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LOAN COPY
ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

The main purpose of the present thesis is to give an account of the political activities of the Western Chālukyas, who ruled at Bādāmi and Kalyāṇī, based on the results of modern research. It has been also deemed proper to add a special chapter on their system of administration. Hence the title "History of the Western Chālukyas (political and administrative)."

The thesis opens with a discussion of the various legends of Chālukya origin found in inscriptions, and the modern views on the subject. The second chapter describes the rise of the Chalukyas under Jayasimha, Ranaśāga and Pulakesin I. The third traces the growth of the Chalukya kingdom under Kīrtivarman I and Maṅgalesa. Chapter four gives an account of the wide activities of Pulakesin II, who attained for his house the imperial position in the South. Chapter five deals with the reigns of his successors till their sovereignty was extinguished by the Rāṣṭrakūtās. Chapter six tells about the fortune of the Chālukya race in the Western Deccan during the period of the Rāṣṭrakūta supremacy. Chapter seven recounts the story of the re-establishment of the Chālukya sovereignty.
by Taila II, and the beginnings of the conflict with the Paramāras and the Cholas which lasted through generations. The history of the Chālukyas under Jayasimha II, Somesvara I, Somesvara II and Vikramāditya VI forms the theme of chapters eight and nine. All these rulers, except Somesvara II, prove to be able, energetic and vigorous; they not only successfully maintained their position against the repeated onslaughts of external enemies, but also succeeded in extending their influence in different directions. Chapter ten traces the gradual decline of the Chālukya power and its final disappearance under the last four kings of the race. The concluding chapter has been devoted to the elucidation of the important aspects of the Chālukyan administration.
The history of the western Chālukyas
(Political and Administrative)
by
Golapchandra Raychaudhuri

The purpose of this thesis is to sketch the political history of the Chalukyas who ruled in the Western Deccan and the administrative system under them. Such an attempt is not altogether new. More than fifty years before, Sir R.C. Bhandarkar and Dr. J.F. Fleet made valuable contributions on this subject in their Early History of the Deccan and the Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts respectively. Since then a vast amount of epigraphic materials has been made available to the students of the history of the Chalukyas in the pages of the Epigraphia Indica, Epigraphia Carnatica, the volumes on the South Indian Inscriptions and the Farquhara Inscriptions, Annual Reports on the South Indian Epigraphy, Karnataka Research in Bombay Province, Archaeological Survey of India, Departments of Archaeology of the Mysore State and the Nizam's Dominions, G.H. Shere's Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan and various other journals and periodicals. Much new information has thus come to light.
A study of several contemporary Kanarese books has also been made to yield data in connection with the later Chālukyas which were not utilized before (1). Finally, fresh light has been thrown on particular problems of Chālukya history by Fleet himself in some of his subsequent writings, and by other scholars like Kielhorn, Hultzsch, Rice, Barnett, Narasimhachar, Pathak, Shamas sastry, Nilakanta Sastri, Mirashi, Altekar, Father Heras, Gopalan, Morass, Krishna Rao, D.C. Ganguly and others. All these facts have prompted me to undertake the present work.

In writing the thesis I have utilised all the available original sources in Sanskrit and Kanarese, - both epigraphic and literary - including Sir Walter Elliot's collection of copies of South Indian Inscriptions in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society in London.

(1) For the sources that were available at the time when Bhandarkar and Fleet wrote, see the Introduction to the latter's Dynasties of the Kanarese districts.

Some of the original passages from the Kanarese literature will be found in S. Srikantha Sastri's Sources of the Karnāṭaka History.
For Tamil sources, however, I had to rely on translations of Chola epigraphs and the information contained in Nilakanta Sastri's books on the Cholas. It is needless to say that the works and articles of the previous writers have been of immense help to me in fulfilling my task. I have, however, added much to the information supplied by them, and my conclusions are not seldom different from theirs. I have also tried to present old materials in a new shape.

The process of the growth of legends of Chālukya origin in the west, the probability of the rise of the early Chālukyas after overthrowing a local Rāṣhtrakūta dynasty, the importance of the works of Kīrtivarman I and of Maṅgaleśa in relation to those of Pulakeśin II, the proper significance of the reign of that great emperor in relation to the events that followed his death, the causes of the sudden collapse of the early Chālukya power, the factors contributing to the revival of Chālukya power by Taila II and the gradual establishment of his suzerainty in the Deccan, the account of Somesvāra I's conflict with the Cholas from the inscriptions
of his own time, the causes and course of the decline of
the later Chālukya power are some of the topics that have
been dealt with in this thesis for the first time. Another
new point to which I have drawn attention is the occurrence
of the family name Chālukya with long ā in the genuine
records of the early period. I also believe that no
serious attempt to make a comprehensive study of the
administrative system of the Western Chālukyas has been
made elsewhere before this (2) I should, however, like
to add that I have refrained from filling up obvious gaps
in the account of the Chālukyan administration with
information taken out of theoretical treatises on state-
craft, or having recourse to imagination. My purpose has been
to present the exact data that are found in contemporary
inscriptions of the Western Chālukyas themselves and their
subordinates. Other omissions are lists of Chālukya
feudatories and officials which will be found in the Dynasties
of the Kanarese Districts and Indian Antiquary (1918, pp. 257ff;
1919, pp. 1ff), and a summary of the Chālukyan inscriptions,
which are too numerous to be included in a thesis like this.

(a) Some superficial accounts will be found in the Journal
of the Mythic Society, vol. XXXI. Nos. 3-4; and R. S. Murgali's
Heritage of Karnatakā, Chapters IV - VI; the local
administration.
The term "Deccan" has been used in this work in a limited sense which broadly excludes from within its boundaries the Tamil and Malayalam speaking areas. The phrases "early Chālukyas", "later Chālukyas", and "eastern Chālukyas" have been used to designate the members of the tribe who ruled at Vatāpi, Mānyakheta and Kalyāṇī, and Pishtapura and Veṅgi respectively.

I have followed the old system of transliteration as will be seen from such examples as "Kaṭachchuri", "Bhrigukachchha", "Krishṇa", "Ṛṣṭyrakūṭa", etc., Diacritical marks have been omitted in the case of modern place-names, and their ordinary spellings have been retained. References to well known facts, or those found in the Early History of the Deccan and the Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts have been generally omitted to avoid a large number of foot-notes.
I shall be failing in my duty if I do not express my deep sense of indebtedness to my supervisor Dr. L. D. Barnett of the School of Oriental and African Studies for the keen interest he has taken in the progress of the present work, his ungrudging help in elucidating certain literary and inscriptive passages (particularly in the Elliott Collection), supplying me with a number of valuable references, his general suggestions and guidance, and for going through the whole of my manuscripts. My acknowledgements are also due to Mr. Alfred Master of the same institution, with whom I read the Kanarese language, and to Messrs. C. K. Ghori of the University of Mysore and K. F. Motiwallah for rendering help in preparing the map.

London
J. 7. 48.

G. RayChandhuri
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preface</th>
<th>List of Abbreviations</th>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I. The Legends of Chālukya Origin</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>II. The Rise of the Chālukyas</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(i) Jayasimha and Ranarāga</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) Pulakesin I</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>III. The Growth of the Chālukya Kingdom</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kirtivarman</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mangalesa</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>IV. The Bid for the Empire and the Beginning of the Conflict with the Pallavas and the Tamil States</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pulakesin II</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Appendix</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>V. The Successors of Pulakesin II</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(i) Vikramāditya I</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(iii) Vikramāditya II</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(iv) Kirtivarman II — the Collapse of the Early Chālukya Power in the Deccan</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(i) The Chālukyas of Tardavādi</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) Minor Chālukya Family</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(iii) The Chālukyas of Lembulapāṭaka</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>VII. The Revival of the Chālukyan Ascendancy</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(i) The Decline and Fall of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) Tāḷaḷa II — the Restorer</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(iii) Satyāśraya</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(iv) Vikramāditya V</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(v) Ayyaṇa</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>VIII. Jayasimha and Someśvara I</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>IX. Someśvara II and Vikramāditya VI</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONTENTS (contd).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X. The Decline and Fall of the Later Chālukyas</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI. Aspects of Western Chalukya Administration</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) King</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Yuvarāja</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) The Machinery and Departments of the central Government</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) Law and Justice</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v) Army</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vi) Revenue</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vii) Territorial Divisions</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(viii) Feudal and Provincial Government</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ix) Rural and Urban Government</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Select Bibliography                                                     | 363  |
List of Abbreviations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AHD</td>
<td>Ancient History of the Deccan by J. Dubreuil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASI or ASI,AR</td>
<td>Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BG</td>
<td>Bombay Gazetteer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BISMJ</td>
<td>Bhārata Itihāsa Saṃshodhaka Manḍala Journal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BISMO</td>
<td>or Quarterly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTTD</td>
<td>A Corpus of Inscriptions of the Telangana Districts of N.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DHMI</td>
<td>Dynastic History of Northern India by R.C. Ray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DKD</td>
<td>Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts by J.F. Fleet (1896)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EC</td>
<td>Epigraphia Carnatica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EHD</td>
<td>Early History of the Deccan by R.C. Bhadrakar (3rd Edition)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EHIT : Early History of India by V.A. Smith (4th Edition)
EI : Epigraphia Indica.
Hy. ARCH : Hyderabad Archaeological Series.
HMS : History of Mediaeval and Hindu India by C.V. Vaidya
HPD : History of the Paremara Dynasty by D.C. Ganguly
IA : Indian Antiquary
IHQ : Indian Historical Quarterly
IMP : Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency by V. Rangacharya.
JAHRS : Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.
JASE : Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBBRAS : Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JBSH : Journal of the Bombay Historical Society.
JIH : Journal of Indian History.
JOR : Journal of Oriental Research.
JRAS : Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MADMAS</td>
<td>Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MER</td>
<td>Madras Epigraphic Report</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NHIP</td>
<td>New History of Indian People, edited by R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHAI</td>
<td>Political History of Ancient India, edited by H.C. Raychaudhuri (4th edition)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.T.</td>
<td>Rashtrakutas and their Times by A.S. Altekar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sat.</td>
<td>Successors of the Satavahanas by D.C. Sircar.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SII</td>
<td>South Indian Inscriptions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1

THE LEGENDS OF CHALUKYA ORIGIN

The origin of the Chālukyas, like that of many other ruling families of ancient India, is shrouded in the mist of oblivion. No record of an early date cast a single ray to illuminate this topic. There are, however, several legends of a mythological character concerning the parentage of this race, which were apparently invented at a late stage of their history by court poets and panegyrists to fill up a vacuum. We give here an account of these not because they are interesting historically, but because the Chālukyas themselves believe, and wanted their contemporaries to believe them, and also because they afford an interesting study of the common practice in India, as also in several other countries, of inventing mythical ancestry for royal personages, and thus to invest them with a halo of antiquity, as well as perhaps sanctity.

The earliest version of these legends is found, as far as our present knowledge goes, in a copper plate charter of the Chālukya prince Rajāditya, dated 951 A.D. (1) It is said that from the lotus that sprang from the navel.

(1) MAS. 1935. 117.
of Vishnu was born Vīraśeṣa; his mind-born son was,Aṅgiras; his son Brihaspati; his son Bhradvaja; his
son Drona; his son Dront (Aśvatthama) - from the water
of the Ganges purified by mantras, and thrown out of the
hollow of his hand, during the performance of the sandhyā
was born Chalukya. His descendants were Chalukyas.
Rājaditya himself is styled both a descendant of the
Drona-vaṁśa and Nenni-Chaluki (2)

Next in point of time is the brief statement,
found in the Parbhani plates of Arikāsara III, that the
Chalukyas belonged to the solar race (2a).

An altogether different story became current
among the eastern Chalukyas, and is found for the first
time in the Ranasttipundi grants of Vimaladitya dated
1018-19 A.D. (3). It runs as follows:

"From the lotus-flower, (which arose) from the navel
of the abode of Śrī, the supreme spirit, the great lord

(2) cf. the following version in the Bilhari Stone
inscription of the Chedi kings:
"Now, in the water, of which in the act of cursing he
(Drona) had taken up a handful with his trembling hand,
angrily intending to bring misery on Drupāda for the insult
(offered by him), there arose a man like victory incarnate;
and from him proceeded the clan of the Chaulukyas". (EI.I.257
verse 33).
(2a) BISMJ.XIII.33ff.
(3) EL.VI.35ff; cf. also EL.IV.300ff; VI.334ff; IA.XIV.48ff;
SII.I.No.39. The Ganjam branch also claims lunar origin
(EL.V.32,36) Descended as they were from the house of Vengi
they simply carried on the tradition current in the east.
Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu), there was born Svayambhū (Brahman), the creator of the world. From him there sprang a spiritual son called Atri. From the saint Aṣṭri there arose Soma, the founder of a race .... The genealogy is then traced through a long succession of kings, belonging to the lunar race, mentioned in the Purāṇas, to Śatānīka and his son Udayana, apparently the famous king of Kausāmbi, the contemporary of the Buddha and Bimbisāra, king of Magadha. Our story, however, makes Udayana king of Ayodhya, and recounts that when commencing with him fifty-nine emperors sat on the throne of Ayodhya had passed away, a scion of this race went to the south, and his son eventually became the founder of the Chālukya kingship.

The records of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi contain still other versions of their origin, and a close examination of these reveal to a certain extent the different stages of myth-making in the west. Unlike their eastern cousins, the western Chālukyas, represented by the house of Kalyāṇi, do not seem to have claimed, at the very beginning of their history, any affiliation with the Puranic kings of the lunar race. A certain Satyāśraya, rather than Soma and his descendants, looms large in their early records. Taila II, the restorer, is styled in his own records as "the frontal ornament of the family of Satyāśraya" (Satyāśrayakulatilakaḥ) (4), an epithet that

(4) BK I.I.40.
was also borne by his successors. The poet Rama, who graced the court of the Chalukya king, tells us in his Gadāyuḍāha, which he wrote to extol the valour of Taila's son, prince Satyāśraya, that his hero was descended from Satyāśraya, also called Vīshṇuvardhana, who was the lord of Ayodhyāpura (5). Definite reference to the rule of the fifty-nine kings of the Chalukya race at Ayodhyā is found in the west for the first time in the Kauthem grants of Vīkramādiṭya V, dated 1009 A.D. (6). The Balagamve inscription of Vīkramādiṭya's brother Jayasimha, dated 1019 A.D. gives the following account:— "the kings of the Chalukya family governed the earth, which consisted of fifty-nine thrones, with the greatest happiness at the excellent city of Ayodhyāpura, and Satyāśraya, who was born in that race, and who was the lord of the lovely woman victory — ruled the whole world, so that he acquired the title of a universal monarch, and the family of Brahmā (Brahmakula) was called the excellent Satyāśrayakula" (7). The family nomenclature Brahmakula seems to point to another direction in which our story was developing. It incidentally suggests that the western Chālukyas preferred

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(5) IA.XL. 434.
(6) IA.XVI. 15ff.
(7) IA.V.17.
to regard themselves at this time as the descendants
of the Divine Creator, rather than that of the Moon.
In a record dated 1025-26 A.D. we get the following
genealogy: "the mind-born son of the god Brahmä was
Svayambhu Manu; his son was Mānavya from whom came
all those who belonged to the Mānavya gotra; Mānavya’s
son was Hārīta; his son Pańchaśikhi-Hārīti; and his son
was Chālukya, from whom sprang the race of the Chālukyas". (8)
The same genealogy is also found in several subsequent
records of the dynasty, the only difference being the
mention of Māndavya in the place of Mānavya (9). The
writers of the period also seized the opportunity to give
an etymology of the name Chālukya so as to introduce a
supernatural element, already hinted at in the grant of
Rājaditya, into the Kalyāṇi tradition. Thus for instance
the Diggavi inscription of the time of Someśvara I relates
that when Hārīti-Pańchaśikhi was engaged in sandhyā, out
of the water in the hollow of his palm (chuluka) was born
Chalokya (sic) (10). Gillana, the court-poet of Someśvara’s
son Viśramaditya VI, records a story of the same nature

(8) Elliot, 28b; DKD 278n, 339.
(9) Nimbaragi Inscription (Elliot 59); Nagai Inscription,
(Hy. Ar. Se. No. 8. pp. 9, 17); Muddagadavur Inscription (Elliot, 294)
Haveri Inscription (ib. 422b) etc.
(10) Elliot, 112. cf. also the Handareke inscription (ib. 402,
DKD 439); Marihar Inscription (Elliot 498; Rice, Mysore
Inscriptions, p. 67); Nimbaragi Inscription (Elliot 445).
with much embellishment. "Bṛhma was once engaged in
sandhyā, when Indra came to him to complain of the
growing godlessness on earth and begged him to put an
end to it by creating a hero who would be a terror to
the evil-doers. On hearing the request, the creator
looked towards his chuluka, or water vessel, and from it
sprang a handsome warrior fit to protect the three worlds.
From him descended the Chālukyas, a race of heroes, among
whom Harīta was reckoned as the first progenitor and
Maṇḍavya arose who humbled kings of the earth." The
original seat of the Chālukyas, we are told, was at
Ayodhyā (11). Some records again represent the Chālukyas
as having sprang from the powerful arms of Brāhma (12),
while there are others which simply state that the
Chālukya race was descended from the mind-born (mānasā-
śamthavān)

The ever-widening volume of western traditions
also absorbed within its cycle the myth of the lunar origin
of the Chālukyas. In the present state of our knowledge
we cannot say exactly when this took place. There is an
inscription which purports to belong to the reign of

(11) Vikramāṅkāscharita, ed. by Buhler, Introduction, 25-26;
text, p.3, EC.VII.Sk.123, dated 1159 A.D., where it is stated
that the Chālukyas were born from the full water-jar in the
shining left hand of Brāhma.
(12) EC.VII.Sk.100, dated 1129 A.D.; Sk.108, dated 1164 A.D.
(13) IA.IV.205; EI.XVI.356; EC.VII.Sk.137.
Satyāśraya, son of Taila II, where it is claimed that he belonged to Soma-vamśa. But the record is a spurious one. (14) The Hirahadagalli inscription of Somesvaralu, dated 1057 A.D., states that the mind-born son of the lotus-born (Brāhma) was Atri; from his beautiful eye sprang forth the Moon (Indu); his son was Budha; his son Purūravas; his son Pañchaśikhi-Hārīti, and his descendants were the Chālukyas. This is the first undoubted reference to the western Chālukyas as Somavamsis as far as we know at present. (15) In the Ittagi and the Südi inscriptions of the time of Vikramāditya VI the same story appears with further details. It is said that Budha had as his wife Il̄ā, who was the daughter of Ikshvāku, whose descent is traced through Vaivāsvata-Manu from the Sun. Out of this union was born Purūravas, "an increaser of the lunar race". His son

(14) B.H.S., Sept. 1929, 209ff;
(15) SII. IX. 1. No. 118. In the Tirumukkandal inscription of the Chola king Vira-Rājendra, dated in the sixth year of his reign, Somesvara is referred to as the Chālukya king who came from the race of the Moon (EI. XXI. 242). In the Gadag and the Kalige inscription of the time of Vikramāditya VI. We find the statement - "In the lineage of the Moon, who arose from the eye of Atri, the son of the lord Brāhma, the origin of all the world, there is the blest race of the Chālukyas" (Elliot. 235, 263; EI. XV. 350; IA. XXI. 167).
was Hāriti-Pañchasikhi. He had many sons, and with them as ancestors arose the Chālukya race. As the good king Satyāśraya was born in this race "the race of the Chālukyas was verily called the lineage of Satyāśraya." (16) The above account differs in many respects from the one that was current in the east. It is worth noting how the writer tried to assimilate some of the important elements of the western traditions into one coherent story.

So far with regard to the various accounts of the origin of the Chālukyas as found in the records of the race. The question naturally arises as to what element of truth may underlie these Puranic-looking tales. Fleet rejected them as fabulous genealogies of no authenticity. R.S. Satyasrāya, who has made a special study of the origin of the Chālukyas, is inclined to give credence to some of the versions that were current in the west. He believes, for example, that the claim of descent from Brahmā, Manu, Māṇḍavya (or Māṇavya), Hārīta and Pañchasikhi, found in western records, proves that the Chālukyas were Brahmans; that Hārīta and Pañchasikhi were both historical persons; that the former should be identified with the homonymous gotra-rishi among the Āṅgiras, and the latter with the famous Sānkhya philosopher Pañchasikha; and finally, that

(16) EL.XIII.41ff; XV.105f.
the Chālukyas belonged to the family of a gotra-rishi called Chuluka referred to in the Bārhaspatyābhidhāna, and probably also by Bodhāyana and Pāṇini. (17)

We admit our inability to agree with the above views, and regard the whole set of traditions cited above as purely legendary, useless for constructing sober history. The early Chālukyas, whether in the east or in the west, represented themselves in their records simply as Manavya-sagotras (belonging to the clan of the Manavyas), and Hariyiputras ("descendant of an original ancestress of the Harita gotra"). This statement, standing by itself, we think, cannot prove the Brahmin origin of the clan. Huen-Tsang, writing in the seventh century, represents Pulakesin II as a Kshatriya. (18) The name-endings of two of the earliest members of the Chālukya family, e.g. Jayasimha and Kirtivarman, also point to the same conclusion. Some of the above stories were invented, as has been pointed out by Fleet, in order to account for appellations the origin of which had been forgotten in the lapse of time, or as popular

(17) R.S. Satyasrara, Origin of the Chālukyas (1937), section V & VI. The evidence of two late manuscripts has also been adduced to support the theory of the Brahmin origin of the Chālukyas.
(18) Watters, II. p.239.
etymology of family names. (19) The persons called Mānavya or Māndavya and Hariti have been undoubtedly brought into the genealogical scheme in order to explain the phrases Mānavya-sagotra and Haritiputra found in early records. Why the name of Pañchaśikhi is mentioned at all seems to us a riddle. Attention may be drawn in this connection to a piece of information contained in the Ittagi and Sudi inscriptions of 1112-3 A.D. (20) It is said that the Chālukya race wore as its crest a five-fold tuft (chudapañchaka-mandalam). The evidence is late, but if the practice belonged to an earlier age, then this might go to explain our problem. The story of Satyāśraya of Ayodhyā seems to have its foundation in some vague memory of the achievements of PulakesinII, the most stately figure among the early Chālukyas, who is referred to simply as Satyāśraya in certain records of his own time (21), and under that name also finds prominent mention in many inscriptions of the eastern branch. The early Chālukyas almost certainly did not lay claim to lūpar origin. This is borne out by a passage which occurs in the Samangarh.

(19) DKD. 338-40
(20) EI, XIII. 42f; XV. 106.
(21) e.g. Hyderabad Plates (IA. VI. 72f); Chiplun Plates (EI. III. 50f).
Copper Plates of the Rāṣhtrakūta king Dantidurga (22), and is repeated in the Bhandak Plates of his successor Krishna I (23). It is stated in these two records that the queen of Indra II and mother of Dantidurga was a Chāḷukya princess who was a descendant of the lunar race on her mother's side, the implication undoubtedly being that her father could not lay claim to any such connection. The myth of the lunar origin was as yet in the womb of the future.

It remains now to examine the authenticity of the claim put forward in the early records of the Chāḷukyas that they were Māṇḍuyya-sagotras and Haritiputras. It is interesting to note that similar claims are made on behalf of the Chatu-Sātakarnis and the Kadambas, who ruled, one after the other, over the Kuntala country before the latter were despoiled of their regal fortune by the Chāḷukyas. It seems to us that the claim of the Kadambas and the Chāḷukyas in this respect has no solid foundation, and both the families simply continued a local tradition which became deep-rooted in the time of the Chatu-Sātakarnis. (24) The indebtedness of the Chāḷukyas to the Kadambas specially, is perhaps indicated by the occurrence in the records of the

(22) I.A.XI.112.
(23) E.I.XIV.124.
(24) The authenticity of the claim of the Kadambas in this respect has been discussed by D.C.Sircar in his Successors of the Sātavāhanas, p.225.
former of the entire sthāntratattvam Svāmī-Mahāsena-Ṛātṛigaṇ-
ābhiśhikkatānam Manavya-sagotrāṇam, Haritīputrāṇam found
in the inscriptions of the latter. The Badami inscription
of Pulakesinī, the earliest record of the Chālukya family,
does not contain any such description at all. (25) The
evidence of Rajāditya's plates, where the descent of the
Chālukyas is traced from Droni, and the prince is called
a descendant of the Drōna-vamsa, perhaps suggests that
this section of the Chālukyas at least believed that they
were Bharadvājas. (25)

The records of the Chālukyas, therefore, do not
help us to determine their origin. Towards the close of
the last and the early decades of the present century it
was believed by some scholars that the Chālukyas were related
to the great horde of the Gurjaras, who seem to have poured
into India along with, or soon after, the Huns during the
period of the disruption of the Gupta empire (27). The
Gurjaras began to play an increasingly important part in
the history of India from the close of the sixth century A.D.
and there is evidence to suggest that at least some of the
Rājput clans of the post-Gupta period, notably the Pratihāras
are racially connected with them. The theory of the Gurjarā
class of the Chālukyas rests mainly upon two assumptions,

(25) Digest of the Annual Report on Kannada Research, 1940-
41, p.6ff.
(26) see supra p.1.
(27) BG.I.1.468; IX.485ff; JBBRAS.XXI.425ff; IA.XLI.24,29.
(i) that the Chalukyas and the Chaulukyas or Soloṅkis were off-shoots of the same clan; and

(ii) that as the Chaulukyas were possibly of the Gurjara stock, the Chalukyas also must have been so.

As to the first point, the close similarity of the two names, and the fact that there actually existed many variants of the cognomen Chalukya, as also different branches of the family unconnected with each other, raise a strong presumption in favour of the theory that the Chalukyas and the Chaulukyas were branches of the same family. Bilhana regarded the two names as interchangeable.

(28)

As to the second point, the theory of the Gurjara origin of the Chankulyas was first adumbrated by Campbell in the pages of the Bombay Gazetteer. (29) But whatever validity the arguments he advanced in support of his view might have had in his days, they can no longer be regarded

(28) IA.XL.24. The family name Śalukika, regarded as a variant of the word Chalukya, applied to Buddhavarāśa in an Inscription of 813 A.D. (EI.III.54f) may have been an earlier form of the designation Chaulukika applied to Mūlarāja of Anahilapātaka. For the variant Chulukya for Chaulukya in late inscription see the Abu Inscription of Tejahpala (EI.VIII.213,219).

Buhler thinks that the Chaulukyas of Gujarat came in all probability from the north. This view is based on the evidence of the Gujarat chronicles, which state that the ancestors of Mūlarāja came from Kalyānakataka in Kanauja. In this connection the following facts may be noted:— (continue (29) IX.I.485ff. of also BG.I.I.463n.
as quite convincing. The very lateness of the evidences

(continued) The Surat grants of Trilochananapāla, dated 1050 A.D., tell us that "once upon a time there arose a man, a jewel of a king, from the ocean of his (Brahmā's) chuluka... He having saluted him said, 'Oh, what shall I do, Oh, Lord?'. And to him the well-pleased creator replied on the matter of fulfilment of the object. 'Oh, thou Chaulukya, king of kings, marrying a princess of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Kāṇyakubja, bless thou (the world) with offspring obtained of her". (II. XII. 201ff).

We seem to have here the germ of the tradition referred to by Gujrāt chroniclers. It is however worth noting that the inscription only refers to a matrimonial connection between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Kanauj and the Chaulukyas, and in no way suggests the establishment of the rule of the latter in that city. On the other hand, when the Gujrāt chroniclers wrote the city of Kālyāṇi figured prominently in the history of the Chālukyas, and in the absence of authentic tradition they may have imagined that all the branches of the Chālukyas, including the Chaulukyas, originated from that famous capital. It seems to us that the chroniclers in order to reconcile a vague tradition with what they actually knew about the antiquity of the Chālukya rule in the Deccan, invented the existence of a city called Kālyāṇakatak in Kanauj and made the ancestors of Mūlarāja come thence. The close relationship between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the family of Trilochananapāla is further illustrated by the fact that the epigraph of the prince refers to a subordinate line of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. It may also be noted in this connection that the family name in the Surat Plates of Kirtirāja is Chaulukya and not Chālukya (K.B.Pathak Commemoration Volume, p.293ff, plate I, line 18).

Budaun inscription of Īkhanapāla (EI.I.61ff) proves the existence of Rāṣṭrakūṭa rule in the vicinity of Kanauj. An inscription of the 12th-13th century refers to a Kāṇyakubja-desōdhūtayā Rāṣṭa (tra) kūṭa-vamsā-pradipa (EI.XXIII.188)
adduced, together with the reasonable doubt that may be
entertained with regard to the correctness of some of them,
takes away much force from their probative value. Even the
agni-kula theory, which is supposed to indicate the common
origin of the Chaulukyas, Chāhamānas, Paramāras and Prabhāras
has now been proved to be a myth — it being unknown in its
present form before the sixteenth century. (30) D.R. Bhandarkar
points out that Gurjarā-mandala of Gujarat came to be so-
called after the establishment of the Chaulukya rule in that
region. This suggests that the Chaulukyas were Gurjaras.(31)
But in this case we have to prove that Mūlarāja came at the
head of a horde of Gurjaras, and imposed the name of the
ruling tribe upon the conquered country, for we are unaware
of an instance of a kingdom known only after the racial
affiliation of a ruling house. So far as we know Mūlarāja
was simply an usurper. The circumstances under which Gujarat
got its present name are still unknown to us. V.A. Smith think

(30) JBBRAS. XXV. Iff; ABORI. XVI. 158f; Satyasraya, Origin
of the Chalukyas, see II.
(31) JBBRAS. XXI. 425; IA. XL. 24, 29.
that there are reasons for believing that the Chalukyas (sic) or Solankis were connected with the Chapas, and so with the foreign Gurjara tribe of which the Chapas were a branch. Further, the name Pulakesin occurs in a Chapa genealogy, which is the only instance known to Fleet of its occurrence outside the Chalukya family. This fact also supports the view that the Solankis or Chalukyas were connected with the Gurjaras. (32) We should however note that tradition connects the Chapas with the Chaulukyas through a female member belonging to the former clan. This does not necessarily prove that Chaulukyas belonged to the same racial stock as the Chapas. For instance, we know that a Guhilot prince of Mewar married into the Huma family (33). This does not by itself make the Guhilots come from the Huma race. Secondly, the Gurjara origin of the Chapas itself has not been proved satisfactorily as yet. Regarding the second argument of Smith, attention may be drawn to the fact that all mention of the name Pulakesin, excepting the one of the Chapa family, are found in inscriptions of South India, a fact which rather connects the Chalukyas with the people of the south than with any clan of north India. The Gurjara origin of the Chalukyas, can hardly be regarded as

(33) ILXXIX, 191.
established.

