhāskara was born in Śaka 1036 (452-453 CE) and he wrote his famous work *"Siddhānta Śiromaṇi"* in Śaka 1072 (488-489 CE) when he was 36 years old *(rasa-guṇa-varṣeṇa)*. He also authored *"Karaṇakutūhala"* around Śaka 1105 (521-522 CE) and referred to Śaka 1105 as *Karaṇābda*. According to Bhāskara, there was a *Kśaya māsa* or suppressed month in the Śaka 974 (390-391 CE) and there will be one each in Śaka 1115 (531-532 CE), 1256 (672-673 CE) and 1378 (794-795 CE).[19]

Bhāskara states that 3179 years of Kali Yuga elapsed when the Śaka king died *(nandādrīnduguṇāstathā Śaka-nṛpasyānte kalervatsarāḥ)* and 1972947179 years including the years of Śaka era elapsed *(godrīndvadrikṛtaṅkadasranagagocandrāḥ Śakābdānvitāḥ)*[20] which is irrefutable evidence that Śaka era (583 BCE) and the era that commenced from the death of the Śaka king (78 CE) are not the same but two different eras. Lallāchārya also states that 3179 years in the epoch of Kaliyuga (3101 BCE) including the years of Śaka era have been elapsed in 78 CE. Therefore, Bhāskara's expression *"Śaka-nṛpa-samaye"* unambiguously refers to the Śaka era (583 BCE) and not *"Śaka-nṛpasyānte"*, i.e., Śakānta (78 CE). Thus, Bhāskara was born in 452-453 CE and not in 1114-1115 CE.

Al Beruni knew about Bhāskara in 1031 CE. He not only mentions about Bhāskarāchārya, as the son of Mahādeva but also his book *"Karaṇakutūhala"* as a work of astronomy known in his own country for more than a hundred years. In case, *Karaṇakutūhala* was written in Śākānta 1105 (1183 CE), how could Al Beruni have known about it in 1031 CE and in his country since the beginning of the 10th century CE? Thus, it is evident that Bhāskara referred to the Śaka era (583 CE) and not the Śākānta era (78 CE). Weber, in his book on Sanskrit literature, noticed this anomaly, but was unable to offer any explanation. He honestly accepted: "I confess my inability to solve this riddle; so close is this coincidence as

to the personage that the "Bhāskar" of Al Beruni is expressly described, like the real Bhāskara, as the son of Mahādeva".[21] The riddle is now solved because Bhāskara was born in Śaka 1036 (452-453 CE) not in Śākānta 1036 (1114 CE). Therefore, Bhāskara authored *Karaṇakutūhala* in Śaka 1105 (522 CE) which was available to Al Beruni at the time of his visit.

Some scholars argue that Weber suggested that his translation of the Arabic words of Al Beruni might be wrong, for Al Beruni usually represents the Indian bh by b-h, and for the most part faithfully preserves the length of the vowels, neither of these is here done in the case of Bashkar, where, moreover, the s is changed into sh", and adds in a footnote that in the passage under discussion "there lurks not a Bhaskara at all, but perhaps, Pushkara". Even if the passage refers to a Bhāskara, Weber suggested that "we may have to think of that elder Bhāskara, who was at the head of the commentators of Āryabhaṭa, and is repeatedly cited by Prithūdakasvāmin, who was himself anterior to the author of the "*Siddhānta Śiromaṇi*".

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

Interestingly, Patna inscription,[22] which is dated in Śaka 1128 (545 CE), gives the genealogy of Bhāskarāchārya.

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

According to this inscription, Bhāskarabhaṭṭa, the son of Trivikrama, received the title of "*Vidyāpati*" from the great King Bhojarāja *(Yo Bhojarājena kṛtābhidhāno Vidyāpatir Bhāskarabhaṭṭa-nāmā)*.

Bhāskarāchārya's son Lakśmīdhara was the chief astrologer of the Yādava King Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla and Bhāskarāchārya's grandson Chāṅgadeva was the chief astrologer of the Yādava King Siṅghaṇa. Chāṅgadeva founded a college at Patna village (in Khandesh, Central India) to teach the doctrines promulgated by Bhaskaracharya. Interestingly, this inscription records a grant made by Soideva, a feudatory of the Yādava King Siṅghaṇa in favour of Chāṅgadeva's college in Śaka 1128 (545 CE).

In view of the facts discussed above, it can be concluded that Bhāskarāchārya was born in Śaka 1036 (452-453 CE) and not in Śākānta 1036 (1114 CE). Bhāskarāchārya is generally referred to as Bhāskara II because another Bhāskara flourished in the 1st century BCE who wrote *Mahābhāskarīyam, Laghubhāskarīyam* and *Āryabhaṭīya-bhāṣyam*.

References

Chapter 16

1. "Abhiras: Their History and Culture" by Bhagwansingh Suryavansi, Faculty of Arts, Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, 1962, pp. 100-101.
2. EI, VIII, pp. 24-36.
3. MAR, 1931, pp. 50-60.
4. IA, VI, pp. 22.
5. Srikanthika, S. Srikantha Sastry Felicitation Volume, 1973, pp. 61 ff.
6. Progress of Kannada Research in Bombay State (1947-52), pp. 17 ff.
7. EI, IX, pp. 267-271.
8. EC, VI, Kd 162, pp. 91.
9. EI, VI, pp. 18.
10. MAR, 1918, pp. 35
11. EI, XXXV, pp. 151-152.
12. IA, VII, pp. 37-38.
13. EI, XL, pp. 109 ff.
14. EC, IV, Hosur 18.
15. IA, VII, pp. 35-37.
16. EC, VIII, Sb 33.
17. IA, VI, pp. 24-25.
18. EI, XVI, pp. 264 ff.
19. EI, XIV, pp. 163-168.
20. IA, VI, pp. 31-32.
21. CII, IV, pt. I, pp. 110 ff.
22. EI, VI, pp. 12 ff. & MAR, 1911, pp. 31 ff.

23. EC, VIII, Sk 66.
24. IA, XXI, pp. 93.
25. The Kadamba Kula by George M Moraes, 1931, pp. 394 ff.
26. The Kadamba Kula by George M Moraes, 1931, pp. 401.
27. IA, XV, pp. 172-177.
28. IA, V, pp. 70.
29. IA, VII, pp. 209-217
30. EI, XXVII, pp. 4-9.
31. IA, III, pp. 304-306.
32. JBBRAS, XX, pp. 40-48.
33. IA, IX, pp. 123-125.
34. IA, V, pp. 70.
35. IA, VII, pp. 163-164.
36. IA, VIII, pp. 44-47.
37. EI, IX, pp. 98.
38. EI, XXVII, pp. 115 -119.
39. EI, XXII, pp. 24-29.
40. EI, IX, pp. 200-206.
41. IA, VII, pp. 209-217.
42. IA, VII, pp. 217-220.
43. IA, VI, pp. 73-77.
44. EI, IX, pp. 98.
45. EI, XLII, pp. 1-5.
46. JESI, IX, 1982, pp. 1-5.
47. EI, XXII, pp. 24-29.
48. ARSIE, 1934-35, 7& 57, No. 22A & JKU, Vol. I, pp. 193-227.
49. IA, VIII, pp. 285.
50. JBISM, IX, pp. 1-6.
51. EI, IX, pp. 200-206.
52. JESI, X, 1983, pp. 10-15.
53. SII, XX, No. 5, pp. 4-5.
54. The Dynasties of the Kanerese Districts of the Bombay Presidency by JF Fleet, 1882, pp. 24.
55. JBBRAS, XI, pp. 155.

56. CII, IV, No.30, Plate XXIII, pp. 137-145.
57. IA, IX, pp. 294.
58. JBBRAS, XX, pp. 40-48.
59. CII, IV, No.28, Plate XXI, pp. 127-131.
60. IA, IX, pp. 294.
61. JBBRAS, XVI, pp. 1-7.
62. IA, VII, pp. 241-253.
63. Vishnukundinulu (in Telugu) by N Venkataramanayya, 1970, The Publication Bureau, Hyderabad, No. 13, Plate XXIX.
64. IA, VII, pp. 161-162.
65. EI, XXVIII, pp. 59-62.
66. EI, XXXII, pp. 293-298.
67. EI, VIII, pp. 163-166 & JBBRAS, XVI, pp. 88.
68. EI, XXIX, pp. 174-177.
69. EI, XXXVII, pp. 9-24.
70. EI, XXVIII, pp. 1-16.
71. EI, XI, pp. 276-280.
72. EI, XXI, pp. 289-292.
73. IA, XVIII, pp. 230-236.
74. JESI, X, pp. 30-35
75. EI, XVIII, pp. 235-255.
76. IA, XI, pp. 109-115.
77. EI, XXV, pp. 25-31.
78. Studies in Indology, Vol. II, pp. 10-15.
79. IA, XI, pp.109-115.
80. EI, XIII, pp. 275-282.
81. EI, VI, pp. 208-213.
82. BISM, VIII, pp.166-167.
83. Rashtrakuta Śāsanagalu, Mysore University, 2011, Vol. I, No. 8.
84. EI, XIII, pp. 275-282.
85. EI, VI, pp. 208-213.
86. EI, X, pp. 86
87. Harivaṁśa Purāṇa, 66th canto (Sarga), Verse 52.
88. EI, XLI, pp. 49-58.

89. Kuvalayamālā (Sindhi Jain Granthamālā, No.45, Bombay, 1959), Vol. 1, pp. 283.
90. EI, X, pp. 81-89.
91. Manne plates of Govinda III, The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. 14, 1923-24, pp. 82-88.
92. EC, IX, Nj 61.
93. Manne plates of Govinda III, The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. 14, 1923-24, pp. 82-88.
94. EI, IV, pp. 332-348.
95. IA, XII, pp. 217.
96. IA, XIII, pp. 50-57.
97. JBBRAS, X, pp. 194.
98. EI, XIII, pp. 190.
99. EI, XLI, pp. 140-147.
100. The History of Rāshtrakutas by Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu, Archaeological Department, Jodhpur, 1933, pp. 87.
101. Rāshtrakuta Sāsanagalu, Mysore University, 2011, Vol. II, No. 507 & 508.
102. "Kailasa –The Stylistic Development and Chronology" by MK Dhavalikar, Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Vol. 41, 1982, pp. 33-45.
103. "Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India" by Burgess J and Bhagwanlal Indraji, Bombay, 1881, pp. 92.
104. "Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India" by Burgess J and Bhagwanlal Indraji, Bombay, 1881, pp. 96.
105. EI, IV, pp. 342.
106. IA, XII, pp.156-165.
107. EI, XXV, pp. 25-31.
108. "Inscriptions of the Kalachuri -Chedi Era" by VV Mirashi, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1998, pp. 555-567.
109. "Kailasa –The Stylistic Development and Chronology" by MK Dhavalikar, Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Vol. 41, 1982, pp. 33-45.
110. IA, VIII, pp. 12-14.
111. SII, XX, No. 173 & 174, pp. 214-215.
112. The History of Rāshtrakutas by Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu, Archaeological Department, Jodhpur, 1933, pp. 71.
113. Rāshtrakuta Sāsanagalu, Vol. I, No. 137.
114. EC, III, Nj 110.

115. Early Gangas of Talakkad by Srikantha Sastry, 1952, pp. 2-10.
116. EC, III, Introduction & Mysore Inscriptions, pp. xli.
117. EI, XXIV, pp. 234-239.
118. MAR, 1925, No. 115.
119. IA, VIII, pp. 212.
120. EC, III, Nj 122.
121. MAR, 1921, Plate IX.
122. Penukonda Grant, EI, XIV, pp. 334 & Kudalur Grant, MAR, 1930, pp. 259-265.
123. Bendiganahalli plates of Vijaya Krishnavarman, MAR, 1914-15, pp. 40 ff.
124. Chukuttur plates of Simhavarman I (son of Krishnavarma), MAR, 1924, pp. 79-81.
125. IA, VII, pp. 173.
126. Mysore Inscriptions, pp. 289.
127. MAR, 1916, pp. 34 ff.
128. MAR, 1924, No.78.
129. MAR, 1916, pp. 34 ff.
130. MAR, 1924, Plate III.
131. MAR, 1924, Plate IX.
132. IA, I, pp. 362 ff.
133. The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. 14, 1923-24, pp. 10-22.
134. IA, XIV, pp. 203 ff.
135. EI, XLII, pp. 35-43.
136. IA, VIII, pp. 11 ff.
137. MAR, 1918, pp. 35.
138. EC, VI, Cm 50.
139. EC, XII, Mi 110.
140. MAR, 1916, pp. 35 & MAR, 1917, pp. 30.
141. Early Gangas of Talakkad by Srikantha Sastry, 1952, pp. 2-9.
142. MAR, 1941, No. I.
143. MAR, 1924, pp. 69-72.
144. EI, III, pp. 159.
145. MAR, 1925, No.106.
146. MAR, 1925, pp. 85 ff.
147. EC, III, Md 113, pp. 106.

148. EC, VI, Mg 36.
149. IA, II, pp. 155 ff.
150. MAR, 1925, pp. 90-92.
151. EC, IX, pp. 47, Nj 60.
152. EC, IX, Nj 61.
153. Early Gangas of Talakkad by Srikantha sastry, pp. 3-6.
154. MAR, 1925, pp. 85.
155. EI, XXXVII, pp. 133-138.
156. EC, VI, Mg 36.
157. EC, X, Gd. 47.
158. EC, IX, pp. 47, Nj 60.
159. MAR, 1924, pp. 106.
160. MAR, 1942, pp. 208-231.
161. EC, X, Kl-90.
162. EC, XII, Nj 269.
163. EI, III, pp. 176.
164. EC, X, Kl-90.
165. MAR, 1921, pp. 11 ff.
166. EC, II, No.59.
167. EC, X, Kl 90.
168. EI, III, pp. 176 ff.
169. MAR, 1921, pp. 11.
170. ARISE, 1934-35, A 23.
171. ARE, 1969-70, A 5.
172. Literary and Historical Studies in Indology by VV Mirashi, Motilal Banarasidas Publishers, 1975, pp. 66 ff.
173. EC, III, Md 41, pp. 92.
174. EI, IV, pp. 206 ff.
175. SII, XX, No. 18, pp.15-18 ff. & JBBRAS, X, pp. 204 ff.
176. EI, XVI, pp.1-11.
177. IA, VIII, pp. 10-23.
178. Copper plate inscriptions from Karnataka: Recent discoveries, Directorate of Archaeology & Museums, 1985, pp. 43-51.
179. Ibid, pp. 52-61.

180. IA, VIII, pp. 10-23.
181. SII, XX, No. 52, pp. 63-65.
182. EI, XX, pp. 64-70.
183. EC, VII, Shikarpur, No. 108.
184. EA, IV, pp. 49-53.
185. IA, IX, pp. 294.
186. ARSIE, 1939-40 to 1940-42, pp. 20.
187. JBISM, III, Pt. 1, pp. 6-16.
188. ARSIE, 1933-34, pp. 4, No. A2 & IE, Vol. II, pp. 222.
189. SMHD, Vol. II, pp. 23-31.
190. EI, XXXIV, pp. 227-232.
191. JBBRAS, XVIII, 1892, pp. 269 ff.
192. IA, IV, pp. 274-278.
193. IA, VIII, pp.39-43.
194. EI, I, pp. 338-346.
195. Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, Golādhyāya, Praśnādhyāya, verse 58.
196. Saṅgītaratnākara, Prathama Svaragatādhyāya, verses 5-6.
197. CII, VI, pp. 17-35.
198. EI, XXV, pp. 199-225.
199. EI, XXXII, pp. 31-44.
200. EI, XXVIII, pp. 94-98.
201. SII, XX, No. 182, pp. 231.
202. SII, XX, No. 184, pp. 232-233.
203. JBBRAS, XII, Issue no. 33, pp. 7 ff.
204. SII, XV, No. 191, pp. 235.
205. IA, XVIII, pp. 128.
206. IA, XVII, pp.117 ff.
207. IA, XII, pp. 119-125.
208. MJLS, Vol. 8, 1838, pp.23-24.
209. EI, XXVIII, pp. 312-320.
210. CII, VI, No. 43, pp. 200-206.
211. CII, VI, No. 46, pp. 214-221.
212. CII, VI, No. 53, pp. 246-249.
213. CII, VI, No. 54, pp. 250-253.

214. CII, VI, No. 58, pp. 258-263.
215. CII, VI, No. 59, pp. 263-267.
216. CII, VI, No. 60, pp. 267-273.
217. CII, VI, No. 64, pp. 282-286.
218. EC, VII, Shikarpur, No. 87.
219. EC, VI, Kadur, No. 96.
220. EC, IV, Nagamangala, No. 100.
221. EC, V, Arsikere, No. 139.
222. EC, VI, Tarikere, No. 83.
223. EC, XI, Davanagere, No. 129.
224. EC, V, Channarayapatna, No. 180.
225. EC, III, Nanjanagudu, No. 342, pp. 400.
226. Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department, 1941, pp. 147-148.

Chapter 17

1. Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India by J Burgess & Bhagwanlal Indraji, 1881.
2. "The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi" by Edward Thomas, London, 1871, pp. 48.
3. Tarikh-i-Yamini, pp. 474.
4. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XLIII, Part 1, pp. 104-110.
5. EI, XII, pp. 17-27.
6. "Politics and Society during Early Medieal Period" by Prof. Mohammad Habib, Vol. II, pp.63.
7. "Essays on Indian Antiquities, Historic, Numismatic and Palaeographic of the Late James Prinsep" by Edward Thomas, Vol. II, pp. 247.
8. EI, I, pp. 61-66.

Chapter 18

1. "A Study of Sanskrit Inscriptions in Andhra Pradesh" by Dr. Dhoolipala Ramakrishna, Sri Venkateswara Vedic University, Tirupati, 2009, Chapter 14, pp. 3-7.
2. EC, X, Bagepalli, No. 70
3. EC, X, Goribidnur, No. 46
4. EC, XII, Maddagiri, No. 74

5. EC, XII, Pavugada, No. 72
6. EC, XIV, Gundlupet, No. 148
7. EC, III, Pt. 3, Gundlupete, 61
8. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 374.
9. IVR, Vol. 2, No. 807.
10. EC, VII, Shimoga, 79
11. EC, VII, Shimoga, 80
12. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 410.
13. EC, VIII, Nagar, 29
14. EC, X, Malur, 62
15. EC, XII, Pavugada, 96
16. EC, XI, Davanagere, 68
17. EC, III, Pt. 3, Heggadadevanakote, 149
18. EC, XIV, Heggadadevankote, 143
19. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 1, No. 110.
20. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 1, No. 32.
21. EC, X, Kolar, 202
22. EC, X, Goribidnur, 22
23. EC, XII, Pavugada, 18
24. EC, X, Goribidnur, 46
25. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 1, No. 40.
26. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 1, No. 147.
27. EC, VIII, Sorab, 102
28. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 1, No. 24.
29. IVR, Vol. 3, No. 8
30. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 512.
31. IVR, Vol. 2, No. 15
32. EC, X, Sidlaghatta, 94
33. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 5, No. 748.
34. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 2, No. 182.
35. EC, VIII, Sorab, No. 375
36. EC, VIII, Sorab, No. 265
37. EI, XIV, pp. 91-109
38. EC, III, Pt. 3, Gundlupete, 12, 18& 214

39. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 2, No. 211.
40. EC, VI, Koppa, 33
41. EC, III, Pt. 3, Nanjanagud, 299
42. EI, 25, pp. 186-194
43. EC, IV, Gundlupet, 61
44. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 1, No. 121.
45. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 2, No. 163.
46. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 526.
47. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 5, No. 828.
48. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 4, No. 667.
49. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 4, No. 760.
50. "History of the rise of Mohammadan Power in India" (Translated by John Briggs and Published in 1829) Vol. II, pp. 327.
51. "A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar)" by Robert Sewell, pp. 6.
52. "History of the rise of Mohammadan Power in India" (Translated by John Briggs and Published in 1829) Vol. II, pp. 330.
53. "A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar)" by Robert Sewell, pp. 41-42.
54. Ibid, pp. 6-8.
55. "Ekamranathuni Prataparudracharitramu" in Telugu, edited by CV Ramachandra Rao, Published in 1984.
56. Mahābhārata Tātparya Nirṇaya, Chapter 32, Verse 131 & Chapter 9, Verse 100.
57. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 2, No. 181.
58. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 2, No. 205.
59. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 380.
60. EC, Vol. VII, Shimoga, No.79 & 80.
61. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 1, No. 126.
62. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 1, No. 148.
63. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 2, No. 208
64. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 2, No. 157.
65. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 2, No. 180.
66. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 2, No. 328.
67. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 4, No. 681.
68. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 4, No. 683.

69. Mādhavīyā Dhātuvrittiḥ by Dwarikadas Shastri, Published by Tara Book Agency, Varanasi, 1983 & "Sources of Vijayanagara History" by S Krishnaswami Ayyangar, pp. 48.
70. EI, III, pp. 21-35.
71. EA, Vol. II.
72. "A Forgotten Empire" by Robert Sewell, pp. 21.
73. "Further Sources of Vijayanagara History", pp. 13-15.
74. Ibid, pp. 7-8.
75. "A Forgotten Empire" by Robert Sewell, pp. 22.
76. EI, XXV, pp. 119-225.
77. "Further Sources of Vijayanagara History", pp. 10.
78. EC, VI (Old Edn.), Sringeri, No. 1
79. Ibid.
80. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 1, No. 1 to 19 & IVR, Vol. 5, Part 1, No. 1-2.
81. EC, V, Channarayapatna, no. 256.
82. "Further Sources of Vijayanagara History", pp. 28-29.
83. EC, V, Channarayapatna, no. 256.
84. "Sources of Vijayanagara History", pp. 23-28.
85. "Sources of Vijayanagara History", pp. 29-34.
86. IVR, Vol. 5, Part 1, No. 13.
87. EI, VI, No. 33, pp.322-30.
88. IVR, Vol. 5, Part 1, No. 15 & 75.
89. EI, XXVIII, pp. 159.
90. EI, XXVIII, pp. 159.
91. IVR, Vol. 5, Part 1, No. 72.
92. The Tiruvannamalai inscription was engraved in Saka 1296.
93. "South India and her Mohammadan invaders" pp. 225-227.
94. Ibid, pp. 227-230.
95. Ibid, pp. 165.
96. Ibid, pp. 164.
97. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 2, No. 283.
98. SII, XX, no. 281.
99. SII, XX, No. 282
100. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 2, No. 162.
101. Ibid, No. 194.

102. Ibid, No. 181.
103. EI, III, No. 37, pp. 224.
104. "Sources of Vijayanagar History", pp. 53.
105. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 2, No. 202.
106. Ibid, No. 205.
107. Ibid, No. 153.
108. Ibid, No. 162
109. Ibid, No. 178
110. Ibid, No. 181
111. Ibid, No. 194
112. Ibid, No. 197
113. EI, III, No. 37, pp.224.
114. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 2, No. 208.
115. Ibid, No. 266
116. Ibid, No. 232
117. Ibid, No. 271
118. Ibid, No. 276
119. Ibid, No. 283
120. Ibid, No. 322
121. Ibid, No. 316
122. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 365.
123. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 366.
124. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 377.
125. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 378.
126. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 380.
127. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 381.
128. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 382.
129. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 384.
130. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 386.
131. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 393.
132. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 392.
133. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 396.
134. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 389.
135. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 400.

136. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 422.
137. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 460.
138. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 491.
139. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 501.
140. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 515.
141. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 502.
142. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 527, 528& 529.
143. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 527.
144. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 530.
145. Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, pp. 15-17.
146. EI, 38, Pt. III, pp. 111-118.
147. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 516.
148. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 517.
149. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 519.
150. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 520.
151. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 3, No. 523.
152. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 4, No. 532.
153. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 4, No. 536.
154. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 4, No. 540.
155. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 4, No. 552.
156. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 4, No. 574.
157. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 4, No. 669.
158. Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, pp. 15-17.
159. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 4, No. 675.
160. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 5, No. 707.
161. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 5, No. 711.
162. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 5, No. 712.
163. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 5, No. 713.
164. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 5, No. 741.
165. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 5, No. 742.
166. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 5, No. 771.
167. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 5, No. 782.
168. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 5, No. 786.
169. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 5, No. 790.
170. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 5, No. 792.

171. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 5, No. 798.
172. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 5, No. 815.
173. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 5, No. 818.
174. Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, pp. 13-19.
175. South Indian Inscriptions, IX, pt. II, 489.
176. IVR, Vol. 4, No. 157
177. A Study of Sanskrit Inscriptions found in Andhra Pradesh, 20.16
178. Vijayanagara and Krishnadevaraya, ICHR, Southern Regional Center, 2010, pp. 97-112.
179. IVR, Vol. 2, No.51.
180. Ibid, No. 71 & 72.
181. Ibid, No. 114.
182. Ibid, No. 124 & 125.
183. Ibid, No. 361.
184. Ibid, No. 387.
185. Ibid, No. 465.
186. Ibid, No. 525.
187. Ibid, No. 584
188. Ibid, No. 588.
189. Ibid, No. 590.
190. Ibid, No. 591.
191. Ibid, No. 592.
192. Ibid, No. 654.
193. Ibid, No. 668.
194. Ibid, No. 713.
195. Ibid, No. 807.
196. Ibid, No. 819.
197. Ibid, No. 865.
198. Ibid, No.895.
199. Ibid, No. 898.
200. IVR, Vol. 4, No. 498.
201. Ibid, No. 519.
202. Ibid, No. 535.
203. Ibid, No. 559.
204. IVR, Vol. 1, Part 2, No. 276.

Chapter 19:

1. "A Short History of Jammu Raj from Earliest Times to 1846 AD" by Sukhdev Singh Charak, University of Jammu, 1984, PP. 32 ff.
2. Rājataraṅginī, 1st Taraṅga, Verse 102.
3. Ibid, Verses 49-51.
4. Ibid, Verse 56.
5. Rājataraṅginī, 8th Taraṅga, Verse 3404.
6. Ibid, 1st Taraṅga, Verse 53.
7. Ibid, Verse 54.
8. Ibid, Verse 59.
9. Ibid, Verse 172.
10. Mudrārākśasam, Verse 20.
11. Rājataraṅginī, 3rd Taraṅga, Verse 125.
12. Ibid, 4th Taraṅga, Verse 703.
13. Ibid, 6th Taraṅga, Verse 114.
14. Ibid, Verses 129 & 148.
15. Ibid, Verse 187.
16. Ibid, Verses 311-312.
17. Ibid, Verses 332 & 365.
18. Ibid, Verse 427.
19. Rājataraṅginī, 7th Taraṅga, Verse 1717.

Chapter 20

1. Aṣṭādhyāyī, 4.2.83.
2. "Ror Itihas ki Jhalak" by Dr. Raj Pal Singh, Pal Publications, Yamunanagar, 1987.

Chapter 21

1. "History of The Tamils: From the earliest times to 600 AD" by PT Srinivasa Iyengar, C. Coomaraswamy & Sons, Madras, 1929, pp. 230-231.
2. "The Śilappadikāram" by VR Ramachandra Dikshitar.
3. Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra, XXIV, 28.
4. "Folklore and Astronomy: Agastya a Sage and a Star" by KD Abhyankar, Current Science, Vol. 89, No. 12, 25 December 2005, pp. 2174-2176.

5. "Inscriptions of the Early Pāndyas: 300 BC to 984 AD" by KG Krishnan, Northern Book Center, New Delhi, 2002, pp. 5-15.
6. "History of The Tamils: From the earliest times to 600 AD" by PT Srinivasa Iyengar, C. Coomaraswamy & Sons, Madras, 1929, pp. 230.
7. "Handbook of Oriental Studies" by Bertold Spuler [Tamil Literature by KV Zvelebil, Lieden/Koln, EJ Brill, 1975] pp. 86.
8. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sea_level_rise
9. http://www.whatisindia.com/inscriptions/south_indian_inscriptions/volume_3/copper_plates_at_tirukkalar.html No. 206 : Two Pāndya Copper Plate Grants from Sinnamanur.
10. Vālmiki Rāmāyana, Kishkindha Kanda, 41st Sarga, 19th Sloka.
11. "History of The Tamils: From the earliest times to 600 AD" by PT Srinivasa Iyengar, C. Coomaraswamy & Sons, Madras, 1929, pp. 230-231.
12. Vālmiki Rāmāyana, Kishkindha Kanda, 41st Sarga, 12th Sloka.
13. Mahābhārata, Drona Parva, 398th Sloka.
14. "History of The Tamils: From the earliest times to 600 AD" by PT Srinivasa Iyengar, C. Coomaraswamy & Sons, Madras, 1929, pp. 231.
15. Mahābhārata, Adi Parva, 179th Adhyaya.
16. Mahābhārata, Drona Parva, 11th & 23rd Adhyaya.
17. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Narkudi_Velalar_Varalaru
18. "Inscriptions of the Early Pāndyas: 300 BC to 984 AD" by KG Krishnan, Northern Book Center, New Delhi, 2002, pp. 1.
19. "Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture" by S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, The University of Calcutta, 1923, pp. 20-24.
20. Guruprapannāmritam and Divyasūricharitam.
21. "Cera Kings of the Sangam Period" by KG Sesha Aiyar, Luzac & Co, London, 1937, pp. 21-27.
22. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Narkudi_Velalar_Varalaru
23. EI, XX, pp. 86-89.
24. Cera Kings of the Sangam Period" by KG Sesha Aiyar, Luzac & Co, London, 1937, pp. 4-5.
25. "Radiocarbon dating of some palaeochannels in Tamil Nadu and their significance" by SM Ramasamy, J Saravanavel, MG Yadava & R Ramesh, Current Science, Vol.. 91, No. 12, 25 December 2006.
26. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Legendary_early_Chola_kings
27. https://www.jatland.com/home/Hathigumpha_inscription

28. "Inscriptions of the Early Pāndyas: 300 BC to 984 AD" by KG Krishnan, Northern Book Center, New Delhi, 2002, Introduction, pp. XI.
29. Mahābhārata, Sabha Parva, 13th Adhyaya, 12th Sloka.
30. Pudukottai State Inscriptions, No. 120.
31. "Buddhaghosuppatti or The Historical Romance of the Life and Career of Buddhaghosha" by James Gray, London, Luzac & Co, 1892, pp. 19-24.
32. "The Life and Work of Buddhaghosha" by Bimala Charan Law, Calcutta and Simla, Thacker, Spink & Co, 1923, pp. 22-23.
33. Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Volume 7.
34. "The Kongu Country" by M Arokiaswami, University of Madras, 1956, pp. 81-91.
35. EI, XIV, pp. 331-340.
36. CII, III, pp. 6 ff.
37. MAR, 1938, pp. 88-90.
38. Lokavibhāga, published by Gulabchand Hirachand Doshi, Solapur, 1962, pp. 225.
39. Bharati, June 1965, pp. 2-4.
40. EC, IX, Ni 60.

Chapter 22

1. Mahābhārata, Sabhā Parva, 28th Adhyāya, 45th Śloka.

Chapter 23

1. Nagaripracharini Patrika, 11th Volume, pp. 85-92.
2. OHRJ, XII, pp. 76 ff.
3. EI, XXV, pp. 281-288.
4. EI, XXVII, pp. 216-220.
5. EI, XVII, pp. 330-334.
6. EI, XXV, pp. 194-198.
7. IA, XIII, pp. 119-124.
8. EI, XXX, pp. 37-42.
9. EI, XVIII, pp. 307-311.
10. EI, III, pp. 130-134.
11. EI, XXXI, pp. 199-202.
12. JAHRS, II, pp. 185 ff.