There are indeed a few facts which bring the Chālukyas into special association with south India. (34) Firstly, the dynastic name Chālukya, Chalikya or Chalukya, or for the matter any other variants of it, found in the earliest records of the race, cannot be derived from any Samskrit word. It seems to have come from some Dravidian stem. Secondly, personal names of some members of the royal family, e.g., Pulakeśin, Ereya, Ereyitiyadigal (35) Ambērā (36) Kokuli-Vikramāditya (38), etc., found in early Chālukya records, point to their south Indian origin. Finally, the rise of the family in the Kanarese area, and the use of the Kanarese tongue in several early epigraphs of the race, are also of considerable significance in this connection. In view of all these facts we are inclined to think that the Chalukyas belonged to the great Dravidian stock of the

(34) Attention to these was first drawn by R.S.Panchamukhi in the Karnataka Historical Review, V.I. (Jan.1938),pp.If.
(35) Lakshmeshwar Inscription (IA.VII.110)
(36) SII. IX. I. No.46.
(37) IA.VIII.89,96.
(38) Sanjan Plates of Buddha Varasa, EI.XIV.144f.
In d i a n ' P e n in s u l a *  (39)

(39) S.K.Aiyangar makes the following observation in this connection: - "Fiefdatory dynasties placed in rule over the less hospitable region of the Tamil land went by the name generally Vēlpula Arasār or Salukki Vēndar. They were given the flag of boar indicative of the nature of the territory over which they ruled and the character of that rule. It is a family of chieftains like this probably that ultimately raised themselves to a position of higher dignity that became the Chālukyas of later period". (Introduction to R.Gopalan's History of the Pallavas, p. XXVI).

Some scholars are inclined to identify the Chālukyas with the people called the Sulikas (variants - Chulika, Chūdika, Chalika, Saulika etc.). (PHAL.4th.ed.p.509 and note: Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, XXI.p.1ff). One branch of this race lived in the north-west of India, and another in the south. The latter is associated in the Purāṇas with the Andhras, Sakas and Puḍǔlindas, (Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p2). Brihatsamhitā, Chap.XIV, verses 8 and 9 refer to the Sulikas along with the Vidarbhas, Andhras and Chēdis. In Chap.IX, verse 15 of the same work they are placed between Aparāntya (sic) and Vanavāsi. The theory of the identity of the Chālukyas and the Sulikas however has not received any general acceptance.

G.V.Vaidya thinks that the Chālukyas came originally from the Maratha country, and were therefore "Maharattis". But his arguments are hardly convincing. The learned scholar also believes that the Chālukyas and the Kadambas belonged to the same racial stock, and they could therefore no marriage relations between them (History of Mediaeval and Hindu India,L. pp,258,266). But note that Akkādevī, sister of Jayasimha II, and Mailalādevī, daughter of Vikramaditya VI, were given in marriage to Kadamba princes
It will not be out of place to refer here to the many variants of the name Chalukya that are met with in inscriptions. Some of these have been noted by Fleet in his Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts. (40) The earliest known form of the family name is Chalikya found in the Badami Fort inscription of Palukesi I. (41) Then we find the variants Chalukya (42) and Chalkya which occur in the inscriptions of Kirthivarman I. In the time of Managalesa the forms Chalikkya (43), Chalikya and Chalikya (44) were current. In the records of Pulakesi II and his successors the forms most widely used were Chalukya and Chalukya (45); the Karnul plates of Vikramaditya I of years 3 and 10 have Chalekya and Chalikya respectively. (46) The form Chalukya together with Chalikya, occurs in the Godval and Savanura plates of Vikramaditya I, and the Vakkelera and Kendur Plates of Kirthivarman II. (47) The variants Chalukya, Chhaluki or Chuluki are found in the Pattadakal inscription of the latter. (48)

(40)p.336n. see also JAHRS II. 248n.
(41) Digest of the Annual Report on Kannada Research, 1940-41 p.6ff.
(43) Corrected by Fleet in his own copy of IA.XIX,p.17. now in the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
(44) Nerur Plates (IA.VII,161) Fleet regards the sign for a as an engraver's mistake.
(45) ET.III.51, line 2.
(46) JBBRAS.XVI,p.235, and Plate I, line 5 facing p.234.
(47) ET.X.104, line 36 and plate; BISMJ.XXI,p.78, line 33. ET.V.200, ET.IX.200. (48) ET.III.p.4 and note 12.
In the Nausari grant of Avanijanaśraya Pulakesin the family name appears as Chalukki. In the early records of the eastern branch the most usual form is Chalukya. The variant Chālukya occurs in the Pedḍavegi inscription of Jayasimha I. (49) The Penukaparu grant of Jayasimha II has Chali̇kya. (50) In the Ipur grant of Vīshnuvardhana III we find Chhālukya. (51) From the time of Vīshnuvardhana IV the use of the form Chālukya becomes almost a regular feature in the Sataluru plates of Vijayāditya III, Bhima, a scion of the family is styled a Saḷuka. (52) The Kalyani branch mostly borrowed the form Chālukya or Chālukya, but variants like Chālukya, Chelukhya, Chalkya, Chalki, Chaliki, Chaluk and Salki were not unknown. (53) Buddhavarasa, regarded as a member of the race, is described as a Saḷukika. (54) In Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions the family name is usually referred to as Chālukya, but the form Chulukya is found in a record of Kṛishṇa I. (55) In Chola epigraphs occur such variants as Salki, Chalki, Saḷukki and Chalukki. (56) A record of Ganga Vajrahasta (palaeographically assigned to the eleventh century) refers to a person called Nāgavi-Saḷuki, who has

(49) BI.XIX.259 line 5 and plate.
(50) BI.XVIII.315.
(51) BI.XVIII.59.
(52) JAHRS.V.113.
(53) BI.XIV.207,214, V.16,20f; XII 332; XV.156; XVI.38,41, BI.XI.Dg.19, etc.
(54) BI.III.54; V.171n.
(55) BI.XIV.124.
(56) BI.XI.293,343; XXI.231-33; XXV.263, etc.
been taken to be a member of the Chalukya race. (57)

(57) EI.III,221 and note.
CHAPTER II

THE RISE OF THE CHĀLUKYAS

1. Jayasimha and Ranarāga

The inscriptions of the early Chālukyas do not throw any light on the circumstances that attended the foundation of their rule in the south. Two of these records, viz., the Mahākūta inscription of the time of Kirtivarman I and the Aihole inscription of the time of PulakesinII, look upon Jayasimha as the first prince who raised his family to a position of distinction. But both contain only vague praise about him. The former record describes Jayasimha as "the chief of the Favourites" (Vallabhendra) who was like the god Maghavan, was possessed of virtuous qualities, and who in affluence resembled Vaiśravana. (1) The latter record tells us that when many members of the Chālukya race had passed away, Jayasimha-Vallabha in battle, by his bravery, made Fortune his own. (2) But these are only vague statements, insufficient to form any adequate idea about the contributions of the first Chālukya king.

Where history is blank its place is not often filled up with traditions, or even fictitious tales; and thus, at a later age, came into circulation among the

(1) IA.XIX.16,18.
(2) EI.VI.4,8.
Chālukyas, both in the west as well as in the east, several stories of a rather romantic character which attempted to tell how exactly their rule began in the Deccan. The western version is found in a more or less finished form, in the Kauthemā Plates of Vikramāditya V (1009 A.D.). (3) It is said that in the Chālukya family were gem-like kings bearing the distinctive names Viṣhṇuvardhana, Viṣayāditya and the like, who were "the asylum of the universal (samasta-bhuvanāśraya) and "the refuge of all people" (sarvaṭokāśraya). Fifty-nine kings of this race, beginning with Satyāśraya, ruled at Ayodhya. Then sixteen ruled in the Deccan. Then for a time the fortune of the Chālukyas suffered an eclipse, "being impeded by wicked people, and also being interrupted by several other men of hostile race". Finally, Jayasimha-vallabha, having conquered the Rāṣṭrakūta Indra, son of Krishna, who was possessed of an army of eight-hundred elephants, and having completely destroyed five hundred kings — once again restored the royal fortune of his family. The fight of the Chālukya prince with the Rāṣṭrakūta ruler is also alluded to by Ranna, who flourished a generation earlier. (4) A confused version of the above account is found in the Diggavi inscription of the time of Someśvara I and is repeated in

(3) IA.XVI.p.17, 21.
(4) IA.XL.43-44; Sadayuddha, iv. prose passage following verse 7.
the Handarike inscription of Vikramāditya VI. (5) It makes Vishnuvardhana-Vijayarāditya into one person (6) and places him at the head of the genealogy. Then came fifty-nine kings, with Satyāśraya at the top, who ruled at Ayodhyā; they were followed by few others, then came Jayasimha and then the sixteen monarchs. Bilhana, in his VikramādityaRājavcharita, repeats the tradition that the original seat of the Chālukyas was at Ayodhyā, and says that several members of the family went to the south where they extended their sway as far as Nāgarakhaṇḍa (north-western part of Mysore). Some kings even penetrated into the Chola country up to the southern ocean. (7)

The eastern version, of the rise of the Chālukyas, found in the Ranastipundi grant of Vimaladitya, (8) states that when fifty-nine kings of the Chālukya race, with Udayana at their head, had passed away, Vijayarāditya I, a scion of the family, went to the Deccan in search of conquest. He attacked Trilochana Pallava, but was himself killed. His queen got shelter with an ascetic called Vishnubhatta Somayajin, and gave birth to a posthumous child, who was named Vishnuvardhana. When he grew up he learnt all about the events that preceded his birth. He

(7) sarga I, verses 63–65.
(8) E.A. VI. 351ff.
then went to worship Gaurī on the Chālukya mountain and also appeased Kumāra, Nārāyaṇa and the assembly of Divine Mothers. Thereafter he assumed the various insignia of sovereignty belonging to his family. He conquered the Kadambas, the Gaṅgas and other princes and ruled over the whole of the Deccan between the Narmadā and Adam's Bridge. His son, by a gānadhara of the Pallava race, was Viṣṇu (II). The latter's son was Pulakesin (I)—Vallabha.

Fleet refused to admit the historicity of any of the accounts cited above. Referring to the Kanther Plates version that Jayasimha re-established the Chālukya authority, after a period of obscurcation, by overthrowing a Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince, he observed that the statement "is explained by events which occurred at the time when Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereignty was passing into the hands of the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi". As regards the eastern version his comment was that "a certain amount of foundation (for it) may be derived from the fact that, from the time of Pulakesin II onwards, the western Chālukyas were constantly at war with the Pallavas, who were their most powerful and inveterate enemies; coupled with a tradition of the later Kadambas, that the founder of the Kadamba family was a certain Trinētra or Trilochna". (9)

(9) D.K.D. pp. 341-43.
Many scholars who wrote after Fleet concurred with his views. But there are a few exceptions. N. Venkata Ramanayya (10), for example, thinks that the story of the fight between Trilochana Pallava and Chalukya Vijayaśitya (I) may be regarded as true. He further identifies Vishnuvardhana, Vijayaśitya (II) and Pulakesin (I) with Jayasimha, Ranaśaśa and Pulakesin I of the Badami records respectively. Vijayaśitya (I), according to him, was an adventurer who threatened to raise trouble for the Pallavas in the Kuntala country, which was a chief of their empire, and therefore had to be suppressed. In course of a review (11) of the opinions of the above mentioned scholar Dr. Barnett observes that it is permissible to conjecture the identification of Jayasimha with Vishnuvardhana, and Vijayaśitya (II) with Ranaśaśa (the last mentioned designation being essentially a śiruḍha and not a proper name). He also points out in this connection that the western tradition placed the names of Vishnuvardhana and Vijayaśitya at the head of the pedigree, but was doubtful as to their proper place; (11) that it seems very reasonable to suppose that the eastern and the western account supplement one another, and that the disastrous end of

Vijayāditya (1) and the temporary ruin of his realm was a chapter, perhaps the last chapter, in the period of obscuration which the western records describe as having occurred shortly before the rise of Jayasimha; and finally that "the eastern version seem to give a plausible explanation of the rise of Vishnuvardhana by his successes over the Kadambas and Gaṅgas, for whom western tradition in the tenth century by natural anachronism substituted the Rattas".

We should however note that the historicity of Trilochana Pallava is not altogether beyond doubt. His name is not found in any genuine list of early Pallava genealogy. So far as we know, he is mentioned for the first time in a record of the tenth century. In the period that followed, a cluster of legends gradually grew around him, and he appeared on the stage of history with all the glory and glamour of an epic hero. (12) It is at this point that the story of his triumph over Chālukya Vijayāditya entered into the eastern records. This move seems to have been influenced, as Fleet thought, by some vague tradition of the deadly struggle between the early Chālukyas and Pallavas. It is interesting to note that the story of Vījaya-
ditya's death at the hand of the Pallava king, followed by a period of obscuration of the Chālukya family and its ultimate restoration by Vishnuvardhana, is paralleled by the known historical events of the defeat of Pula kesīn II in a struggle with the Pallavas, the period of obscuration that followed

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his death, and the ultimate restoration of the Chalukya power by Vikramāditya I. Vishnuvardhana and Vijayāditya were also very probably fictitious persons. The appearance of their names in the later genealogical lists, both in the west as well as in the east, however, demands an explanation. Rama says that Satyāśraya (of Ayodhyā) was also known as Vishnuvardhana, but later records apparently distinguished between the two. The name of Vijayāditya reminds us of the homonymous early Chalukya prince from whom the Chalukyas of Kalyāṇi traced their descent, and he may have found a special mention at the beginning of the dynastic list. It should also be remembered that by the time when these records were composed five Vishnuvardhanas and six Vijayādityas had sat on the eastern Chalukya throne. The titles Samasta-

Chuwanāśraya and Sarvalokāśraya were frequently applied to the eastern Chalukya rulers from the time of Jayasimha I, son of Kubja-Vishnuvardhana. (14) These facts may have.


(14) The title Samasta-Chuwanāśraya is first mentioned in the west in connection with Vijayāditya, dated 622/c.700 A.D. (IA.IX.126f). In the east the title is found applied to Vishnuvardhana III, Vijayāditya II, Vijayāditya III, Amma II and Bādapa. The title Sarvalokāśraya, as far as we know, is found applied for the first time to Jayasimha, son of Kubja-vishnuvardhana; among his successors it was assumed by Vishnuvardhana II, Jayasimha II, Vijayāditya I, Vishnuvardhana V, Chalukya-Bhima, Vijayāditya IV, Ammal, Chalukya Bhima II, and Vimalāditya.
directly or indirectly influenced the statement found in the western records that in the Chālukya family were born kings who had the distinctive appellations of Vishnuvardhana and Vijayāditya, who were Samastaḥhuvanāsraya and Sarvalokāsrya.

As to why the names of two Vijayādityas and of a Vishnuvardhana inbetween them should at all appear at the head of the historical portion of the eastern Chālukya genealogy we may note the following facts. Only one early eastern Chālukya record—and that of the time of the founder Kubja-Vishnuvardhana—refers to the father of Pulakesin I (Raṇavikrama), and mentions him under the name Raṇarāga.(15) Two records only (one of the time of Jayasimha I, and other of Vishnuvardhana II) begin the genealogy with Kirtivarman I. (16) From the time of Vijayāditya III (latter half of the ninth century) we find the practice of recording a long genealogy beginning with Kubja-Vishnuvardhana. (17) Then in the early years of the eleventh century was super-added the Puranic genealogy together with the names of Vijayāditya I, Vishnuvardhana, Vijayāditya II, Pulakesin I and Kirtivarman. It seems that all genuine tradition of kings before Pulakesin I was by this time lost in the east; and the chroniclers, noticing so many Vijayādityas and Vishnuyardhanas coming one after the other, probably thought that a similar order of succession also must have preceded Pulakesin I. This is the only explanation that suggests itself to us for the innovation introduced.

(15) EI.IX.317f.
(16) EI.XIX.258f; IA.VII.191f.
(17) JAHRS.V.101ff.
in the time of Vimala\ditya.

Finally we should note that the discovery of two new copper plate grants since Fleet wrote has placed the early history of Rāśhtrakūta rule in the Deccan in a new light. One of these, found at Pandurangapalli (Kolhapur state) and paleographically referable to the fifth-sixth century, mentions one Mānāṅka, his son Devarāja and his son Avidheya. (18) The first two princes have been identified with their name-sakes in the Uṇḍivātikā grant (field-spot unknown; paleographically assigned by some to the fifth-sixth and by others to the sixth-seventh centuries) which gives the following genealogy:— Rāśhtrakūta Mānāṅka, his son Devarāja, his son Bhavishya, and his son Abhimanyu. (19) Both the records have lion seals. The Pandurangapalli grant states that Mānāṅka conquered Asmaka and Vidarbhā and ruled over the glorious Kuntala (or according to another interpretation chastised the Kuntalas). The places granted by the record have been located by Mirāshi in the Satarā district and the adjoining region. (20) The places mentioned in the Uṇḍivātikā grant were located by Fleet in Malwa, and it was previously thought that Mānāṅka and his successors ruled somewhere in central India. But here again

(18) MAS.1929.pp.197ff; ABORI, XXIV.49ff; XXV.36ff; IHQ.XXII.p.233.
(19) EI.VIII.163ff; IA.XVIII.233; Dubreuil,Ancient History of the Deccan,p.111; ABORI.XXV.39.
(20) ABORI.XXV.40ff.
Mirashi states that some of the localities mentioned in the latter grant are also found in the Satara district and its neighbourhood. (21) Another set of copper plate grant, dated in an unknown era, and paleographically referable to the sixth-seventh century, mentions one Dejja-Maharaja of the Rāshtrakūta family, and its find-spot suggests that he probably ruled somewhere in the neighbourhood of Gokak in the Belgaum district. (22) These records, therefore, go to prove that between the fifth and the seventh century Rāshtrakūta rule actually existed in or near the area where the Chālukyas first established their sway. In view of this the Kalyāni tradition that Jayasimha I came into conflict with the Rāshtrakūtas cannot be lightly brushed aside. We may, therefore, arrive at the following tentative conclusion in the present state of our knowledge:

(1) The western version of the rise of the Chālukyas seems to be more reliable than its eastern counterpart; and (2) Jayasimha I very probably laid the foundation of the rule of his house by defeating the Rāshtrakūtas, who are now known to have held sway over the Satara and Belgaum districts and some other adjoining parts. This military achievement is probably referred to by Ravikirti when he

(21) iB. 42.
(22) Ei.XXI.289ff.
says that "Jayasimha—Vallabha in battle made fortune his own". (23)

Calculating backward from the known date of his grandson we may assign the beginning of Jayasimha’s career at the very opening of the sixth century A.D. Dubreuil puts the interesting question:—"was Jayasimha Chālukya identical with his namesake who was the commandant of Harivatsakotta mentioned in the Uṇḍivatika plates of Abhimanyu? (24)  

(23) Late tradition, as has been noted above, would lead us to believe that princes of the Chālukya family exercised regal authority in the Deccan even before Jayasimha. But no reliable evidence in support of this is forthcoming. An Ajanta inscription tells us that the Vākātaka king Harishena, who very probably flourished at the close of the fifth century A.D., conquered Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga Kosala, Trīkūṭa, Lāṭa and Audhra. (HY. Arch. se. No. 14). His expedition into the western Deccan, in course of which he went up to Kuntala, must have created a certain amount of political confusion in that region, and this may have facilitated the rise of Jayasimha.  

(24) Ancient History of the Deccan, p. 111. Fleet thinks that Jayasimha and his son Ranarāga were officers of the Kadambas (DKD. 343). But there is no clear proof for this.
One actually feels tempted to identify the two persons, but we should await further confirmation of this.

Jayasimha was succeeded by Rañarāga. Ranna styles him as Rana-Rāma and Rañaraṅgasimha, (25) and the Aihole inscription gives him the epithet Jagadekanātha. The Mahākūta inscription says that he inherited the virtuous qualities, heroism and affluence of his father, and was also endowed with brilliance, energy, valour, memory, intellect, splendour, polity and refinement. His fondness for war is alluded to in some records, but no specific exploit of his is known. According to the Kauthem plates he delighted in worshipping the auspicious feet of Hara.

(25) Sources of Karnataka History, I.p.131, gadāyuḍha, p.15.
II. Pulakesin I.

Ranarāga's son and successor, described as the dear son of his father (priyatanayāḥ), was Pulakesin I. Eulogy bestowed on him in the records of his successors suggests that he was an unusually gifted man who combined in his person the astuteness of a statesman, the wide learning of a deep scholar and the piety of a religionist. Endowed with the three elements of power (saktitraya-sampannah), in political wisdom, he is said to have equalled Brihaspati, the councillor of the gods. He was well-versed in the code of Manu, Purāṇas, Rāmāyana, Bhārata and Itiḥāsa. Not the least of his virtues were his truthfulness, observance of promises made (satya-vāg-avisamvādakah), regard for the established rules of conduct (dharmanaratabuddhiḥ), and readiness to listen to the advice of the elders (vṛiddhopadeśāgrāhī). We should add to these the war-like qualities of a successful soldier to which the king's achievements, as well as the epithet Ranavikrama, bear witness. The Mahākūṭa inscription described Pulakesin I as an upholder of the Brahmanical religion (Brāhmaṇayam). The king's zeal for his faith found expression not only in the cēlebration of a horse sacrifice, but also in the performance of such vēdic rituals as agnistoma, agnichayana, vājapeya, Bahusuvarga, paundarika and the great gift of
Hiranyagarbha. (26) He was very probably a worshipper of Siva. (26a)

(26) The above sketch has been given on the basis of information supplied by the Badami Fort inscription of Pulakeśin I, Gotāchi and Mahakūṭa inscriptions of the time of Kirtivarman I, Nerur Plates of Maṅgaleśa, Hyderabad Plates and Aihole inscriptions of the time of Pulakesin II and the Satara Plates of Vishnuvardhana.

For the exact significance of the epithet Hiranyakarōhasambhūtah see D.C. Sircar, Successors of the Sātavāhanas, p.50ff.

(26a) cf. the concluding part of the Mahakūṭa inscription where Maṅkaṭaśvaranatha (i.e. Siva) is called the sva-deva of Pulakesin I and Kirtivarman I.
Pulakesin I was the first king of his family to extend its power and prestige to a considerable extent. This he did by capturing Vatapi, probably from the Kadambas of Banavasi, who seem to have held the predominant position in the Karnata region about this time (27). Vatapi, modern Badami in the Bijapur districts, is situated at the mouth of a ravine between two rocky hills on its north and south, and is admirably suited for a defensive work. Its strength and its proximity to Aihole, Banasankari, Mahakuta and Pattadakal, all of them noted for their sanctity, combined to make Badami a likely site for an early capital (28). This fact was not lost upon Pulakesin, who erected a fort there, and seems to have made the place his capital (29). Ranna says.

(27) DKD. 344.
(28) Bombay Gazetteer, XXIII. 561.
(29) The fact of Pulakesin I’s conquest of Vatapi was for a long time known only from the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II and Ranna’s Gadayuddha (cf. Sources of the Karnataka History, I.p.131). But recently an inscription of Pulakesin I himself has been discovered at the Badami Fort (Digest of the Annual Report of the Kannada Research, 1940-41 pp.6ff). It is dated in S.465, corresponding to 541 A.D. The inscription reads as follows:

Svasti (11) Sakavarsheshu Chatuesa-sapessa-pancha-shasthi yuteshu asvmendhadi-yajvanam yajva-srauta-vidhanatah (I)
Hiranyagarbhasamhutaas = ChalikyVallabheshvaraaah(11)
Dharadharendra-Vatapim ajeeyam bhutayabhuyah (?dbhutaah) (1)
Adhastad uparishatach-cha durggama etad achikarat (11)
I am indebted to Professor H.C. Ray Chaudhuri for kindly drawing my attention to this inscription.
that Pulakesin's influence also extended over the neighbouring peninsulas (dvipāntara-prakāta-prabhāvanum) (30). All these achievements were considered sufficient by the King to assume the title of Mahārāja, which indicated sovereign authority at this time, and to celebrate the horse sacrifice, undoubtedly to proclaim to the world the altered status of the Chāmuṣyana kingship. If the Kauthem Plates are to be believed, the king showed his liberality on the occasion by bestowing two thousand villages on the priests who took part in the ceremony. (31)

Pulakesin I married Durlabhadevi of the Batpūra family. She is praised for her high qualities befitting a devoted wife, and her intensely religious disposition. (32)
The successes of the king, alike in peace and war, must have endeared him to his subjects, and in the Nerur plates of his son Mahākauśa he is described as "the favourite of the people because of his (manifold) virtues". (svagunair-lokaṇavallabha Vaiṣabh). (33) In addition to the usual regal titles of the early Chāmuṣyana Pulakesin I assumed the epithets Satyāśraya and Rāṇavikrama.

(30) Sources of Karnataka History, I.p.131; Sādāyuddha, p15.
(31) IA.XVI.15ff.
(32) Mahākūta inscription.
(33) IA.VII.161.
CHAPTER III

THE GROWTH OF THE CHALUKYA KINGDOM

Kirtivarman and Mangalesa

Pulakesin I left two sons, of whom the elder, Kirtivarman I succeeded him, and the latter was followed by his younger brother Mangalesa. Under the vigorous rule of these two princes, who inherited the martial qualities of their father in no small degree, and who were no less ambitious and enterprising than he, the policy of expansion initiated by Pulakesin I was pushed on still further, and resulted in the establishment of the Chalukyas as the predominant political factor in the western Deccan.

For a proper understanding of the events of this period it is necessary to have a glimpse into the political geography of the country south of the Vindhyas, during the latter part of the sixth century A.D. We shall take the Chalukya kingdom, which seems to have extended at this time from the neighbourhood of Satara to the east of the Bijapur district of the Bombay Presidency, as the centre of our survey. This will give us an idea of the position of other states in relation to it.

Along the west, between the mountains and the sea lay the Konkan, which comprised the Thana, Kolaba and
Ratnagiri district, ruled by the Mauryas. Puri described in the Aihole inscription as "the goddess of fortune of the western ocean was possibly their capital.\(^{(1)}\) An inscription on the Island of Elephanta seems to identify itself with the city of the Mauryas.\(^{(1)}\) To the north of Konkana along the sea coast, were situated Lāṭa and the Gurjara territory. Fleet has located the former between the Kim and the Damangāī (corresponding more or less to the modern Surat district), and the latter between the Kim and the Mahī (roughly corresponding to the Broach district and parts of the Baroda State).\(^{(2)}\) The chief cities of the Gurjaras were Nandipura and Bhrigukaccha (modern Broach).

To the east of the above two principal cities lay the kingdom of the Kachchhuris, which towards the close of the sixth and the opening decade of the seventh century included Ujjayini (Ujjain in the Gwalior state, C.I.) and Vidiśā (Bhilsa in the Bhopal state, C.I.) in the north, and Vatanagara (in the Chandor Taluk of the Nasik district) and Bhogavardhana (Bhokarden in the Aurangabad district of the

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\(^{(1)}\) DKD. 282f; Important inscriptions from the Baroda State (Garde), pp. 44-46. The Nemur plates of Nāgaleṣa locates Kūṇḍivātaka, identified with Kundi in the Sāngameshwar Taluk in the Ratnagiri district in the Konkanavishāya. (DKD. 348 & n).

\(^{(2)}\) DKD. 309f; 312f.
Nizam's Dominions) in the south. (3) The kingdom included the Nasik and Khandesh districts of the Bombay presidency together with the south western parts of central India and north-western parts of the Hyderabad state. In his Abhona Plates, Saṅkaragana, a prince of the Kaṭachchhūri family, is described as the lord of the country bounded by the eastern and the western ocean. (4) This may be a poetic exaggeration. But Kaṭachchhūri control over the Gurjara territory, situated on the western sea, is implied by a land grant in the Bharaṭaḥchha-Vishaya issued by Saṅkaragana's son Buddharāja. (5) The rise of the Gurjaras seems to have been almost synchronous with the foundation of the Kaṭachchhūri kingdom, and it is interesting to note that the early members of the family are described only as Sāmantas. (6) Berar and central Deccan were possibly held in the opening of the sixth century by the Vākāṭakas. But during the next hundred years the history of the region is obscure. Ellichpur, ancient Achalapura in north Berar is found under a feudatory Rāṣṭrakūta prince named Nannaraja in 631-32 A.D. (7).

(3) cf. the Abhona plates of Saṅkaragana (E.I. IX.296ff), and the Vadner Plates of Buddharāja (E.I.XII.30ff), BISMJ,XIX, pp.56,81.
(4) Abhona E.I.X.296ff.
(6) IA.XIII.82ff.88ff;
(7) E.I.XI.276ff; IA.XVIII.230ff.
Three of his ancestors are also mentioned in his records, but it is not known if they also ruled the same territory before their descendant. The region round Nandwarvhana (modern Nandod) in the Yeotmal district of Berar, seems to have been occupied by one or two Nala kings in the fifth century, (8) but there is no evidence to show that their rule lasted for any length of time. Nothing is therefore known about the successors of the Vakātakas in south Berar and the central Deccan till their occupation by the Chālukyas. Under the circumstances it may not be altogether presumptuous to think, in view of the statement of the Abhona plates that it was the Kātachchuris who penetrated deep into the Hyderabad state in the east, and may have even held a part of Berar after the extinction of the Vakātaka line.