13. IA, XIII, pp. 273-276.
14. EI, III, pp. 17-21.
15. EI, XXX, pp. 23-28 & EI, XXIII, pp. 73-78 & EI, XVIII, pp. 312 ff.
16. EI, XXXII, pp. 201-206.
17. IA, XIV, pp. 10-12.
18. EI, XXVI, pp. 174-177.
19. Dynastic list of copper plate inscriptions: from 1887 to 1969, pp. 63, No. 373.
20. JAHRS, II, pp. 149 ff.
21. EI, XXXI, pp. 187-191.
22. JAHRS, III, pp. 178 ff.
23. EI, XXXI, pp. 45-56.
24. JBORS, XVIII, pp. 272 ff.
25. Dynastic list of copper plate inscriptions: from 1969 to 1997, pp. 11, No. 46.
26. "Inscriptions of Orissa" by Snigdha Tripathy, Volume I, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, No. 33-36, pp. 180-190.
27. Ibid, No. 21, pp. 139-141.
28. Ibid, No. 45, pp. 209-211.
29. JAHRS, IX, pp. 28 ff. & Dynastic list of copper plate inscriptions: from 1887 to 1969, pp. 71-72, No. 428-429.
30. EI, IV, pp. 183-193.
31. IA, XVIII, pp. 161-165.
32. CII, IV, pt. II, pp. 543-549.
33. IA, XVIII, pp. 165-172.
34. 79. EI, XXXI, pp. 249-262.
35. JASB, LXV, pt. I, pp. 235 ff.
36. JASB, LXV, pt. I, pp. 235 ff.
37. JASB, LXIV, pt. I, pp. 136 ff.
38. EI, XXVIII, pp. 302-312.
39. EI, XXXIII, pp. 1-22.
40. EI, XXXIII, pp. 275-292.
41. EI, XXXIV, pp. 175-188.
42. EI, XIII, pp. 155-158.
43. EI, XXVIII, pp. 205-211.
44. OHRJ, II, April 1953, pp. 1-16.
45. EI, XXVIII, pp. 63-67.

46. JBORS, XX, Pt. II, pp. 140-146.

Chapter 24

1. Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra, 15.17-27.
2. ARE, 1997-98.
3. Vishnukundinulu by N Venkataramanayya, 1970, The Publication Bureau, Hyderabad, No. 5, 6 & 7, pp. 57-65.
4. Bharati, June 1965, pp. 2-4.
5. IA, VII, pp. 15-19.
6. IA, XIV, pp. 48-55.
7. IA, XIV, pp. 55-59.
8. IA, VII, pp. 191-192.
9. IA, XX, pp. 15-18.
10. IA, XIX, pp. 303.
11. IA, XX, pp. 1-15.
12. EI, IV, pp. 226-242.
13. IA, XX, pp. 15-18.
14. IA, VII, pp. 15-19.
15. IA, XIV, pp. 48-55.
16. SII, I, No.39, pp. 50-62.
17. IA, XIV, pp. 55-59.
18. IA, VII, pp. 185-191.
19. IA, VII, pp. 191-192.
20. SII, I, No.36, pp. 36-43.
21. EI, XXXI, pp. 37-44.
22. EI, VI, pp. 20.
23. EI, VI, pp. 21.
24. SII, I, No.39, pp. 50-62.
25. SII, VI, No. 202, pp. 95-98.
26. "Pratāparudra Charitram" in Telugu by Dr. CV Ramachandra Rao, Andhra Pradesh Sāhitya Academy, Hyderabad, 1984, pp. 2-4.
27. Ibid, pp. 9 ff.
28. Ibid, pp. 18 ff.
29. "Inscriptions of the Minor Chalukya Dynasties of Andhra Pradesh" by Kolluru Satyanarayana, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 1993, Chapter 1-5.

Chapter 25

1. EI, XXXVI, pp. 92.
2. EI, IV, pp. 243-254.
3. IA, XV, pp. 304-310.
4. EI, XIV, pp. 324-330.
5. JASB, LXIX, Pt. I, pp. 68 ff.
6. Dynastic History of Magadha, Cir. 450-1200 AD by Bindeshwari Prasad Sinha, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 224.
7. EI, XXVIII, pp. 145.
8. EI, XXVIII, pp. 142 (see foot-note 3).
9. Inscriptions of Bengal by Nani Gopal Majumdar, Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, Kolkata, 2003, pp. 118-131.
10. IA, XIV, pp. 184 (see footnote).
11. Ibid.
12. IA, XIV, pp. 183 (see footnote).
13. JASB, LXV, pt. I, pp. 6-37.
14. EI, XII, pp. 27-30.
15. IA, XLVIII, pp. 43-48.
16. The inscriptions of Bihar by Dr. Bhagwant Sahay, 1983, pp. 142-143.
17. IA, XIV, pp. 182-196.
18. IA, XIV, pp. 184 (see footnote).
19. The Ain-i-Akbari by Abul Fazl Allami, translated by Colonel H.S. Jarrett, Published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1891, Vol. II, pp. 148.
20. Ibid, pp. 160.
21. EI, XII, pp. 65-79.

Chapter 26

1. "Inscriptions of Ancient Nepal" by DR Regmi, Vol. I, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1983, pp. 1-6.
2. IA, IX, pp. 183 ff.

Chapter 27

1. "Rajavaliya: A Historical Narrative of Sinhalese Kings" by B Gunasekhara, George J. A. Skeen, Government Printer, Colombo, Ceylon, 1900.
2. Mahābhārata, Sabhā Parva, Adhyaya 30.

3. EZ, Vol. II, pp. 205-206.
4. "The Kalyani Inscriptions", Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Rangoon, Burma, 1892.
5. EZ, Vol. II, pp. 70-83.
6. EZ, Vol. II, pp. 84-178.
7. EZ, Vol. II, pp. 221-225.
8. EI, III, No. 32, pp. 224.
9. "The Yalpana-Vaipava-Malai or The History of the Kingdom of Jaffna" translated by C. Brito, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2007.

Chapter 28

1. "Vaishali and The Indianization of Arakan" by Noel F Singer, Published by S.B. Nangia, A.P.H. Publishing Corporation, New Delhi, 2008, pp. 39 ff.
2. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Arakanese_monarchs
3. "The Calendrical Systems of Mainland South-East Asia" by John Christopher Eade, pp. 15-19.

Chapter 29

1. Mahābhārata, 2.13. 24-25.
2. "Notes on a Chronological Problem in the Old Tibetan Chronicle" by Geza Uray, *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae,* Vol.. 21, No. 3 (1968), pp. 289-299.
3. "The Blue Annals" by George N Roerich, Motilal Banarsidass, New Delhi, First Edition: Calcutta, 1949.

Chapter 30

1. EI, XXXVI, pp. 92.
2. The Yuga of the Yavanajātaka: David Pingree's text and translation reviewed by KS Shukla, Indian Journal of History of science, 24(4), pp. 211-223, 1989.
3. The date and nature of Sphujidhvaja's Yavanajātaka reconsidered in the light of some newly discovered materials by Bill M Mak, History of Science in South Asia, 1 (2013), pp. 1-20.
4. Precession and Trepidation in Indian Astronomy before 1200 AD by David Pingree, Journal of the History of Astronomy, iii (1972), pp. 27-35.
5. Lokavibhāga, 11th Chapter, verse 52.
6. Lokavibhāga, 11th Chapter, verse 53.

7. EI, IX, pp. 189-192.
8. EI, XLI, pp. 49-58.
9. Harivaṁśa Purāna, 66th canto (Sarga), Verse 52.
10. Uttarapurāna by Dr. Pannalal Jain, Bharatiya Jnanapith, 1954, pp. 577, Verse 34 & 35.
11. Brahmasphuta Siddhānta, Chapter 24 (Saṁjñādhyāya), Verse 7-8.
12. Brahmasphuta Siddhānta, Vol. I, published by Indian Institute of Astronomical and Sanskrit Research, New Delhi, 1966, Madhyamādhikara, pp. 9.
13. Inscriptions of Ancient Nepal by DR Regmi, Vol. III, pp. 269.
14. Śiśyadhīvriddhidatantra of Lalla with the commentary of Mallikārjuna Sūri, Part I, by Bina Chatterjee, published by Indian National Science Academy, New Delhi, 1981, pp. 6.
15. Ibid. pp. 15.
16. Golādhyāya of Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, Hindi commentary by Pandit Kedardatt Joshi, 2010, page 72 of introduction.
17. The Indian Calendar, by Robert Sewell, Sankara Balakrishna Dikshit, 1996, pp.27.
18. Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, Golādhyāya, Prasnādhyāya, Verse 58.
19. Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, Gaṇitādhyāya, MadhyamādhikÀra, Adhimāsādinirṇaya, Verse 6.
20. Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, Gaṇitādhyāya, Madhyamādhikāra, Kālamānādhyāya, Verse 28.
21. Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society, Vol. 1, The Persian emperor Cyrus the great and the Indian Śaka era by Prof Gulshan Rai, pp.71.
22. EI, I, pp. 338-346.

Appendix IV

Inscriptions of the Early Chalukyas of Badami

Inscriptions dated in Śaka era (583 BCE)

	Inscriptions	Śaka era (583 BCE)	References
Early Chalukyas			
1.	**Marruturu Plates of Satyāśraya Śri Prithivi Vallabha** *Svāmi-Mahāsena-pādānudhyātānām Mānavyasagotrāṇām Hārītiputrāṇām..... Satyāśraya-Śri-Pritivi-vallaba mahārājaḥ..... Pravardhamāna-svarājya-vijaya-varṣe aṣṭame Jyeṣṭha-māsasyāmāvāsyāyām Sūryagrahaṇe....*	8th Regnal year	Vishnukundinulu by N Venkatarama-nayya, 1970, The Publication Bureau, Hyderabad, No. 13, Plate XXIX.
2.	**Nerur Plates of Maṅgala Rāja (erroneously identified with Maṅgaliśvara)** *Svāmi-Mahāsena-pādānudhyātānām Mānavyasagotrāṇām Hārītiputrāṇām..... Saṁbhūtaḥ Vallabhaḥ..... Tasya putraḥ.... Maṅgala Rājaḥ , Saṅkaragaṇa-putram..... Buddharājam vidrāvya Chālikya-vaṁśa-saṁbhūtam aṣṭādaśa-samara-vijayinam*	360 (359 BCE) *Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)*	IA, VII, pp. 161-162.

	Svāmirājam ca hatvā.... Kārttika-dvādaśyām....		
3.	**Mudhol Plates of Pugavarman** *Śri-Prithivivallabha-mahārājasya sūnunā Śrimat-Pugavarmaṇā Raṇasthātura-nāmadheyena....*	Not dated.	EI, XXXII, pp. 293-298.
4.	**Kaira Grant of Vijayarāja** *Mānavyasagotrāṇām Hārītiputrāṇām Svāmi-Mahāsena-pādānudhyātānām.....Saṁvatsara-śatatraye catur-ṇṇavatyadhike Vaiśākha-paurṇamāsyām.....,Saṁvatsara, 394,Vaiśākha śu 15.*	394 (325 BCE) *Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)*	IA, VII, pp. 241-253.
5.	**Godachi Plates of Katti Arasa** *Svasti,Svāmi Mahāsena-Matṛgaṇānudyātābhiṣiktānām Mānavyasagotrāṇām Hārītiputrāṇām Chālukyānām..... Raṇavikrama- dharma-mahārājasya priya-tanayaḥ Katti-Arasa nāmadheyaḥ....*	12th Regnal year	EI, XXVIII, pp. 59-62.
Early Chalukyas of Badami			
6.	**Altem Plates of Pulakeśin I** *Śaka-nṛpābdeṣu ekādaśottareṣu catuśśateṣu vyatīteṣu vibhava-saṁvatsare pravartamāne, Kṛte ca ye, Vaiśākhodita-pūrṇa-puṇya-divase Rāhau vidhor-maṇdalam śliṣṭe....*	411(172 BCE)	IA, VII, pp. 209-217.
7.	**Badami lithic Inscription of Vallabheśvara (Pulakeśin I)** *Śaka-varṣeṣu catuśśateṣu pañca-ṣaṣṭi-yuteṣu....*	465 (118 BCE)	EI, XXVII, pp. 4-9.
8.	**Aminbhavi Stone Tablet Inscripton?** *Śaka 488, Sarvajit Saṁvatsara, Sūryagrahaṇa, on the new moon day of Vaiśākha.*	488? (needs verification)	IA, XXX, pp. 209.

9.	**Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of Maṅgalīśvara** *Siddārtha Saṁvatsara, 5th regnal year, Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsī.*	5th Regnal year	IA, XIX, pp. 7-20.
10.	**Badami Cave Inscription of Maṅgalīśvara** *Śri Maṅgalīśvaro Raṇavikrāntaḥ pravardhamāna-rājya-saṁvatsare dvādaśe Śaka-nṛpati-rājyābhiṣeka-saṁvatsareṣu atikrānteṣu pañcasu śateṣu..... Mahā-Kārttika-paurṇamāsyām*	500 (83 BCE)	IA, III, pp. 304-306.
11.	**Kurtaketi Plates of Vikramāditya** *Triṁśottara-pañca-śateṣu Śaka-varṣeshu atīteṣu, vijaya-rājya saṁvatsare ṣoḍaśavarṣe pravartamāne..... Vaiśākha-Jyeṣṭha-māsa- madhyamāmāvāsyāyām bhāskaradine Rohiṇyarkśe madhyāhnakāle Vikaramādityasya..... Mahādevatayo-rubhayoḥ Vṛṣabharāśau, tasmin Vṛṣabharāśau Sūryagrahaṇa Sarvamāsī (Sarvagrāsī) bhūte....*	530 (53 BCE)	IA, VII, pp. 217-220.
12.	**Goa Plates of Maṅgalīśvara's son or Feudatory** *Śaka-kālaḥ pañcha-varṣa-śatāni dvātriṁśāni....*	532 (51 BCE)	JBBRAS, X, pp. 348-367.
13.	**Hyderabad Plates of Pulakeśin II** *Ātmanaḥ pravardhamāna–rājyābhiṣeka-saṁvatsare tritīye Śaka-nṛpati-saṁvatsara-śateṣu catustriṁśatyadhikeṣu pañcasvatīteṣu Bhādrapadāmāvāsyāyām Sūrya-grahaṇa-nimittam....*	534 (49 BCE)	IA, VI, pp. 73-77.

14.	**Kanadalgaon Plates of Pulakeśin II** *Śri-Harshavardhana-parājayopalabdha-parameśvarāpara-nāmadheyaḥ..... Māgha-mā-sa-saptamyām pañcame vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsare....*	536 (47 BCE) 5th Regnal Year	IA, XIV, pp. 330-331.
15.	**Tummeyanuru Plates of Pulakeśin II** *Kārttika paurṇamāsī, candragrahaṇa.*	548(35 BCE) 29th Oct 35 BCE	CPIAPGM, I, pp. 40-45.
16.	**Lohner Plates of Pulakeśin II** *Raṇavikramādvitīyanāma- Śri Pulakeśi-vallabha-mahārājaḥ..... tasya putraḥ Kīrtivarmā..... tasya putraḥ..... Satyāśraya-Prithivi-vallabha-mahārā-jaḥ..... dvipañcāśadadhike Śakābda-śata-pañcake....*	552 (31 BCE)	EI, XXVII, pp. 37-41.
17.	**Kopparam Plates of Pulakeśin II** *Pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁ-vatsare ekaviṁśati-tame Kārtti-ka-māse..... bṛhaspati-vāre....*	552 (31 BCE) 21st Regnal year	EI, XVIII, pp. 257-260.
18.	**Aihole Inscription of Pulakeśin II** *Triṁśatsu trisahasreṣu Bhāratād-āhavāditaḥ, Sahābda [Saptābda?]-śata-yukteṣu gateṣvbdeṣu pañcasu, Pañcāśatsu Kalau kāle ṣaṭsu pañca-śateṣu ca, samāsu samatītāsu Śakānāmapi bhūbhujām.*	556 (27 BCE)	IA, V, pp. 70.
19.	**Nerur Plates of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā & Vikramāditya I** *Vikramādityaḥ, Tasya jyeṣṭha-bhrātuḥ Śri [Ca]ndrāditya-Prithivi-val-labha-mahārājasya priya-mahiṣī Vijay-abhaṭṭārikā, Sva-rājya-pañcama-saṁ-vatsara Āśvayuja-paurṇamāsasya dvitīyāyām viṣuve....*	5th Regnal year	IA, VII, pp.163-164.

20.	**Kochre Plates of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā**	?	IA, VIII, pp. 44-47 & JBBRAS, Vol III, pt. I, pp. 211.
21.	**Hosur Plates of Ambera (Daughter or son of Pulakeśin II)** *Māgha Paurṇamāsī.*	?	IA, XIX, pp. 89, 96-98.
22.	**Turimella Inscription of Vikramāditya I**	2nd Regnal year	EI, XXIX, pp. 160-164.
23.	**Karnul Plates of Vikramāditya I**	3rd Regnal year	IA, X, pp. 244.
24.	**Amudalpadu Plates of Vikramāditya I**	5th Regnal year	EI, XXIX, pp. 175-184.
25.	**Talamanchi (Nellore) Plates of Vikramāditya I** *Viditamastu vosmābhiḥ pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-ṣaḍvatsare Śrāvaṇamāsa-Sūryagrahaṇe....*	6th Regnal year	EI, IX, pp. 98.
26.	**A Grant of Vikramāditya I** *Eka-navatyuttara-pañca-śateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu..... pañcadaśe vartamāne..... Āśvayuja kṛṣṇa-pakśāṣṭamyām viṣuvatkāle....*	591(8 CE) 15th Regnal year	EI, XLII, pp. 1-5.
27.	**Honnur Plates of Vikramāditya I** *Dvā-navatyuttara-pañca-śateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu..... ṣoḍaśe vartamāne Vaiśākha paurṇamāsyām..... Vikramādityasyāgraja-Raṇarāgavarmasya....*	592 (9 CE) 16th Regnal year	MAR, 1939, pp. 129-137.
28.	**Tembhurni Plates (1st set) of Vikramāditya I** *Catur-ṇṇavatyuttara pañca-śateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsare sapta-daśe varttamāne..... Jyeṣṭha-Paurṇamāsyām? Candra-grahaṇa-vartamāne.... (Āṣāḍha paurṇamāsyām ?)*	17th Regnal year	JESI, 10, 1983, pp. 10-15.

29.	**Tembhurni Plates (2nd set) of Vikramāditya I** *Catur-ṇṇavatyuttara pañca-śateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsare sapta-daśe varttamāne..... Āṣāḍha-māsyuttarāyaṇa-samāptau....*	17th Regnal year	JESI, 9, 1982, pp. 1-5.
30.	**Gadwal Plates of Vikramāditya I** *Ṣaṇṇavatyuttara-pañca-śateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu ..... viṁśatitame varttamāne.... Vaiśākha paurṇamāsyām....*	596 (13 CE) 20th Regnal year	EI, X, pp. 100-106.
31.	**Savnur (Dharwar) Plates of Vikramāditya I** *Sapta-navatyuttara-pañca-śateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu ..... viṁśatitame varttamāne.... Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsyām....*	597 (14 CE) 20th Regnal year	EI, XXVII, pp. 115-119.
32.	**Karnul Plates of Ādityavarman**	1st Regnal year	IA, X, pp. 244.
33.	**Nelkunda Grant of Abhinavāditya**	Not dated.	EI, XXXII, pp. 213-216.
34.	**Paniyal(Hyderabad) Plates of Vinayāditya**	604 (21 CE) 2nd Regnal year	ARIE, 1955-56, pp. 2 & 18.
35.	**Lakshmesvar Inscription of Vinayāditya** *Pauṣa-māsa-paurṇamāsyām....*	608 (25 CE) 5th Regnal year	SII, XX, No.4, pp. 3-4.
36.	**Jejuri Plates of Vinayāditya**	609 (26 CE)	EI, XIX, pp. 62-65.
37.	**Togarachedu Plates of Vinayāditya** *Ekādaśottara ṣaṭccḥateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsare daśame varttamāne..... Kārttika-paurṇamāsyām....*	611 (28 CE)	IA, VI, pp. 85.

38.	**Poona Plates of Vinayāditya** *Dvādaśottara-ṣaṭcchateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu..... daśame vartamāne Vaiśākha-paurṇamāsyām....*	612 (29 CE) 10th Regnal year	EI, XXV, pp. 289-292.
39.	**Karnul Plates of Vinayāditya** *Trayodaśottara-ṣaṭcchateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣu atīteṣu pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsare ekādaśe varttamāne..... Māgha-paurṇamāsyām....*	613 (30 CE) 11th Regnal year	IA, VI, pp. 89.
40.	**Mayalur Plates of Vinayāditya**	614 (31 CE)	EI, XXXIII, pp. 311-314.
41.	**Sorab (Shimoga) Plates of Vinayāditya** *[Ca]turddaśottara-ṣaṭcchateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣu atīteṣu pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsare ekādaśe varttamāne..... dakśiṇābhimukhe bhagavati bhāskare Rohiṇī nakśatre Śanaiścaravāre....*	614 (31 CE)	IA, XIX, pp. 146-150.
42.	**Dayyamdinne Plates of Vinayāditya** *Caturddaśottara- ṣaṭcchateṣu Śaka varṣeṣu atīteṣu ..... dvādaśe varttamāne ..... Āṣāḍha-paurṇamāsyām dakśiṇāyana-kāle....*	614 (31 CE)	EI, XXII, pp. 24-29.
43.	**Kolhapur Plates of Vinayāditya**	615 (32 CE)	KI, II, pp. 6-11
44.	**Harihar Plates of Vinayāditya** *Ṣoḍaśottara-ṣaṭcchateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsare caturdaśe varttamāne..... Kārttika-paurṇamāsyām....*	616 (33 CE)	IA, VI, pp. 91-94
45.	**Patoda Plates of Vinayāditya**	617 (34 CE) 14th Regnal year	IA, XL, pp. 240
46.	**Jamalagama Grant of Vijayāditya**	619 (36 CE) 1st Regnal year	EI, XXXIV, pp. 313-316.

47.	**Badami Pillar Inscription of Vijayāditya**	621 (38 CE) 3rd Regnal year	IA, X, pp. 60-61.
48.	**Malayur Grant of Vijayāditya** *Dvāviṁśatyuttara-ṣaṭcchateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu..... caturthe varttamāne Vaiśākha-paurṇamāsyām....*	622 (39 CE) 4th Regnal year	EI, XXXIII, pp. 311-314.
49.	**Nerur Grant of Vijayāditya** *Dvāviṁśatyuttara-ṣaṭcchateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu..... caturthe varttamāne Āṣāḍha-paurṇamāsyām*	622 (39 CE) 4th Regnal year	IA, IX, pp. 125-130.
50.	**Rayagad Grant of Vijayāditya**	625 (42 CE) 8th Regnal year	EI, X, pp. 14-17.
51.	**Elapur Grant of Vijayāditya**	626 (43 CE)	IHQ, IV, pp. 425-430.
52.	**Cholachagudda (Bagalkot) Plates of Vijayāditya** *Kārttika paurṇamāsī, Lunar Eclipse, Thursday.*	627 (44 CE) 10th Regnal year	ARSIE, 1934-35, 7 & 57, No. 22A; JKU, Vol I, pp. 193-227.
53.	**Nerur Plates of Vijayāditya** *Saptaviṁśatyuttara- ṣaṭcchateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu..... daśame varttamāne....*	627 (44 CE) 10th Regnal Year	IA, IX, pp. 130-132.
54.	**Shiggaon Plates of Vijayāditya**	630 (47 CE)	EI, XXXII, pp. 317-324.
55.	**Aihole Inscription of Vijayāditya** *Āśvayuja paurṇamāsī, at the time of autumnal equinox.*	630 (47 CE) 13th Regnal year	IA, VIII, pp. 285.
56.	**Satara Plates of Vijayāditya**	632 (49 CE) 14th Regnal year	EI, XXVI, pp. 322-326.
57.	**Alampur Plates of Vijayāditya** *Ṣaṭ-triṁśaduttara-ṣaṭcchate Śaka-varṣe ..... aṣṭādaśe vartamāne Vaiśākha-trayodaśyām....*	636 (52-53 CE) 18th Regnal year	EI, XXXV, pp. 121-124.

58.	**Bapgaon Plates of Vijayāditya** *Caitra paurṇamāsī, Saṁkrānti, Monday.*	640 (57 CE) 22nd Regnal year	JBISM, IX, pp. 1-6.
59.	**Lakshmesvar Inscription of Vijayāditya** *Pañca-catvāriṁśaduttara-ṣaṭccḥateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu..... aṣṭāviṁśati-tame..... Bhādrapada-paurṇamāsyām sarvagrāsa-candra-grahaṇopal-akśitāyām*	645? or 646? (63 CE) 28th Regnal year	SII, XX, No. 5, pp. 4-5.
60.	**Lakshmesvar Inscription of Vijayāditya** *Phālguna paurṇamāsī.*	651 (68 CE) 34th Regnal year	SII, XX, No.6, pp. 6-7.
61.	**Lakshmesvar Inscription of Vikramāditya II** *Māgha paurṇamāsī.*	656 (73 CE) 2nd Regnal year	IA, VII, pp. 110-111.
62.	**Narwan Plates of Vikramāditya II** *Catuśśaṣṭyuttara-ṣaṭccḥateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu..... aṣṭame..... ut-tarāyaṇa-kāle*	664 (81 CE) 8th Regnal year	EI, XXVII, pp. 125-131.
63.	**Kendur Plates of Kīrtivarman II** *Dvisaptatyuttara-ṣaṭccḥateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu pravardhamāna-vi-jayarājya-saṁvatsare ṣaṣthe vart-tamāne..... Vaiśākha paurṇamāsyām Somagrahaṇe....*	672 (89 CE) 6th Regnal year	IA, IX, pp. 200-206.
64.	**Vakkaleri Plates of Kīrtivarman II** *Navasaptatyuttara-ṣaṭccḥateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu..... ekādaśe varttamāne Bhādrapada-paurṇamāsyām....*	679 (96 CE) 11th Regnal year	EI, V, pp. 200-206.
	Early Chalukyas of Gujarat		
65.	**Sanjan Plates of Buddhavarasarāja** *Śri-Harshadeva-parājayopalabdh-oparāgaḥ. Kokkulla-Vikramāditya - mahārājaḥ tasya pitṛvyaḥ Satyāśrayasyānuja Śri-Buddhavarasarājaḥ Pauṣa-māsasya Āditya-grahaṇe.*	Śaka year not mentioned but probably, issued on 5th Jan 28 BCE.	JBBRAS, XX, pp.40-48.

66.	**Mudgapadra Plates of Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Śīlāditya**	421(18 CE) *Kalachuri-Chedi era (403 BCE)*	EI, XXXIV, pp. 117-122.
67.	**Navasari Plates of Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Śīlāditya** *Māgha-śuddha-trayodaśyām Saṁvatsara-śata-catuṣṭaye eka-viṁśatyadhike Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁhavarmā tasya putraḥ Śryāśraya-Śri-Śīlāditya-yuvarājaḥ Navasārikāmadhivasan....*	421(18 CE) *Kalachuri-Chedi era (403 BCE)*	JBBRAS, XVI, pp. 1-7. & EI, VIII, pp. 229.
68.	**Manor Plates of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa** *Trayodaśottara-ṣaṭccḥateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu pravardhamāna-vijayarājya-saṁvatsare ekaviṁśatitame varttamāne..... parama-māheśvara-Nāgavardhana-pādānudhyātaḥ..... Kokkuli-Vikramāditya-rājaḥ, tasyānujo Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁhavarma-rājaḥ tasya sutaḥ Vinayāditya-Prithivivallabha-Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarasarājaḥ....*	613 (30 BCE)	EI, XXVIII, pp. 17-26.
69.	**Nasik Plates of Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha** *Caitra-māsa-śuddha-daśamyām viṣuve..... Saṁ 400 30 6 Chai śu 10,*	436 (33 CE) *Kalachuri-Chedi era (403 BCE)*	CII, IV, Part I, No.28, Plate XXI, pp. 127-131.
70.	**Surat Plates of Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Śīlāditya** *Vikramādityaḥ.... tasya putraḥ.... Vinayādityaḥ.... tasya pitṛvyasya Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁhavarmaṇaḥ putraḥ.... Śryāśraya-Śīlāditya-yuvarājaḥ...., Śrāvaṇa-paurṇamāsyām.., Saṁvatsara 400 40 3, Śrāvaṇa śu di 10 5.*	443 (40 CE) *Kalachuri-Chedi era (403 BCE)*	CII, IV, Part I, No.29, Plate XXII, pp. 132-137.

71.	**Anjaneri Plates of Bhogaśakti** *Saṁvatsara-catuṣṭaye ekaṣaṣṭyadhike....*	461 (58 CE) *Kalachuri-Chedi era (403 BCE)*	CII, IV, Part I, pp. 146-158.
72.	**Dive Agar Plates of Jayāśraya Maṅgalarasa**	649 (66 CE)	IAR, 1962-63, pp. 52.
73.	**Balsar Plates of Jayāśraya Maṅgalarasa**	653 (70 CE)	IA, XIII, pp. 75.
74.	**Navasari Plates of Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśirāja** *Saṁvatsara-śata 400 90 Kārttika-śuddha 10 5*	490 (87 CE) *Kalachuri-Chedi era (403 BCE)*	CII, IV, Part I, No.30, Plate XXIII, pp. 137-145.
75.	**Nirpan grant of Nāgavardhana** *Pulakeśi-vallabhaḥ tasyānujo bhrātā Dharāśraya-Śri-Jayasiṁhavarmarājaḥ.... tasya sūnuḥ..... Tribhuvanāśrayaḥ Śri-Nāgavardhanarājaḥ....*	Not dated.	IA, IX, pp. 123-125.

Inscriptions dated in Śakānta era (78 CE)

	Inscriptions	**Śakānta era (78 CE)**	**References**
1.	**Pimpalner Plates of Satyāśrayadeva** *Svasti Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śateṣu triṣu daśottareṣu..... Payoṣṇi-saṅgame Sūryagrahaṇa-parvaṇi....*	310 (388 CE) 18th Aug 388 CE	IA, IX, pp. 294.
2.	**Itagi Grant of Vinayāditya** *Vaiśākha paurṇamāsī, Vyatipāta, Ānanda Saṁvatsara, Thursday.*	516 (594 CE)	ARSIE, 1939-40 to 1940-42, pp. 20.
3.	**Pali Plates of Vinayāditya** *Kārttika śukla pañcamī, bhaumavāra, Kālayukta saṁvatsara.*	520 (598 CE)	JBISM, III, pt. 1, pp. 6-16.

4.	**Dharwar Plates of Vinayāditya** *Vaiśākha amāvāsyā, Thursday, Vyatipāta, Kālayukta saṁvatsara.*	520 (598 CE)	ARSIE, 1933-34, pp. 4, No. A2 & IE, Vol II, pp. 222.
5.	**Boargaon Plates of Vijayāditya** *Phālguna amāvāsyā, Vyatipāta, Bṛhaspativāra, Solar eclipse, Ānanda saṁvatsara.*	520 (598 CE)	SMHD, Vol II, pp. 23-31.
6.	**Pattadakal Pillar Inscription** *Śrāvaṇa amāvāsyā, Sūrya Grahaṇa.*	Not dated.	EI, III, pp. 1-8 & IA, X, pp. 168.

Appendix V

Inscriptions of the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas

Inscriptions dated in Śaka era (583 BCE)

	Inscriptions	Śaka era (583 BCE)	References
Achalapura branch of the early Rāṣṭrakūṭas			
1.	**Tiwarkheda Plates of Nannarāja** *Śaka-kāla-saṁvatsara-śateṣu pañcasu trayaḥ-pañcāṣad-varṣādhikeṣu aṣṭamāsebhyaḥ atīteṣu....*	553 (30 BCE)	EI, XI, pp. 276-281.
2.	**Nagardhan Plates of Svāmirāja** *Āṣāḍha-saṁvatsare Caitrāmāvāsyāyām.... grahoparāge saṁvatsara-śata-traye dvaviṁśe (322) Kārttika śudi 5....*	322 (13 BCE) *Gupta era (335 BCE)*	EI, XI, pp. 276-81.
3.	**Sangalooda Plates of Nannarāja** *Śaka-kāla-saṁvatsara-śateṣu ṣaṭsu pañcadaśānviteṣu Kārttika-śuddha-paurṇamāsyām....*	615 (32 CE)	EI, XXIX, pp. 109-115.
4.	**Multai Plates of Nandarāja** *Kārttika paurṇamāsyām..... Śaka-kāla-saṁvatsara-śateṣu ṣaṭccḥateṣu-eka-triṁśottareṣu....*	631 (48 CE)	IA, 18, pp. 230-236.