The upper valley of the Mahānadi known in ancient time as Koḍala or Dakshina-Kosala, roughly comprising the Raipur, Bilaspur and Sambalpur districts of the central Province and Orissa, was in the latter half of the sixth century under Pāṇḍu-vamśi kings, who seem to have ousted the previous rulers, the Sarabhapuriyas. (9) Epigraphic

(8) EI, XIX, 100ff., XXI, 153ff., XXVI, 43ff.
(9) Majumdar and Altekar, New History of Indian People, vol. VI, pp. 86-91.
and numismatic evidence shows that Podagadh in the Jaipur agency and Edenga in the Kondegaon Tahshil of the Basar state were under the occupation of the Naşas in the fifth century (10). But here again no trace of their rule is found in this locality during the following century.

On the eastern coast of the Deccan to the south of the Mahanadi and including the northern part of the Ganjam district, lay the kingdom of Końgada, ruled by the Šailodbhavas (11). Down below stretched the Kalinga country up to the river Godāvari. Its upper port was under the occupation of the eastern Gangas, whose chief cities were Dantapura and Kalinganagara, (Mukhalingam on the Vamsadhāra) and their chief sacred place was the Mahendragiri. The Pishtapura (modern Pithapuram) region in the Godāvari district seems to have been under a local prince named Prithyī-Mahārāja, son of Vikramadīva and grandson of Mahārāja Raṇadurjaya, whose Tandivada Plates, issued in the 46th year from Pishtapura, have been palaeographically assigned to the beginning of the seventh century. (12)

The country between the lower courses of the Godāvari and the Krishnā, known as the Andhrāpatha, constituted

(10) EI.XXI.pp.153ff; XXVI.49ff.
(11) EI.XXI.37; N.H.I.§.VI. 82f.
(12) EI.XIX.161, xxvii. 88.
the kingdom of the Vishnukundins. Its western boundary seems to have extended into the interior as far as Sriparvata or Sriśaila in the Kurnul district. Lendulūra, Vasakesa, modern Dendaluru near Ellore in the Kīṭaṇa district, was one of the chief cities of this kingdom. (13)

The southern neighbour of the Vishnukundins were the Dramilas or the Pallavas, who had as their metropolis the famous city of Kāṇchi (modern Conjeeveram in the Chingleput district). There is evidence to show that they once ruled over a wide empire. But their influence gradually declined during the fifth and the first half of the sixth century. Sometime in the second half of the sixth century a new line of kings came to the throne and under their vigorous rule a resurrection of the lost prestige and power of the Pallavas began. It had momentous results in the history with which we are concerned, but more of this later on.

To the west of the Pallava principality, — over the Cuddapah and north Arcot districts of the Madras presidency, and the eastern parts of the Kolar district of the Mysore state—ruled the Bāṇas (14).

Beyond them the Gāngas held sway over the southern area of the Anantapura district and eastern and southern

(13) D.C. Sircar, Successors of the Sātavāhanas, p. 123, 116
(14) SI. E. AR., 1938, p. 82; I.A. X. 36; XIII. 187; XL. 104; EI. XI. 222; EC. XI. (Kolar) Introduction.
districts of the Mysore state with their capitals at Tālavanapura (modern Talakad, 20 miles to the south-east of the Mysore city) and Kolāhalapura (modern Kolar). The central part of the state, known as the Sendaraka-Vishaya (15) seems to have been under the Sendrakas. But these may have acknowledged the superiority of their powerful neighbours on the east and the west. The north-western districts of Mysore together with the southernmost districts of the Bombay presidency, constituted the Kadamba kingdom, which lay immediately to the south of the Chālukya principality. Beyond the Kadambas in the west, on the shore of the sea, lay the kingdom of the Ālūpas or Ālukas comprising south Kanara and the contiguous part of the Mysore state.

To the east of the Chālukya kingdom towards the Bellary and Kurnul districts lay the Nalavādivishaya, probably a settlement of the Nālas. (16) The Gośak Plates of

(15) Rice identified Sendrakavishaya with Nāgarakhandha, but this does not seem to be correct. The territory included Palmidi or Halmidi, seven miles north-north-west of Belur (MAS.1936p.723), and Vallaśvidesā (MAS.1918p.35,41) which Kiellhorn rightly identified with Bellavi in the Tumkur district (EL.VI.7) Nāgarakhandha, it may be noted, is always associated with Banavasi.

(16) Nalavādi included the villages of Ulchal (Ulchaḷa in Kurnul taluk), Gorla (Gorantla in the same taluk) and Kunikanur (in Pattikunda taluk) in Kurnul district. See EI.XXII.29;S.I.E.; AR.1936 nos.269,286 and also no.430 of 1923.
Dejja-Maharaja, (17) and Chiplun plates of Pulakesin II suggest that somewhere between the Ratnagiri and the Belgaum districts a separate branch of the Sendrakas ruled from the fifth century onwards.

The far south of India – the land of the Tamils, was occupied by the famous kingdoms of the Cholas, comprising the Trichinopoly and the Tanjore districts, with its capital at Uragapum or Uraiyyur; of the Pandyas, corresponding to the Madura, Ramnad and Tinnevally districts together with southern Travancore, with its capitals at Kolkai and Madura and Keralas or Cheras (Malabar, Cochin and north Travancore). South of the Kerala country lay a small territory known as the Mushaka* or Mushika.

Such was then the political geography of the Deccan when Kirtivarman ascended the throne in 566-67 A.D. The new king is praised in inscriptions as a man gifted with a multitude of qualities. One record says that he was endowed with sharp intellect which was "capable of retaining, remembering and understanding the deep and thorough meanings of all the lores". He is also described as brave, well versed in polity and having the capacity to protect the whole circle of the earth. Leaving aside the

\textit{The Plates mention Vijayananda-Madhyamaraja and his son Adhiraja Indrananda of the Sendraka family. It has been rightly pointed out that these names recall the name of Vallabha Senanandaraja of the Chiplun Plates (El.III. 50f).}
element of exaggeration, one cannot deny, in the light of achievements which we are going to recount, that Kirtivarman was a worthy successor of his father.

The Godachi Plates describe Kirtivarman as the uprooter of all rival kinsmen (Utsādita-sarva-dāyādah)(18) This implies that he had either to engage in a contest for succession, or to suppress some serious trouble created by his kith and kin some time before 578 A.D. Perhaps the latter was the case. It is interesting to note in this connection that his successor Mangalesa killed Svāmikarāja of the Chālukya family, a hero of eighteen battles. (18a) The magnitude of the crisis cannot be appreciated in the absence of further information. But the king's success seems to have been complete, at least so far as his own reign was concerned.

The Kirtivarman's fame in history rests on his military exploits. In the Badami inscription of his twelfth year (578 A.D.) it is stated in general terms that he was adorned with a spacious canopy of renown, bounded only by the waves of four oceans, and supported on standards of victory obtained in many a battle, in which there were

(18a) IA. VII. 161.
great conflicts between charioteers, elephant forces, cavalry and foot-soldiers" (19) More specific details of the king's victories are recounted in the Mahākūta inscription (602 A.D.). It is said that he crushed the arrays of many hostile kings, including those of Vaṅga, An̄ga, Kaliṅga, Vattuṭa, Magadha, Madraka, Kerala, Gaṅga, Mūshaka, Pāṇḍya, Dramilæ, Chōliya, Āluka, and Vahijayanti. These territories are to be located in different parts of India - some of them far away from the Chālukya kingdom. Mūshaka (unless there was a southern settlement of that name, of which there is no evidence) belongs to the north-west of the country, and corresponds to modern Skalkot and its adjacent districts in the Punjab. Vaṅga, An̄ga and Magadha answer more or less to south and east Bengal, Bhagalpur district in east Bihar, and the Patna and Gaya districts in south Bihar respectively, all of them in eastern India. Kaliṅga lay along the north-eastern coast of the Deccan, and Dramilæ was apparently the Pallava territory, to the south-east of the Plateau. Kerala, Mūshaka, Pāṇḍya, and Chōliya belong to the far south. The only territories which were nearer to the Chālukya homeland and lay to its

(19) IA.VI.363f.
south were Cauvery, Aluka and Vaijayanti (Banavasi in north Kanara, the capital of the Kadamba kingdom).

It is difficult to determine how much of the above account is historical. It reads more or less like a conventional description of a dig-vijaya, in which the aim of the composer has been to create, and to emphasise, an impression of the military prowess of Kirtivarman, by ascribing to him real and unreal victories over a host of kings, - some his neighbours, others living far off. There is no reference of a local character such as is found in RaviKirti's narrative of Pulakesin II's campaigns in the south. The names of well-known contemporaries like those of the Katakachchulis, Lātas, Gurjaras, Mauryas and Nalias are also conspicuous by their absence. Under the circumstances one feels inclined to agree with the observation of Fleet that "some of these territories lay so far away to the north and east, that the claim that is made in respect of them is plainly only a matter of boast. And the mention of Kerala, Pāṇḍya, Dramila and the Chōliya has probably not much more substance in it". (20)

(20) NPND.346. Attention has been drawn in this connection to the fact that Kirtivarman's father is known to have performed the asvamedha; and the prince may have been put in charge of the sacrificial house, and in course of his wandering may have come into conflict with some of the rulers mentioned in the Māhākūta inscription (WMAS.4th.ed.p.509).
A more modest claim regarding Kirtivarman's achievements is made in the Aihole inscription. He is described there as "the night of doom to the Nālas, Mauryas and Kadambas (Nala-Maurya-Kadamba-kāla-rātriḥ)." About four centuries later the king's triumphs over the same peoples are referred to in the Kāthem plates of Vikramādiṭṭya V. The Mauryas and the Kadambas, as we have seen, were the western and southern neighbours of the Chālukyas. The Nālas are located by some in the Yeotmal district, and by others in the Bastar-Jeypur area. But, as has been pointed out before, there is no evidence to show that the rule of the tribe survived in any of these regions till our period. Besides, it does not seem possible that Kirtivarman could have come into conflict with the Nālas without overwhelming the Kaṭacchchuris - an act regarding which again we have no evidence. In the absence of further light on the subject we tentatively accept Fleet's proposed identification of the Nālas with the people of the Nālavādivishaya. (21) If the Kāthem Plates are to be believed, the habitation of the Nālas was totally destroyed and their territory apparently annexed to the Chālukya kingdom. The Mauryas were sent into exile. This again implies that they were deprived of at least part of

(21) DKD. 345.
their territory. Fleet draws attention to the fact that Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja Indravarman of the Ādi-Mahā-Bappūra family was possibly appointed to the governorship of Konkāna (Ratnagiri area?) in 590 A.D. by Kirtivarman I(22). Mangalesa's grant in the Konkanavishaya also confirms the discomfiture of the Mauryas at the hands of Kirtivarman. The Chālukya king's conflict with his southern neighbour, seems to have been of a serious nature. The evidence of the Aihole inscription suggests that he had to face the united opposition of all the branches of the Kadambas (Kadamba-Kadamba-Kadambaka). It was indeed a life and death struggle for the latter to survive as an independent political unit. It is also not altogether impossible (in the light of the Mahākūta inscription) that their power was further augmented by their eastern and western neighbours, the Gangas and the Alukas. Verse 19 of the Aihole inscription, which poetically describes the fact that the Gangas and the Alupas acquired great happiness by renouncing seven sins in former days, seems to contain an allusion to the defeat of the two rulers sustained at the hands of Pulakesin II's father. In any case Kirtivarman attained a noble victory and the Kadamba confederacy, and the fact finds special mention

(22) DKD.349.
in all the formal charters of the subsequent period. The enemy was struck down low, but not exterminated.

Though most of his time was taken up by warlike activities, the Chālukya king was not unmindful of his duties towards his subjects. The Godachi Plates state that he gratified all sections of his people by protecting them in accordance with the standard rules applicable to the different orders and the various stages of their life (varṇ-āśrama-nyāya-paripālan-ānuraṇjita-sarva-prakritih) (23). The king was a staunch Brahmanical Hindu, and receives praise for his devotion to gods, brahmins and spiritual preceptors. Mahākūṭēśvara or Śiva seems to have drawn special respect from him (24). He performed the Ṛgvedic rituals of Bahuṣuvārṇa and Paunḍrika. The Chiplun Plates of his son describe Kīrtivarman as Vātāpyāḥ-prathama-vidhātā, which Fleet translates as "the first maker or creator of Vātāpi", and takes to means that the king began to adorn the city with temples and other buildings. His brother Maṅgalesa actually built a large Vaishānava temple on the hills of Badami which was finished in the twelfth year of his reign. Professor H.C.Ray Chaudhuri suggests to me that the phrase might imply that it was Kīrtivarman who first organised the famous fort either as a yuvarāja, or when he ascended the throne.

(23) JUB, Jan.1937, p.165 ff.
(24) cf. Maṅkūṭa inscription of Maṅgalesa, concluding section
The success of Kirtivarman's efforts was perhaps in part due to the wise counsel of a great Brahmin (matra-brāhmana) named Vyāghraśvāmin, who is described as bearing the burden of the entire kingdom (rāja-sarvāsya-dhurandhara). He was an extremely learned man. An expert in the Vedas, Vedāngas and the science of polity, he was endowed with extraordinary ability in explaining the grammars in their commentaries, logic (nyāya), works on poetry (Kāvya), dramatic art (nāṭaka), history (itihāsa), music (śāndharva), and the Purāṇas. (25)

The Badami inscription of the twelfth year of the king describes his brother Mangaleśa in glowing terms, and specially praises his valour in war. He is described as "one whose feet are tinged with the lustre of jewels in the diadems of kings, who have been caused to bow down before him by the edge of the sword which is wielded by his arms, and who is the sole auspicious abode of victory over the (whole) earth as far as the ocean". If these fulsome praise has any substance in it, then it shows that Mangaleśa was a worthy lieutenant of his war-like brother, and some of the martial achievements of the latter may have been augmented through the efforts of this prince. The Mahākūta

(25) cf. the Godachi Plates.
inscription bears testimony to the cordial relation subsisting between the two brothers and refers to the assignment by the younger brother of all the fruits of his good works to the elder.

Kirtivarman had the birudas Parākramesvara and Puru-rāṇa-parākrama. He married into the Sendraka family, (possibly the one which we have provisionally treated in the south of the Bombay Presidency", and his wife was the sister of Śrī-vallabha Senānanda. The king had possibly three sons — Pulakesin (II), and Vishnuvardhana and Buddhavarṣa. (26) The princes seem to have been minors when their father died in C.597-98 A.D. and the throne passed to their uncle.

Lavish praise has been bestowed upon Maṅgalesa in his own inscriptions; and even if part of it is true, it would, indeed, reveal a remarkable personality. He is described as the full-moon in the sky which was the Chāmuṣyaka race. His personal character was exemplary, his accomplishments innumerable. He was adorned with modesty, charity, tenderness, sincerity, truthfulness, and knowledge. His intellect was ever intent upon grasping the essence and true meaning of all the various manuals on laws and precepts (sarva-śāstrārtha-tattva-nīvīṣṭa-buddhiḥ). He

(26) The Sanjan plates of Buddhavarṣa describes him as the younger brother of Śatyaśrāya i.e., Pulakesin II. (II.XIV. 144ff). Dhāraśrāya Jayasimha is now known to have been a younger son of PulakesinII and not his brother (D.R.Bhandarkar,vol,p.53f)
obtained enlightenment by excellent religious merit, and delighted in worshipping gods, brahmins and spiritual preceptors. Regal qualities also he had in abundance.

He was well-skilled in counsel; in selecting spies and envoys, in making war and peace, in encamping and making forward movements; in attacking in the rear, in marching over the neighbouring states; in the construction of fortés; and in distributing honours among the country people and townsfolk (27). Valorous in war (raṇavikrānta) and possessed of the prowess of a lion (simhavikramaḥ), the king was an object of desire to crowds of warriors and birds of prey (ḥāṭa-sakumagaṇ-ābhilashita). Not the least among his numerous virtues was his passion for adherence to justice in his own kingdom (svarāśṭreyānyāyānuvartī) (28).

We may imagine that the experience that Mangalesa earned under his illustrious brother, together with his personal qualities, must have weighed with the Chālukyan statesmen in selecting him as the successor of Kirtivarman. The choice was amply rewarded. The new king took up the thread where his predecessor had left it and finished the work begun by the latter, of establishing Chalukyan ascendancy in the Western Deccan.

(28) The above description is based upon the Badami cave inscription, Mahākūṭa inscription and Nerur plates.
We have already seen that the northern neighbours of the Chālukyas were the Katāchchuris, who seem to have been the political successors of the Vākātakas in the upper Deccan. Some time before April 602, in the fifth year of his reign, Maṅgaleśa set his heart upon the conquest of the northern region, and came into conflict with the reigning Katāchchuri king Buddhārāja. The latter not only ruled a big kingdom, but also had other material resources which make kingship a reality. The Nemūr Plates of Maṅgaleśa particularly refers to his strength in elephant forces, cavalry, infantry and treasury (gaga-turaga-padāṭi-koṣa-vala-sāmāṇpannam). (29) Victory fell to the Chālukyas, and their king claims to have taken possession of all the substance of his adversary. The seizure of the fortune of the Katāchchuris by Maṅgaleśa also finds prominent mention in the Aihole inscription. Fleet in his Dynasty of the Kanarese districts conjectured that by his successes over the Katāchchuri king, Maṅgaleśa acquired "the whole of the northern territory up to the river Kim and perhaps even to the Mahī! But after the discovery of the Sarsavni Plates of Buddhārāja he modified his statement and suggested that the Chālukya king's advance was possibly limited to the Kim or the Narmadā. (30)

(29) Elephant forces of Buddhārāja are also referred to in the Aihole epigraph.
(30) IAXXXII.214n.
After the Vadner grant of Buddharāja had come to light even this latter view of the distinguished scholar required modification. The record definitely shows the Katakchuris king in occupation of a large part of, if not the entire, Nasik district in Kalachuri Samvat 309 (607-09 A.D.) (31) It may be recalled in this connection that Buddharāja, father Sānkara-gāna, is described as the lord of the and bounded by the eastern and western sea; and we have suggested that the Katakchuris may have had under them a considerable part of the Nizam's dominions. In the Aihole inscription the horse soldiers of Maṅgalesa are represented as carrying on their own operations on the shores of the eastern and the western oceans. (32). One feels tempted to connect these activities with the king's aggression against his northern neighbour. If we are correct in our surmise, then it is not altogether impossible that the territory north of the Bhimā, and its affluent the Nīrā, (comprising the Poona and Ahmadnagar districts of the Bombay Presidency, together with the contiguous districts of the Nizam's dominions), which apparently was attacked by Govinda and Āppāyike at the very beginning of Pulakesīn II's reign, fell into the hands of

(31) E.I.XII.30ff.
(32) "who by the sheet of dust of his army of horse, encamped on the shores of the eastern and western seas, stretched an awning o'er the quarters"
the Chalukyas as a result of the war with the Katachchuris.

The victory over their powerful neighbour on the north points to the fact that the Chalukyas possessed a strong military machine, and their ruler was fully conscious of its effectiveness. The Mahakuta inscription clearly shows that Mangalesa's invasion of the Katachchuri dominions was only a part of a more wider plan. His ambition was nothing less than to raise a pillar of his victory on the bank of the Bhagirathi. This hope, however, did not materialise. It is possible that this was due to the disturbance created by the powerful Chalukya chieftain Svamikara, a hero of eighteen battles. But he paid the penalty with his life. (33)

An important event of the reign of Mangalesa to be connected with the coastal region on the west, was the reduction of Revatiyapa, identified with modern Redi, a fortified promontory about eight miles south of Vengurla, in the Ratnagiri district. (34) It is not known from whom this place was taken. Curiously enough, no record of Mangalesa so far discovered alludes to this feat of the king. On the other hand, the Aihole inscription,

(33) The incident does not find mention in the Mahakuta inscription, but is referred to in the Nerur plates. Fleet thinks that Svamikara was settled in the Konkan. (DKD. 347)
(34) DKD. p. 347.
which refers to the war with the Kaṭachchuris and the taking of Revatidvipa does not refer to the killing of Svāmikarāja. Future discovery only can show if the incident connected with Svāmikarāja and the investment of Revatidvipa were parts of a single movement.

With the victories of Maṅgalesa the first phase of Chālukyan expansion closes. The kingdom then seems roughly to comprise, within its limits, the central districts of the Bombay Presidency, the adjoining districts of the Nizam's dominions, and the Bellary and Kurnul districts of the Madras Presidency. The Kadambas, Gaṅgas, Ālukas and Mauryas were brought under subjugation; the power of the Nalas, probably the people Nalavādivishaya, was exterminated; and the enemy on the north was humbled, and compelled to yield part of his territory to the victor. The labours of two generations of kings thus secured for the Chālukyas the place of ascendancy in the western Deccan, and prepared the ground for them to play a still more ambitious role in the history of the whole peninsula.

But before this could be done, a tragic fate -though for a short time - overtook the ruling house.

The last days of Maṅgalesa seem to have been spent in an effort to secure the succession of the throne to his son. (35). In the mean time his elder nephew Pulakesin II

(35) K.T.Telang (JBBRAS, X.367) and Fleet (IKD.349) (contd)
came of age, put forth his rightful claims to be appointed as the Yuvarāja, and thereby incurred the displeasure of his powerful uncle. The prince seems either to have been banished, or to have left the country in fear. He sought the help of the neighbouring princes to recover his birthright. In the struggle that followed Mangaleśa lost his kingdom and his life. (36)

Like his predecessors, Mangaleśa also was a staunch Brahmanical Hindu (parama-brāhmaṇyaḥ). But he paid his special devotion to Viṣṇu (parama-Bhāgavatah). He erected a temple to the god during his reign of his elder brother, and after the war with the Kāṭachchuris spent the treasure, seized from the enemy, on an idol procession

(35) contd. suggested that Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indra-vaṃśa may have been the son of Mangaleśa. But this is highly improbable.

(36) The above account is based upon verses 14-15 of the Aihole inscription, and the interpretations put upon them by Kielhorn and (EI.VI.p.9 and note. See also JRAS.1907, p.1062).

The Kauṭheśa plates tell us that Mangaleśa abdicated when Pulakaiśin II came of age. But this statement is rightly rejected as it is contradicted by the contemporary evidence of the Aihole inscription.
of his patron deity. His tolerance for other religions is revealed by the fact that he also made provisions for Mahākūṭesvarā-Śiva, the patron god of his father and elder brother. He had the Nirūdas Ranavikrānta and Uḍu-Ranavikrānta.
CHAPTER IV.

THE BID FOR THE EMPIRE AND THE BEGINNING OF THE
CONFLICT WITH THE PALLAVAS.
AND THE TAMIL STATES.

Pulakesin II

The period of Pulakesin II's reign constituted a distinct chapter in the history of the Deccan in general, and of the Chalukyas in particular. It saw the successful culmination of the warlike activities that characterised the reigns of his three immediate predecessors; it also witnessed the beginning of that long drawn contest between the Chalukyas on the one hand and the Pallavas and the three Tamil states on the other, which forms the central theme in the history of his descendants. The political aspiration of a southern king to be the master of the whole of Dakshināpatha, which apparently inspired the militant sons of Pulakesin I, was finally realised in practice by his valiant grandson. In attaining this, however, he came into violent collision with the vigorous rulers of the line of Simhavarmann who held their court at Kāñchī. Towards the end of his reign the Chalukya king suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of his southern rival, and bequeathed the quarrel to his successors who were able to bring it to a successful issue. Two other important features of this reign were a brilliant victory
won by the Chālukya king over a paramount lord of north India, which drew the admiration of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang, and the transplantation of a junior branch of the family on the eastern coast of the Deccan which survived, through various vicissitudes of fortune, for more than four centuries and in a sense much longer. We now pass on to the study of this most interesting period of Chālukyan history, momentous alike in its achievements, and the consequences that resulted from it.

The deeds of Pulakesin II have been found commemorated for posterity by a grateful poet on a slab of stone attached to a Jaina temple at Aihole. This account is supplemented by information gathered from several other records of Pulakesin's own time, and of the time of his successors, references in Pallava inscriptions, and by some meagre but priceless observations made by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang and the author of his life. The way in which Raviśrīti, the composer of the Aihole epigraph describes the achievements of his patron suggests that he followed a definite scheme while writing the prāśasti, and tried to impress on the mind of the reader the gradual stages through which Pulakesin attained greater and greater dignity, and rose to higher and higher position till he reached the pinnacle of imperial
glory. We shall, therefore, follow the sequence of events as narrated by the poet. (1)

The reign opened under a deep shadow of calamity. The dynastic dispute left in its trail foreign invasion and internal confusion, created especially by the rebellion of feudatories which threatened to develop into a major catastrophe for the Chālukyan kingship. The situation was indeed such as would have tested the resources of a mature man. But the young son of Kirtivarman rose equal to the occasion, and by his swift and energetic actions saved his valuable heritage from an untimely dissolution. (2)

The most pressing danger that the new king seems to have been called upon to face, almost immediately upon his accession, was the presence of two invadārs, named Āppāyika and Govinda, on the northern frontier of his territory. Seizing the opportunity (labdhā-kālām) offered by the conditions then prevailing within the Chālukyan kingdom, they had come, with their troops of elephants to conquer the region north of the Bhai marathi.

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(1) Kielhorn also detects a sequence in the narration of events in the Aihole inscription (E.I., VI.3).

(2) The Aihole inscription makes pointed reference to the fact that after the subversion of the rule of Mahagesa, the whole world was encompassed in the darkness of enemies.
i.e., the Bhima. The identity of the two persons is not known. Mirashi thinks that the latter may have been the same as the Rāshtrakūta Govinda, grandfather of Nannarāja of Achalapura, mentioned in the Tivarkhed and Multai Plates. (3) Future discoveries alone will show if the invaders were acting as agents of the Katachchuri king Buddhāraja, who is known to have been alive till 610 A.D. and references to whose troops of elephants are found both in the Nerur Plates of Mangalesa and the Aihole inscription. The forces led by Āppāyika fought an engagement with the Chālukya army and were defeated. Govinda on the other hand seems to have deserted to the side of Pulahekṣa, and was rewarded for the services rendered by him. It appears that as a result of this victory, and the defection in the enemy’s camp, the sway of the Chālukya king was acknowledged over the northern districts of the Marāthi-speaking area, and even beyond up to the southern bank of the Narmadā. (4) These territorial gains seem to have

(3) IA.XVIII.230ff; EI.XI.276ff; ABORI.XXV.47.
(4) We are led to this conclusion for the following reasons: (i) The inscriptions of the Katachchuri Buddhāraja show that Pulakeśin II's immediate predecessors almost certainly did not conquer the north Marāthā country; (ii) Pulakeśin II was apparently in possession of the territory to the south bank of the Narmadā before his conflict with Barsha; (iii) the only known occasion on which the Chālukya king seems to have come into hostile relations with the peoples of the north Marāthā region was at the time of the invasion of Āppāyika and Govinda; (iv) if the identity of the invader

(contd)
been made at the expense of the Katachchuris. We shall see below that about the same time they were also losing grounds to their western neighbour the Maitrakes. After three generations of rule the Katachchuri dominion was thus finally liquidated.

While Pulakesin was thus engaged on the north, the Kadambas of Banavasi and their associates—the Gangas and the Ālupas—made a bid for regaining their lost freedom; they were also joined by the Mauryas of the Kōhkaṇa. The Kadamba contemporary of Pulakesin II seems to have been Bhogivarman, who claims in his inscription that he conquered a large kingdom by the power of his own arms and defeated many enemies. (5) This may have happened during the tumultuous period of the civil war between Maṅgaleśa and Pulakesin. But retribution was not long delayed. After settling the affairs in the north, Pulakesin apparently swooped down upon the Kadambas, and laid siege to Banavasi. The fort was reduced and the rebel brought to book. It is not unlikely that the family of Bhogivarman was finally uprooted by the Chālukya king about this time. (5a) The
dominion was thus finally liquidated.

(4) (contd) Govinda with Govinda of Ache lapura is correct, then it would also show that the influence of Pulakesin II extended up to the north of Berar at the very beginning of his regn.

(5) Tagare plates of Bhogivarman, MAS.1918, p.35.
(5a) Bhogivarman had a son named Vishnuvarman. But there is no evidence to show that the latter succeeded his father.
discomfiture of the Kadambas brought the Ganges and the Alupas to their senses. The Aihole inscription says that they were subdued by the mere authority of the Chalukya king (anubhavopanata). The turn of the Mauryas came next. After being overwhelmed in the Kōnkanā proper they seem to have taken a stand in the island city of Puri (identified with Elephanta off the coast of Bombay), "the Fortune of the Western Ocean" (aparajaladher-lakṣmīṇ). Pulakesin invested the place with hundreds of ships and forced the enemy to submit. Here again he seems to have followed a policy of totally exterminating the power of the hostile clan, for we hear no more of them.

The quick success of the Chalukya king over the rebels inside, and the enemies abroad, must have made a profound impression upon the Lātās, Mālavas and the Gurjaras. The Aihole inscription says that they were subdued by the splendour of Pulakesin, (pratāpopanata) and "became, as it were, teachers of how feudatories, subdued by force, (dandopanata) ought to behave. It is difficult to determine the exact import of this statement. In the Ārya-Manjuśrī-Mūlakalpa Śīlāditya of Valabhi (identified with the first king of that name, whose dated records range between 605 and 611 A.D.) is described as the ruler of the country that stretched beyond Ujjayinī up to the land
of the Lātas (Lātas) on the sea-coast:

beschādēśaparyantām Ujjayanyāmatah pare
samudra-tira-paryantām Lādänām janapade tathā
Śilāhvo nāma nripatih buddhanām sāsane rataḥ
Purūśa Valabhya samprāpto dharmarājā bhavishyati

Hiuen Tsang testifies to the fact that the Maitraka king was actually in possession of western Malwa (Mo-la-po).