5.	**Indragarh Inscription of Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Nannappa** *Sapta-ṣaṣṭyadhike yāte varṣāṇām śata-saptake, Mālavānām narendrāṇām pṛthivyām viśrutātmanām, Kāle śaradi saṁprāpte....*	767 (48 CE) *Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE)*	EI, XXXII, pp. 112-117.
The Main branch of the early Rāṣṭrakūṭas			
6.	**Ellora Plates of Dantidurga** *Saṁ 600 60 3 Āśvayuja śuddha trayodaśyām somavāre....*	663 (80-81 CE)	EI, XXV, pp. 25-31.
7.	**Manor Plates of Dantidurga** *Saṁvatsara-śateṣu ṣaṭsu visa (eka) saptatyadhikeṣu.... Saṁ 600 70 1....*	671 (88-89 CE)	Studies in Indology, Vol II, pp. 10-15.
8.	**Samangad Plates of Dantidurga** *Pañcasaptatyadhika Śaka-kāla-saṁvatsara-śata-ṣaṭke vyatīte Saṁvat 675..... Māgha-māsa-rathasaptamyām....*	675 (92-93 CE)	IA, XI, pp. 109-115.
9.	**Manne Plates of Krishnarāja I** *Śaka-nṛpati-saṁvatsara-śata-ṣaṭke aśītyuttare Hemalamba-saṁvatsare..... Āśvayujāmāvāsyāyām Sūrya-grahaṇe....*	680 (97-98 CE)	BISM, VIII, pp.166-167.
10.	**Barsi Plates of Krishnarāja I** *Śaka-nṛpati-saṁvatsara-śata-ṣaṭke saptāśītyuttare Śubhakṛt-saṁvatsare..... Jyeṣṭha māsi amāvāsyāyām Sūrya-grahaṇa-nimittam....*	687 (103-104 CE)	JESI, XI, 1984, pp.106-114.
11.	**Talegaon Plates of Krishnarāja I** *Śaka-nṛpati-saṁvatsara-śata-ṣaṭke navatyuttare Plavaṅga-varṣe Vaiśākhāmāvāsyāyām Āditya-grahe Gaṅgānām-upari vijaya-skandhāvāre Manna-nagare....*	690 (106-107 CE)	EI, XIII, pp. 275-282.

12.	**Alas Plates of Yuvarāja Govindarāja II** *Ṣaṭccḥate dvinavatyadhike Śaka-varṣe Saumya-saṁvatsare Āṣāḍha-śukla-pakśe saptamyām....*	692 (108-109 CE)	EI, VI, pp. 208-213.
13.	**Manne Plates of a feudatory of Yuvarāja Govinda III** *Catur-viṁśatyuttareṣu sapta-śateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣu samatīteṣu..... Somagrahaṇe Puṣya-nakśatre....*	724 (140-141 CE)	EC, IX, Nj 61.
14.	**Copper Plate of Govinda III** *Triṁśaduttareṣu Śaka-varṣeṣu....*	730 (147 CE)	MAR, 1920, pp. 31.
15.	**Manne Plates of Ranāvaloka Kambharāja** *Caturviṁśatyuttareṣu saptaśateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣu samatīteṣu ātmanaḥ pravardhamāna- vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsare Mānyapura-madhivasati vijaya-skandhāvāre Somagrahaṇe Puṣya-nakśatre....*	724 (141 CE)	EI, XXIII, pp. 293 & Rāṣṭrakūṭa Śāsanagalu, Vol I, No. 48.
16.	**Devanuru Plates of Ranāvaloka Kambharāja** *Triṁśaduttareṣvatīteṣu [saptaśateṣu] Śaka-varṣeṣu Kārttika-māsa-paurṇamāsyām Rohiṇī-nakśatre....*	730 (147 CE)	EC, III, Nj 278, pp. 352.
17.	**Badanaguppa Plates of Ranāvaloka Kambharāja**	730 (147 CE)	MAR, 1920, pp.25
18.	**Manne Plates of Govinda III** *Śrimad-Dhārāvarṣa-pādānudhyāta..... Prabhūtavarṣa-Śri-Govindarājadevaḥ, Dantivarmaṇā.... Chākirājena sahitena..... dvātriṁśaduttareṣu sapta-śateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣu samatīteṣu ātmanaḥ pravardhamāna-vijaya-saṁvtsareṣu aṣṭādaśa samatīteṣu Pauṣamāsa-paurṇamāsyām Somagrahaṇe Puṣya-nakśatre....*	732 (149 CE)	The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, 14, 1923-24, pp. 82-88.

19.	**Kadamba Plates of Prabhūtavarṣa** *Śaka-nṛpa-saṁvatsareṣu śara-śikhi-munīṣu vyatīteṣu Jyeṣṭha-māsa-śukla-daśamyām Puṣya-nakśatre candravāre*	735 (152 CE)	EI, IV, pp. 332-348.
20.	**Saundatti Inscription of Pṛthivīrāma, a feudatory of Krishnarāja II** *Saptaśatyā navatyā ca saṁyukteṣu ca saptaṣu, Śaka-kāleṣvatīteṣu Manmathāhvaya vatsare....*	797 (214 CE)	JBBRAS, Vol X, pp. 194.
21.	**Mulgund Inscription of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Krishnavallabha** *Śaka-nṛpa-kāle aṣṭaśate caturuttara-viṁśaduttare saṁpragate Dundubhi nāmani varṣe pravartamāne....*	824 (241 CE)	JBBRAS, Vol X, pp.190.
22.	**Karadvanj Plates of Akālavarṣa Krishnarāja** *Śaka-saṁvat 832 Vaiśākha-śuddha-paurṇamāsyām mahāvaiśākhyām....*	832 (249 CE)	EI, I, pp. 52-58.
23.	**Śravaṇabelagola Inscription of Indrarāja** *Vanadhi-nabho-nidhi (904) pramita saṅkhye Śakāvanipāla-kālamam nanayise Citrabhānu parivartise....*	904 (321 CE)	Rāṣṭrakūṭa Śāsanagalu, Vol II, No. 507 & 508.
Gujarat branch of the early Rāṣṭrakūṭas			
24.	**Hilol Plates of Kakkarāja** *Saṁvatsara-śata-catuṣṭaye saptyadhike Mārgaśira-māsa-śuddha-saptamyām bhauma-dine....*	470 (135 CE) *Gupta era (335 BCE)*	EI, XXXIV, pp. 213-218.
Central India branch of the early Rāṣṭrakūṭas			
25.	**Pathari Pillar Inscription of Parabala (Grandson of Jejja and son of Karkarāja)** *Saṁvat 917 Caitra śudi 6....*	917 (198 CE) *Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 CE)*	EI, IX, pp. 248-256.

❖❖❖

Appendix VI

Inscriptions of Later Rāṣṭrakūṭas

Inscriptions dated in Śakānta era (78 CE)

	Inscriptions	Śakānta era (78 CE)	References
1.	**Tadakal(Gulbarga) Inscription of Amoghavarṣa**	651(729 CE)	Rāṣṭrakūṭa Śāsanagalu, Vol I, No. 137.
2.	**Bhadrak Plates of Akālavarṣa Narendradeva**	694 (772 CE)	EI, XIV, pp. 121-130.
3.	**Pimpri Plates of Dhārāvarṣa Dhruvadeva**	697 (775 CE)	EI, X, pp. 81-89.
4.	**Bhor State Museum Plates of Dhārāvarṣa Dhruvadeva**	702 (780 CE)	EI, XXII, pp. 176-186.
5.	**Kasarsirsi Plates of Dhruvadeva**	705 (783 CE)	JASB, Vol 43-44, 1968-69, pp. 95.
6.	**Jethwai Plates of Dhruvadeva's wife Sīlamahādevi**	708 (786 CE)	EI, XXII, pp. 98-109.
7.	**Daulatabad Plates of Samarāvaloka Saṅkaragaṇarāja**	715 (793 CE)	EI, IX, pp. 193-198.
8.	**Paithan Plates of Prabhūtavarṣa Śrivallabha**	716 (794 CE)	EI, III, pp. 103-110.
9.	**Wadgaon Plates of Amoghavarṣa**	720 (798 CE)	IA, XXX, pp. 371-373.

10.	**Anjanvati Plates of Prabhūtavarṣa Śrivallabha**	722 (800 CE)	EI, XXIII, pp. 8-18.
11.	**Jharika Plates of Govindarājadeva**	726 (804 CE)	EI, XXXII, pp. 157-164.
12.	**Inscription of Govinda III (No. CXXIII)**	726 (804 CE)	IA, XI, pp. 125-126.
13.	**Nesarika Grant of Govindarāja Prabhūtavarṣa Śrivallabha**	727 (805 CE)	EI, XXXIV, pp. 123-134.
14.	**Nandi Plates of Prabhūtavarṣa Śrivallabha**	728 (806 CE)	MAR, 1914, pp. 30.
15.	**Dharur Plates of Jagattuṅga Śrivallabha**	728 (806 CE)	EI, XXXVI, pp. 285-296.
16.	**Beed Plates of Jagattuṅga Śrivallabha**	728 (806 CE)	EI, XXXVI, pp. 290.
17.	**Shisavi grant of Prabhūtavarṣa Śrivallabha**	729 (807 CE)	EI, XXIII, 204-212
18.	**Vani Plates of Prabhūtavarṣa Govindarāja**	730 (808 CE)	IA, XI, pp.156-163.
19.	**Randhanpur Plates of Prabhūtavarṣa Śrivallabha**	730 (808 CE)	EI, VI, pp. 239-251.
20.	**Bahulavar Plates of Prabhūtavarṣa Govindarāja**	732 (810 CE)	JIH, XI.
21.	**Bahulavar Plates of Prabhūtavarṣa Śrivallabha**	732 (810 CE)	JIH, 1925.
22.	**Lohara Grant of Prabhūtavarṣa Śrivallabha**	734 (812 CE)	EI, XXIII, pp. 212-222.
23.	**Torkhede Plates of the time of Prabhūtavarṣa Govindarāja**	735 (813 CE)	EI, III, pp. 53-58.
24.	**Javakheda Plates of Amoghavarṣa**	742 (820 CE)	EI, XXXII, pp. 129-134.
25.	**Tarsad Plates of Tribhuvanavallabha Amoghavarṣa**	772 (850 CE)	ARIE, 1971-72, A2.

26.	**Kanheri Inscription of Amoghavarṣa**	775 (853 CE)	ARIE, 1949-50, B168.
27.	**Konnur Inscriptions of Amoghvarṣa**	782 (860 CE)	EI, VI, pp. 25-38.
28.	**Nilgund Inscription of Amoghavarṣa**	788 (866 CE)	EI, VI, pp. 98 ff
29.	**Sirur Inscription of Amoghavarṣa**	788 (866 CE)	EI, VII, pp.202
30.	**Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa**	793 (871 CE)	EI, XVIII, pp. 235-255.
31.	**Kanheri Inscription of Amoghavarṣa**	799 (877 CE)	IA, XIII, pp.135-136.
32.	**Suratur Inscription of Akalavarṣa**	805 (883 CE)	SII, XI, Part I, No. 20 & EI, XXI, pp. 206-208.
33.	**Devanagiri Inscription of Kannaradeva**	809 (887 CE)	EC, XI, Dg 17.
34.	**Ankuleśvar Plates of Akālavarṣa Krishnarāja**	810 (888 CE)	IA, XIII, pp. 65-69.
35.	**Nandavadiga Inscription of Kannaradeva**	822 (900 CE)	ARSIE, 1927, BK170.
36.	**Bandalika Inscription of Kannaradeva**	834 (912 CE)	EC, VII, Sk 219.
37.	**Kumsi Inscription of Akālavarṣa**	835 (913 CE)	EC, VIII, Pt. II, Sb 88.
38.	**Bagumra Inscription of Nityavarṣa**	836 (914 CE)	JBBRAS, XVIII, pp. 253.
39.	**Vajirkheda Plates of Nityavarṣa**	836 (914 CE)	EI, XXXVIII, pp.5-22.
40.	**Tiggamvi Inscription of Nityavarṣa**	841 (919 CE)	KI, I, No. 16
41.	**Kadabagiri Inscription of Nityavarṣa**	844 (922 CE)	SII, IX, No. 58

42.	**Chinchani Plates of Nityavarṣa**	848 (926 CE)	EI, XXXII, pp. 44-55
43.	**Nagpur Plates of Suvarṇavarṣa**	851 (929 CE)	EI, XXXVI, pp.257 ff.
44.	**Ganauri Plates of Suvarṇavarṣa**	851 (929 CE)	EI, XXIII, pp.101-113.
45.	**Cambay Plates of Suvarṇavarṣa**	852 (930 CE)	EI, VII, pp. 26-47.
46.	**Savantvadi Plates of Suvarṇavarṣa**	855 (933 CE)	IA, XII, pp. 247-255.
47.	**Chitradurga Inscription of Amoghavarṣa**	859 (937 CE)	EC, XI, Cd 76.
48.	**Shimoga Inscription of Kannaradeva**	861 (939 CE)	EC, VIII, Sb 476.
49.	**Diyoli Plates of Akālavarṣa**	862 (940 CE)	EI, V, pp. 188-197.
50.	**Bagali Inscription of Kannaradeva**	868 (946 CE)	SII, IX, No. 64.
51.	**Atakur Inscription of Kannaradeva**	872 (950 CE)	EI, II, pp.167.
52.	**Chennagiri Plates of Kṛṣṇarāja**	873 (951 CE)	MAR, 1935, pp. 117.
53.	**Andola Inscription of Kannaradeva**	880 (958 CE)	Rāṣṭrakūṭa Śāsanagalu, Vol II, No. 339.
54.	**Karhada Plates of Akālavarṣa**	880 (958 CE)	EI, IV, pp. 278-290.
55.	**Kulagallu Inscription of Akālavarṣa**	888 (966 CE)	SII, IX, No. 67.
56.	**Gunderi Inscription of Akālavarṣa**	891 (969 CE)	EC, XI, Hk 23.
57.	**Kulagallu Inscription of Khoṭṭiga**	889 (967 CE)	EI, XXI, pp. 260.

58.	**Kharda Plates of Karka**	894 (972 CE)	IA, XII, pp. 263.

Inscriptions of the Gujarat Branch of Later Rāṣṭrakūṭas

	Inscriptions	Śakānta era (78 CE)	References
1.	**Antroli-Chharoli Plates of Kakkarāja**	679 (757 CE)	JBBRAS, XVI, pp.105-113.
2.	**Dhulia Plates of Karkarāja**	701 (779 CE)	EI, VIII, pp. 182.
3.	**Bhilodia Plates of Prabhūtavarṣa Govindarāja**	732 (810 CE)	EI, XXVI, pp. 248-255.
4.	**Bagumra Plates of Suvarṇavarṣa Karkarāja**	734 (812 CE)	IA, XII, pp. 156-165.
5.	**Dhulia Plates of Prabhtavarṣa Govindarāja**	735 (813 CE)	EI, III, pp. 53.
6.	**Magoli Plates of Suvarṇavarṣa Karkarāja**	736 (814 CE)	JOI, Vol XX, pp.274-279.
7.	**Navasari Plates of Suvarṇavarṣa Karkarāja**	738 (816 CE)	JBBRAS, XX, pp.131-149.
8.	**Anasttu Plates of Suvarṇavarṣa Karkarāja**	739 (817 CE)	JBBRAS, XX, pp. 48-49 & ARIE 1959-60, A27.
9.	**Devli Plates of Prabhūtavarṣa Govindarāja**	500 (819 CE) *Valabhi era (319 CE)*	EI, XXXV, pp. 269.
10.	**Surat Plates of Suvarṇavarṣa Karkarāja**	743 (821 CE)	EI, XXI, pp.140.
11.	**Brahmanapalli Plates of Suvarṇavarṣa Karkarāja**	746 (824 CE)	EI, XXII, pp.77-85.
12.	**Kāvi Plates of Prabhūtavarṣa Govindarāja.**	750 (828 CE)	IA, V, pp. 113 ff.
13.	**Vadodara Plates of Dhārāvarṣa Dhruvadeva**	757 (835 CE)	IA, XIV, pp.199.

14.	**Bharoch Plates of Dhārāvarṣa Dhruvadeva**	789 (867 CE)	IA, XII, pp. 179.
15.	**Sarasavani Plates of Dantivarmā**	789 (867 CE)	EI, VI, pp. 285-294.
16.	**Mahuva Plates of of Dhārāvarṣa Dhruvadeva**	806 (884 CE)	EI, XXII, pp.64-76.
17.	**Ankulesvara Plates of Akālavarṣa Krishnarāja**	810 (888 CE)	IA, XIV, pp.199 ff.

Appendix VII

Inscriptions of the Gaṅga Dynasty

1. Inscriptions dated in Śaka era (583 BCE)

	Inscriptions	Śaka era (583 CE)	References
1.	**Kudlapur Stone Inscription** *Śakavarṣam gateṣu pañcaviṁśati 25 neya Śubhakṛtu saṁvatsarasya Phālguna śuddha pañchamī śani Rohiṇī....*	25 (558 BCE)	EC, III, NJ 110.
2.	**Śāsanakota Plates of Mādhavavarman I**	1st Regnal year	EI, XXIV, pp. 234-239.
3.	**Kandasala grant of Mādhavavarman I** *12th tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika month but donation was made on Kārttika Pūrṇimā.*	9th Regnal year	MAR, 1925, No. 115.
4.	**Nandi Plates of Mādhavavarman I**	Not dated.	MAR, 1914, pp. 27.
5.	**Bendiganahalli Plates of Vijaya Krishnavarman**	1st Regnal year	MAR, 1914-15, pp. 40.
6.	**Kudiliyam Grant of Krishnavarman**	2st Regnal year	MAR, 1932, pp. 124-130.
7.	**Tanjore Plates of Arivarman or Harivarman** *Śaka-kāle navottara-ṣaṣtireka-śata-gateṣu Prabhava-saṁvatsarābhyantare..... Phālguna amāvāsyā bṛguvāre Revatī-nakśatre Vṛddhi yoge Vṛṣabha lagne....*	169 (414 BCE)	IA, VIII, pp. 212.

8.	**Kudlur Plates of Harivarman** *Atta-aśīti Uttara mage abhyantare Jaya-saṁvatsare Māgha-māse somavāre Svāti-nakśatre Sūryagrahaṇe Tālavanapura-madhivasati....*	188? or 198? (395 or 385 BCE)	MAR, 1921, pp. 7.
9.	**Tagadur Plates of Harivarman** *Śaka-varṣeṣu gateṣu aṣṭāśīti-śate Vibhava-saṁvatsare Phālguna-māse śuddha daśamī guruvāre Punarvasu nakśatre....*	188 (395 CE)	EC, III, NJ 122.
10.	**Chukuttur Plates of Siṁhavarman I (son of Kṛṣṇavarma)** *Svajanma-nakśatre Mārgaśirṣa māse kṛṣṇapakśe aṣṭamyām Chitrāyām....*	Not dated.	MAR, 1924, pp. 79-81.
11.	**Kannada Sāhitya Pariṣat Plates of Siṁhavarman**	Not dated.	EI, XLI, pp. 189-194.
12.	**Kutalur Grant of Mādhava Siṁhavarman** *Caitre māsi śucau pakśe pañcamyām Rohiṇīdine....*	Not dated.	MAR, 1930, pp. 259-265.
13.	**Penukonda Plates of Mādhava Siṁhavarman** *Caitra-māsi tithau paurṇamāsyām.... (Pallava-Siṁhavarmaṇā abhiṣiktasya Āryavarmaṇaḥ, Pallava-Skandavarmaṇā abhiṣiktena Mādhava-Siṁhavarmaṇā)*	Not dated.	EI, XIV, pp. 331-340.
14.	**Harihar Plates of a son of Viṣṇugopa** *Saga.... Sādhāraṇa saṁvatsarada Phālguna māse amāvāse ādityavāradandu....*	272 (311 BCE)	IA, VII, pp. 173.
15.	**Bannitalapura Plates of Mādhava II** *Aṣṭāśītyuttarasya dvi-śatasya saṁvatsarasya..... Mārgaśira-māsa-ādityavāra- Puṣya - nakśatra-pūrṇimā-dina-Somagrahaṇe....*	280 (303 BCE)	Copper Plate Inscriptions from Karnataka, 1997, Mysore, pp. 21-30.
16.	**Chaluvanahalli Plates of Mādhava II** *Prathama-saṁvatsare Phālguna-māse tithau paurṇamāsyām uttare nakshatre....*	1st Regnal year	Kannada Sahitya Parishat Patrika, 68, 43.

17.	**Nonamangala Plates of Mādhava II**	13th Regnal year	EC, X, Mr 73.
18.	**Keregalur Plates of Mādhava II**	Not dated.	MAR, 1930, pp. 113.
19.	**Melekote Plates Mādhava II**	Not dated.	MAR, 1910, pp. 17.
20.	**Mallohalli grant of Mādhava II** *Jaya Saṁvatsara, 29th Regnal year.*	29th Regnal year	Mysore Inscriptions, pp. 289.
21.	**Nonamangala Plates of Avinīta** *Candranandyāchāryapramukhena....*	1st Regnal year	EC, X, Malur 72.
22.	**Śringeri Plates of Avinīta**	2nd Regnal year	MAR, 1916, pp. 34.
23.	**Hosakote Plates of Avinīta**	12th Regnal year	MAR, 1938, pp. 80.
24.	**Residency Plates of Avinīta**	25th Regnal year	MAR, 1924, Plate III.
25.	**Kudunjeruvu grant of Avinīta** *Ātmanaḥ vijayaiśvarya-pañca-viṁśad-vijayi-saṁvatsare Bhādrapade māse śukla pakśe tithau daśamyām bṛhaspati-vāre Pūrvabhādrapade nakśatre....*	25th Regnal year	MAR, 1924, Plate IX, pp. 78.
26.	**Mallohalli Grant of Avinīta** *Ātmanaḥ pravardhamāna-vipula-vijayaiśvarye ekonatriṁśad-vijayasaṁvatsare sataya nakśatre....*	29th Regnal year	EC, IX, Db 67 & IA, V, pp. 133.
27.	**Merkara Plates of Kongani Avinīta** *Aṣṭāśītyuttarasya trayośatasya saṁvatsarasya Māghamāsan somavāran Svāti-nakśatre śuddha-pañcamī-kāle....*	388 (195 BCE)	IA, I, pp. 362.
28.	**Bangalore Museum grant of Durvinīta**	3rd Regnal year	IA, VII, pp. 174.
29.	**Pennaur Grant of Durvinīta**	4th Regnal year	MAR, 1942, pp. 131.
30.	**Kadagattur Plates of Durvinīta**	4th Regnal year	EC, XII, Mi 110.

31.	**Uttanur Plates of Durvinīta** *Viṁśattame vijaya-saṁvatsare Kārttika-māse paurṇamāsyām tithau Kṛttikā-nakśatre Abhijin-muhūrtte....* *(Sabdāvatāra-kāreṇa, Devabhāratī-nibaddha-vaḍḍa-kathena, Kirātārjunīye pañcadaśa-sarga-tīkākāreṇa Durvinīta-nāmadheyena)*	20th Regnal year	MAR, 1916, pp. 35.
32.	**Dive Agar Plates of Durvinīta** *Catvāriṁśattame vijaya-saṁvatsare Vaiśākhe māse śukla-pakśe puṇyāyām tithau Rohiṇī-nakśatre....*	24th Regnal year	ARE, 1962-63, App. A, No. 45.
33.	**Hebbata Grant of Durvinīta** *Triṁśa-ekavarisamatikrānta..... Phāgunya paurṇamāsa Uttara-nakśatra-Kumbha-lagnam....*	31st Regnal year	Early Gangas of Talakkad by Srikantha Sastry, 1952, pp. 2-9.
34.	**Mallohalli Grant of Duvinīta** *Ātmanaḥ vijayaiśvarye pañca-triṁśad-vijayi-saṁvatsare pravartamāne....*	35th Regnal year	EC, IX, Db 68.
35.	**Saliggame Plates of Durvinīta** *Koṅgani-vṛddharājena Durvinīta-nāmadheyena..... ātmanaḥ pravardhamāna vijayaiśvarye ekānnacatvāriṁśattame vijayasaṁvatsare pravartamāne Kārttikamāsa-śuklapakśa-puṇyāyām tithau Śatabhiṣaja-nakśatre....*	39th Regnal year	MAR, 1930, pp. 127-134.
36.	**Nallalam grant of Durvinīta** *Pravartamāne vijaya-saṁvatsare chatvāriṁśattame Vaiśākha prathama pakśe Viśākhā nakśatre Brāhme muhūrtte....*	40th Regnal year	MAR, 1924, pp. 69.
37.	**Gummareddipura Plates of Durvinīta** *Ātmanaḥ catvāriṁśad-vijaya-saṁvatsare Māgha-māsa-kṛṣṇa-pakśa-dvādaśyām budhavāre sva-nakśatrikāyām....* *(Sabdāvatāra-kāreṇa, Devabhāratī-ni baddha-vaḍḍa-kathena, Kirātārjunīye*	40th Regnal year	MAR, 1912, pp. 65-69.

	pañcadaśa-sarga-tīkākāreṇa Durvinīta-nāmadheyena)		
38.	**British Museum grant of Muṣkara**		EI, III, pp. 159.
39.	**Kirumorekoli Grant of Muṣkara**	Not dated.	Inscriptions of the western Gangas, by KV Ramesh, pp. 490.
40.	**Arakere grant of Śrivikrama** *Svarājyābhiṣeka-prathama-varṣe Kārttika-paurṇamāsyām somavāre Rohiṇī-nakśatre Somagrahaṇe....*	1st Regnal year	Early Gangas of Talakkad by Śrikantha sastry, pp. 3-6.
41.	**Bedirur Grant of Bhūvikrama** *Sakala-digantara-prasiddha-Siṅdhurāja-duhitṛvaraḥ Śri-vikrama-nāmadheyaḥ, tasya putraḥ Kārita-Kāverī-tīra-Karikāla-kula-vaṁśotpannaḥ Chola-nṛpa-putrīputro..... ṣatpañcā-śatyuttara pañca-śateṣu gateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣu samatīteṣu ātmanaḥ pravardhamāna-pañcaviṁśati-varttamāne vijayaiśvarya-saṁvatsare Caitra-śukla-pakśe daśamyām Maghā-nakśatre bṛhaspati-vāre....*	556 (28-27 BCE)	MAR, 1925, pp. 85.
42.	**Hallegere Plates of Śivamāra I** *Pañca-triṁśottara-ṣaṭccḥateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣu atīteṣu ātmanaḥ pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsare Catus-triṁśatke pravartamāne Tālavanapuram adhivasati Jyeṣṭha-māsa-paurṇamāsyām....*	635 (52-53 CE)	EC, III, Md 113, pp. 106.
43.	**Kulagana Plates of Śivamāra I**	Not dated.	MAR, 1925, pp. 90-92.
44.	**Baradur Grant of Śripuruṣa Prithivi Koṅgani** *Bhūvikrama-dvitīya-nāmadheyaḥ, tasyānujo..... Varṣa-śata-pūrṇāyuḥ Śrimat-Prithivi-Koṅgani-vṛddharājaḥ....*	1st Regnal year	MAR, 1944, pp. 60.

45.	**Nandi Plates of Śripuruṣa Prithivi Koṅgani** *Vijayarājya-tritīya-saṁvatsare vartamāne.... Phālguna-paurṇamāsyām Puranakśatre? [Pūrva-Phālgunī-nakśatre] candravāre....*	3rd Regnal year	MAR, 1914, pp. 27.
46.	**Agali grant of Śripuruṣa Prithivi Koṅgani** *Ekona-saptatyuttara-ṣaṭccḥateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu..... pravardhamāna-vijayaiśvarya-saṁvatsare dvāviṁśe varttamāne..... Māgha-māsa-śukla-pakśa-trayodaśyām Punarvasu-nakśatre....*	669 (86 CE) 22nd Regnal year	EI, XXXVII, pp. 133-138.
47.	**Javali Plates of Śripuruṣa Prithivi Koṅgani** *Dvā-saptatyuttara-ṣaṭccḥateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu pravardhamāna-vijayaiśvarye saṁvatsare pañcaviṁśe varttamāne..... Vaiśākha-śukla-pakśa-daśamyām Uttara-Phālgunī-nakśatre somavāre Vṛṣabha-rāśi-saṁkrāntyām.....*	672 (89 CE) 25th Regnal year	EC, VI, Mg 36.
48.	**Hosur Grant of Śripuruṣa Prithivi Koṅgani** *Caturaśītyuttareṣu ṣaṭccḥateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣu samatīteṣu..... Vaiśākha māse Somagrahaṇe Viśākhā-nakśatre śukravāre....*	684 (101 CE)	EC, X, Gd. 47.
49.	**Salem Plates of Śripuruṣa Prithivi Koṅgani** *Ṣaṭccḥateṣu navatitrisaṁvatsara-Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu Candrapada-śuklapakśe dvitīyāyām tithau Uttara-Phālgunī-nakśatre śukravāre śuklodaye....*	693 (110 CE)	EI, XXVII, pp. 145-152.
50.	**Devarahalli Plates of Śripuruṣa Prithivi Koṅgani**	698 (115 CE) 50th Regnal year	EC, IV, Ng 85.

51.	**Nallamangala grant of Śripuruṣa Prithivi Koṅgani** *Aṣṭa-navatyuttareṣu ṣaṭccḥateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣu atīteṣu ātmanaḥ pravardhamāna-vijayaiśvarya-saṁvatsare pañchāśattame pravardhamāne....*	698 (115 CE) 51st Regnal year	IA, II, pp. 155.
52.	**Manne Plates of Śivamāradeva** *Śakavarṣam elnura pattombhattu varṣamum muru tingalum Āṣāḍha-śuklapakśada pañcamyām Uttarabhādra-pademum somavāramum....*	719 (136 CE)	EC, IX, Nj-60, pp. 47.
53.	**Kottimba Grant of Yuvarāja Mārasiṁha** *Ekaviṁśatyuttareṣu sapta-śateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣu samatīteṣu ātmanaḥ pravardhamāna-saṁvatsareṣu triṣu samatīteṣu Śrāvaṇa-paurṇamāsyām somavāre Dhaniṣṭhā-nakśatre Somagrahaṇa-velāyām....*	721(139 CE) 3rd Regnal year also elapsed. Thus, the date was 29th July 139 CE.	MAR, 1924, pp. 106.
54.	**Perjjarangi Grant of Rājamalla I** *Ekacatvāriṁśaduttareṣu saptaśateṣu atīteṣu..... vijaya-saṁvatsare prathame Sūrya-grahaṇe....*	741(158 CE) 1st Regnal year [13th July 158 CE]	MAR, 1942, pp. 208-231.
55.	**Manne Plates of Rājamalla I**	12th Regnal year	
56.	**Galigekere Plates of Nītimārga I**	782 (199 CE)	
57.	**Narsapura Plates of Rājamalla II** *Śakābdam entu-nura-irppatta-nalkaneya Phālguna māsada śuklapakśada pañcamī dinam budhavāram Rohiṇī-nakśatarm....*	824 (241 CE)	EC, X, Kl-90.

58.	**Gattavadipura Plates of Rājamalla III (Nītimārga Eregaṅga)** *Ṣaḍviṁśatyuttara-aṣṭaśateṣu Śaka-varṣeṣvatīteṣu Mārgaśirṣa-māse paurṇamāsyām Mṛgaśirasi nakśatre sūryavāre grahaṇavelāyām....*	826 (243 CE)	EC, XII, Nj 269.
59.	**Kerehalli Plates of Rājamalla III (Nītimārga Eregaṅga)**	827 (244 CE)	Inscriptions of the Western Gangas, by KV Ramesh, p 369
60.	**Keregodi-Rangapura Plates of Rājamalla III** *Śaka-varṣeṣu-atīteṣvaṣta....*	8..	MAR, 1918, pp. 21.
61.	**Sudi Plates of Butuga I** *Śaka-varṣeṣu ṣaṣṭyuttara-aṣṭa-śateṣu atikrānteṣu Vikāri saṁvatsara Kārttika-nandīśvara śuklapakśa aṣṭamyām ādityavāre....*	860 (277 CE)	EI, III, pp. 176.