His brother Kharagraha issued his grants from Ujjayini in 616 A.D. (7) The latter's son Dhruvasena II. Bālāditya made grants of land in the Mālavakabhurti in 640-41 A.D. (8)

In the life of Hiuen Tsang he is called "the king of the south" (8a) Śilāditya's own son Derabhaṭa is spoken of in some late records of the family as the lord of the land which has the Vindhya and the Sahyaṇa as its breasts. (9)

Dhruvasena II's son Dharasena IV issued his Kaira Plates from Bharukachchha in 649 A.D. (10) All these evidences point to an intimate connection between the Lātas, Mālavas and the Gurjaras, on the one hand, and the Maitrakas of Valabhi on the other, during the first half of the seventh century, after the passing away of the power of the

(6) Jayaswal, Imperial History of India,43: Garde, Important Inscriptions of the Baroda State, p.9.
(8) El.IVIII.195; X.XIF.
(8a) Beal,Life,185; Tripathi, Kanauj,112.
(9) EI.I.88; Imp. Ins. Baroda, p.11.
(10) IA.XVIII.339.
Katachchuris. The evidence of the Kaira grant of Vijayarāja has been adduced by Fleet to corroborate the statement of the Aihole inscription that Pulakesin subdued the Lātas and the Gurjaras. (11) But the genuineness of this record has been called into question. (12) At best it shows that the Chālukyas held sway over the Lāta division only. As far as our present knowledge goes, it is extremely doubtful if Pulakesin II ever had any effective control over the land occupied by the Mālavas and the Gurjaras. The statement of the Aihole inscription may imply nothing more than that these small kingdoms established friendly relations with their powerful neighbour in the south, and acknowledged the superiority of his might.

The clouds that gathered round the fortune of the Chālukya kingdom were thus dispelled by the energy and resourcefulness of Pulakesin II, and "the whole world grew light again, invaded, as it were, by the lustrous rays of his irresistible splendour". The evidence of the Hyderabad Plates shows that by 612 A.D. the king was firmly seated on his throne at Vatāpi, the capital city of his father and grandfather. The record also states that he

(11) DKD.359.
(12) BG.I.I.p.111; 1.II.188. and note 3.
assumed the title of Parames\'vara or "supreme lord"
"by defeating hostile kings who had applied themselves
(or a hostile king who had applied himself) to the
contest of a hundred battles". (13)

An important event in the career of Pulake\'sin II,
that has made his name immortal in the history of India
in general, was the signal defeat he inflicted on
Harshavardhana, the lord paramount of the north. The
latter had come to the throne in 606 A.D., about three
years earlier than his southern rival, and like him had
to face serious trouble at home and abroad, at the
commencement of his reign. But overcoming all these
difficulties he was able to bring a considerable portion
of the Uttarapatha under his sway, and seems to have
made his influence felt over a still wider area. Towards
the south prince M\'adhavagupta, of the Gupta family, whose
territory apparently lay on the confines of the Maukhari
kingdom (then under Harsha himself), and comprised
eastern Malwa and the contiguous districts, was a
subordinate ally of his. (14) The emergence of a
formidable kingdom in the Deccan, ruled by an able and
ambitious king, which had the Narmad\'a as one of its
boundaries, and stood as a dreadful menace to the Gupta

(13) IA.VI.72f. DKD.351 and n 4.
principality, could not have been a matter of indifference to the Northern emperor. Hiuen-Tsang tells us that he "gathered troops from the Five Indies, and summoned the best leaders from all countries," and with himself at their head went to subdue the southern king. (15) But even this vast preparation was not of any avail to the aggressor. His stupendous effort ended in failure and ignominy. The Life of the Chinese Master of Law records the incident as follows: "Śilāditya, boasting of his skill and invariable success of his general, filled with confidence himself, marched at the head of his troops to contend with the prince (Pulakesin II), but he was unable to prevail or subjugate him." (16) The Chālukya version of the war is thus found in the Aihole inscription: "Envious because his troops of mighty elephants were slain in war, Harsha whose lotuses, which were his feet, were covered in the rays of jewels of the chiefs that were nourished by his immeasurable power .... was caused by him (Pulakesin) melt away by fear". The generations of kings who came after Pulakesin II took special pride in recording the defeat sustained by "the lord of the whole of the

(15) Beal, II.256; Watters, II.239.
(16) Beal, Life, 146.
Uttarapatha at the hands of their great forebear. (17)
The scene of warfare between Harsha and Pulakesin was
probably laid on the bank of the Narmada. (25) Its date
is far from certain. But we should perhaps assign
it to some time in the third decade of the seventh
century A.D. (25)

Such a victory as Pulakesin won over the monarch
of north India must have produced important consequences.
Yet we hardly know anything about them. Apart from
raising his prestige as a war-lord, one can imagine that
it immensely helped the southern king to consolidate
further his position at home. After recording the defeat

(17) For an alleged incursion of Harsha in the Kuatala
country and the Far South, see Tripathi, Kanauj, p. 121.
(25) see appendix I.

In the records of the Gurjara princes Jayabhata III
and Jayabhata IV, their ancestor Dadda II is described thus:
Paramesvara-sri-Harsha-dev-Abhimbhuta-Valabhi-pati-
paritran-opajita-ahramad-adabhre-subhr-Abhra-vibhrama-
yaso-vitanah Sri Dadda.

"The illustrious Dadda... over whom, with the grace of
a white cloud, there hung ceaselessly a canopy of glory,
gained by protecting or rescuing the lord of Valabhi, who
had been overpowered by the great lord the illustrious
Harshadeva". (IA.XIII.77f; EI.XXV.292f; XXIII.149f)

Some scholars associate this event with Harsha's oper-
ation against Pulakesin II (JBORS.1923, 319f; ABORI.XIII.300ff;
Tripathi, Kanauj, 100f etc). It has been argued that the
Maitrakas and the Gurjaras entered into a league with the
Chalukya king, and the northern emperor was repulsed by their
combined forces. Smith writes that the king of Valabhi, being
defeated by Harsha, fled to the dominion of the Raja of Broa,
who relied probably upon the powerful support of the Chalukya
king. We do not think that the passage cited above admits
of any such interpretation. It seems to mean nothing more
than that Dadda protected (or rescued, or saved or defended.
(contd.)
of Harsha the Aihole epigraph states that "Almost equal to Indra, He by means of all the three powers, gathered by him according to rule, and by his noble birth and other excellent qualities, acquired the sovereignty of the three Mahārāṣṭrakas with their nine and ninety thousand villages". His success also seems to have greatly enhanced the self-confidence of Pulakesin in his own strength and wisdom, and inspired him to seek for fresh laurels on fields of battle in distant lands. Some time before 629-30 A.D. (26) he carried his arms to the east coast of the Deccan to bring the rulers of that region under his sway. The route followed lay from north to south. For the account of the campaigns we are again indebted to Ravikīrti. The earliest to taste the power of the invader were the Kosalas and the Kalingas. It is said that these people had broken the pride of other

(25) (contd) -paritruṇa) Dhruvabhaṭa when he was attacked by Harsha. Such claims on the part of feudatories are by no means rare in Indian history. Clearly the Gurjara chief was fighting on the side of his liege lord and rendered some signal service by defending or saving his person. (26) see appendix I.
kings and their householders were prominent in the pursuit of the three objects of life (tri-varga). But at the approach of the Chalukya army they were made to evince signs of fear. Apparently there was no actual invasion of their territories. Both the people may have escaped the calamity by offering their submission. The history of Kosala about this time is extremely obscure. It may have been held by a prince of the Pāṇḍuvamśa. (27) Hiuen Tsang says that "this country, more than 6000 li in circuit, was surrounded by mountains and was a succession of woods and marshes, its capital being above 40 li in circuit. The soil of the country was rich and fertile, the towns and villages were close together; the people were prosperous, tall of stature and black in colour; the king was a Kshatriya by birth, a Buddhist in religion, and of noted benevolence. "(28) The land of the Kalingas ceased to be a single political unit for a long time past. Its upper part was included within the Kôngoda dominions. This country, according to the Chinese pilgrim, was above 1000 li in circuit. "It was hilly and border-

(27) New History of Indian People, VI. 91.
(28) Watters, II. 200.
on the bay of the sea. The people were tall and
valorous and of a black complexion. They had sense
of propriety and were not very deceitful. The country
contained some tens of towns which stretched from the
slopes of the hills to the edge of the sea. As the
towns were naturally strong there was a gallant army
which kept the neighbouring countries in awe, and so
there was no powerful enemy. It contained many rare
and precious commodities; the currency was cowries
and pearls" (29) The contemporary of Pulakesin II in
this region was very probably Madhava-Sainyabhita II
of the Sailodbhava family. His Khurda Plates style
him "the lord of all the Kalingas" (30) Till 619-20
he acknowledged the suzerainty of Maharajadhiraja Sasanka,
the king of the Gaudas and the rival of Harsha in eastern
India. (31) His Puri Plates, probably dated in the
year 23, states that "he was able in his prosperous
condition to reduce the sovereign influence of his
enemies over their own statal circle (madalas) of kings,
and performed the asvamedha and other sacrifices which
had fallen into disuse on account of the negligence of
impious kings", (32) The Sailodbhava king apparently
regained his sovereign status after the death of Sasanka.

(29) IB 196f.
(30) JAEB 1904.282ff.
(31) Eli VI.143f.
(32) Eli XXIII.122ff.
It is extremely doubtful if Pulakesin came into hostile contact with the Konagoda ruler. Central Kaliṅga, probably corresponding to the Kaliṅga of Hiuen Tsang and of the Aihole epigraph, seems to have been under the eastern Gaṅga king Indravarman II, whose dated records range between the Gaṅga years 128 and 154 (c.624 and 650 A.D.). The Chinese pilgrim says that the country was 5000 li in circuit, its capital being above 20 li. The people were rude and headstrong in disposition, but they observed good faith and fairness. The kingdom was very scantily populated (33). Southern Kaliṅga, with its centre probably at Pishtāpur, seems to have constituted an independent kingdom towards the close of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century under Prithivimahārāja of the Tandivadā Plates and his two predecessors. (34)

After receiving the submission of the Kosalas and the Kaliṅgas, Pulakesin II pushed on towards Pishtāpura. Its ruler, apparently relying upon the possession of a strong fortress within the city, offered opposition. But the city was razed to the ground (pishtam), and the stronghold captured. After this victory the Chālukya king crossed the Godāvari and entered the ancient

(33) Watters, II 198.
(34) EI,XXIII,88f
Andhrāpatha. According to the Chinese pilgrim the country was 3000 li in circuit, and its capital P'ing-ch'i (or k'i)-lo (Veṅgi?) was above 20 li in circuit. The people were of a violent character (35). The kingdom, at this time, was most probably under the Vishnukundin king Indrabhattārarakavarman. At the approach of the invading army the ruler seems to have taken shelter in some fortified place on an island in "the water of Kunāla", identified by Kielhorn with the Golair Lake on the east coast of the Deccan. (36) A sanguinary battle followed in which the place was thoroughly ravaged (avamardita).

Pulakesin next proceeded to punish the king of Kāñchi. The country over which he ruled was estimated by the Chinese pilgrim to have been 6000 li in circuit.

(35) Watters. II.209.
(36) I follow here the chronology proposed by D.C.Sircar in his Successors of the Satavāhanas with slight modification. Indravarman's grandfather Mādhavarman is known to have had a very long reign extending over more than forty years, if not fifty. Indravarman himself also ruled for at least twenty-seven years. In view of this it does not seem possible that the reign or reigns of his immediate predecessor or predecessors covered about thirty years, as Sircar thinks. Hence Indravarman may have come to the throne a little earlier than c.625.

The Godavari Plates of Prithivīmūla (JBBRAS.XVI.116) states that a certain adhiraṭa Indra went to fight in company of other chiefs to overthrow a certain Indrabhattachakavarman. The first prince has been identified with the Gaṅga prince of that name, and the second with the Vishnukundin king. (Suc. of the Sat.13). The first identification is not very satisfactory, but if correct, then one feels tempted to connect the incident referred to with Pulakesin's invasion of the Vishnukundin dominions. But direct evidence in support of this view is completely lacking.
and its capital was 30 li. The people of the land were brave, thoroughly trustworthy and public spirited. (36a) The Aihole inscription says that the king of Kāñchi had opposed the rise of his power" (ākrāntātmabalonnatītim). This points to a previous conflict between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas, in which the former must have sustained some reverses. Pulakesin thus had an old score to repay. He fell upon the Pallava king "with his sixfold forces, the hereditary troops and the rest, who raised spotless chowries, hundreds of flags, umbrellas and darkness, who churned the enemy elated with sentiments of heroism and energy, he caused the splendour of the lord of the Pallavas, who had opposed the rise of his power to be obscured by the dust of his army, and to vanish behind the walls of Kañchipura". (37) The Pallavas seem to have suffered some discomfort, but the Chālukya king failed to take the royal city of Kāñchi. In the Kasakkudi Plates of Nandivarman Pallava his ancestor Mahendravarman I, an elder contemporary of Pulakesin, is credited with having annihilated his chief enemies (dvishatām viśeṣāh) at Pullalūra, modern Pallur in the Conjeeverum taluk (38). It is thought by scholars that this refers to the repulsion of the Chālukya forces by the Pallava king in the vicinity of his capital (39). It is however worth

(36a) Watters II.226  
(37) EI.VI.p.11  
(38) S.I.II.356.  
(39) Heras, Studies in Pallava History, 32.
noting in this connection that the Pallava epigraphs usually show thorough acquaintance with the names of the Chalukya kings over whom the rulers of Kanchi obtained their victories. The name of Pulakeshin II, or his title Vallabha, was certainly not unknown. 

In view of this one feels inclined to suspect that the statement as to the triumph of Mahendravarma over his chief enemies actually refers to his victories over the Chalukyas, and not the rulers of the Tamil States who were also the hereditary foes of his family. In any case the matter cannot be regarded as altogether beyond doubt. There was, however, one vulnerable spot where the authority of the Pallavas could be easily undermined, and this the Chalukya king now proceeded to do. Mahendravarma's father Simhavarma is credited with having seized the country of the Cholas, embellished by the daughter of Kaveri, and also having vanquished the Kalabhra, Malava, Pangiya and Simhala. (40). There are reasons to believe that the Pallava conquest of the Chola country was an actual reality (41), and their influence may have extended over the neighbouring states as well. Pulakeshin sought to reduce the power of his rival by carrying his onslaught into this region. Our record says that, wishing

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to conquer the Cholas, the king crossed the Kāverī, and caused great prosperity to the Cholas, Keralas, and Pāṇḍyas, he being the hot-rayed sun to the hearth - the army of the Pallavas. This statement suggests that Pulakesin released the three kingdoms from the shackles of servitude to the Pallavas, and at the same time probably extracted from them promises of allegiance to him. The Kuram Plates informs us that Narasimhavarman repeatedly defeated the Cholas, Keralas, Kalabhras and Pāṇḍyas (42). He undoubtedly tried to reestablish his authority in the Far South of India, which broke away from the rule of his family during the period of tumult created by the Chālukyas king.

The Aihole inscription concludes that in 634-35 A.D. Pulakesin II, after conquering all the quarters, and having dismissed all kings full of honours, and having done homage to gods and Brahmans, and having entered the city of Vātāpi, was ruling the whole earth girt by the surging sea.

The campaigns of Pulakesin on the eastern coast of the Deccan seem to have been only of the nature of a digvijaya. Hiuen Tsang bears interesting testimony to the martial qualities of the king and his people. The

(42) SII. I.152
pilgrim says that "the inhabitants were proud-spirited and warlike, grateful for favours and revengeful for wrongs, self-sacrificing towards suppliants in distress and sanguinary to death with any who treated them insultingly. Their martial heroes who led the van of the army in battle went into conflict intoxicated, and their war-elephants were also made drunk before engagement. Relying on the strength of his heroes and elephants the king treated neighbouring countries with contempt". (43) After his great success in the war with Harsha the Chālukya king went out to demonstrate to the whole world the might of the military machine built up by his predecessors and by himself. To those who opposed him he was relentless; to those who submitted willingly he extended his friendship and protection. The ruler of Pishtapura was uprooted; the king of the Vishnukundins suffered severe punishment; even the powerful monarch of the Pallavas did not escape unhurt. The Kosalas and the Kalingas, the Cholas, Pandyas and the Keralas, on the other hand, were treated with kindness and consideration. An important result was the annexation of southern Kalinga to the Chālukya dominions. The governorship of the province went to his

(43) Watters, II.239.
dear brother (priyānuja) Vishnuvardhana, who was transferred from the Satara region to the east. The Kopparam Plates of the twenty-first year of the king say that Prithivī-duvarāja (identified with Vishnuvardhana) "having defeated the circle of enemies by his own arm (which was) a churning stick of the wicked people of the Kali (age), which was skilled in daring (deeds) in many battles, (and) which was wielding drawn swords, has secured the kingdom to the lineage of his son". (44) It seems that the prince accompanied his older brother on the latter's military warlike activities. As a reward he was placed in charge of the newly conquered territory, and was apparently invested with very wide powers. In the light of the account related in the Aihole inscription it is also possible to conjecture that Pulakeśin was able to impose some sort of a loose authority, at least for a time, over the entire peninsula to the south of the Narmadā, excepting the Pallava dominion. This impression also receives confirmation from such statements as ambūdhritrayānivāritaśāsana, (whose rule is bounded by the three oceans), pūrvaparāmbunātha (lord of the eastern and the western ocean), dakshināpathaprithivyaśvāmī (lord of the (whole)country of the region of the south), chaturudādhimekhālopārjitarājyaśrī (who has

(44) EI.XVIII.257ff.)
acquired the sovereignty of the (whole earth) girt about by the four oceans), etc. found in the inscriptions of his own time. (45) Hiuen Tsang says that "the benevolent sway of this king reached far and wide, and the vassals served him with perfect loyalty". (46)

The ambitious and enterprising Chālukya king could hardly be expected to acquiesce for long in the existence of the rival kingdom of the Pallavas when all others have bowed down before his superior might. He was therefore determined to uproot the king of Kāñchi. Sometime after 634-35 A.D., and possibly after 641 A.D., when Hiuen Tsang saw him at the height of his power, he undertook a fresh expedition against the Pallavas, and appeared almost near the gate of their capital. But by this time the limit of his success was reached, and he fell a victim to his consuming ambition and over-confidence. We learn from two Pallava records that Narasimhavarnman, the son and successor of Mahendravarnman, inflicted severe defeats upon Pulakesin II at the battles of Pariyāla, Manimangala and Śūramāra etc., and forced him to turn his back. (47) It is possible that all these engagements were fought in course of a single campaign, which was highly contested on both sides, and in which the Pallava king was able to put to rout the whole

(45) cf: Aihole Inscription, verse 35; ABORI, XIII. 305; EI. V. 6ff.
(46) Watters, II. 239.
(47) BII. 152, I. 18. vnr. 177.
Chalukya forces by inflicting upon them defeat after defeat until their leader was compelled to take recourse to flight. Hultsch had drawn attention to a passage of the Mahāvamśa from which we learn that the Ceylonese prince Mānavarman lived at the court of Narasimha and helped him to crush Vallabha, and (Pulakesin II). (48) Apparently encouraged by this turn of fortune Narasimha conceived the bold plan of leading a counter-expedition against Vatāpi, the capital of his implacable enemy. The Tamil poem Periyapurāṇam records that the leadership of the expedition was entrusted to Paranjōti, otherwise known as Siru-Tonda. (49) Epigraphic evidence however, suggests that the Pallava king himself in all probability directed the entire operation. The effort of the Pallava king was fully crowned with success. We learn from the Kṛṣṇam Plates that Narasimha "destroyed Vatāpi, just as the pitcher-born (Agastya) (destroyed the demon) Vatāpi". (50) Another inscription says that after defeating the enemy he took from them the pillar of victory standing in the centre of their capital. (51) In commemoration of his valiant deed the king of the Pallavas assumed the proud title of Vatāpikonda "the seizer of Vatāpi". (51a) The victorious monarch

(48) S.I.I.iii.343.
(49) Gopalan, Pallavas, p.98.
(50)S.I.I.19; cf. also S.I.I.III.iii.356; 366ff.
(51) S.I.I.II.508,511. (51a) E.I.III.276.
himself, or his general, left an inscription on a rock at Vatāpi itself, to proclaim the story of the capture of the city by the great hero amongst the Pallavas (Mahāmalla) in the thirteenth (?) year of his reign, which seems to have fallen some time between 641 and 647 A.D. (52)

It is generally supposed that after the crushing defeat suffered by Pulakesin II at the hands of the Pallavas which culminated in the sack of his capital, the Chālukya rule in the Deccan suffered an eclipse for a short period. In the Karnul Plates of VikramādityaI, dated in the third year of his reign (c.657?A.D.) it is claimed that "he acquired for himself the regal fortune of his father, which had been concealed by a triad of kings" (sva-guroṣ-śriyam-avanipati-tritay-āntaritam-)

(52) BK.I.I.I.Intro.p 1; Ins.No.I. From the non-mention of Pulakesin's name in the Kaira grant of Vijayarāja, dated 643 A.D., Fleet conjectured the possibility that the king died before the record was issued. But the evidence has lost much of its force since the discovery of other records from the same region which do not mention the name of reigning sovereign even after the restoration of Chālukya rule by Vikramāditya I, whose sway undoubtedly extended over the territory of Lāta.
ātmasat-krityā) (53). This statement is also found repeated in some other records of the time of Vikramāditya I himself, and of his successors. Fleet understood by the phrase avanipātiśya the three Pallava kings Narasimhavarmān I, Mahendravarmān II and Paramesvaravarmān I, who are mentioned as having suffered defeats at the hands of Vikramāditya in some later records of the king. The distinguished scholar arrived at the conclusion that "the Chālukya sovereignty remained in abeyance during the remainder of the reign of Narasimha, under whom the Pallavas took and devastated Badami, the whole of the time of Mahendra II, and part of the reign of Paramēśvara; and that it was by overthrowing Paramēśvara I that Vikramāditya recovered the kingdom". (54) Hultzsch however took the phrase under discussion to refer to the three Tamil kingdoms of Chola, Pāṇḍya and Kerala, and this view has been supported recently by R. S. Panchamukhi. (55) It is now known for certain that the accession of Vikramāditya took place before July 655 A.D. (56) The acceptance of Fleet's interpretation entails the necessity of compressing a part of the reign of Narasimha, the whole of the reign of Mahendra II and a part of the reign of Paramēśvara I

(53) JBBRAS. XVI. 225, 235.
(54) IXD. 362.
(55) EI. IX. 101 n; EI. XXII. 26.
(56) EI. IX. 102.
more or less within the space of a decade. This does not seem very probable unless under exceptional circumstances. We learn from the Mahāvaṃśa that Narasimha helped the Ceylonese prince Mānavarman to regain his throne. This event is placed by Hultzsch in 668 A.D., and by Dubreuil in 660 A.D. (57) If either of these two scholars is right then the reign of Narasimha alone extended beyond the date of the accession of Vikramāditya I. Lastly we should also note that avanipatitraya of line 15 of the Kurnul Plates are referred to as rājyatraya in the next line, and there cannot be any doubt that the latter phrase is the same as traṁrājya found in the inscriptions of Vikramāditya's successors, and which is equated by Fleet himself with Chōha, Pāṇḍya and Kerala. (58) This seems to prove that the final blow to Pulakesin's power was given by the three Tamil states. The enemies apparently overran the lower parts of the Chālukya dominions and left the outlying provinces in the north in comparative peace. In the whirlwind of this fierce invasion the stately figure of Pulakesin II was for ever lost. In the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to determine when this calamity befall the Chālukya monarch.

Some scholars think that Pulakesin II, at the height of his power, entered into diplomatic relations with Khusru II, king of Persia, and in 625-26 sent a complimentary
embassy to the Persian court. In return he also received an embassy from Khūṣru II. This view, however, rests on evidence of an extremely dubious character, and the matter is far from certain. Yet we must not forget that in several records of the family Pulakesin's grandson Vinayāditya is credited with having made the Pārāsikas tributary to his father Vikramāditya I. (60) It is obviously a gross exaggeration. But the appearance of the Pārāsikas in the Chālukya records of this period certainly requires an explanation which we are unable to offer at present.

The external events detailed above have completely cast into the shade the internal history of the reign of Pulakesin, and our information in this respect is extremely meagre. The Aihole inscription, as we have already seen, says that the king ruled over the three Mahārāṣṭrakas, consisting of ninety-nine thousand villages. (61) The personal sway of the Chālukyas does not seem to have extended beyond this. The northern limit of this kingdom was marked by the river Narmadā. To the south it seems to have bordered on the territories of the Gahgas and the Alupas. On the west lay the Western Sea. The eastern boundary cannot be determined with any amount

(59) For an analysis of the evidences, see J. I. H. Sept. 1925, p. 29f. (60) C. V. Vaidya thinks that these comprised Vidarbha, Mahārāṣṭra and Kuntala (BMHI. I. 275). Mirashi also includes Vidarbha within the limits of the three Mahārāṣṭrakas (El. XXIV. 123). See also ABORI. XXIII. 494ff. (62) Watters, I.
of precision. It apparently included the western districts of the Nizam's dominions. The metropolis of the kingdom was of course Vātāpi. Huen P'ing-sang seems to mention a second capital which according to some scholars was located at Nasik or not very far from it. (62) About the year 615 A.D. or so, the king seems to have appointed his younger brother Vishnunardhana (alias Bītarāja) as Varāja, and placed him in charge of a province around about the Satara region which included a place called Kuramarathī or Kuramarathyā and a district called Śrī-nilayabhoga to the south of the river Bhima. (63) The epithet Vishmasiddhi applied to the prince suggests that even at this time he had made his mark as a great hero. He is further described as possessed of religious insight (dharmaśānta), grateful (kritāśānta), and one whose lotus feet were adorned by jewels in the crowns of numerous sāvantas who bowed down (at his feet). (64) We have already seen that Vishnunardhana was transferred to the east and was placed in charge of Pishťapura at a later period of Pulakesin's reign. Śrīvallabha-Senāṇa, the maternal uncle of the king, who belonged to the Sendraka family, seems to have been administering a district called the Avaratikā-vishaya. (65) Another provincial governor

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5. The province of southern Kalinga, containing around Pishťapura, was added to this area after the eastern campaign of the king.

(63) IA, XIX, 3052. 
(64) Ibid. 
(65) EI, III, 507.
whose name has come down to us was Satyaśraya-
Dhruvarāja Indravarman of the Maha-Bappura-vamsa. (66)
He may have belonged to the same family from which the
consort of Pulakesin I came and as such seems to have
been another near relation of the royal family who
was elevated to the position of a provincial governor.
His appointment, however, dates back to the time of
Kirtivaran I. At the opening of Pulakesin II's
reign we find him stationed at Revatiyāpīpa and administering
four vishayas and mandalas which apparently included
Revatiyāvipa itself, the Iridige vishaya (Savantwadi
State and part of Ratnagiri district), southern half of
the Koṅkana vishaya (major part of the Ratnagiri state)
and probably Banavāsi mandala, from which the Kadambas
were uprooted about this time. If we can rely upon the
Kaira grant of 643 A.D., then Vijayarāja of the Chālukya
family was another provincial governor who was appointed
to rule over Lāṭa by Pulakesin II. (67) Finally it may
be noted that the Kasare, plates of the Sendraka prince
named Nikumbha-Allaśakti shows that he was ruling over
the west Khandesh region. (68) He mentions two of his

(66) JEBRAS, X. 365ff; DKD. 355.
(67) IA. VII. 248ff; II. 356; B.G.I.I., p.111; DKD. 359.
(68) BISMJ, XX. p.66ff; XII. 69ff; New Indian Antiquary, vol.I,
p.747; IA XVIII. 265ff.
predecessors in his inscriptions in 653 A.D. The family probably rose to power in the northern districts of the Chālukya territory under the patronage of Pulakesin II. (69) One of the main principles of government instituted by the king appears to have been to place the provinces under the charge of men who were connected with the ruling family by ties of blood or matrimony. This policy was also followed by his immediate successor.

Like some other rulers of ancient India the Chālukya king found time, amidst his warlike activities and various preoccupations with administrative details, to derive pleasure from association with learned men. An important luminary of his court was undoubtedly Ravikirti, who has been placed by a very high authority "in the very front rank of court-poets and writers of Praśasti, who was thoroughly conversant with the rules of the Abhāmkāraśāstra, and works of India's greatest poets." (70)

The reign of Pulakesin II closed under tragic circumstances. Yet he has been acclaimed by modern writers as the greatest among the early Chālukyan kings. For more than three decades he walked like a titan on the stage of South Indian history. Such was the impression he left upon the minds of his descendants that even the remotest among them took special pride in calling him the

(69) A spurious Lakshmeshwar (contd). (70) VI.3.
ornament of the family of Satyāśraya (Satyāśrayakulatilakah), and the achievements of the king were metamorphosed by a loving posterity into the legends of Satyāśraya of Ayodhya. Epigraphic records of his time bear witness to his qualities of strength (sākti) energy (utsāha) and good counsel (mantra); his statesmanship (naya) and courtesy (vinaya); his keen intellect which was capable of discerning the meaning of various hores (śāstras), and his proficiency in destroying the circle of opposing enemies. He is eulogised for the respect he showed to gods, Brahmins, preceptors and the aged; for the honour he did to the learned, the favour he conferred upon those who served him, and the punishment he meted out to the wicked. The ascertained facts of his life and career show that these descriptions are not merely a string of hollow praises manufactured by flattering court-poets or unmerited compliments coined by self-seeking panegyrists.