2. Inscriptions of the later Gaṅgas dated in Śakānta era (78 CE)

	Inscriptions	Śakānta era (78 CE)	References
1.	**Basavatti Inscription** *Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śatangal elunura irppatt-eradane variṣa pravarttise.... Pauṣa-māsam āditya-vāram Sūrya-grahaṇadol....*	722 (800 CE)	MAR, 1933, pp. 236.
2.	**Husukuru Inscription, Mallikārjuna Temple** *Śri Śakavarṣam elnura-tombatteradu ve.....* *Kuvalālapuravāreśvara Nandagirinātha..... Rājamalla Permmanadigal....*	792 (870 CE)	EC, III, Nj 75.

3.	**Biliyuru Inscription** *Śaka-nṛpātīta-kāla -saṁvatsara-śatangal..... (18th Regnal year, Phālguna, Śripañcami. Śripañcami is a Jaina religious rite performed before Nandiśvara ritual observed in the bright fortnight of Āṣāḍha, Kārttika and Phālguna.)*	809 (887 CE)	EC, I, No. 96.
4.	*Śri Svasti Śaka variṣa kālātīta saṁvatsarangal entu-nura-padinenta varisha sale Satya-vākya Permmadi....*	810 (888 CE)	EC, V, Hassan 28.
5.	*Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śatangal entu-nura-muvattonda neya variṣa pravarttise....*	831(909 CE)	EC, III, Ml 30, pp. 59.
6.	**Talakadu Inscription** *Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śatangal entunura-ayvatta elane pravarttise....*	857 (935 CE)	MAR, 1912, pp. 32.
7.	**Atakur Inscription at Challeśvara Temple** *Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śatangal entu-nurerpatt-eradaneya Saumyam emba saṁvatsaram pravarttise....*	872 (950 CE)	EC, III, Md 41, pp. 92.
8.	**Danugur Inscription** *Kara-nag-asta-satangalage Śaka-bhūpātīta-saṁvatsaram varisam taldida Ravudram Asvayujadol....*	882 (960 CE)	MAR, 1920, pp. 25.
9.	**Kudlur Plates of Mārasiṁha** *Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsareṣu caturaśītyuttara-aṣṭa-śateṣu pravartamāneṣu Rudhirodgāri-saṁvatsare Caitra-māsa-pañcamyām budhavāre....*	884(962 CE)	MAR, 1921, pp. 11 & JBBRAS, XVI, pp. 106.
10.	**Kadalur Grant of Mārasiṁha**	884(962 CE)	ARISE, 1934-35, A23.

11.	**Kukkanur Grant of Mārasiṁha** *Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śateṣvaṣṭasu navatyuttareṣu Vibhava-saṁvatsare pravartamāne uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrāntau....*	890 (968 CE)	ARE, 1969-70, A5.
12.	**At Karya Village** *Svasti Śri Śakavarṣam entu-nura tombattua neya Prabhava saṁvatsara pravarttise....*	890 (968 CE)	EC, III, Nj 192, pp. 214.
	At Doddahomma village *Svasti Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śatangal entu-nure-tombattombatta neya Iśvara saṁvatsara..... Āṣāḍha māsada punnamiyum Angaravarada andu Soma-grahaṇa....*	899 (977 CE)	EC, III, Nj 183.
13.	**Peggur Inscription**	899 (977 CE)	EC, I, No.4.
14.	**At Kottati in Boredeva Temple** *Svasti Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara śatangal 899 neya Pramādi saṁvatsara pravarttisse....*	899 (977 CE)	EC III, Md 107, pp. 106.
15.	**Paduguru Inscription**	907 (985 CE)	EC, III, Gu 95.
16.	**Belachalavadi Inscription** *Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara śatangal 935 neya....*	935 (1013 CE)	EC, III, Gu 48.

Appendix VIII

Inscriptions of the Yādava Dynasty

1. Inscriptions dated in Śaka era (583 BCE)

	Inscriptions	Śaka era (583 BCE)	References
1.	**An Inscription of Govana III of Nikumbhavaṁśa** *Varṣāṇām pañcasaptasyā sahasre sādhike gate, Śaka-bhūpāla-kālasya tathā Śrimukha-vatsare.*	1075 (492 CE)	IA, VIII, pp. 39-43.
2.	**Nimbal Inscription of Bhillama's feudatory** *Plavaṅga, Bhādrapada amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse, vyatipāta, saṁkramaṇa.*	3rd Regnal year	EI, XXVIII, pp. 94-98.
3.	**Annigeri Inscription of Bhillama's feudatory** *Bhillamadeva-varṣada muraneya Saumya-saṁvatsarada Puṣya-ba-huladamāvāsyā somavāradut-tarāyaṇa-saṁkramaṇa vyatipāta....*	3rd Regnal year	SII, XV, No. 149, p. 190-193.
4.	**Hire Bevinur Inscription of Bhillama's feudatory** *Naranetra-śaśi-soma-indu (1113), Sādhāraṇa.... Śrāvaṇa-paurṇamāsa guruvāra Rāhu-parvangalu....*	1113 (530 CE) [21st July 529 CE]	SII, XX, No. 175, pp. 218-221.

5.	**Bhairavadigi Inscription of Bhillama's feudatory** *Śakavarṣada 1114 neya Virodhikṛt saṁvatsarada Puṣya śu 8 budhavāra-dandu uttarāyaṇa saṁkramanadalu....*	1114 (531 CE)	SII, XV, No. 151, pp. 193-194.
6.	**Hipparagi Inscription of Bhillama's feudatory** *Śakavarṣada 1115 neya Paridhāvi saṁvatsarada Bhādrapada bahula madhyā-ṣthaki somavāra vyatipāta Kanyā-saṁkramaṇadandu....*	1115 (532 CE)	SII, XX, No. 178, pp. 224-225.
7.	**Muttigi Inscription of Bhillama** *Bhillamadeva-varṣda 8 neya Paridhāvi saṁvatsarada Śrāvaṇa Punnami bṛhaspativāradalu....*	8th Regnal year	SII, XV, No. 152, pp. 194-195.
8.	**Kadlevad Inscription of Jaitugi's Feudatory** *Śakavarṣa 1114 neya Paridhāvi saṁ-vatsarada Puṣya bahula 10 ādityavāra uttarāyaṇa saṁkrāntiyandu....*	1114 (531 CE) [20th Dec 531 CE]	SII, XX, No. 180, pp. 228-229.
9.	**Devur Inscription of Jaitugi's Feudatory** *Śakavarṣa 1118 neya Nala saṁvatsara-da Uttarāyaṇa saṁkrānti somavāra.... [Kha]grāsi Sūryagrahaṇa vyatipāta..... (annual solar eclipse)*	1118 (534-535 CE) [29th Apr 534 CE]	SII, XX, No. 182, pp. 231.
10.	**Devangav Inscription of Jaitugi's Feudatory** *Śakavarṣa 1121 neya Kālayukta saṁ-vatsarada Māgha bahula amāvāsyā somavāra Sūryagrahaṇa....*	1121(538 CE) [15th Feb 538 CE]	SII, XX, No.184, pp. 232-233.
11.	**Kudigi Inscription of Jaitugi's Feudatory** *Jaitrapāladeva-varṣada 11 neya Durmati saṁvatsarada Puṣya śuddha 11 somavāra vyatipāta uttarāyaṇa saṁkrāntiyandu.....*	11th Regnal year	SII, XX, No.185, p. 234-235

12.	**Patna(Khandesh) Inscription of Siṅghana's feudatories Śri Soideva and Hemadideva** *Svasti Śri Sāke 1128 Prabhava-saṁvatsare Śrāvaṇa-māse paurṇamāsyām Candra-grahaṇe....*	1128 (545-546 CE)	EI, I, pp. 338-346.
13.	**Kadlevad Inscription of Siṅghana** *Śaka 1127, Raktākśi, Āśvayuja, Pūrṇimā, Vyatipāta, lunar eclipse.*	1127 (545 CE) [6th Sep 545 CE]	SII, XX, No.186, pp. 235.
14.	**Mankani Inscription of Siṅghana** *Śaka 1128, Krodhana, Monday, Solar eclipse.*	1128 (545-546 CE)	SII, XV, No. 155, pp. 196-200.
15.	**Korvar Inscription of Siṅghana** *Śakavarṣa 1122 neya Prajāpati-saṁvatsarada Kārttika amāvāsyā ādityavāra saṁkramaṇa.....*	1133 (550 CE)	SII, XX, No.190, pp. 239.
16.	**Gadag Inscription of Siṅghana** *Śri-Vīranārāyaṇadeva-śripāda-prasādāsīdita..... Śaka-nṛpa-kālākrānta-saṁvatsara-satamgalu 1135 neya Āngirasa-saṁvatsarada Phālguna-śuddha-bidige śanaiścaravāradandu*	1135 (552 CE)	IA, XII, pp. 210 ff.
17.	**Khedrapur Inscription of Siṅghana** *Śaka 1136, Śrimukha, Caitra, somadina, solar eclipse.*	1136? or1137? (554 CE) [19th Mar 554 CE]	
18.	**Lakshmesvar Inscription of Siṅghana** *Yuva-saṁvatsarada Āṣāḍha-amāvāsyā somavāra Puṣya-nakśatra vyatipāta....*	1137 (553-554 CE) [26th June 553 CE]	SII, XX, No. 191, pp. 240.
19.	**Balagamve Inscription of Siṅghana** *Śaka 1137, Yuva Saṁvatsara, Bhādrapada Amāvāsyā, Thursday.*	1137 (554 CE)	
20.	**Inscription of Siṅghana** *Svasti Śri Śakavarṣe 1136 śrimukha saṁvatsare Chaitre Sūryaparvaṇi somadine....*	1136? or1137? (554 CE) [19th Mar 554 CE]	JBBRAS, Vol XII, Issue no. 33, pp. 7 ff.

21.	**Kolhapur Inscription of Siṅghana** *Śaka-varṣa 1140 Bahudhānya saṁvatsare....*	1140 (557 CE)	
22.	**Bahai Inscription of Siṅghana** *Ṣatkone sadala-śatādhike sahasre 1144, varṣāṇām Śaka-pṛthivīpateḥ prayāte, Caitrādya-pratipadi Citrabhānu varṣe....*	1144 (561 CE)	EI, III, pp. 113 ff.
23.	**Munolli Inscription of Siṅghana** *Śaka 1145, Citrabhānu saṁvatsara, Kārttika paurṇamāsi, somavāra, lunar eclipse.*	1145 (562 CE)	
24.	**Bijapur Inscription of Siṅghana** *Śaka 1156, Jaya saṁvatsara, Vaiśākha paurṇamāsī, vaddavāra....*	1156 (573 CE)	
25.	**Kolhapur Inscription of Siṅghana** *Svasti śri Śaka 1158 varṣe Durmukha-saṁvatsare Māgha-śuddha-paurṇamāsyām tithau somadine....*	1158 (575 CE)	
26.	**Haralahalli grant of Siṅghana's Feudatory Chikkadeva** *Śaka-kāladārabhya ṣaṣṭyadhika-śatottara-sahasra-mite Hemalāmbi-saṁvatsare Phālguna-māse saptamyām....*	1160 (577 CE)	JBBRAS, Vol XV, Issue no. 40, pp. 388 ff.
27.	**Kalkeri Inscription of Siṅghana** *Śakavarṣada 1166 neya Krodhi saṁvatsarada Bhādrapada śuddha 14 ādivara vyatipāta....*	1166 (583 CE)	SII, XX, No.202, pp. 250-255.
28.	**Lakshmeshvar Inscription of Siṅghana** *Śaka 1169, Plavaṅga, Jyeṣṭha amāvāsyā.*	1169 (586 CE)	SII, XX, No.205, pp. 256-258.
29.	**Chikka-Bagiwadi Plates of Krishna** *Eka-saptatyuttara-śatādhika-sahasreṣu Śakābdeṣvatīteṣu pravartamāne Saumya-saṁvatsare tadantargata .*	1171(588 CE) [14th June 588 CE or 25th June 587 CE]	JBBRAS, Vol XII, Issue no. 33, pp. 25 ff. & IA, VII, pp. 304.

	Āṣāḍha-paurṇamāsyām śanaiścaravāre Purvāṣāḍha nakśatre Vaidhṛti yoge...		
30.	**Bendigeri grant of Krishna** *Svasti Śri Śaka-saṁvatsarasya śatādhika-sahasraikādhika-saptya cānantare Saumye'bde Śrāvaṇe māsi sitapakśe dvādaśyām guruvāre....*	1171 (588 CE)	IA, XIV, pp. 69.
31.	**Munolli Inscription of Krishna** *Śaka-varṣa 1174 neya Virodhikṛt-saṁvatsarada Jyeṣṭha bahula amāvāse, Sūrya-grahaṇa śukravāradamdu....*	1174? or 1171? (588 CE) [31st May 588 CE]	JBBRAS, Vol XII, Issue no. 33, pp. 39 ff. & IA, XIX, p. 441.
32.	**Salavadigi Inscription of Krishna** *Śaka 1174, Virodhikṛt, Śrāvaṇa, Lunar eclipse.*	1174 (591 CE)	SII, XV, No.188, pp. 231.
33.	**Behatti Plates of Krishna** *Pañca-saptatyadhika-śatottara-sahasrake Śakavarṣe varttamāne..... Śri-Kanharadeva-varṣeṣu saptame Pramādi-saṁvatsare Caitra-māse kṛṣṇapakśe amāvāsyāyām somavāre....*	1175 (592 CE)	JBBRAS, Vol XII, Issue no. 33, pp. 42 ff. & IA, XIX, pp. 442.
34.	**Nagavi Inscription of Krishna** *Śaka 1177 neya Rākśasa saṁvatsarada Vaiśākha śuddha 15 bṛhaspativāra vyatipāta saṁkrānti....*	1177 (594 CE)	SII, XV, No.188, pp. 232-233.
35.	**Jettigi Inscription of Krishna** *Śaka 1178, Nala, Puṣya ba 30, Monday, solar eclipse, Uttarāyaṇa saṁkrānti.*	1178 (595 CE) [16th Jan 595 CE]	SII, XV, No.191, pp. 235.
36.	**Lakshmeśvar Inscription of Krishna** *Indu-Kari-Rudra-saṅkhya... Śaka-nṛpa-varuṣa Siddhārthi....*	1181 (598 CE)	SII, XX, No. 217, pp. 266.
37.	**Kalegaon Plates of Mahādeva** *Śaka-nṛpopalakśita-saṁvatsarāṇām Dvāśītyadhikeṣvekādaśasu śateṣvatīteṣu varttamāna-Durmati-saṁvatsarāntargata-Bhādrapada-śukla-dvitīyāyām some ātmanaḥ paṭṭa-bandha-samaye....*	1182 (599 CE)	EI, XXIX, pp. 109-115.