(69) (contd) inscription (IA.VII.110) seems to speak of another feudatory family of the Sendraka race who were in existence in the time of Pulakesin II. cf. also DKD.292.
Much controversy has raged round the question of the date of the Harsha-Pulakesin war (1) We have already seen that according to the Hyderabad Plates the Chalukya king assumed the title of Paramesvara "by defeating hostile kings who had applied themselves (or a hostile king who had applied himself) to the contest of a hundred battles" (samara-sata-samghatta-para-nripati-parâjay-opalabdha-paramesvar-āpara-nāmadheyah), sometime before 612 A.D. The records of his sons, grandson and those who came after them repeat the statement that he acquired it "by defeating the glorious Harshavarman, the warlike lord of all the region of the north" (samara-samsakte-sakal-ottara-path-esvara-Sri-Harshavarman, parâjay-opalabdha-paramesvara-sabdâlankritasya— (or parâjay-opalabdha-paramesvara-āpara-nāma-dheya(ya...)). Taking the two pieces of evidence together, Fleet not unnaturally thought that the defeat of Harshavarman took place sometime before 612 A.D., probably about 609-10 A.D. (2) In support of Fleet's conjecture it may be argued that no southern king before Pulakesin II is known to have the title paramesvara; on the other hand it was very common in the north, and in the Harshacharita of Hānabhatta.

(1) Cf. DkD. 351; Ehl. 4th ed. 353; R.K. Mookerji, Harsha, 36; C.J. Vaidya, HMHI, vol. I, p. 13; Tripathi, Kanauj, 124f; Altekar, in Abori, XIII, 300ff; IHQ. VI, 449ff. (2) DkD. 351. The spurious Kandalgaon Plates, dated 5th year of the reign of Pulakesin (contd.)
and several Gurjara records, it is actually found applied to Harshavardhana (3). The acceptance of Fleet's date however has its difficulties. Thus one cannot be absolutely sure that the text of the Hyderabad Plates was not emended by later writers to lay special emphasis upon an achievement of Pulakesin II, which they apparently regarded as the most glorious of all, and the only one which, from their point of view deserved preservation from total oblivion. It is also pointed out in this connection that both Harsha and Pulakesin had to spend the early years of their reigns to consolidate their position in their respective territories, and to secure their heritage from the attacks of enemies near home. Under the circumstance it is extremely doubtful if Harsha had either the inclination or the opportunity to launch a distant expedition, or that Pulakesin was free or strong enough to accept such a mighty challenge from the northern king at the very opening of his career. The statement of Hiuen Tsang that before marching against Pulakesin, Harsha gathered troops from the Five Indies, and summoned the best leaders from all countries, leaves the impression that about this time

(2) (contd.), II, states that the king obtained the title Paramesvara by defeating Harsha, but its evidence is not admissible.
(3) Harshacharita (Cal.Ed.), p.112; Tawney's translation, p.40 Nausari Copper Plate grants of Jayabhata III, IA.XIII.77.
his position in the north was absolutely secure. This would point to a date subsequent to the death of Sasaanka, king of Gauda and the inveterate enemy of the pudhyabhuti family, who is known to have been alive till 619 A.D. The kopparam plates of Pulakesin dated in the 21st year of his reign, show that about 629-30 A.D. the king had already finished, or was engaged, in his campaigns on the eastern coast of the Deccan. These undertakings are mentioned in the Anhole inscription after the war with Harsha. In the present state of our knowledge, therefore, the date of the Harsha-Pulakesin war it may be assigned to the period between 619 and 629-30 A.D. Curiously enough the Chinese encyclopaedist Ma-tuan-lin records that between 618 and 627 A.D., there were great troubles in India, and "the king Siladitya made war and fought such battles as had never been before". (4) On the basis of this statement Smith referred the date of the war to c.620 A.D. (5) But in view of the fact that Sasaanka may well have lived after 619 A.D. we should perhaps push the date a few years later than that proposed by the distinguished scholar. (6)

A few words now about the probable date of the eastern campaign of Pulakesin II. We have assigned it to some time after the war with Harsha. Our authority for

(6) Altekar and Tripathi favour the date c. 630 A.D. But
this is the Aihole inscription, which we believe relates the events of Pulakesin's career in a chronological order, rather than in a haphazard manner. Verses 32-33 of the epigraph imply that the latest incidents mentioned in it (i.e. the fight with the Pallavas and the incursion into the Far South) were not far removed from the time when it was composed. If we are correct in our surmise, then a date close to the date of the Kopparam Plates (629-30 A.D.) may be accepted as supplying the clue to our quest. Objection to this view may be raised on the ground that Fleet has determined the beginning of the rule of Kubja-Vishnuvardhana as his brother's vikrama in 615 A.D. But there is no special reason to think that the prince was stationed at Pithapura in the same year. On the other hand the Satara grant clearly shows that in that year, or it may be the next, he was still continuing in his office in the region round about Satara. The period of eighteen years assigned to Vishnuvardhana in the eastern records, in this case, presumably commenced from his election as Yuvaraja and appointment to governorship of a province. The example of Dhruvrajā-Indravarman may be cited to show that Chālukya governors did some times date their records from the time of their elevation to office. Attention may also be drawn in this connection to the fact that the chronology of the eastern Chālukyas, as settled by Fleet
has been found to be faulty, and the first year of Vishnuvardhana's rule in Pishṭapura may have corresponded to either 624 or 633 A.D.*

* Sinca r - Successors of the Sātavāhanas, p. 398f.
CHAPTER V

THE SUCCESSORS OF PULAKEŚIN II

I. Vikramāditya I.

At the death of Pulakeśin II the Chālukyan kingship was faced with a crisis far more serious than that with which the great king himself had to deal on the eve of his accession. The seat of the Chālukya metropolis, as we have seen, was rudely pillaged and plundered by a ruthless enemy, and probably not long after this, the southern provinces of the kingdom passed under the occupation of a confederacy of fierce and greedy kings who apparently tyrannised over the subject population, and having no fear of the wrath of gods, enriched themselves with property dedicated to temples and brāhmīns. The outlook of the political fortune of the Chālukyas was indeed dark, and its redemption required a man of great courage, of unbounded energy, of infinite patience and of steadfast determination. Such a man was found in Vikramāditya I, a younger son of Pulakeśin II. (1) Before proceeding to give an account of his activities it is necessary to say a few words about his relations with two of his brothers.

Pulakeśin II had at least four sons; Adityavarmān,

(1) He is described in inscriptions as recovering the ancestral kingdom with the help of his intelligence and courage alone (EI,XIX.62ff).
Chandrāditya, Vikramāditya and Jayasimha. Of these Chandrāditya is known to have been the elder, and Jayasimha the younger brother of Vikramāditya. Nothing is known about the relative place of Adityavarman among the princes. Fleet conjectured that he was most probably the eldest son of Pulakesin, and we are inclined to agree with him. (2) A further point to be noted in this connection is that, excepting Jayasimha, all the other brothers are given the paramount title of Mahārājādhirāja, though in the records of Vikramāditya and of his descendants he alone is represented as recovering and succeeding to the royal fortune of his father. What then is the precise significance of the assumption of the title of Mahārājādhirāja by the other two brothers? Adityavarman is known to us from a Karmul grant, dated in the first year of his reign. (3) He is described in it as the dear or favourite son of Pulakesin II, and as "possessing the supreme rule over the whole circuit of earth, which had been overcome by the strength of his own arms and prowess". The character of his rule is indicated by his title of Mahārājādhirāja which is coupled with the epithet Paramesvara. There cannot be any doubt that he was a

(2) JBBRAS. XVI. 224; DKD. 367.
(3) JBBRAS. XVI. 223, 233; IA. XI. 66 f; DKD. 367.
sovereign ruler, owing allegiance to none. The findspot of the record suggests that he was in effective possession of a portion of the ancient Nalavādivishaya. Commenting upon the evidence furnished by the record Fleet remarked that Ādityavarman "either made the first attempt to restore the sovereignty and failed, or else that, after the restoration of Vikramāditya I., he endeavoured to wrest the succession from his younger brother". He regarded the former supposition as less probable than the latter, "because if that was the course of events, there would have been no substantial reason for omitting Ādityavarman's name in all the subsequent records of the family". (4) In a set of spurious Kūrmul Plates ascribed to the time of Vikramāditya I., "which may have been concocted not long after the period to which it refers itself", it is stated that he became the lord of the entire circle of earth by conquering all his rivals to the throne (sarvān dāyādān vijitya) (5) This, if true, may refer to a conflict between Vikramāditya and Ādityavarman. But the plates in question appear to be a very clumsy and incorrect copy of the genuine grants of the former, and their evidence cannot be safely relied upon to solve controversial points.

(4) D.K.D. 367.
The mere omission of Aditya’s name in later records does not necessarily imply that he had hostile relations with his brother. (6) As a matter of fact in the present state of our knowledge the view that Adityavarman did recover a small part of his ancestral dominions and ruled during the interval between the death of Pulakesin II and the accession of Vikramāditya I cannot be entirely precluded. The more splendid achievement of his younger brother apparently cast into shade the comparatively small success achieved by him in recovering his heritage.

The case of Chandrāditya seems to have been different. Our information about him is derived from two copper-plate charters, issued by his wife Vijayabhattārikā, for granting lands at the villages of Kochchuraka (Kochrem in Vengurlapet, Ratnagiri district) and Tarakāgāhara (probably somewhere near Nerur in the Sawantwadi State). (7) In one of them he is styled Mahārājādhirāja, but in the other, dated possibly in the fifth year of Vikramāditya, he is called Mahārāja, which, as Fleet points out, at this time indicated a subordinate rank. (8) In both the records again pointed reference is made to the recovery of the ancestral fortune of the Chālukyas by Vikramāditya and the assumption of the sovereign titles by him. We should also notice that the significant

(6) For analogous cases, cf. PHAI, 4th ed., 494n.
(7) IA. VIII. 163ff; VII. 45ff.
(8) DKD. 365.
epithet of Paramesvara is not applied to Chandrāditya in either of the two records. It may, therefore be safely concluded that he, if he was alive at the time when his wife issued hār grants, accepted his brother as his suzerain, and under him was administering the Iridigevishaya together with a part of the southern Konkana. The title Mahārājādhirāja may, however, indicate that he considered himself, at least for a time, as the legitimate successor Ādityavaran after the latter's death, but eventually renounced his claims to the throne in favour of his warlike and able younger brother.

The early achievements of Vikramāditya I are recorded in the Karnal Plates of his third reignal year (657 A.D.). It is said that he "at the head of many famous battles, assisted by none but (his) noble steed Chitrakantha and the edge of his glittering, spotless and sharp sword .... conquered would-be-conquerors"; and "having gained for himself the royalty of his father which had been concealed by the triad of kings, caused the burden of the whole kingdom to be governed by (himself) alone". For the increase of his merit and fame he also confirmed by his own mouth the property of temples and the grants to Brahmins which were destroyed by those three kings. There is ample evidence to show that Vikramāditya did indeed rule over what was possibly known as the "three
-6-

Maharashtrakas". In the third, and again the tenth, year of his reign he made land grants in the Nalavādi-

vishaya (9). An inscription recording a grant of land in the village Muttaluru, dated in the 27th year of the reign, has been found at Dimmagudi, Gooty taluk, Anapatpur district. (a) The authority of the king was acknowledged by subordinate rulers stationed at Lāta, Nāsikavishaya, Western Khandesh, Puri-Konkana 14000, Stāna, and Southern Konkan, and the Iridige vishaya. (10) The reference to the Gaṅgas and the Alupas as hereditary servants in the inscriptions of Vīnayāditya suggests that they also might have rendered homage to his predecessor. On the other hand, we should note that there is no evidence to show that Vikramāditya exercised any authority over the Kosalas, Kaliṅgas or the Vengimandala. Even the rulers of the collateral branch at Pīshapura seem to have declared their independence.

Some scholars think that in regaining his paternal throne Vikramāditya received substantial help from the Gaṅga king Durviniṭa, whose Gummareddipur Plates are assigned by Fleet to about 650 A.D., and whom Dubreuil places between 605-650 A.D. (11) Attention is drawn in

(9) JBRAS, XVI, 225, 235; IA, X, 244; JBBRAS, XVI, 227, 238f.
(10) (9a) SE, 364 of 1921. (10) see below.
(11) D. C. Sircar, Suc. of the Sat., 302. For the date of the Gummareddipur Plates, see, MAS, AR, 1920-21, pp. 27ff. For Dubreuil's date for Durvinita, see AHD, 109.
this connection to an inscription which records that "Seizing in the field of battle Kaṭuvetti (i.e., the Pallava king) who was celebrated as a Rāvana on the earth, and setting up his (own) daughter's son (identified with Vikramāditya), he became formidable in the world in the hereditary kingdom of Jayasiṃha Vallabha (identified with the founder of the early Chālukya line); what a terror was the might of arm of Durvinita". (12) The suggestion deserves attention, but its final acceptance must depend upon positive proof showing that the Kaṇunjerugyā grant of Avinīta, father of Durvinita, written by Apāpa, lord of Nāṇapura, identified with Apāpa the writer of the Penukonda grant of c. 475 A.D., is definitely spurious. (13)

Throughout the whole of his reign Vikramāditya seems to have been engaged in a formidable struggle with the Pallavas and the rulers of the three Tamil States of the Far South. The recovery of his ancestral kingdom from his southern neighbours was only the opening phase of this long-drawn contest. The Goḍval and the Savanura Plates of the king inform us that he wiped away the glory of Narasimha I caused the destruction of the power of

(12) BC.VIII, Nagar 35 of 1077 A.D.
(13) MAS. AR., 1924, pp. 15ff., 67ff.
Mahendra II, and subdued Isvara (Paramesvararavarnam I) by polity. (14) The statement that Vikramaditya wiped away the glory of Narasimha may simply imply that he completely undid the work of the Pallava king by recovering and rebuilding the capital city of the Chalukyas. The Talamanchi Plates, however, show that in the sixth year of his reign, in 660 A.D. a date which probably fell in the reign of Narasimha, Vikramaditya made land grants in the Nellore district. (15) We should also perhaps assign to this time a hero-stone inscription found at Annavaramagaharam, Darsi taluk, Nellore district which states that "in the reign of the Illustrious Maharaja Vikramaditya, who was born in the glorious Chalukya family, impediment having arisen to (the enjoyment of) the earlier holding (purvavritti) which was the gift of the Kaduvetti, Vaddamayya 'the armour of Brahmin' and set up (a sculpture of) Anuvaya." (16) The "gift of Kaduvetti" in the above record clearly implies that the Nellore district formed part of the Pallava kingdom. At the time of the setting up of the sculpture however the territory seem to have been in possession of Vikramaditya. The Talamanchi Plates also point to the

(14) EI. IX. 98ff.
(15) EI. IX. 98ff.
(16) SIE. AR. 1933-34. App B. No. 183, also part II. para. 2.
same conclusion. In the present state of our knowledge it may not be unreasonable to surmise that the Chālukya king got possession of the territory in question by defeating the Pallava monarch Narasimhavarman I. The latter's successor Mahendravarman II appears as a shadowy figure, and apparently had a very short reign. The only fact known about him is that he thoroughly enforced the sacred law of the castes and the orders. This suggests that he could not claim any significant achievement to his credit. The Nausari Plates of Śrīśāśraya Śīlāditya, dated 671 A.D., mentions that Vikrāmditya overcame the Pallavas with unrepulsed power. (17) Future discovery can alone show if we have here a reference to the Chālukya king's victory over Mahendravarman II, or his immediate predecessor or successor. However that may be, withing three years of this date Vikrāmditya started on a fresh expedition to the south. Our information regarding this new venture of the king is derived from his Godval and the Savanura Plates. It is claimed that in the course of this campaign he defeated Īśvarapotarja (Paramēśvaravarman I) and seized the city of Kāñchi, which was like the girdle of the southern region, and had unsurmountable large ramparts

(17) EI.VIII.229ff.
and an unfathomable great moat to protect it. (18) The inscriptions of Vinayāditya state that after taking Kāñchi his father forced the Pallava ruler, who had bowed down to none, to do obeisance to him. (19) The destruction of Vatāpi and the wrong done to the Chālukya family, and to Pulakesin II in particular, were thus avenged by the son of that king. Elated by his successes over the lord of Kāñchi, Vikramāditya pushed on further to the south, no doubt in order to punish the kings of the Tamil land. On the 25th April, 674 A.D., we find him encamped at Uragapura (Uraiyear near Trichinopoly), and making land-grants in the Cholikavishaya. (20) We learn from the records of his son that, by the thunderbolt of his prowess, he subdued the Pāndya, Chola and Kerala kings. (21) The Nemūr Plates of Vijayāditya add the Kalabhra to this list. (22) The account related above is also referred to in the records of the feudatory branch of Lāta. The Surat plates of Sṛyāśraya dated 692 A.D. describe Vikramāditya as the churner of the lord of Kāñchi and the seizer of the kingdoms of the three kings (Kāñchipurīśa-Pallevānvaya-pramāthī-parighihta-trairājya-rājyaḥ) (23) The Nausari Plates of Avanijanaśraya Pulakesin.(18)EI.X.100f.;BISMJ.XXI.73ff. (19)e.g.,Jejuri Plates,El.XIX. 62ff. (20)Godval and the Svanura Plates. (21)e.g.,Jejuri Plates. (22)IA.IX.126ff,Section.225f. (23)Vienna,Or.Congress,Arjyan.,p.285.
state that he conquered the three hereditary kingdoms of Chera, Chola and Pandyā (vijita-Chera-Chola-Pandyā-kramāgata-rājya-traya). (24)

There is however another side of the picture. The Pallava version is preserved in the Kuram, Velur-palaiyam and Udayendiram Plates, and the Kailasnath Temple inscription of Mahendravarman III. (25) The first mentioned record informs us that Paramēśvara I Kunaidē made Vikramāditya, whose army consisted of several lakshas, take to flight covered only with a rug". The second one says that the Pallava king crushed the conceit of (his) enemies and (was) a sun in destroying the darkness which was the army of the Chalukya king." The third record gives us the information that the battle between the Chalukya and the Pallava kings was fought on this occasion at Peruvallanūr, which has been identified with the village of the same name in the Lalgudi taluk of the Trichinopoly district, about 12 miles from the city of Trichinopoly. A poetic description of the battle is found in the Kuram Plates, which shows that fighting between the rival forces was very severe and highly contested. Heras thinks the defeat of the Chalukya army took place after the issuing of the Godval Plates, and when Vikramāditya was still at Uragapura. (26) The site of the battle, which was not far from the Chola city, to some extent supports this conclusion.

But in this case we shall have to admit that the Chālukya king's claim of success against the Tamil States is either false or highly exaggerated, for he sustained defeat at the hands of his Pallava rival even before he could complete his campaigns against the Cholas. On the other hand, the fact that the king's victories are mentioned not only in the formal charters of the family, but also appear in the records of a feudatory family, suggest that there was some truth in the Chālukya version. Under the circumstances we are inclined to think that Parameśvara obtained his victory when Vikramāditya was on his way back. This suggestion allows the former the necessary time to prepare for the onslaught on the invading army.

Parameśvarayarman I seems to have emulated the example of his grandfather by leading an expedition into the Chālukya territory soon after defeating the enemy near home. A "Conjeeverum inscription of his son Rajasimha informs us that Ugraḍaṇḍa-Parameśvara destroyed the city of Banarasika (i.e. Vikramāditya I). (27) In the inscriptions of Vinayāditya it is stated that at the command of his father he arrested the swelling power of the three kingdoms and of the lord of Kāñchi, gladdened his heart by bringing tranquility throughout the whole

This statement seems to refer to the conditions prevailing within the Chālukya kingdom after the foreign inroads, and the success of the crown prince in retrieving the situation. The Tamil states seem to have fought side by side with the Pallavas against the common enemy on this occasion. The Nerur plates of Vijayaditya add that Vinayaditya, after defeating the Tamil kings and the lord of Kāñchi, made the Keraḷas, Parasikas and Simhalas tributary to his father. But this appears to be a later addition to the original text found in the records of his father, and is obviously an exaggeration.

In carrying on the arduous task of the government, and in securing the protection of the kingdom from enemies, both internal and external, the Chālukya king received immense help from some of his closest blood relations. We have just now mentioned the part played by his son. His grandson Vijayaditya claims that when his grand-father was engaged in his southern expeditions, he rooted out all the troubles that beset the kingdom, which Fleet interpretes to mean that he established and maintained peace in the home provinces. The administration and defence of the important provinces of Lāta and Nasikya-vishaya, which commanded the routes between Western India...
and the Deccan, were entrusted to the king’s younger brother Jayasimha. The choice was amply justified. In his Nasik Plates of 666 A.D. the prince claims that he totally defeated and destroyed the whole army of a certain Vajjada in the country between the Mahi and the Narmada. (31) Mirashi identifies the latter with Vajrajta, who along with Harsha, is mentioned as having suffered defeat at the hands of the Chalukya forces in Rashtrakuta inscriptions. (32) The Nasik Plates suggest that he ruled somewhere in western India, but his name has not yet been found in any north Indian record. The coupling of the name of Vajrajta with that of Harsha in Rashtrakuta records implies that the former must have been a formidable enemy of the Chalukyas. By defeating him Jayasimha proved himself to be a worthy son of the conqueror of the lord of the whole of the Uttarapatha, and apparently for the services thus rendered, his fortune was further advanced by his royal brother. (33) We have already noticed that the king’s elder brother Chandraditya

(33) cf. the expression jyayasa bhrata samabhivyadhitathavihutir Dharasraya Sri Jayasimhavarma in the Nausari Plates of Siladitya (EI.VIII.229ff).
was possibly administering the southern Konkana, and probably the Iridigevishaya (on the western coast. If the spurious Sanjan Plates are to be believed, another provincial governor in this direction seems to have been the king's uncle Buddhavarasa, who was stationed in Avarantavishaya and made land-grants in the Ōvādaśagrāma on the sea-shore. (34) We learn from a record discovered at Anjheri (in Nasik District) that a certain Svāmichandra of the Hariśchandra family was the ruler of Puri-Konkana consisting of fourteen thousand villages during this reign. He is described as being treated by the king as his own son (svaputanirvīśaḥ). (35) He must have been a very trusty official of the king, and regarded as almost a member of the ruling family. The western Khandesh region and the adjoining territories continued to be in the hands of the Sendrakas, and Vikramāditya's contemporaries in this region were Nikumbha-Allaśakti and his son Jayaśakti. (36)

(34) El.XIV.144ff. (35) El.XXV.230. (36) It is now known that in the name Nikumbhallaśakti, Nikumbha is only a Giruda (El.XXV.167n; New Indian Antiquary, I.747). The following records of the Sendraka feudatories of Khandesh are now known: (a) Kasare (West Khandesh) Plates of Nikumbhallaśakti (45), grant of land in the Pippaśakahetagrāma (there were several villages of the same name in West Khandesh), ed. by G.H. Khare in BISMO.XX, No.4, pp.66ff. (b) Dihulia (also called Nagda) Plates of Nikumbhallaśakti, recording grant of land by the prince while encamped near the lake in the vicinity of the austerity grove at Kayavatara in the village Gusthibakholi, lying to the south of the hill Baruvana and included in the Nandipuradvārivishaya. Kayavatara has been identified by the editor of the grant G.H. Khare with Karwan, and by others with Kavi. Nandipuradvāri is Nadurvar in west Khandesh. (New Indian Antiquary, Vol.I. (cont
II Vinayañāditya and Vijayañāditya

The reign of Vikramāditya seems to have terminated some time between 678 and 681 A.D., and he was succeeded by his son Vinayañāditya. (37) The grants of this king are found to have been made in the Uttara-devishaya situated in Chemūliya (Chaul in the Kolaba district (38); in the Sātimālabhoga in the Pālayatthānāvishaya (region round about Phaltan in the Satara district) (39); in the village Torave, probably Torveh in the Bijapur District (40); in the Edevolalvishaya or bhāga in the Banavāsimanḍala; (41) in the Velāhinārubhāga on the north of the Krishñavernerā (42); in Togochchheudugrāma (modern (36)contd. p.747). (c) Bagumra Plates of Nikumbhāllāsakti (IA.XVIII.265f). recording grant of the village of Balisa (Wanesa or Wanisa south-east of Ten in the Baroda Territory) in the Treyanāhāravishaya (identified with Ten, near Bardoli).

(d) Mundakheda Plates of Jayaśakti, son of Allaśakti, issued from Jayapuradvāri identified with Jeur, 6 miles north of Nandgaon which lies at the entrance of the valley between Satmala and the Vindhya), granting the village Senana-kalasa (Sendri near Kargao, 8 miles south-west of Chalisgaon) in the Kundalikamalavishaya (Kundalgaon, 11 miles s.w. of Jeur), (see Abstract in D.R.Bhandarkar, volume, p.55n).
The above inscriptions clearly indicate that the centre of Sendraka rule was located in West Khandesh. Inscription "C" shows that the Sendrakas, also gained control of Lātā for some time during the period of confusion following the death of Pulakesin II.

(37)For a discussion see EL.XXIII.24ff. The Sorab and the Dayyamdinne grants show that the initial year of Vinayañāditya fell some time between 22nd June and 4th July of 681 A.D. The Togarchchedu and the Jejurī grants point to a date between the 18th October, 678 A.D., and the 2nd of July, 679.

(38)IA.XL.240. (39)EL.XXIX.62ff. (40)EL.XXV.289f. (41)IA.XIX.149, EC.Sb.571; IA.VII.300f. (42)IA.VI.88.
Togarchedu in the Nadiyal taluk, Kurnul district) in the Peõekul vishaya; (43), and in the village of Alikunda (somewhere in the Kurnul district?)(44). The jayaskandâhâvâras of the king are found located at Bhâdali (Budleebudruk, 5 miles from Dhalan) (45); Manchoha (or Manchulgrâma), probably Manohhar in the Poona district on the road to Nasik (46); Talayakheôgrâma on the northern bank of the Tagara river (Ter)(47); Chitrasedu in the Toramâravishaya (round about Gooty taluk in the Anantapur district) (48), Pampâtârtha (Hampi); (49) Karanâjapatragrâma in Haresapura or Harisapura (Harihar in the Chitaldroog district), (50) Raktapura, (51); Ilûmpundâle (52); and Mahâkôtîtirtha(53); The authority of Vinayâditya was undoubtedly acknowledged by his uncle Jayasimha, governor of Nasika Vishaya and the Lâta Province (54). The Puri-Koïkana Province was probably under Simhavarma, son of Svâmichandra. (55) Another feudatory of the king was the Sendraka Pôgilli, who administered the Nâgarakânda region, (56) The Gaïgas and the Alupas also continued to render their homage. (57) The contemporary Alupa ruler was Chitravâhana, son of Gunâsâgara.

There cannot be any doubt that Vinayâditya was able to retain his father's kingdom intact. His inscriptions

(48) IA.XIX.149; EC.Sb. 571.  (49) JBBRAS.XVI.231f., 242f.
(50) IA.VII.300f.  (51) IA.VII.114.
(52) IA.XI.88.
(53) JOR.1936, pt. I, 27f.  (54) The Surat grant of Yuvarâja Sryasraya Silâditya, son of Jayasimha expressly refers to Vinayâditya as the sovereign ruler. (55) EI.XXV.225f. (56) IA.XIX.142 ff.  (57) They are referred to as the hereditary servants of contd.
credit him with having brought the Pallavas, Kalabhras, Kerelas, Haihayas, Vilas, Malavas, Cholas, Pandyas and others to a similar state of servitude with the hereditary servants the Gangas and the Alupas. (58) Of these peoples the identity of the Vilas is not known. The Haihayas are possibly to be located in Central India, while the Malavas may have been the inhabitants of the famous country of that name. The rest of the group consist of the hereditary rivals of the Chalukyas. It is however not clear if the alleged successes of the king over his southern neighbours refer to a new invasion against them, or they are merely a repetition of his exploits performed during the reign of his father. With regard to the Haihayas it may be noticed that Vikramaditya II, the king's grandson, married into their family and it is not altogether impossible that their connection...

(57) contd. the king in his copper plate inscriptions.
(58) of Jejuri Plates (EI.XIX.62ff) and copper plate charters of the king.
with the Chalukyas dated from the time of Vinayāditya. The history of the Malēyas about this time is very obscure. In the records of the king's son Vijayāditya, it is claimed that his father obtained the Pālihdvaja and other insignia of supreme authority by churning the lord of the whole of the Uttarāpatha. The crown prince Vijayāditya is said to have performed great deeds of valour on this occasion. We are informed that he was always in the front rank of the battle, and in the presence of his father, who was desirous of conquering the region of the north, the prince with his sword split opened the the foreheads of the elephants of the enemies, drove them back, and acquired for Vinayāditya such tokens of royalty as the emblems of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, besides rubies, elephants etc. He then pursued the fleeing enemy, who however fell upon him and took him captive. But he managed to escape, and coming back to the south put an end to anarchy and popular commotion within the kingdom by his prowess alone. (59) It has been suggested that the king of the sakalottarapathas with whom Vinayāditya came into conflict may have been one of the later Guptas who are known to have dominated Magadha and &

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(58) cf. Tejumī Plates (EI, XIX, 62ff) and copper-plates charters of the king.
(59) IA, IX, 126f.
Madhyadesa about this time. (60) Attention may be drawn to the fact that this great achievement of Vinayāditya is not mentioned in any of his own records. Our information in this respect is entirely derived from the records of his son, and in the present state of our knowledge we should perhaps place the event at the very close of Vinayāditya's reign. Reference to the anarchy and popular commotion which Vijayāditya suppressed by his own valour alone probably suggests that his father died when he was still absent from the south, being a captive in the hands of the northern enemies. The death of Vinayāditya took place in 696 A.D.

The next king, Vijayāditya, had a long reign extending over thirty-eight years from 696 to 734 A.D. The known facts of his career during the reigns of his grandfather and father imply that he was already an adept in statecraft and a veteran soldier when he came to the throne. The largest number of early Chālukya inscriptions so far known, belong to this reign. Records on stone have been found at Badami, Pattadakal and Aihole in the Bijapur district. (61); Lakshmīśwarā in the Mirāj State (62); Benkankonda (Ranebennur (Bankapur taluk), Jakkali (Ron Taluk), Kurtakotī (Gadag taluk); Mulakali and Bannikop (Bankapur taluk) and

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(60) PHAI, 4th ed. 517.
(61) IA.X.60f; 166; VIII.285.
(62) IA.VII.112, XXX.238, EI.XIV.188f.
Ganapura (Haveri Taluk) in the Dharwar district; (63)
Chippagiri (Alur taluk) in the Bellary district; (64)
Kondupalli and Betapalli (Gooty taluk) in the Anantapur
district (65); Danavulepadi (Jammalamagudi taluk) in the
Cuddapah district; (66); and Mayitammanamuchchadi (Shik-
arpur taluk) in the Shimoga district in Mysore (67). The
king granted lands in the Navasārikāvishaya (68), at
Nirgundi (Nigade) near Devilagrama (Divale, 2 kos from
the Purandar fort) in the Samagirivishaya (69), in
Talitaḥāara vishaya (70), Iridige vishaya (71) and
Ālakuva vishaya (most probably North Kanara I, (72),
and in Lohagañjavātaka in Malligrāma Thirty (73). The
Jayaskandhāvāras of the king were located at Rāsenagara
(suggested by Fleet to be Rasin in Ahmadnagar district)
(74), Marivasati in Karahāta (Karhad in the Satara district).
(75); Elāpura (probably Yellapura in Karwar), (76);
Kuhunḍinagara (the chief town of Kuhundi or Kundi 3000,
which comprised the greater part of the Belgaum district
and the neighbouring territory (77), and Baktapura (modern
Lakshmeshwar in the Miraj State) (78). The sovereignty of

(63)BK.6 of 1934-35; BK.I, no.2; DK.I.374n; BK.16 of 1933-34; BK.198
of 1926-27, BK.I, no.3, BK.44 of 1932-33; (64)S.I.IX, no.43.
(65)S.I. A.R., B 359 of 1921; S.I.IX.I. no.47. (66) S.I.IX. I. 59;
cf. also IMP. I. nos. 155a, 489. (67) EC.VII, Sk. 278
(68)El.IXV. 21 ff. (69) BISMQ. IX. 1 ff. (70) El.IX. 14 ff.
(71) I.A. IX. 126 ff; 130 (72) IHQ. IV. 425 f, BISMQ. XVI. pp.59, 70.
(78) El.IXV. 21 ff.
the Chalukya king continued to be acknowledged in the Lāta, and the Puri-Kohkana provinces as before. The first mentioned territory in 731 A.D. was being ruled by Mangalarāja, a son of Jayasimha. (79) The latter was under Prithvirāja-Bhogaśakti, grandson of Svāmichandra. In an inscription issued by him, dated in 710 A.D., he claims that he established himself in the districts of Gopārāshastra (identified with the Nasīk region), Eastern Trīkūṭa, two Mahāgirihrāras, and Palla Ādamba (ka) up to the boundary of the Pretahrastra. (80) This shows that at the beginning of the eight century the whole or part of the Nāīkavāşāya passed out of the hands of Jayasimha or his immediate successor. Incidentally it perhaps reveals that the feudatories about this period could enlarge their heritage even by force of arms at the expense of neighbour owing allegiance to a common sovereign. Besides Mangalaraja and Prithvirāja-Bhogaśakti we should perhaps include the two immediate predecessors of the Rāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga among the feudatories of Vijayāditya. (80a)

The distribution of the inscriptions, land grants etc., suggest that the prosperity of the Chalukyas continued without serious decline during the reign under review. No

(79) JBBRAS XVI p. 5, IXD 374.
(80) El. XXV. 225ff. (80a) Dantidurga is now known to have been a feudatory of Vikramaditya II. Hist two immediate predecessors have also described as mahasamantas (El. XXV. 25ff).
political incident of the period is known, and it seems to have been on the whole peaceful. The king was a devotee of Siva and constructed the temple of Vijayaśevara Siva at Pattadakal. But the catholicity of his mind found expression in the step he took at the beginning of his reign to establish the images of the Hindu Trinity — Brahma, Vishnu and Siva — in the capital city of Badami. Even the Jainas shared in his bounty. In the thirty-fourth year of his reign he granted a village for the purpose of the Jaina temple Śāṅkhajinendra to Niravadya Udayapanditadeva, who was a house-pupil of Puṣyapāda, probably the author of Jinendravyākaraṇa. (81)

In an undated Nerur Plate the king's son Vikramāditya receives along with his father the paramount titles of Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara coupled with the usual Chālukya epithets. (82) This document, if genuine, would show that the father and the son ruled conjointly for some time. Kielhorn, however, doubts the authenticity of the record. (83)

(81) IA.VII.112.
(82) IA.IX.133.
(83) HI.VII.App.p.8n.
The independent rule of Vikramāditya, if he was actually a co-ruler with his father, began in 633-34 A.D., and lasted till 746-47 A.D. It was short but glorious from the point of view of Chālukyan history, and affords an interesting contrast to the long and seemingly uneventful reign of his predecessor. The name of the new king reminds us of the valiant son of Pulakesin II who restored the fallen fortune of his house, and the course of history during his, and his great-grandson's reign was in certain respects surprisingly similar. Once more we hear of expeditions to the south, the capture of the city of Kāñchi, the ravaging of the lands of the Tamils, and the repulse of an enemy from the north by a feudatory prince of Lāka.

Vikramāditya II's contest with his southern neighbours seem to have begun shortly after his accession to the throne. The Naravana Plates, dated in his eighth year, state that the king, "who had enjoyed great pleasure immediately after the time of his appointment at the self-choice of the goddess of universal sovereignty", resolved to uproot the Pallava king, "his natural enemy, who had robbed of splendour the former kings of the line". The record proceeds to say that he went in haste towards
the Tundakavishaya (i.e., the Pallava kingdom), and at the opening of the campaign beat and put to flight the opposing king Nandipotavarman. The camp of the enemy was plundered, and the conqueror took possession of the musical instruments of his rival called the Katumukha, Vadita and Samudragosha, the flagstaff called the Khatvanga, and many excellent and well-known elephants together with heaps of rubies. The gates of the Pallava capital now lay open to the victor, who entered it. He must have issued orders at the same time to his men not to ravage the city, or to molest its inhabitants, for it is specifically stated that he took Kanchi without destroying it. His behaviour on the occasion was apparently different from that of Narasimhapotavarman, the captor of Vatapi. At Kanchi the Chalukya king seems to have celebrated a triumph by showing great liberality to the Brahmins, the poor and the helpless, and by restoring grants of gold to the temple of Rajasimhesvara and other gods which were built by Narasimhapotavarman II. (84) The last mentioned acts of the king are also mentioned in a short inscription engraved on a pillar of the temple of Rajasimhesvara at Kanchi. (85) In a Pattadakal inscription it is claimed that Vikramaditya took Kanchi three times. (86)

(85) I.III.360. 
(86) I.A.X.164f.
The correctness of this statement cannot be otherwise verified. In any case it seems that in course of one of these campaigns he also harried the lands of the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, Keralas and Kalabhras as well. (86a)

The Vakkaleri and the Kendur Plates (87) inform us that the prince Kīrtivarman (II) sought the permission of his father (probably after his elevation to the office of Yuvarāja) (88) to lead a fresh expedition against the ruler of Kāñchī, which was granted. He then proceeded towards the army's country, broke the power of the Pallava king, who was unable to meet him in the open field, and took refuge in a fort. The victor captured a large number of elephants, gold and crores of rubies, and delivered them to his father, who thus gradually attained to the position of an universal sovereign (kramaṇa prāptasaṁvabhauma-padaḥ). Father Heras thinks that Kīrtivarman's successes against the Pallavas were attained in the course of the same campaign of his father which is described in the Naravāna Plates, and it repeated in the Vakkaleri and the Kendur Plates. But the statement of sva-gūṇa-kālāp-ānandita-hridayena-pitrā-samāropita-yauva-rājyaḥ-sva-kulavairinah- הבית קְאֶנְחִיפְאָטְה-nnigrāhāya mām-preshaya-ity...

(86a) af: the Vakkaleri (EI. V. 200ff) and Kendur (EI. IX. 200ff) plates. (87) ibid. (88) cf. the expression pitrā-samāropita-yauvarājyaḥ-sva-kulavairinah- הבית קְאֶנְחִיפְאָטְה-nnigrāhāya mām-preshaya.

(89) Studies in Pallava History, 51ff.
ādesāṁ prārthya labdhvā tadanantaram eva kṛita-prayānas-
sañ (who, through the joy which his father felt on account
of his good qualities, having obtained the rank of yuvā-
raja, prayed for an order, saying 'send me to subdue the
king of Kāñchī, the enemy of our race', and immediately
on obtaining it, marched forth...." suggests that the
prince actually received a separate commission to humble
the hereditary enemy of his family.

The reign of Vikramāditya II also witnessed
the first attempt of the followers of Islam to penetrate
into the Deccan. The centre of their power and base of
operations in India was Śind. We learn from a Muslim
historian that their leader Jumāid sent expeditions against
Marmād (Marwar ?), al-Mandal (Mandor ? near Viragrama ?)
Baharimad, al-Bailaman (Vallamanḍala ?) and al-Jurz (Gurjara)
(90). Scholars unanimously hold that an Indian version
of the operations of the Ṭrabūt general has been preserved for
posterity in the Nausari Plates of Avanijanāśraya Pulakesin
the Chālukya governor of Lāta. The record states that
the Tājikas (i.e. the Ṭarbūts) after destroying the Saindhava
(probably the region about Guhmlī in Nawanagar State,
Western Kathiawar) Kachchhella (Cutch), Saurāshtra (Southern
and eastern Kathiawar ruled by the Maitrakas), Chāvotkata
(probably in Gujarat or western Rajputana), Maurya (probably
in Southern Rajputana or Malwa) and Gurjara (Bhinmal or
Gurjara) (Bhinmal or
\[90\] Elliot, History of India as told by its own Historians, I.
\[91\] contd.
Broach) and other kings fell upon Navasārikā or Nausari to get a passage into the south for conquering all the southern kings. But the progress of the invaders was stopped by Pulakesin, who inflicted a severe defeat upon them and forced them to retire (92). Once more we find a governor of Lāta distinguishing himself by preventing an intruder from the north from overrunning the Chālukya principality. His grateful overlord conferred upon him the titles of the *(Palāsakapātha)*, *(Dakshinā-patha-sādhaka)* "Ornament of the family of Chālukya", *(Chalukya(ka) kulālaṁkāra)*, "Beloved of the Earth (Prithivīvallabha), "Repeller of the Unrepellable" (Anivarittakanivattayita), "Support of the men in the world (Avanijanāsraya). (93)

The attack on Navasārikā by the Arabs must have taken place after 731 A.D. when Pulakesin's brother Mangalarāja was still ruling, and before 739 A.D. the date of issue of the Nausari Plates. In a recently published charter of the Gurjara prince Jayabhāta III (or IV), dated 736 A.D., it is claimed that he went to the help of the lord of Valabhi when the latter was attacked by the Taṅikas (94) "the incursion of

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(90) For suggested identifications of the places, see Majumder, Ray Chaudhuri and Patta, Advanced History of India, p. 182; EKDE 375a. (91) EI, XXVI, 185f. (92) Proc. of the 7th Int. Congress, Aryan Section, p. 230f. (93) ibid. (94) EI, XXIII, 151n. It was previously thought that Jayabhāta defeated a ruler of Valabhi, but the new inscription removes all doubts as to the actual relationship between the Maitrakas and the Gurjaras.
Junaid, therefore, reached Surashtra sometime before this date. The turn of Barwas (or Broach) must have come next. The absence of any reference to the investment of his own territory in Jayabhata’s record suggests that it did not take place till after 736 A.D. We may therefore tentatively assign the date of Pulakesin’s exploit against the Arabsa sometime between 736 and 739 A.D. (95)

Stone inscriptions of Vikramaditya II, within his own dominions, have been found at Pattadakal and Aihole in the Bijapur district (96), and at Tippaluru in the Cuddapah district. (97) In the eighth year of his reign we find him granting land in the Ğhipulunavishaya (modern Chiplun) at the instance of the Rāshtrakūṭa Govindarāja, son of Śivarāja, from his Jayaskandhāvāra at Ādityavāta (Aitawade in the Satara district. (98) A spurious Lakshmeshwar inscription refers to another Jayaskandhavāra at Pulikere (Puligere). (99).

The names of only three principal feudatories of the king, have come down to us. One of them of course was Avanijanaśraya-Pulakesin of Lāta, whose exploits against the Tājikas we have already noticed. The second was the Rāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga, about whom we shall speak presently. (100) The third was Pōrmukhārāma, who was in charge of the

(95) From the absence of any Gurjara record after 736, Fleet also placed the event after that year. (DKD 375a). (96), (97), (98) (99) & (100) contd.
the Bānā territory bounded by the Pennā river. (101).

Vikramāditya married two princesses of the Haihaya family, Lokamahādevī and Trailokyamahādevī. Both the queens seem to have been intensely religious, and paid their devotions to the great god Śiva, the latter bore Kirtivamana II, who in due course succeeded his father.

(96) contd. IA.X, 164ff, 166, 167, 169; VIII. 286.
(97) contd. SIE.AR., 1938, p. 82.
(98) contd. BISMJ.X, 9ff.
(99) contd. IA.VII, 106, 111.
(100) contd. EI.XXV, 25ff. Ellora Plates of mahāśāmantādhipati Khaḍgavaloka Māntidurgarāja. No reference is made to the overlord in the inscription, but the findspot undoubtedly suggests that he was a feudatory of Vikramāditya II.
(101) SIE.AR., 1938, p. 82.
Kirtivarman II — The Collapse of the Early Chālukya Power in the Western Deccan.

The early Chalukya rule in the western Deccan seems to have reached its climax during the reign of Vikramāditya II. Yet within little more than a decade after his death no recognizable trace of the authority of his family remained. His dramatic collapse of the power of the Chālukyas of Badami must have formed the great event of historical interest during the reign of Vikramāditya, son and successor Kirtivarman II.

The new king came to the throne in 746-47 A.D. and his latest known date is 757 A.D. The distribution of his stone inscriptions, land grants and Jayaskandhāvaras shows that he was certainly in possession of the Šholapur and Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency, the south Kanara, Bellary and the Anantapur districts of the Madras Presidency, and the north-western districts of the Mysore State. Epigraphs of the reign have been found at Pattadakal, in the Bijapur district, Annigere and Didgur in the Dharwar district, Adur in South Kanara, Kurukunti in the Alur taluk, Bellary district, and Niluru in the Gooty taluk, Anantapur district (102). The king granted the village of Karabandar on the eastern bank of the Tūmīvaravē in the Korivoda-vishaya; and also land in Vanniyapolu in the neighbourhood of the village Arapumse; the villages of Arapumse and Beppatti in the Belvola-vishaya; Salliyur in the...
Pānumgal Vishaya, and also the villages of Ādūr, 8 miles from Hāngāl, and Saganur, 12 miles from Didgur, in the Dharwar district. The victorious camps of the king were located at Nelavodige on the western bank of the Bhīmarathī, Bhandāgaravittage on the bank of the Bhīma and at Raktaṇpur. (104)

The Ainultā Plates mention Nāgasākta of the Sendraka race as one of the feudatories of the Chālukya king. (105) Two others were Dōsirēja, who was governing Banavasī 12000, and prince Śinda, who was ruling at Pāndipur (same as Ādūr in South Kanara). (106)

No record has been discovered as yet to show that the authority of Kirtīwarman was acknowledged in the northern provinces of the Chālukya kingdom. And it is precisely in this quarter that the movement to overthrow the Chālukya rule in the western Deccan was started. Its leader was the Rāṣṭrakūta Dantidurga. His recently discovered Ellora Plates show that in 742 A.D. he held possessions in the Aurangabad district of the Nizam's Dominions and the contiguous district of Khandesh (107). The record describes him as a mahāsāmantāchipati who had obtained the five great sounds (adhigatapañchamahāsabda).

(102) see EI.III.4ff; XXI.204ff; VI.253ff; Add.VII; IA.XX.69; IMP.II.No.76 a; SII.XX.1.Nos.50-51.
(103) see MAS.1909, pp.12,14; EI.III.4ff; IX.200ff; EI.V.202ff; IA. IX.69; EI.VI.253;
(104) MAS.1909, pp.12,14; EI.V.202ff; EI.IX.200ff.
(107) EI.XXV.25ff.
Although no reference is made to any overlord, it can hardly be doubted that he acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chalukya king Vikramaditya II. The Dasa-Savatara temple inscription mentions five of his predecessors: Dantivarmen, Indra I, Govinda, Karka, and Indra II. Nothing substantial is known about the first three persons. They seem to have been mere local chiefs of no great influence. The last two are described in the aforesaid Ellora Plates as mahāsamantādhipas who had obtained the five great sounds. This suggests that both of them preceded Dantidurga in his office, and acknowledged the Chalukya suzerainty. The rise of this new line of feudatories seems to have followed the extinction of the Dandrika family of Khandesh some time after 680 A.D. We learn from the Samangadgh Plates that Indra II, in battle, carried away the daughter of the Chalukya king from her marriage pandal, and married her according to the Rakshasa form (107%). The princess may have belonged to the ruling family of Lata. The issue of this union was Dantidurga. It seems that till 742 A.D., he had no significant achievement to his credit. The Ellora Plates which were issued in that year vaguely refer to his victories in battles. Twelve years later when the Samangadgh Plates were issued, momento

(107%) EL.XXV.25ff. [A XI. 111 f.
changes; from being a mere feudatory he became a sovereign ruler, an equal with his erstwhile suzerain. We are told that he attained this higher rank "by suddenly conquering Vallabha with his assaulting force", and "by overcoming the endless forces of the Karnātaka, which were invincible to others, and which were skilled in effecting defeat on the lord of Kāñchip, the king of Kerala, the Chola, the Pāṇḍya, Śrī Harsha and Vajraṭa". (108) Scholars are unanimous in identifying the Vallābha king who thus suffered defeat at the hands of Dantidurga with Kṛṣṇaḍvivarmā II. This also receives confirmation from the statement of the Kauṭāya Plates that the Chāluṇga rule was overthrown during the reign of that monarch. We have seen that as a yuvarāja Kṛṣṇaḍvivarmā had led an expedition against the king of Kāñchip and humbled him. He was therefore not altogether devoid of martial prowess. Why then did the Chāluṇga army under him only guess an answer to this question. The Samangadh Plates records that Dantivarmā's tuskers "tore open and rent asunder the high banks of the Mahī, MahānADD and the Revā (NarmāDA)". The Dasāvatāra temple inscription says that he conquered the rulers of Kāñchip, Kalinga, Kosala, Śrīśaila, Mālava, Lāta, Taṅka and Sindhu. The chronology of these extensive

(108) IA, XI, 114; DKD, 378.
conquests is not known, but some of them may have been undertaken before the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler came into conflict with the Chalukya king. Dantidurga apparently created an efficient army to effect these conquests, and it was still fresh and full of vigour. On the other hand the almost ceaseless warfare of the reign of Vikramādiśa II (we must remember that he claims to have conquered Kañcī three times, and his son also led a separate expedition in that direction) must have left the Chalukya army thoroughly exhausted, and its strength greatly undermined. Hence when the rival forces met it was the Chalukya army which was worsted. Dantidurga's grant shows that as a result of this victory his possessions extended up to the Satara district in the south.

The final overthrow of Chalukya supremacy in the Deccan was effected by Dantidurga's uncle and successor Krishna I. The fact is mentioned in the Mandala, Wani-Dindori and Radhanpur Plates of Govinda III, and several other records. The Baroda Plates of Karka says that Krishna I "transformed into a deer (i.e. put to flight), the great boar, (the crest of the Chalukyas) which was seized with an itching for battle, and which, kindled with the warmth of bravery, attacked him". (109) Fleet points out that the passage implies that Kirtivarman II,
after the death of Dantidurga, made an attempt to reassert his authority, and apparently failed. The overthrow of Kirtivarman must have happened after 757 A.D. when we find the Chālukya king making a grant from his jayaskandhāvāra at Bhandāgaravittage on the bank of the Bhīma, and before 768 A.D. when we find the Raṣhtrakūta king in his jayaskandhāvāra at Manne in the territory of the Ganges. (110)

The fall of the Vatāpi Chālukyas appears to have been abrupt and unexpected. Its immediate cause was a military debacle. But there seem to have been other factors also which contributed to the same end. The provinces of the Chālukya kingdom were ruled by hereditary governors, and it is obvious that under such circumstances its integrity largely depended upon the loyalty of the local rulers, and the constant vigilance of the sovereign over their activities. The predecessors of Kirtivarman II, from Vikramāditya IX onwards, with the possible exception of Vijayāditya, were almost constantly engaged in warlike and aggressive exploits, and they directed their attention particularly to their enemies in the south. As a result their visits to the northern provinces of their kingdom were few and far between. (111) It seems, therefore,  

(110) Talegaon Plates of Krishna I. EL.XIII.275ff.  
(111) Note that only one jayaskandhāvāra, and that one of Vijayāditya, is so far known to have been located in the farthest northern provinces of the Chālukya kingdom,
-37-

that the governors of that region were left with a large amount of individual initiative, and in some cases even enjoyed special privileges which were possibly denied to others. We see for instance that the name of the sovereign ruler does not appear in any of the known copper-plate charters of the Sendrakas of Khandesh. Neither do we find it in the Ellora grant of Dantidurga. Even Jayasimha, brother of Vikramāditya I, does not mention the latter in the single grant of him that we know. Far more significant than this perhaps is the fact that these local ruling families were allowed to maintain under their own command well organised army, always in readiness to meet any intruder from the north. This concession, though useful, was undoubtedly/dangerous expedient. The whole system appears to have worked well under the charge of the Chālukyas of Lāta and the Sendrakas of Khandesh. The latter family, as we have seen, probably became extinct by the time after 680 A.D., and their place was filled by the Rāṣṭrakutas, who must have succeeded to all the privileges and the advantages enjoyed by their predecessors. The disappearance of the Chālukya family of Lāta probably took place not long after 739 A.D., for no successor of Avanijanaśraya Pulakesin is known. This seems to have afforded an opportunity to Dantidurga, himself the son of a Chālukya princess, probably of Lāta, to extend his
influence in that direction as well (112). Kirtivarman II thus had to deal with a dangerously powerful rival in the north and in the contest that followed he suffered a disastrous defeat. The laxity of control over the northern provinces, the excessive powers — both military and civil — enjoyed by the governors of that region; the disappearance of the Chālukyas of Lāṭa and the Sendrakas of Khandesh, the constant warfare in the south, which brought no gain but only led to military exhaustion — all these combined to bring about the seemingly sudden close of the early Chālukya rule in the western Deccan.

We may also note that in several records of the Gujarat branch of the Rāṣhtrakūtas it is stated that Krishna I obtained the titles of Rājādhirāja Paramēśvara by defeating a certain Rāhappa. The identity of person is not so far known. He apparently occupied a very high position and wielded sovereign authority. If he was a southern ruler (the form of his name supports such a supposition), and if we are to place his rise before the overthrow of Kirtivarman by the Rāṣhtrakūtas, and thus also must have contributed to the weakening of the early Chālukya paramountcy in the Deccan.

(112) Thus the Dasāvatara Temple inscription credits Dantidurga with the conquest of Lāṭa.
The Early Chälukya Genealogy

Jayasimha I

Raçaråga

Pulakesin I 541 A.D.

Kirtivarman I 566-97 A.D.  Mangalesha 597-608

Pulakesin II 609-642 A.D.

Kubja-Vishnuvardhana

Buddhavarasa

Adityavara II Chandraditya Vikramaditya I Jayasimha 655-678(?)

Vinayaditya 678(?) - 696

Vijayaditya 696-733/34

Vikramaditya II 733/34-46

Kirtivarman II 746-757

Prithvipati
CHAPTER VI

THE WESTERN CHÅLUKYAS UNDER THE RÅŚHTRAKUṬA RULE*

Epigraphic evidence reveals that though the paramount authority of the Chålu kyas was swept away in the west, the rule of the race survived in certain parts of the Kanarese country, and the eastern districts of the Nizam's dominions. The members of these local ruling families apparently made their peace with Dantidurga and Krishna I by accepting their suzerainty. The present chapter deals with the history of these Chålu kya feudatories of the Råśhtrakåṭas.

I. The Chålu kyas of Tardavädi.

We start with the account of a family which claimed direct descent from the house of Våtåpi, and a member of which eventually restored the sovereignty of his race after it had been in abeyance for more than two centuries. Until quite recently it was not known for certain where the ancestors of Talla II, the restorer, lived and ruled. Neither did we know anything about his own power and status before he effected the great dynastic revolution. Two inscriptions have now been brought to light which shows that Talla II was a feudatory of the Råśhtrakåṭa King Krishna III, and governed the Tardavädi looco province as amga- jávita (a follower's fief) (1)

* For the history of the Chålu kyas during the period of the Råśhtrakåṭa supremacy, see also I THQ XIII 244.
This territory seems to have comprised a large part, if not the whole of the Bijapur district (2). It may be assumed, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, that the predecessors of Taila II also held subordinate positions under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and ruled over the same locality. This proposition to some extent received support from the fact that we have quite a large number of inscriptions which refer to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa governors of the neighbouring provinces of Banavāśi 1200 B.Puligere 3000 B.P, Belvola 300 B.P, Kōgāli 500 B.P, Nāseyavādi 140, etc., (3). But not a single inscription has been discovered as yet to show that the ancestral territory of the Vatāṣṭi Chālukyas was ruled by any other persons but themselves. This brings us to the important question of the relationship between the early Chālukyas and the later Chālukyas of the Western Deccan. In the Kanthep plates of Vikramaditya V, and analogous records of the later age the descent of the Chālukyas of Kalyāni is traced from a younger son of Vījayeśtvī, the grandfather of Kṛtivarman II (4). The connection between the earlier and the later family, according to these sources, may be seen in the following table:

(1)(a) The Karjol (Bijapur taluk, Bijapur Dist) Inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kanharadeva (Krishna III) informs us that in 879 (957 A.D) the King's subordinate Tailapayya was governing the nādu (probably Tardavādi). (Bk.178 of 1933-34, Bk.1,1,1, Intro p. vii; Asl, 1934, pp.1347)

(2) Tardavādi has been identified by Flēst with Taddewadī on the bank of the Bhimā in the Indi taluk, Bijapur dist (IA, XIX, 269). On the south it extended as far as the Bāgalkot taluk in the same district (cf.Bk.264 of 1928). Flēst identified Bāge 50 in Tardavādi with Nāvina-Bāge, modern Bāg in the Kohlapur state. But this is wrong. Bāge 50 included Kakandige (Kakhandki), Arjunaṇa (Arjunaṇi), Ponnāvāda (Ponvādi) - all of them in the Bijapur taluk (Bk.119, 169 and 171 of 1934)

(3) See Bk.1,1. pp. 2 - 30.

(4) See note above.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vijayaditya</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vikramaditya II</td>
<td>unnamed styled Bhimaparakrama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirtivarman II</td>
<td>Kirtivarman III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taila I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Vikramaditya III</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhima</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ayyana I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Vikramaditya I V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taila II</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) TA XVI, 15 ff. The Daulatabad Plates of Jayasimha II (Hy. Arch. Sc No. 2): the Miraj Plates (ED.XII. 303 ff); the Yeaur Plates (ED.XII. 269 ff); The Niglund Plates (ED.XII. 142 ff); the Alur Plates (DAS.XIII. 22) etc.
Ramanna, who wrote a generation earlier, agrees with the above list of descent from Bhīmaparākrama to Tailâ II. But the connection between the former and Vijayāditya is thus described by the poet:

Vijayāditya - Chāttāra kanītā, tat-ṣūnu-mitrān appa
Vikramaśāvan enisida Kōṅkāṅi - Vikramādiśtāniṁ, tat-ṣūnu-mitrān appa Kīrtivarmānī, ṛetāna kiriya, magan Bhīmaparākramānī (5)

Vijayāditya Chāttāraka, his son's friend Kōṅkāṅi Vikramaśāvan, also called Vikramaśāvan, his son's friend (7) Kīrtivarmān, his younger son Bhīmaparākrama.

It is difficult to decide in the present state of our knowledge whether Ramanna, the writer of the Kauthem plates, has recorded the genuine tradition regarding the relationship between the last of the Badaḍ Chālukyas and the first known person among the later Chālukyas. Ramanna's description of Vikramaśāvan as the son's friend of Vijayāditya, and of Kīrtivarmān as the son's friend of Vikramaśāvan is also very puzzling. In the following pages we tentatively accept the genealogical table as found in the official documents of the later Chālukyas, namely the Kauthem plates and the analogous records.

Sadāyuddha (ed. by Ramanna Tyengar), p. 43
(5) IA. XI. pp. 43-44
Both Fleet and R.G. Bhandarkar doubted the authenticity of
the above genealogy of the Kauthem plates and maintained that the
later Chalukyas possibly belonged altogether to a separate branch of
the race. The following arguments were adduced in support of this view:

(1) The "table gives only seven generations to fill the interval
of two hundred and forty years, from Vijayaditya to Taila II. This
yields an average perceptibly in excess of the twenty-five years which
are usually accepted as representing a Hindu generation. And there can,
thus, be little doubt, either that some steps are wanting in the
pedigree here, or that Taila II belonged to some sidebranch of the
Chalukya stock, which could not in reality claim the direct lineal
descent that is allotted to it." (Fleet - DKD 427)

"Kirtivarman ascended the throne in saka 669 and was
reigning in 679, before which time he had been reduced to the
condition of a minor chief; and Tailapa regained sovereign power
in 895 saka. We have thus seven princes only between 669 and 895
i.e. for 226 years. This gives an average reign of 32 years to each,
which is far too much". (Bhandarkar, E.H. 131)

(We now know that Taila II's career certainly began in
957 A.D., and may have begun a few years earlier. The interval
between him and Vijayaditya was really 224 years or less. This
undoubtedly yields the high average of 32 years for a generation.
But we should note that it does not compare unfavourably with the
average reign period of the Chalukya kings that is known to us.)
Thus the seven generations of Kings from Pulakesin I to Tikramaditya II ruled for at least 205 years (641 - 746 A.D.) yielding an average of more than 29 years for a generation. The seven generations of kings from Taila II to Taila III ruled for at least 206 years (957 – 1163), yielding an identical average as before. The western Chalukyas thus seem to have been a long lived race, and the above genealogy as given in the Kauthem Plates should not be branded as spurious unless direct evidence to the contrary is available.