38.	**Chaudadampur Inscription of Mahādeva** *Śaka 1185, Dundubhi saṁvatsara, Vaiśākha paurṇamāsi, lunar eclipse.*	1185 (602 CE)	
39.	**Kottagi Inscription of Mahādeva** *Svati Śri Sākādārabhya 1186 neya.... Raktākśi, Vaiśākha pūrṇimā.*	1186 (603 CE)	SII, XV, No. 195, pp. 241.
40.	**Ingalesvar Inscription of Mahādeva** *Śaka 1187, Krodhana, Mārgaśira, ba. 10 Friday, saṁkramaṇa.*	1187 (604 CE)	SII, XV, No.196, pp. 243.
41.	**Hulgur Inscription of Mahādeva** *Śaka 1189, Prabhava, Jyeṣṭha Amāvāsyā, solar eclipse, budhavāra.*	1189 (606 CE) [11th June 606 CE]	IA, XVIII, pp. 128.
42.	**Paithan Plates of Rāmachandra** *Śāke ca ekādaśasu trinavatyadhikeṣvatīteṣu 1193 varttamāna Prajāpati-saṁvatsarāntargata-Māgha-śuddha-dvādaśyām vuddhe....*	1193 (610 CE)	IA, XIV, pp. 314-319.
43.	**Thana Plates of Rāmachandra** *Svasti Śri-Śāke Aṅgira-saṁvatsare, Aśvina śuddha 5 ravau.*	1194 (611 CE)	EI, XIII, pp.198 ff.
44.	**Kolhapur Plates of Rāmachandra** *Śaka 1194, Angirasa, Māgha paurṇamāsi, lunar eclipse.*	1194 (611 CE)	
45.	**Sidnurle Inscription of Rāmachandra** *Śaka-varṣeṣu 1199 randhrāṅka-rudra-pramiteṣu gateṣu varttamāna-Dhātri-saṁvatsarāntargata-Śrāvaṇa-paurṇamāsyām somadine yajñopavīta-parvaṇi*	1199 (616-617 CE)	
46.	**Kolur Inscription of Rāmachandra** *Śaka 1229, Plavaṅga, Vaiśākha śu 10, Thursday.*	1229 (646 CE)	SII, XV, No. 203, pp. 248.

47.	**Purushottampuri Plates of Rāmachandra** *Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsareṣu dvātriṁśadadhika-dvādaśa-śata-saṅkyākeṣu, Sādhāraṇa-saṁvatsarāntargata-Bhādrapada-śuklaikādaśyām Bhādrapadamāsi Kapila-ṣaṣṭhyām....*	1232 (649-650 CE)	EI, XXV, pp. 199 ff

2. Inscriptions of the later Yadavas dated in Śakānta era (78 CE)

	Inscriptions	Śakānta era (78 CE)	References
1.	**Samgamner Plates of Bhillama** *Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śateṣu navasu dvāviṁśatyadhikeṣu..... Śarvarī saṁvatsara, Bhādrapada, Solar eclipse.*	922 (1000 CE)	EI, II, pp. 212 ff.
2.	**Kalas-Budrukh Plates of Bhillama** *Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śateṣu navasvaṣṭa-catvāriṁśad-adhikeṣvaṅkato'pi , 948, Krodhana-saṁvatsara-Kārttika-saṁjāta Ādityagrahaṇe....*	948 (1026 CE)	IA, XVII, pp.117 ff.
3.	**Devalali Plates of Bhillama** *Śālivāhana 974, Nandana saṁvatsara.*	974 (1052 CE)	EI, XXXVII, pp. 74 ff. & ARE 12 of 1958.
	Vaghli Inscription of Seunachandra *Śālivāhana 991, saumya saṁvatsara, solar eclipse in Āṣāḍha month.*	991 (1069 CE)	
4.	**Bassein Plates of Seunachandra** Śakasaṁvat eka-navatyadhika-nava-śateṣu saṁvat 991 Saumya-saṁvatsarīya Śrāvaṇa-śudi caturdaśyām gurudine....	991 (1069 CE)	IA, XII, pp. 119-125.

5.	**Vaghli Inscription of Seunachandra** *Rūpa-nandāṅka-tulye 991 Śaka-kālasya bhūpatau,Saumya-saṁvatsarāṣāḍha-ravigrahaṇa-parvvaṇi....*	991 (1069 CE)	EI, II, pp. 227.
6.	**Anjaneri Inscription of Seunadeva** *Svasti Śri Śaka-saṁvat 1063 Dundubhi-saṁvatsarāntargata-Jyeṣṭha-śudi pañcadaśyām some anurādhā-nakśatre siddha-yoge....*	1063 (1141 CE)	IA, XII, pp. 126-129.
7.	**Gadag Inscription of Bhillama? (..Devena)** *Śaka-nṛpa-kālātīta-saṁvatsaraśateṣu trayodaśādhikeṣvekādaśasu varttamāna Virodhikṛt-saṁvatsarāntargata Jyeṣṭha-amāvāsyāyām ādityavāre Suryagrahaṇe....*	1113 (1191 CE)	EI, III, pp. 219-220.
8.	**Tasgaon Plates of Kannara** *Svasti Śri-Śālivāhana-Śake...*	1172 (1250 CE)	EI, XXVII, pp. 208 ff.
9.	**Methi Inscription of Kannara** *Svasti Śri Śaka-vatsare Rasa-Muni-saṅkhya Rudraiḥ śataiḥ, Ānande...*	1176 (1254 CE)	EI, XXVIII, pp. 312-320.

❖❖❖

Bibliography

Ajay Mitra Sastri	Śaka Era, Indian Journal of History of Science, 31(1), 1996.
Ajay Mitra Sastri	Vikrama Era, Indian Journal of History of Science, 31(1), 1996.
Ajay Mitra Sastry	Inscriptions of Sarabhapuriyas, Panduvamsins and Somavamsins : Introduction.
Amartya Kumar Dutta	Aryabhata and Axial Rotation of Earth, Resonance, April, 2006.
AS Gadre	Important Inscriptions of Baroda State I, Volume I, 1943.
Asvini Agrawal	Rise and Fall of Imperial Guptas, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, New Delhi, 1989.
Bahadurchand Chhabra, GS Gai	Inscriptions of The Early Gupta Kings, The Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1981.
Banabhatta	Harshacharita with Sankara's commentary, Sanketa by AA Fuhrer, 1909.
BG Sidharth	The Astronomy, Chronology and Geography of Vedas, www.vedabgs.webnode.com
Bhagwant Sahay	The inscriptions of Bihar, 1983.
Bibhutibhushan Datta, Avadesh Narayan Singh	History of Hindu Mathematics, Volume I & II, Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, Delhi, 2004.

Bill M Mak	The date and nature of Sphujidhvaja's Yavanajātaka reconsidered in the light of some newly discovered materials, History of Science in South Asia, 2013.
Bina Chatterjee	Śiśhyadhīvriddhidatantra of Lalla with the commentary of Mallikārjuna Sūri, Part I, Indian National Science Academy, New Delhi, 1981.
Bindeshwari Prasad Sinha	Dynastic history of Magadha, Cir. 450-1200 AD, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1977.
Bisheshwar Nath Reu	The History of Rashtrakutas, Archaeological Department, Jodhpur, 1933.
CA Padmanabha Sastry	Dynastic list of Copper plate inscriptions (Noticed in Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy from1969-70 to 1996-97), The Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 2008.
Dasharatha Sarma	Early Chauhan Dynasties, S. Chand & Co., Delhi, 1959.
David Frawley	Gods, Sages and Kings: Vedic Secrets of Ancient Civilisation, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 1995.
David Frawley	Vedic origins of Zodiac: The Hymns of Dirghatamas in Rig Veda.
David Pingree	Precession and Trepidation in Indian Astronomy before 1200 AD, Journal of the History of Astronomy, iii, 1972.
Dhoolipala Ramakrishna	A Study of Sanskrit Inscriptions in Andhra Pradesh, Sri Venkatesvara Vedic University, Tirupati, 2009.
DP Dubey, AK Dubey	Important epigraphic discoveries in UP during last 25 years, Journal of History & Social Sciences, Volume II, Issue II, July-December 2011.
DR Regmi	Inscriptions of Nepal, Volume I, II & III, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1983.
Dr. AS Altekar	The coinage of Gupta Empire, Numismatic Society of India, Banaras Hindu University, 1957.

Durga Prasad	Rajatarangini, Volume I, II & III, Government Central Book Depot, Bombay, 1892.
E. Lamotte	History of Indian Buddhism: From the origins to the Saka Era, Peeters Press, Louvain, Paris, 1988.
Edward C. Sachau	Alberuni's India, Rupa Publications, New Delhi, 2002.
Ganapati Sastri	Ārya Mañjuśrī Mūla Kalpa, Volume I, II & III, 1925.
George Feuerstein, Subhash Kak & David Frawley	In Search of The Cradle of Civilization, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 2008
George M Moraes	The Kadamba Kula (A history of Ancient and Mediaeval Karnataka), Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, No. 5, 1931.
Girijaprasad Dvidedi	Siddhānta Śiromaṇi (Gaṇitādhyāya), Chowkhamba Vidyabhavan, Varanasi, 2007.
GS Gai	Dynastic list of copper plate inscriptions (Noticed in Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy from 1887 to 1969), The Director (Epigraphy), Mysore, 1986.
Gulshan Rai	The Persian emperor Cyrus the great and the Indian "Śaka" era, Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society, Vol 1, 1932.
H.S. Jarrett	The Ain-i-Akbari by Abul Fazl Allami, Volume I & II, The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1891.
Haraprasad Sastri, Radhagovinda Basak	Rāmacaritam of Sandhyākaranandin, The Asiatic Society, Kolkata, 2012.
Harihar Vitthal Trivedi	Inscriptions of The Paramāras, Chandellas, Kachchapaghātas and Two Minor Dynasties, Volume I, II & III, The Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1991.
James Tod	Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan or the Central and Western Rajput states of India, Volume I, II & III, Oxford University Press, 1920.
JF Fleet	The Dynasties of the Kanerese Districts of the Bombay Presidency, 1882.

Jogesh Chunder Dutt	Kings of Kashmira, Volume I, II & III, I.C. Bosn & Co., Stanhopn Press, Calcutta, 1879 to 1898.
John W. McCrindle	Ancient India as described by Megasthanes and Arrian, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 2008.
Kailash Chand Jain	Malawa Through The Ages (From the earliest time to 1305 A.D.), Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 1972.
Kamal P. Malla	Mānadeva Samvat : An investigation into an historical fraud, Contributions to Nepalese Studies, Vol 32, No. 1, January 2005.
Kashi Nath Pandit	Baharistan-i-Shahi, Chapter 1, http://history.world-citizenship.org/baharistan-i-shahi
KD Abhyankar	Folklore and Astronomy: Agastya a sage and a star, Current Science, Vol 89, No. 12, 25 December 2005.
KD Abhyankar,	Kaliyuga, Saptarshi, Yudhishthira and Laukika Eras,
GM Ballabh	Indian Journal of History of Science, 31(1), 1996.
Kedaradatt Joshi	Siddhānta Śiromaṇī, Golādhyāya, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 2010.
Kiran Kumar Thaplyal	Inscriptions of The Maukharis, Later Guptas, Puṣpabhūtis and Yaśovarman of Kanauj, Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, Agam Prakashan, Delhi, 1985.
KN Ganganayak,	Rāshtrakutira Śāsanagalu (in Kannada), Volume I & II,
BR Bharati	Kuvempu Institute of Kannada Studies, University of Mysore, Mysore, 2011.
Kosla Vepa	Astronomical Dating of Events & Select Vignettes from Indian History, Volume I, Indic Studies Foundation, USA, 2008.
Kota Venkatachalam	The Plot in Indian Chronology, Published in 1953.

Kota Venkatachalam	The Chronology of Ancient Hindu History" Part I & II, 1957.
Kota Venkatachalam	Indian Eras, 1956.
Kota Venkatachalam	The historicity of Vikramāditya and Śālivāhana, 1951.
Krishnachandra Dvivedi	Brihat Samhitā, Volume I & II, Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, Varanasi, 1996.
KS Shukla	The Yuga of the Yavanajātaka: David Pingree's text and translation reviewed, Indian Journal of History of science, 24(4), 1989.
KV Ramesh	Inscriptions of Western Gangas, Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, Agam Prakashan, Delhi, 1984.
KV Ramesh	Indian Epigraphy, Volume I, 1984.
MS Nagaraja Rao, KV Ramesh	Copper Plate Inscriptions from Karnataka, Directorate of Archaeology & Museums, Mysore, 1997.
MS Nagaraja Rao, KV Ramesh	Copper Plate Inscriptions from Karnataka: Recent Discoveries, Directorate of Archaeology & Museums, Mysore, 1985.
Muralidhara Jha	Adbhuta Samhitā, The Prabhakari & Co. Benares Cantt., 1905.
N Venkataramanayya	Vishnukundinulu (in Telugu), The Publication Bureau, Hyderabad, 1970.
Nani Gopal Majumdar	Inscriptions of Bengal (containing inscriptions of the Candras, the Varmans and the Senas, and of Isvaraghosa and Damodara), Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, Kolkata, 2003.
Pannalal Jain	Uttarapurāṇa, Bharatiya Jnanapith, 1954.
Pannalal Jain	Harivaṁśa Purāṇa, Bharatiya Jnanapith, 2003.
PD Sharma	Hindu Astronomy, Global Vision Publishing House, New Delhi, 2004.

Rama S. Tripathi	History of Kanauj, To the Moslem Conquest, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 1989.
RC Majumdar, AS Altekar	The Vākātaka-Gupta Age (Circa 200-550 A.D.), Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 2007.
RK Bharti	A Complete History of Kashmir by Mohammad Din Fouk Gulshan Books, Srinagar, 2009.
RK Dikshit	Chandellas of Jejjakabhukti, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1977.
RN Iyengar	Pārāśaratantra, Jain University Press, Ramanagara District, Karnataka, 2013.
Robert Sewell, Sankara Balkrishna Dikshit	The Indian Calendar (With tables for the conversion of Hindu and Muhammadan into A.D. Dates and vice versa), Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 1996.
Sanjeev Sanyal	Land of the Seven Rivers (A Brief History of India's Geography), Penguin Books, New Delhi, 2013.
Shankar Pandurang Pandit	The introduction of Gaudavaho, Bombay Sanskrit Series no. XXXIV, 1887.
Shiva Raj Shreshtha 'Malla'	Nanyadeva, His ancestors and Their Abhijana.
Shyam Manohar Mishra	Yaśovarman of Kanauj, A study of Political History, Social and cultural life of Northern India During the reign of Yaśovarman, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1977.
SimhasÂri	Lokavibhāga, Gulabchand Hirachand Doshi, Solapur, 1962.
Snigdha Tripathy	Inscriptions of Orissa, Volume I, Motilal Banarsidass, New Delhi.
Srikantha Sastry	Early Gaṅgas of Talakkad, 1952, www.srikanta.sastry.org.
Subrahmanya Sastry	Sangītaratnākara of Śārṅgadhara, The Adyar Library, 1944.
Subrata Kumar Acharya	Copper-plate Inscriptions of Odisha, DK Printworld (P) Ltd., New Delhi, 2014.

Sudarshan Kumar Sharma	Udayasundarī Kathā of Soḍhala, Parimal Publications, Delhi, 2004.
Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya	Some Early Dynasties of South India, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 1974.
TV Mahalingam	Inscriptions of Pallavas, Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, Agam Prakashan, Delhi, 1988.
Udyotana SÂri	Kuvalayamālā, Sindhi Jain Granthamālā, No.45, Bombay, 1959.
V Ramesam	Andhra Chronology (90-1800 A.C.), K. Mahadevan, Mylapore, Madras, 1946.
V Thiruvenkatacharya	An Astronomical Proof, Journal of Indian History, Volume XXVIII, Part II.
VR Ramachandra Dikshitar	The Gupta Polity, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 1993.
VV Mirashi	Literary and Historical Studies in Indology, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 1975.
VV Mirashi	History and Inscriptions of the Śātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas,
VV Mirashi	Inscriptions of The Kalachuri-Chedi Era, Volume I & II, The Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1998.
VV Mirashi	Inscriptions of The Śilāhāras, The Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1977.
VV Mirashi	Inscriptions of The Vākātakas, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1963.
VV Mirashi, NR Navlekar	Kālidāsa : Date, Life and Works, 1969.

Journals/Reports etc.

1. Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy
2. Epigraphia Andhrica, Volume I to 6
3. Epigraphia Carnatica, Volume I to 12

4. Epigraphia Indica, Volume I (1892) to XLIII (2011-12)
5. Indian Antiquary, Volume I (1872) to LXII (1933)
6. Indian Archaeology - A Review
7. Journal of Bombay Bengal Royal Asiatic Society, 1841 to 1924
8. Journal of Epigraphic Society of India, Vol I to X
9. Mysore Archaeological Reports
10. New Indian Antiquary, Volume I (1938) to IX (1947)
11. South Indian Inscriptions, Volume I to XX