(a) "The difference of name....... the invariable use, in the records of Taila II and his successors, of the forms "Chalukya", with the long vowel a in the first syllable, except under metrical necessity; whereas this form does not once occur in the records of the Western Chalukyas of Badami, is rather suggestive evidence in favour of the latter view (that Taila II belonged to a side-branch of the Chalukya stock not lineally connected with the Badami family). (Fleet DKD 427).

(This argument has lost all its force since in certain records of the early Chalukyas we have the form of the family name with long a in the first syllable. See Chapter I pp.19 – 20).

(b) The princes of the earlier dynasty always traced their descent to Hariti and spoke of themselves as belonging to the Hanava race; while these later Chalukyas traced their pedigree to Satyasraya only, and those two names do not occur in the inscriptions except in the Miraj Gian and its copies, where an effort is made to begin at the beginning". (Shandarkar, 136).
We have suggested in a previous context that Satyāśraya, from whom the later Chālukyas traced their descent, was most probably identical with Pulakesīn II. If this is not accepted, even then there cannot be any doubt that the epithet Satyāśraya really signifies the early Chālukya kings who are known to have borne it. It is again not a fact that the names Mānava and Hārīti occur only in the formal charters, and we do not appear in the inscriptions of the later Chālukyas. (6)

(4) "The titles Jagadekasamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, etc., which the later Chālukyas assumed mark them off distinctively from princes of the earlier dynasty, who had none like them" (Bhandarkar, p.137).

This by itself cannot prove anything. For example, the eastern Chālukyas assumed new sets of titles unknown in the West, and nobody would suggest that they were not an offshoot of the Vatapi branch. It should also be noticed that these titles were added in the case of the later Chālukyas to the usual epithets borne by the early Chālukya kings with the difference that instead of Satyāśraya, the later records have Satyāśraya-kula-tilaka).

(6) cf. Elliot V, pp.269, 350 b. The claim of descent from Mānava Chālukyas or Māndavya and Hārīta also suggests that the later carried the earlier tradition of their being Mānavasagotras and Hārītiputras.
There is, therefore, no valid reason to think that the later Chālukyas were not lineally connected with the early Chālukyas of Vātāpi. The course of events affecting their fortune after the overthrow of Kirtivarman II is completely hidden from our view. Nothing is known about Bhīmaparākrama, Kirtivarman III and Talla I. The next prince, called by Rama Kundīya-Bhima, is described as the slayer of one Māldandi (7). Vikramāditya III, again, seems to have been an insignificant figure. The Kauthem plates says that "From him was born noble Ayyana, the glory of whose lineage the daughter of Krishna nourished, causing it to attain, as it were, the happiness of her own lineage". Fleet suggested that Krishna of this passage may perhaps be identical with Krishna II Rāṣṭrakūṭa (8). But Artekar has raised objection to this view (9). It should, however, be noted that the entire trend of the description of the Kauthem plates suggests that the lady in question was born of an illustrious family, and her marriage with Ayyana led to a great improvement in the status of the latter. Piercing through the thick veil of darkness, one can perhaps also discern here for the first time, the shadowy outlines of things that were to take bold shape in the future. The issue of this lucky union was Vikramāditya XI, who had the bhārata Uttungamalla (10)

(7) IA XI, 43
(8) DKD 379
(9) R.T. 129
(10) Sadāyuddha, p15
The only other thing that we know about him is that he married Bonthādevī, daughter of the Raihaya king Lakshmana. This event certainly marked another stage in the rising tide of fortunes of the Chālukyas, and was perhaps a recognition of the altered circumstances of the race by the king of Tripūrī, whose family was also intimately connected with the Raśtrakūta sovereigns of the Deccan for generations. It is indeed a great pity that we have not sufficient and more reliable data for an adequate appraisal of the acts of the two immediate predecessors of Taila II— for these must have provided the foundation of the power and influence which enabled him to revive the imperial rule of the Chālukyas. As it is, Ayyappa and Vikramāditya IV were in reality the connecting link between a set of petty feudatories and a line of powerful monarchs, and their reigns must have constituted a period of transition from unredeemed obscurity to the full glamour of light. The achievement of Vikramāditya's son by the Chedi princess will be recounted in the next Chapter.
II. Minor Chālukya Families.

Among other off-shoots of the Chālukya race, holding feudal ranks, who ruled within the borders of the Kanarese country, mention may be made of a family which claimed connection with Aśvatthāman, son of Drona. Our knowledge of this line is mainly derived from a copper plate grant issued by the last known prince Rājaditya (ll). The record furnishes the following genealogy:

In the family of Chālukya, who was born from the water of the Ganges thrown out of the hands of Drona, was:

King Avaniyamma

Uttamagalla

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nijagali</th>
<th>Chandrāditya</th>
<th>Vyāla Kanchiga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Irugamma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rājaditya = Daughter of Akālavarsha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nijagali II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kachchegarāja = Chandiyamba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rājarāja = Rājaditya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rājarāja 951 A.D.

(ll) MAS 1935 pp 117 ff.
Regarding the first member of the family nothing is known.

About Uttamagalla it is said that his feet were worshipped by eighteen ghatikā-sāmantas (12) and the ruler of the whole of Varahāṭaka (sic). He compelled the kings of Gaṅga, Anā, Vaṅga, the Pāṇḍya, Pallavas, Kerala, Cholas and Gajāḍhiśa to pay tribute. It may be that these successes were won by this chief (if there is any substratum of truth in the above statement) in the train of the Rāṣṭraṅgāta Govinda III (739-814 A.D) (13), who is known to have been a great fighter and led campaigns against Dharmaśa of Bengal and the kings of Vengi, Orissa, Kosala, Mālava, Gaṅgavādī, Kerala, Pāṇḍya, Chola and Kāñchi.

About the three sons of Uttamagalla and his grandson, Irugamma, nothing is known. The next prince, Rājāditya I, married the daughter of Akāla-varsha, apparently Krishna II (877-933).

The issue of this marriage was Nijagala II. About his successor Kachchegarāja, it is said that in a great battle with him the king of the Gaṅgas was killed. He had two sons, — obviously by two different wives — Rājarāja and Rājāditya II. The latter’s mother was Chandaśambā, the sister of Gaṅga Bhūta-rya, son of Yāsa, grandson of Nāraśimha and the great grandson of Tyūga. Rājāditya is described as a mahāsāmanta, who had attained the five great sounds.

(12) In the Bīmūr grant we have a reference to Vaijayanti with its eighteen mandalikas (EC VI p. 9).

(13) For the initial years of Govinda III, see Altekar, R.T. p. 59.
His senior queen was the daughter of the emperor (Chakravarthi-sūtā) probably Krishna III (939-968) and the second queen was the daughter of Ganga-Gāṅgeya. We learn from several inscriptions discovered within the Mysore state that Rājaditya II was at war with the Ganga king, Mārasimha (961-974) for the possession of the fort of Veeranangal (14), and that he suffered defeats at the hands of the latter (15). Chāmandarāja, the minister and general of the Ganga king Rāchamalla IV, successor of Mārasimha, claims that he got the title of Rayarāṇga by fighting bravely against Rājaditya in the fort of Uchāngi (15). There cannot be any doubt that Chāmandarāja fought under the banner of Rāchamalla's predecessor.

The copper-plate grant of Rājaditya to which we have referred above records that when Akālavarna Krishna (III) while engaged in an expedition to the south, was encamped firmly at Mulpāti after defeating the Cholas, Chetas, Pāṇḍyas and Ālus (sic!), the Chāluṣya prince gave away two villages in the kingdom of Kadambalige 1866, which he obtained for his maintenance as king. It is dated 5 873 (951 A.D.)

14. E.S.II, No.59, V.Chan.262,1911, p.37
Rajāditya does not seem to have long survived his defeat at the hands of the Ganga king, and in all possibility he was the last member of his line. An inscription from Chitaldrug district (16) shows that in 968 A.D. (S 890) Chālukya Pandiga was governing the Kadambalige 1000. The record refers to Kityavarsa - Kottigadaga as the reigning sovereign, and gives the following genealogy:

In the Chālukya lineage

- Ka

- 1

- Nandigalarāya

- 1

- Vikramaditya

- 1

- Pallimayya (or ? Bittimayya).

- Kīrtirāya

- 1

- Kālikonkaṇadēva

- (Re) vananāta

- 1

- Rājabulhūḍa

- 1

- Bikkriyāṇu

- 1

- Goggi

- 1

Pandiga, whose wife was Jakkisundari.

Nothing further is known about Pandiga, or any of his predecessors.
Another family is referred to in a copper plate grant found in the Gubbi taluk in the Tumkur district of the Mysore state (17). We get the following genealogy:

Balavarmān

Yasovarman

Vimalāditya, governor of Kunuwigildesa.

The inscription records that on the application of Chakrāja, Vallabhendra, i.e. the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king gave away a village named Jalamangalaun in the Idigur-vishaya (in the Gubbi taluk) to the acharya Arkakīrti for removing the painful influence of the Saturn on Vimalāditya. It is dated S 735 (813 A.D.)

A fragmentary inscription from the Bellary district mentions the Chālukya Balavarmān and his son Dasavarmān. It is dated S 842 (920 A.D.) and refers to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Nityavarsha (Indēka III) (18). These two personages also may have belonged to the above family, as their names suggest.

(17) E.C. XLI. Gōd 61; DKD 389

(18) IMP. I. p267. No. 94
Inscriptions found at Varuna in Mysore refer to two Chälukya princes who had the original boar crest. One of them, Narasimha, is described as a mahāsāmanta entitled to the five great sounds (19). His wife was Gāvilabharasi. The other was mahāsāmanta Goggi - or Gugga (20). Both of them seem to have belonged to the same family and their seal indicates that they may have been connected with the house of Vatāpi.

Finally we may note that in S 868 (944 A.D.) when Rāṣhtrakūta Kannaradeva (Krishna III) was ruling, Kātyāra of the Chälukya family was governing the Kōgali 500 and the Māsavādi 40 (21). Another Chälukya feudatory of the Rāṣhtrakūtas seems to have been prince Parahitaraṇa of the Kannadi inscription found in the Balgaum district (22).

(19) NAS 1908, p.8 DKD, 380
(20) E.C. III. Ky. 36-37, 41-45; DKD 380
(21) Sewell - Lists, p.46,
(22) IA XX-69, DKD 380.
III. The Chālukyas of Lembulaśata.

Our information about this line is derived from the Kolapara Plates of Arikesarīn I (1), the Vemulavāḍa inscription of Arikesarīn II, (2), the Parabhāni Plates of Arikesarīn III (3) and the Pampa-Bhārata. The dynasty claims descent from the Suna. It was at one time thought that princes of this family held sway over what was alleged to be known as the Jola country, or "the land of the great millet", which Fleet located about the modern Dharwar district of the Bombay Presidency (4). But Rice pointed out long ago that this view rested on an erroneous interpretation of the phrase jola dāpali, occurring in verse 50, Chapter 14 of Pampa's work (5). The land grants referred to in the above mentioned plates and inscriptions now definitely prove that the rule of this branch of the Chālukyas extended

(1) JAHS VI, 178ff, 189ff. N. Venkataramanayya regards this epigraph as spurious, but assigns no reason for his view (Dr. C. Kunhan Rājan, Presentation Volume (1946), p.115n.
(2) JAHS VI, 169ff.
(3) BTSM. XLI. No.3, p33f, for plates see No.4, facing p.111
(3a) Ibid
(4) DKD, 280-81
(5) Pampa Bharata, edited by Rice, Introduction p.2n. See also the remark of Narasimhachar in IA.XL p41n2.
over some of the eastern districts of the Nizam's Dominions, including Karimnagar and Malgonda (6). The capital city was evidently located at Lembulapātaka, modern Vemulavada, or Vemalwada, about ten miles to the west of Karimnagar (7).

(6) The Kollepara grant records the gift of the village Belmoga, which lay to the north of the mahāgrāma Urige and was bounded by Tuvatāra, Parivātura, Pulchēravuḍu, and Pōtvatūḍu on all sides, to the Saiva ascetic Mūgda-Sivāchārya alias Mūgda-Sasīśekhara. The villages mentioned in the grant have been located on the southern borders of the Nizam's Dominions in the Malgonda district (JAHRS VI 182). The Vemulavada inscription records the grant of some land in the Lembulavada-Pattana itself. The Parabhami plates record the grant of the village Vanikatupulu in Repāka 12 belonging to the Sabbidesa 1000. Among the boundary-villages are mentioned Dariyūrā, Īlandikunta, Vellālapattu, and Kāṭṭakārā. Of these Dariyūrā cannot be identified. Repāka and Kāṭṭakārā are the same as Reapac and Kattoor villages of the Karimnagar district. Others are also found in the vicinity (BISMA XI.111 pp 35-36). Sabbidesa 1000 is evidently the same as Sabbi-sayira which was ruled by the Kākatiya chief Bēta II as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI (B9.IX.266).

(7) Line 37 of the Parabhami Plates distinctly mentions (Le)mulapātaka as the capital of Arikēsarīn III. B.V. Krishna Rao thinks that it was the capital of Cumara (not Gunakara), the Sandhivigrāhīn of Arikēsarīn II, then the latter was still ruling. But the view is absolutely unwarranted.
The following genealogical lists are supplied by the records of the dynasty:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kollepara Grant</th>
<th>Vemulawada Inst.</th>
<th>Pampa (8) &amp; Farabhami Grant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Satyāśraya alias</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ranuvikrama</td>
<td>Prithvipati</td>
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<td>Mahārāja</td>
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<td>Rājadītya</td>
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<td>Vinayādītya</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arikesarīn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Narasiśna alias</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yuddhamalla</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(8) For a correct version of Pampa's genealogy, see Rice's edition, Introduction, and JAHRS VII, 159 ff.
(9) These two names are found in the Farabhami plates. Reference to Baidyaga-Baddega, son of Arikesarīn II is also found in Somesvara's Yasastilaka (Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, pp251).
It will be seen from the subjoined dynastic lists that the Vemulavada inscription, Pampa-Bhārata and Parbhani grants refer to one and a single line of kings, though in the first mentioned document there are obvious gaps. The last two names of the Kollapurā grant, again, agree with the first two names of the Vemulavada inscription (Yuddhamalla of the latter record being also known as Vinayāditya). The pedigree of the family under discussion may therefore be taken to have commenced with Satyāsraya alias Raṇavikrama (10). Counting backward from the known dates of some of the princes of the line, B.V.Krishna Rao is inclined to identify him with Satyāsraya-Pulakesin II of Vatapi (11). The nature of the evidence can not warrant any final conclusion about the matter. But one may point out that in this connection in certain records Pulakesin II is actually given the epithet Raṇavikrama (12). The proposed identification, if correct, would then point to the existence of a fifth son of the great Chālukya king, named Prithvīpati (13).

(10) For a detailed discussion of the subject see JAHRS VI.180ff.
(11) Ibid. 180.
(12) In line 15 of the Lohanera Plates of Pulakesin II he is described as sva-bhujā-bala-śabdha-raṇavikrama-śekhara. (G.H.Khare, Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan, Vol.I, p.4ff). The spurious Hosur Plates also give Raṇavikrama as the second name of Pulakeśin. See IA.VIII.96; E.G.XI.Gb.40.
(13) B.V.Krishna Rao identifies Prithvīpati with Ādityavarman of the Kurmul Plates. But the grounds stated are not convincing.
The first member of the family in respect of whom we have
definite information is Yuddhamalla-Vineyāditya. According to
the Kollepārā grant he had the birudas Śrīrāma, Rāmaśikraṇa
and Nripānkasa. We are also told that his feet were worshipped
by the Turushkas, Barbaras, Yavanas, and the Lords of Kāśmīra,
Kambhoja (sic), Magadha, Mālava, Kāliṅga, Gāṅga, Pālava,
Pāṇḍya and Kerala. This description is undoubtedly conventional,
and may be rejected as a figment of poetic imagination.

We learn from the Pāmpa-Bhārata, Vemulavāḍa inscription
and Parabhani plates that he ruled over the Sapādalaksha country,
and bathed his elephants at Bōdana or Podana (15). The last mentioned
place-name reminds us of the ancient city of Pandanya, also known
as Potana or Potali, the capital of the kingdom of Asmaka on the
Godāvari (15a). The statement that Yuddhamalla bathed his
elephants at this place may either imply that it was situated
within his own territory, or that he obtained some military
success within it, or in its vicinity. The Vemulavāḍa inscription
further states that he took the impregnable fortress of
Chitrakūṭa (16). There are two famous localities of this name,
one in Rajputana and the other in Central India. The former
is justly famous as a defensive stronghold, and the latter as
a sacred place of pilgrimage. In the absence of corroborative
evidence it is difficult to say if we should associate Yuddhamalla's
success with either of these two places.

(16) Lines 16 - 18
In the Parabhanji Plates it is claimed that he protected Vẹṇ̄ḡi together with the three Kalingas with his might (17). This may refer to some help rendered by him to the eastern Chālukya king Vishnukambha IV, when he was attacked by the Bāhrîkata Xuvarāja Govinda (11) some time in or before 769-70 A.D. (18).

Of the next prince Arikēsarīn I the Kollēpārā grant says that he had the epithets Saṃsattokasraya, Tribhuvana-malla, Rājatrinetra and Sāhasarama. He is also said to have been well-versed in grammar, well-acquainted with Dharma (dharmavid), an expert in the art of managing elephants, an adept in law, a skilful archer, and a master of the science of medicine (18a). The Vemulavaḍā epigraph says that he forcibly conquered the whole of the Veṅgīdesā (balaṅ gṛīhitākhyā-Veṅgīdesa) (18b). Pampa informs us that Arikēsarīn, in company with ministers, in the reign (literally in the kingdom) of Nirupamadeva, subdued the province of Veṅgī (Veṅgīvishaya[māṇī]...ōki kondu) and proudly caused (his) name to be written on all the walls of the quarters (19).

(17) Verse 4
(18) EL.VI.213; Altekar, R.I.45; Ganguly, Eastern Chālukyas, p.41.
(18a) JALRS VI.189 f. (18b) ib. p.185. Line 20.
(19) Nirupamadevana rājyado –
   1-Arikēsarīn Veṅgīvishaya(māṇī) maṃtrīgalim berasotti kondu
garv̄ade bāreyiśidān pesarān adhālā dīghīttigalol
   (Pampa-Bhārata, ed. VenkatanaRāyanapāpa).

Fillet and Rice, depending upon a corrupt reading of the verse, thought that Arikēsarīn, with the ministers of the "Bāngērīshaya" (?Veṅgīvishaya) penetrated into the kingdom of Nirupamadeva (DKD.309; Rice, Pampa-Bhārata, Introduction, p.2). But this view has to be given up now. The reading in VenkatanaRāyanapāpa's edition is also confirmed by the evidence of the Lembalavāḍā inscription. I should like to express my indebtedness in this connection to Dr. Barnett for helping me to decipher correctly the meaning of the verse under discussion.
Mirupamadeva has been identified by Flâet with the Rashtrakuta king Kalivallabha-Mirupama-Dharavärsha-Dhruva. The evidence of the Kannarese poet suggests that the prince reversed the policy of his predecessor of maintaining friendly relationship with the eastern Chalukyas, and admitted the overlordship of the Rashtrakutas.

Arikesari's successor Narasimha seems to have been also known as Rājaditya (19a). He had a brother named Bhadradeva (20). Narasimha's eldest son was Yuddhamalla or Dugdhamalla (21). His son was Baddega, also known as Bhadradeva (22). Pampa devotes several verses to describing his heroism and liberality. Among his specific achievements it is mentioned that he exhibited his valour in fighting forty-two great battles, and after establishing his claim to the title solada gaddi ("the undefeated hero") he, "as if seizing a crocodile; entered into the water and proudly seized Bhima" (23).

(19a) Vemulavada Ins.Liñe
(20) Pampa, I, 22; Parabhání Plates, Verse 5
(21) Pampa, I, 23;
(22) Pampa, I, 29.
(23) Pampa-Bharata, I, 23-29
The last part of the statement is also confirmed by verse 7 of the Parabhani Plates (24). Fleet's suggestion that Bhima may have been the eastern Chalukya Bhima I (888-918 A.D.) is now generally accepted. There are evidences to show that his kingdom was overrun by the Rashtrakuta Krishna II (877-913 A.D.) (25). Baddega must have distinguished himself in the services of his overlord about this time. The eastern Chalukya king seems to have taken shelter in some place surrounded by waters, and from there he was captured by Baddega. P.V. Krishna Rao draws attention to a passage in the Pabhubarmagiam of the eastern Chalukya king Saktivarman I which mentions a certain feudatory chief called Baddiga as an enemy of Gunaga Vijayaditya III (844-88) and from Vijayaditya is said to have humbled and defeated (26). It is quite possible that Baddiga and Baddega refer to one and the same person.

Nothing is known about Baddega's son and successor Yuddhamalla or Dugdhamalla. The latter's son and successor was Narasimha, also called Kali-Narasimha and Naraga (27). He had the titles Bhadranikuśa and Sakala-lokaśtraya (27a).

(24) Bhima Bhima-parākram-aika-nilayan ta(gie) helayaiv-ugrahid ugran graham-iv-vantar amid-samare dory-vikremād Baddigaḥ
(25) JIKH, II.12, Ganguly, Eastern Chalukyas, p.67f.
(26) JAINH, VI.161
(27) Pampa, I.33, 35, 37.
(27a) JAINH, VII.161.
Pampa praises his greatness as a ruler and his wisdom, intelligence and bravery. The Lālas (i.e. the Lātas) we are told, were frightened merely on hearing that he has resolved to make an attack on them. He harried and burnt the Country of the Seven Malavas (śūla Mālāvamasam) (28). He eclipsed the fame of Arjuna by capturing elephants at the beginning of the battle, and putting to flight the army of the Gujīra king. Like a thunderbolt the host led by him fell upon Mahipāla, who fled in consternation, not stopping to eat or sleep or rest. Finally he bathed his horse at the junction of the Ganges and the sea (Gangavardddhijol) and became very famous (29). The Vemulavada inscription reports that the prince defeated on fields of battle seven invincible chiefs, and made them tributaries; and further he, the unique hero, alone having subdued the advancing host


(29) Pampa Bharata, I. 3 1-38; Rice's edition Introduction p.3.

Several scholars have apparently taken verse 36 to mean that Narasimha "plucked from Gurjararāja's arms the goddess of Victory, whom, though desirous of keeping, he held too loosely". But the original text runs as follows:

Vijayārambhā-purassara-
Vijaya-gajangalane pidiṇu Ghurjjararāja
dhavajindiyān iiritōdigi bhujā-
Vijayade Vijayanum illisidām Narasimham.
of the Gurjara king, wrote (the story of) his heroism on the slab (attached to) the pillar of a confederacy of kings at Kalapriya (30). There can be hardly any doubt that Pandya and the author of the Vemulavada inscription refer to the same set of events, namely, the defeat of the Suvān Mālavas (probably nothing but an exaggerated allusion to a victory won in the famous Mālava country) and the discomfiture of the Gurjara king Mahīpāla I. It is not altogether impossible that the two incidents were closely connected. Scholars have rightly drawn attention to the fact that Narasimha's successes over the Gurjara monarch were attained when he accompanied his overlord, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra III in his northern campaigns.

(30) Lines 28–33

Yas-sapta-dussādhyatara nṛpānāṁ
nirjītya sadyas-semaraṁganasu
vīnyāṣya ke hastam ato nātānā
n-tām Mālavanyah (Mālavan yah) Karadī-chakārā
pratyudgatāṁ Gurjiyarāja-senāṁ
nirjītya rājā svayamkā-varaḥ(virah)
Kalapriye rāja-kada[m]bakasya
stā[ṇ] bha (ṛ stambhe) sva-sāuryya[m] vililekha śāile(le)

I am indebted to Dr. Barnett for the above reading of the text which differs in certain respects from the one published by B.K. Krishna Rao.
As a matter of fact the statements of Pampa and the Vemulavada inscription received striking confirmation from the Cambay Plates of Govinda IV, which say that the court yard of Kālapriya was rendered uneven by the strokes of the tusks of Indra III's elephants, and that he completely devastated the hostile city of Mahadeyasari, i.e., Kanauj, the metropolis of the Gurjara-Pratihāras(31). The evidence of the Vemulavada inscription clearly suggests that an important engagement in this expedition was fought at Kālapriya or Kālpi, situated on the bank of the Yamunā, in the Jalaun district of the United Provinces(32). The Gurjara king apparently opposed the passage of the invader across the river at the head of a confederacy of chiefs. But Narasimha seems to have inflicted upon them a severe defeat, and made it possible for his sovereign to enter the Pañjal and sack Kanauj. Pampa's statement that he bathed his horse at the junction of the Ganges and the sea appears to be an exaggeration, for there is no evidence to show that the Rāṣṭrakūta king came into conflict with the Pālas of Bengal.

Fleet and Rice thought that Narasimha was a disciple of a preceptor named Śrī Subhadra, and according to the former scholar, he gave a province to Brapa(33). But D. L. Narasimhachar points out that there is no basis for such views (34).

(32) Kālapriya has been taken by scholars to mean Vijayini. But Altekar points out that it may stand for Vijaya(R.T.102n). This view seems to us to be more probable as much as Kālpi is actually referred to as Kālapriyapattana in an inscription (MandaKovš list, No. 859).
(33) DKD,380; Rice, Pampa-Bhūrata, Introduction,p,3.
(34) JAHRS. VII. 161 f.
Narasimha was succeeded by his son, by the queen Jakabbe, Arikesarin II. He had the birudas Guṇārṇava and Tribhuvanamalla. He is called a mahāśāṃkāṇḍakipati who had attained the five great sounds. This may indicate that there was a change in his official status. We learn from the Veṇūṇalavāda inscription that he married Ṛavakanirmadi, the daughter of King Indra, probably Indra III. The Parabhani plates disclose the name of another queen named Lokāmbikā, who also belonged to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. But in spite of his close relationship with the sovereign ruling family Arikesarin II came into hostility with the Emperor Govinda IV. The Veṇūṇalavāda inscription states that he protected Bijja against the wrath of Govinda, and this led to an armistice between the overlord and the feudatory. More detailed information in this respect has been vouchsafed for us by the poet Pampa (34). We learn from him that Vijayaditya (Bijja) was a Chālukya prince. Fleet suggested that he should be identified with the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayaditya IV. But objections have been taken to this identification on the ground of chronological difficulties (35). D.C. Ganguly thinks that he was Vijayaditya V. (35).

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(34) Pampa-Bhairata, IX, prose section following verse 52. See also J.S., XIII, 328f. for notes by Dr. Barnett.

(35) Jahrs, VI, 175f.

(36) Eastern Chalukyas, p. 77.
It seems that about this time a struggle for the succession to the Eastern Chalukya throne was going on and Govinda and Arikesarīn apparently took different sides. Govinda sent some great feudatories to bring the recalcitrant vassal to book, but Arikesarīn drove them off. It is said that he finally killed his sovereign, and "fittingly conveyed the Universal Empire to Baddoga-deva (i.e. Amoghavarsha III) who came trusting him". There are independent evidences to prove that Govinda IV had alienated the sympathy and support of his feudatories, of whom Arikesarīn must have been an important one, and this ultimately brought about his destruction (7). The Vemūlāvada inscription also states that it was Arikesarīn II who killed Govindarāja (38).

The Chalukya prince is justly remembered as the friend of the poet Pampa, who wrote his Vikramārjuna-vijaya, popularly known as Pampa-Bharata, to celebrate the heroic qualities of his patron. As a mark of appreciation of the work Arikesarīn granted to the poet the agrahara village Dharmavaram in Bachehe 1000.

(37) & R.T. p.107
(38) JAHRS, vl, p.187, Lines 47-48
Arikeśarīn's son and successor Bhadradeva or Badyeya(?Baddega) seems to have inherited his father's love of learning. The Jaina writer Somadeva states in the colophon of his Yasāstilaka-champu that the book was written at Gangādhāra when Badyaga was reigning(39). It has been suggested that this prince ruled over a part of the Mysore state. But this view must be given up as much as we now know that Lembulapātaka in Kamānagar district of the Nizam's Dominions was the capital of this branch of the Chālukyas.

Bhadradeva's son and successor was Arikeśarīn III. He is the last known prince of the family. He issued the Boraha Purāṇa grant to record a gift to a Jaina named Somadeva who was probably the same as the writer of Yasāstilaka-Champu.

(39) JAHRS, VII. 163.
CHAPTER VII.

THE REVIVAL OF THE CHĀLUKYAN ASCENDANCY.

Decline and Fall of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

Krishna III was the last great king of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. There is evidence to show that his authority was acknowledged in Malwa and Baghelkhand in the north and the Tanjore District of the Madras Presidency in the South. Krishna died in 967 A.D. (1) and within six years of his death the Rāṣṭrakūṭa hegemony in the Deccan became a thing of the past. One can hardly fail to notice that in the case of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, as it was in that of their predecessors, – the Chālukyas of Vaiśāpi – the end was quite sudden and hardly expected. A close study of their history during the last forty-five or forty-six years (927 (2) – 973 A.D.), however, reveals certain interesting facts. The period is covered by the reigns of six kings – Amoghavarsha II, Govinda IV, Amoghavarsha III, Krishna III, Khotiṭha and Karka II. The first mentioned king ruled for a year and was then deposed by his younger brother Govinda IV. But even he proved unworthy of holding such an exalted position. Unmindful of his regal duties, and addicted to the pleasures of the senses, and also probably tyrannical, he forfeited the goodwill of his subjects, and lost his life

(1) EI. XXI. 261.
This is the last known date of Indra III.

(2) EI. XXVI. 161f.
at the hands of the Chalukya prince Arikesarini II, after a reign of about four years (936-38) (3). His successor Amoghavarsha III is praised only for his religious disposition, and it is said that he ascended the throne after being entreated by the feudatories to maintain the greatness of the sovereignty of the Bhattas (4). Pampa, however, claims that his patron (Arikesarini II) "fittingly conveyed the universal empire to Baddega-deva (Amoghavarsha III) who came trusting to him" (5).

It is well known that during the reign of the fifth king in the above list, namely Khottiga, the Paramâra chief Harsha-Siyaka, who is known to have acknowledged the suzerainty of Krishna III (6) fell upon the Rashtrakûta capital and sacked it. The final crash came in the reign of Karaka II, when another feudatory of Krishna III put an end to his line.

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(3) EI.XXVI.163. (4) Deoli Plates (verses 18-19) and Karhad Plates (verse 20) of Krishna III, EI.V.1931, IV 263 f.

(5) EI.XIII.328-29.

The chain of events noted above clearly suggests that the royal race of the Rāshtrakūṭas ceased to produce any more men of outstanding character and ability. The hands of the feudatories could now be seen almost everywhere. They seem to have grown more powerful, more ambitious, and more arrogant. No dynasty could hope to retain its influence under such conditions, and the Rāshtrakūṭas were no exception. Krishna III, alone among these later kings, had a long reign, and was endowed with kingly ambition and soldierly vigor. But he was an exception. He was able to put off the final end for some time, but could not prevent it. His succession to the throne does not seem to have been peaceful. The spurious Sudi Plates of Būtuga II and the Kudalur grant of his son Karasimha II record that after the death of Baddega (Amoghavarsha III), the former seized the horses, elephants, white umbrellas and the throne by killing a certain Lallēya, and gave them to Krishna(7)

Here, then, we have some evidence to suggest that there was already a movement afoot to oust the Rāshtrakūṭas from power more than three decades before the event actually took place.

(7) EI. III, 189, 183; MAS 1921 p 111; Sources of Karnataka history, vol. I 105; Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions, p. 45; E.C. VIII, Nagar 35, Text p. 251
In the Sravasa-Belgola epitaph of Mārasimha II (c.963-974) it is claimed that he "displayed his prowess in breaking the pride of Alla, who stood up against Vanagajamalla" (Kṛishṇa III), and that "he preserved by his valour all the insignia of royalty, including the throne, for Gandamārtanda (Kṛishṇa III) (7a). The significance of the last part of the statement can hardly be missed. It shows that in the sixties of the tenth century the hostility against the Rāṣṭrakūtas gathered fresh momentum. Within a few years came the sack of Manyakhetā, and the material and moral bankruptcy of the ruling family became patent to all. Everything was thus heading for the final catastrophe, and the coup de grâce was delivered by Taila II.

Ec. i. (New Ed.) No. 59
(7a) Bhadana grant of Aparājita, verse 11, probably contains an allusion to some misfortune that befell Kṛishṇa III (E.T. 111, 272, and note 6.)
II. Taila II - The Restorer.

We have already seen that new evidences have come forth to show that Taila II began his career as a feudatory of Krishna III, and was governing the Taravadi Thousand Province as a nuga-jivita (a follower's or a servant's fief) in 965 A.D. It is not a little curious that, amongst all others, it fell upon him, a descendant of the old Imperial Chalukyas, to give the fatal blow to the Rashtrakuta rule. Yet it does not seem to have been purely an accident of history. The inscriptions of the Chalukyas of Kalyani suggest that the memory of the ancient sovereignty of the family was tenderly cherished by the descendants as a most valued aspiration; and the prevailing conditions in the Deccan in his days must have fired the imagination of Taila for its realization, and spurred him into action. The substantial improvement in the status and influence of his family that seems to have taken place under his two immediate predecessors, probably added material strength to Taila's mental resolution. Moreover, the account of the various branches of the Western Chalukyas that we have given in the preceding chapter, meagre though it is, at least shows that they were not altogether a negligible factor in Deccan politics during the closing years of the
Rāṣṭrakūṭa rule. Some members of the race were intimately connected with the imperial house; others held important administrative posts; still others distinguished themselves as soldiers and conquerors. It is not impossible that Tālā, as a sign of the old ruling house, and as a champion of the sovereignty of the Chalukyas, was able to bring to bear all the resources of his race in his bid to revive its long-lost power. This is however a mere guess at present.

The overthrow of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas by Tālā II is referred to in a number of Chalukya inscriptions, and is also attested by several Silāhāra grants. The Sogal inscription of Tālā, dated 960 A.D. says that "he cut off the head of Rana Kamba and Kakkala", while his Milind inscription states that he obtained the fortune of the glorious Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Vīra-māttandha (probably an epithet of Karṇa II). (8). The Bhadana grant of Silāhāra Aparājita (997 A.D.) says that Kakkala was overthrown by Tālā "as a light is extinguished by a fierce wind, and of the once flourishing Patta rule, there remained only the memory" (9).

(8) ET. XVI.4; ET. IV. 204 ff; BRT. Intro. p. IV

(9) ET. III. 272; Gaṅga, Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State, 42, 56.
The Kharepata inscription of Śilāhāra Raṭṭarāja refers to the same incident without any further embellishment (10). The Kauthem Plates tell us that Taila became possessed of the royal fortune of the Chālukyas "which had been brought low by the deceitful practices of the Rāṣṭrakūtās," after defeating and slaying in battle Karkara and Rāṣṭakambha, "both of whom were bound to the kingdom of the Rāṣṭrakūta family; who from their great strength, were manifestly like the two feet of Kali stretched out in the act of striding; who were cruel and closely knit together in the body; who were like sprouts of hostility to the superiors; and who were, as it were, the young shoots of the creeper of fortune of the Rāṣṭrakūta family" (11). The Managoli inscription of 1161 A.D. records that Taila "annihilated King Karkara and King Rāṇakambha, the sun and the moon in the Rāṣṭrakūta sky, and amidst the applause of the whole world, with an exceedingly great effort acquired the sovereignty of the land of Kuntala" (12).

(10) EI. III. 298. The Chikodi Plates of Śilāhāra Avasara III dates 988 A.D. says that Taila uprooted the Rāṣṭrakūtās in the time of Vaddiga, son of Khottiga (EGM for S.1835, pp. 131-35). The existence of Vaddiga, however, is not otherwise known.

(11) IA. XVI. 23.

(12) EI. V.16
Altekar thinks that Karkara or Kakkala, and Ranastabha, or Ranakambha, were two of Karka II's Rāṣṭrakūṭa kinsmen who were his generals and advisers (13). But we find no reason to reject Kielhorn's proposed identification of Karkara with Karka II himself (14). The word nripa (king) used in connection with Karkara in the Managoli inscription supports this view. The identity of Ranastambha is unknown till now. He is called in the last mentioned record an āvanipāla (a king) and was apparently a close associate of Karka II. If the description of the two persons in the Kauthem Plates is not mere poetical effusion, then it probably reveals the real character and reputation of the Taila's adversaries, which were obviously far from commendable. One rather feels tempted to think that the last Rāṣṭrakūṭa king was a monstrous tyrant who heeded not the wholesome advice of his elders, and in company of his friend indulged in wanton cruelties. The state of things thus existing seems to have given Taila II the immediate opportunity to mobilise all the discontented elements in the state, reinforced perhaps by those who sought to deprive Krishna III of his throne, and to initiate the dynastic revolution.

(13) R.T. p.127, 131 (14) Ed. VII. No.150. Altekar draws attention to two epigraphs, E.C.VII.3b 476 and 479, which according to him show that Karka II was alive till c.991 A.D. (R.T.131). But the former belongs to the reign of Kannaradeva (Krishna III), and is dated 939 A.D. The latter contains no date.
The overthrow of Karke II, however, did not at once make Talla master of the entire situation. It actually began the long process which finally ended in the establishment of the Chalukya ascendancy in the Deccan. Among the well-wishers of the Rashtrakutas still left Ganga Narasimha II was the foremost. He now made a desperate attempt to continue the old line by crowning Indra IV, a grandson of Krishna III and son of his own sister. We learn from a Sravana-Belgola epigraph that Jagadekavīra (Narasimha II), at the command of Indravaraja (IV) conquered Vajjala, the younger brother of Patašamalla (15). The Trishashṭhilakṣaṇa Purāṇa of Chāmundaraya informs us that the defeat of Vajjala was inflicted on the battle field of Khēdaga(? Khetaka) (16). The incident shows that Indra IV ruled at least for a short time (17). But the King-maker must have soon realised the futility of his effort. Perhaps sick at heart at this failure, and at the disloyalty, treachery and intrigues, that prevailed in those days, he sought solace in death by taking the vow of Sallakhanā. This event happened before the middle of 974 A.D. Indra IV also took the same vow and starved himself to death in 982 A.D. Nothing is known about the closing years of his life.

(17) Fleet says that "there is nothing in the Western Chalukya records or elsewhere to show that the attempt that was made in connection with him was even temporarily successful." (D.K.D. 424-25).
Marasimha II was succeeded by Pañchāla whose relation with his predecessor is not known. He was possibly an usurper. An inscription from Nulgund, dated 975 A.D. represents him as ruling over a kingdom which was bounded by the eastern, western and southern oceans, and by the great river on the north (18). His epithet Chālukya-Pañchānana, "a lion to the Chālukyas" (19) clearly indicates that he followed his predecessor's policy of opposition to the Chālukya rule. This is also borne out by Banna's description of Taila II as Pañchāla-madebha-pañchānana ("a lion to the mha elephant Pañchāla") (2). The same authority also informs us that Taila's general Nāgadēwa defeated the army of Pañchāla (21). The hostile chief ultimately met his doom at the hands of another subordinate of Taila, named Bhūtiga (22), some time before 977 A.D. The exploit earned for Bhūtiga the title of Āhavamalla from his sovereign. The victory over the Gaṅgas not only relieved Taila from the clutches of an implacable enemy, but it also led to the extension of Chālukya influence over Banavasi, Belvola, Puligere and some other neighbouring districts. These territories have been under the Gaṅgas since the time of Būtuga II (23). But some time before 980 A.D. they passed into the hands of Taila's subordinate Kannapa (24).

(18) ET.VI.259f. (19) TA.XI.44; Gadāpada (Isgorop); p.18. (21) ibid. p.42. (22) IA.XII.96,98. (23) Atakur Inscription. ET.VI.55,57; Bombay-Karnataka Inscriptions, Vol I, Pt. I, Nos 36,37,38,41,42,43. (24) He preceded his brother Sobhana for whom we have an inscription dated in 980 A.D. (Ek.T. 1. 1. No.45). Cf. also the Nulgund Inscription (ET. IV.206 ff).
Nāgavarma (12th century), in his Kāvyāvalokana, refers to Taila's fight with Būtuga, Bīruga and Goyeya at the battles of Tōragale (Torgal in the Kolhapur state), Rattahalli (in Kod taluk Dharwar District) and Ājiragola respectively (25). Būtuga was most probably identical with Āhamalla-Bhūtiga, who killed Pānchāla, and whose descendants are known to have been ruling at Tōragale till the close of the twelfth century (26). It seems that all these personages were conquered by Taila during the course of his operations against Pānchāla. Būtiga-Bhūtiga, after his defeat, apparently entered the service of the victor and fought against the Ganga king. The Rattas of Saundatti (Belgaum district) also may have offered their submission about this time. Of their representatives, Sāntivarman and Kārtavīrya I, we have inscriptions dated in 960 A.D. and both of them acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chalukya king in their records (27).

(26) IA. X11. 96f.
(27) JABRA 8 X, 204 ff; E T. XVI. 1 ff.
(28) IA. —XL. 13 ff; Sources of Karnataka History, T.I. 132.
During the period 973-982 A.D. Taila carried his arms in other directions as well. In the Gadaruddha Ranna describes the Chalukya king as "a poison to the Hashtrakutas", and "a lion to the rutting elephant Pañchalā". In addition to this the poet says that the king was the terrifier of Karahātaka, capturer of Pallikota, putter to flight of Bhadraka, a lion to the elephan the Krūkalika-rāja, the sun in the sky of the family of the Yadavas, fever of flight to the Chūrjaras(sic) and the sun to the whole of Mālava (29).

The Sogal inscription of 980 A.D. states that the Chalukya king was like "an axe to the great mountain the potent Chola, a lion to those elephants the Lālas" (30). The Milgund inscription of 982 tells us that "on hearing that name of whom Ākavamalla, (a birudō of Taila) which he acquired by the extirpation of all the armies of hostile kings, the Chola and Andhra rulers and the Pāndya king as well as King Utpala, bewildered, deliberate what to do, where to go and where to dwell"(31). An inscription of the time of Taila XIII records that his great ancestor was the cause of trembling to the Lātas, Mālavas, Cheras and Gurjaras (32).

(29) TA.XL.43f; sources of Karnataka History, I.T. 132; Gadaruddha,p15. (30) ET.XVI. 1ff. (31) ET.IV 206,lines 7 - 9. (32) WC.VII.sk.108
From the Ajitapurāṇa of Fanna we learn that Nagadeva, who defeated the army of Pañchala, also drove out Vallana from Karahāḍa, undoubtedly the same as Karahāṭaka or Karhad in the Satara district, at the command of Ballaha or Vallabha, i.e. Taila II (33). Pallikota is mentioned in several inscriptions at Cooty in the Anantapur district (34), but its exact location is not known. The identity of Bhadraka and Krākalika-rāja also cannot be determined.

The subjugation of the Belvola, Puligere and the Karahāṭaka provinces brought Taila into direct contact with the Kohkana country. About the period with which we are immediately concerned here the bulk of the territory was under the Silahāra chief Aparājita. One of his inscriptions reveals that the kingdom over which he ruled extended from Lata to Chandrapura (supposed by some to be modern Chandor in Goa (35)) in the south and from the country of Bhillama, (second Yādava king of that name) to the Western Ocean.

(33) IA.XL.12; Sources of Karnatka History, T. 135; Ajitañārāpaṇiṇī (Karnāṭaka kavya kalanidhi series), pt I, II 5ff.
(34) SII. VIII. Nos. 364, 366, 372, etc.
It included Sañjānabhūmi (modern Sanjan), Punakadeśa (modern Poona region), Saṅgamaśvara and Chipulaṇa, i.e. Chipulun, both in the Ratnagiri district (36). The territory lying further towards the south was under the rule of another branch of the Śilāhāra race. The Chikodi plates of Avasara III of this family, dated 9910 (987-88 A.D.) refer to the overthrow of the Vaiśhākha rule by Taila II, but mention no suzerain ruler as such (37). His son Rattarāja acknowledged the overlordship of Taila's son Satyāśraya. It is not unlikely that the subjection of Rattarāja, or his immediate predecessor took place during the reign of Taila. We have, however, no direct evidence in this respect. Fortunately for us Ranna throws a little more light on Taila's relations with Aparājīta. The poet says that at the command of his father prince Satyāśraya routed the army of the lord of Konkāra. Aparājīta, seized with fear, took shelter in a neighbouring island, probably Puri (as did the Mauryas when confronted with the arms of Pulakesin II).——

(36) Baroda Museum Plates of Aparājīta, dated 8915, verses 31-32:


(37) BISMJ. for 81855, pp. 31-34.
But the victor refrained from slaying him "since it is not consistent with true valour to kill men who embrace a lings, enter water, put on a woman’s garments, or ascend an ant-hill. Hemmed in by the ocean on one side and the sea of Satyārāya’s army on the other, Aparāditya (sic) trembled like an insect on a stick, both ends of which are on fire". The prince burnt Aṃśunagara in Aparāditya’s (sic) country, and received twenty-one elephants. Ranna claims that his hero extended the kingdom of his father up to the western ocean. Aparādīta did not assume any higher title than mahāmandalesvara. This shows that he continued to hold only a feudatory rank, and in all possibility admitted the supremacy of Taila II. But the regretful way in which he records/refer to the passing away of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rule indicates that he hardly entertained any special feeling of loyalty to his new sovereign.

(38) IA. XL. 92; Gadāyudha (Iyengar), H4-5.

(39) Baroda Museum Plates, verse 15 (Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State, pp. h3f, 56f); Bhadana Plates, Verse 13 (E I. III, 272f).
The real character of the Chalukya-Silahara (of north Konkana) relation is illustrated by the fact that Jayasimha II, Somesvara I and Vikramaditya VI came into armed conflict with the latter, and it was only the military might of the Chalukya monarchs that could enforce their authority over the successors of Aparajita.

Besides Satyasraya several other persons claim a share in bringing about the subjugation of the Konkanas under the Chalukyas. One of them was Dhalla, described as the great minister in charge of records (mahamantrakshapatala dhipati). Another was Sobhana, the governor of the Belvola-Puligere provinces, who assumed the title Konkana Bhayankara (the terrifier of Konkana). A third was a certain Kesava, who is said to have won the admiration of Taila in fights on the battle-fields of Konkana and the bank of the Godavari.

In his grants dated 993 A.D. it is recorded that Aparajita rendered help to a ruler named Goma, enabled a certain Aiyapadeva to retain his throne, and granted protection to Bhillama.

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(40) Bk. I. 1. 1. No. 52. lines 7-9.
(41) Bk. I. 1. 1. No. 47. (42) Ib. No. 76.
(43) Cadre, Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State, pp. 35ff.
In several later records the names of two other chiefs, (r) Anema and (? Manamvuva are found together with that of Bhillama, to all of whom the Sitabahara king is said to have offered refuge (44). It is not stated by what enemy or enemies all these personages were afflicted. But in view of what we know of the contemporary history of the Western is Deccan, the name of the Chalukya king recalled to our mind in this connection. Bhillama has been identified with the second Yadava king of that name. He was, as we have seen, the eastern neighbour of the Silhara prince. The Yadavas ruled the Seunadesa which lay in the direction of Aurangabad, Nasik and Khandesh. Ranna's description of Taila II as "the sun in the sky of the Yadava family" may indicate that the Chalukya king conferred some favour upon the Yadavas after they had admitted his suzrainty. Bhillama II very probably fought against the Paramara Vakpati-Munija on the side of Taila II (45).

(44) cf. EI.XXV.53f; IA.IX.33f. The original has Bhillamamamamamamvuva-kshitibhirhim.

(45) see below.
After receiving the submission of the northern Śilahāras and the Yadavas Tāila II appears to have attacked Lāta. In the last quarter of the tenth century the territory is found under the rule of Bārappa who belonged to a feudatory Chālukya family (46). The Gujarāt chroniclers describe him as the general of Tālāpa of Teliṅgana"(47). An inscription of his grandson Kirtirāja informs us that it was he "who obtained the Lātādea"(48). It is, therefore, quite probable that Bārappa was placed in charge of the province after it was incorporated by the Chālukya king with his dominions.

Lāta, however, soon became the fighting ground of the Chālukyas, Chauḷukyas, and Paramāras. Merutunga tells us that the Chauḷukya king Mūlarāja I, whose known dates range between 974 and 995 A.D., was once attacked simultaneously by Bārappa and the king of Sākambhari, and was forced to take shelter in the Kanthā-dūrga. The former, however, patched up his quarrel with the latter, and then entering Lāta defeated and killed Bārappa(49).

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(46) DHNI. 11. 938.
(47) ib. 937. Fleet doubts the correctness of this statement. (DKD 143n). The Śkritasamkirtana represents Bārappa as the general of a king of Kanauj. But this is improbable in the view of the known history of Kanauj at this time.
(48) DHNI. 11. 938. (49) ib. 938-39.
This statement receives support from the fact that Goggirāja, son and successor of Barappa, is said to have recovered his land from demon-like enemies (thought to be the Chaulukyas) who seized it (50). Taila's victory over the Gurjaras (51) referred to by Rama, was probably obtained on this occasion. The poet further says that at the command of his father prince Satyāśraya defeated the Gurjara army. It is perhaps permissible to conjecture that Taila sent his son to the aid of Goggiraja, and to relieve Lāta by expelling the invaders. The mission seems to have been successfully accomplished by the prince.

About this time the Paramārava king Vakpati-Munja also appeared on the scene. His contest with Taila II should not perhaps be viewed merely as a struggle between two neighbouring kings for ascendancy over each other. It seems to have a wider significance. In the earliest record of the Paramārvas, that has been discovered as yet, they appear to claim descent from the Rāshtrakūta race (52). Munja himself assumed the characteristic Rashtrakuta titles of Amoghavarsha, Prithvi-Kallabha and Āri-vallabha (53). It has therefore been suggested with some amount of plausibility, that Munja may have regarded himself as a rightful claimant to the Rāshtrakūta kingdom (54).

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(50) ib.940. (51). The term Gurjara as used in the Rashtrakūta records usually denotes the Gurjara-Pratiharas, whose power was now confined to the vicinity of Kausūj. In later inscriptions it often means the inhabitants of modern Gujarat. It seems to us that Rama has used the term in the latter sense. (52). Harshala plates of Harsha, ET.XIX,237;HPD 71.
DHNI. 11.942.
(53) DHNI. 11.852 (54) ib.854.
About this time the Paramara-king Vakapati-Muňja whose known dates extended from 975-995 A.D. also appeared on the scene. In the Udaipur prāṣṭā it is claimed that the lotus feet (of Muňja) were coloured by the jewels on the heads of the Karnāṭas, Lāṭas, Keralas and Cholas" (55). Karnāṭas undoubtedly refer to the western Chālukyas, and the Lāṭas constituted their provinces. Merutunga records that Muňja conquered Taila six times (or, according to another version, sixteen times). Then being still harassed by the Chālukya king, he led another expedition to the south, and disregarding the warnings of his minister, crossed the Godāvari. Taila, "by force and fraud", cut Muňja's army to pieces and took him prisoner. He was finally put to death after having suffered great humiliation at the hands of his rival (57). Merutunga's account may be a little overdrawn. But it points to at least more than one conflict between Taila and Muňja; and the Gādāyuddha and Uilgund Plates bear testimony to the fact that the rivalry between the two kings began before or in about 982 A.D. The Kauṭhēma Plates confirm the statement that Muňja was cast into prison; while a Gādag inscription of a late date reports that Taila killed the Paramāra ruler (57).

(55) EI. I. 235, verse 14.
(56) RPD. 58f.
(57) DKD 426, EI.W. 350, verse 2.
In the Sangamam Plates (dated 1000 A.D.) of the Yādava feudatory Bhillama II it is recorded that it was he who destroyed the royal fortune of Muṇja on the field and "made the goddess of fortune observe the vow of a chaste woman in the house of the illustrious king Rānarāngā-Śrīma (identified by Kielhorn with Taila II)" (58). The Chālukya king must have received considerable help from the Yādava chief. The minister Dhalla is also represented as a subduer of the Malavas (59).

In the Navasāhasanaka-charita it is stated that Muṇja's successor Śrīma recovered his kingdom (śvārājya) which was occupied by the lord of Kuntalā (60). This suggests that Taila overran at least part of the Paramāra kingdom after Muṇja's death, and annexed it to his own empire. We cannot, however, determine, in the present state of our knowledge, whether it was from Taila, or his son Satyāśraya, that Śrīma got back the lost possessions of his family.

(58) EI. II. 218. lines 40-42. Some scholars doubt the identity of Taila II and Rānarāngā-Śrīma. But attention may be drawn in this connection to the epithets Rānarāngā-Śrīmaṇa and Rānarāngā-ṛākṣasa, applied to Taila by Ranna (sources of Karnataka History, T. 132), Cālaṇyuddha (Iyengar), p. 15.
(59) BKL. I. No. 52, line 9.
(60) I. 74; IA. 1933, p. 102.
About Taila's conflict with the Cholas, referred to in the Sogal and Nilgund inscriptions, no details have come down to us. His adversary was apparently Uttama-Chola (969-85).

An inscription from Kogali in the Bellary district, dated 972 A.D., described Taila as <i>chōrārāmāri</i>. This phrase has been taken to imply that the Chālukya king also fought with Uttama's successor Rājarāja I, who in his inscriptions, dated in the eighth and ninth years (993-994 A.D.), claims that he conquered Gangapādi (the Ganga territory in the south and east of Mysore), Tadigaipādi (the west of Bangalore district) and Nulambapādi, which comprised parts of Bellary, Tumkur and Chitaldrug districts and may have extended further towards the east (61A). We shall see below that inscriptions of Taila have been discovered in the Shimoga and Chitaldrug districts of Mysore and the Bellary, Anantapur, Kurnut and Cuddapah districts of the Madras Presidency. Under the circumstances, a clash between Taila II and Rājarāja I very likely took place about 992-93 A.D. But it is extremely doubtful if the latter could have conquered the whole of Nulambapādi as Sastri would have us believe (62).

(61) <i>SEI</i>.IX.1.No.77. The equation of Chōra with Chola, though possible, seems to be a little dubious. (61A).N.K.Sastri,Colas I, 207 - 10. (62) ib.211. Note that in 992 A.D. Taila II was ruling from Fodda, about 20 miles due west of Penukonda in the Anantapur district and in 996 his authority was still acknowledged in the region of the Bellary taluq (3,III.IX.1. Nos.77 and 78).
The ascription to Talla of victories over two other peoples of the Far South, namely the Pandyas and Cheras, seems to us to be without any foundation. On the other hand the Andhras may have felt the might of his arms. Apart from the statement found in the Nilgund inscription, a corrupt line in the description of Talla's achievement in the Cadyuuddha seems to contain a reference to his successes in the Andhra country (62). Again, we find Dhalla taking part in the campaign of his sovereign on the eastern coast of the Deccan, and it is said that he caused amazement among the people of Vengi. (63). We may note that the period between 973 and 999 A.D. in the history of Vengi was one of great confusion (64) and this may have afforded an opportunity to Talla to interfere in this region.

Some other incidents of this reign are mentioned by Ranna in his Ajitapurana which was finished in 993 A.D. (65). One Govindara came against Talla allied with traitors. But he was opposed and put down by Ponnamayya, who, however, seems to have received a mortal wound and died on the bank of Caveri. His nephew, Pundamayya gained a victory over a certain Gonara.

(62a) The line runs as follows: jaoLandhra(?) -kulina-bhuva-sad-gunamani-vibhushanai (IA XL.4); Sources of Karnataka History, I.132).
(63) Sk. I. 1.1. No. 52. line 9. (64) Ganguly, Eastern Calukyas, p.91; Sastri, Colas, I.214 ff. (65) Sources of Karnataka History, I. p.134; IA XL.p.141; Ajitapuran (karnatakakavyamula,devi) ling. M 64.
The same work mentions that Dhalla's son Nagadeva, who defeated Ranachala and drove out Mallama from Karhad, showed great heroism in the war with "the Kumaras" in the presence of the king, and was elevated to the position of a general. The exact import of all these incidents can not, however, be determined in the absence of further details.

Taila seems to have brought under his sway the greater part of the Deccan plateau. His inscriptions have been found at Marsalgi, Hullur, Karjol and Kakhanki in the Bijapur district; at Sogal, Huli and Saundatti in the Belgaum District; at Kurhatti, Ho, and Nilgund in the Dharwar district; at Kudati, Kanchagara-Belagallu, Bagali and Kogali in the Bellary district; at Talgund and Tyavangi in the Shimoga district; at Vasana in the Chitaldrug district; and at Collapalle in the Guddapah district (66). The record found at the last mentioned place states that the king made a grant for a temple situated in the Nandikottur taluk in the Kurnul district (67). Rodda, about 20 miles due west from Penukonda in the Anantapur district is mentioned as a place of residence of Taila in one of these records (68).


(67) STE.AX.1938,p.83 and note (68) SII.X.I.No.77.
We now know that he ruled from Kānyakhetā (69). This proves that he seized the home province of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (which must have comprised parts of the Gulbarga district in the Nizam’s dominions and the adjoining territories) together with their capital city. Among other provinces, included definitely within the Empire of Tāila, mention may be made of Tādavādī 1000 (comprising parts of the Bijapur district), Belvola 3000 (which included parts of the Dharwar and Belgaum districts and Kukkanur in the south-west corner of the Nizam’s dominions), Puligore 3000 (which lay round Lakshmeshwar in the Miraj State), Banavasi 12000 (parts of the North Kanara, Dharwar and the Shimoga districts), Kōgali 500 (round about Hadagalli and the Harpanahalli taluk in the Bellary district), Kīsukād 70 (Pattadakal region), Kadambalige 1000 ("east of the Tungabhadra down to Holalkere in the Gaṅgādrug district"), and Sāntalige 1000 (southern part of the Shimoga district round about the Tirthalahalli taluk). (70)

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(69) Bk. 170, of 1934; AST. 1934, p. 241.
(70) See Bk. I. 13. Nos. 40, 45, 46; EI. IV 201, ff; E.I. VI. 254. For identifications of the different provinces see DKD 301, 430, 547-h8. Mysore and Coorg from inscriptions, pp. 71, 139.
The inclusion of the Karahatka province and Lāṭa provinces within the dominions of the Chālukya king is attested, as we have seen, by Ranna and the Gujarat chronicles. The Yādavas of Seunadesa and the Silahāras of Koṅkana also probably rendered homage to him. The facts cited above tend to show that the authority of Taila II extended over a territory which stretched roughly from the lower course of the Narmadā and the Satpura mountains in the north; on the west it was bounded by the sea; on the south it seems to have included the whole of the Shimoga district, the northern parts of the Chitaldrug district, the whole of the Bellary, Anantapur and Kurnul Districts, and the adjacent parts of the Cuddapād district, but some of these territories were possibly lost to the Cholas about 992 - 93 A.D.

The eastern boundary cannot be determined with any amount of precision. Taila may, however, have exercised sway over the greater parts of the Nizam's dominions though direct evidence on this point is lacking.
An inscription of Vikramādiyā VI records that Taila II ruled for twenty-four years, beginning with the year Śrīmukha which corresponded to 973-74 A.D. (71). These years covered the independent rule of the Chālukya king. The earliest record belonging to this period that has been found till now is dated 9.897, Yuva-samvatsara, corresponding to 976 A.D. (72), and the latest is dated 9.919, Hemalambin Samvatsara, corresponding to 997 A.D. (73). The twenty-four years of Taila's reign has a special significance for the history of the Deccan. By reviving the Western Chālukya suzerainty almost exactly at the moment when the Rāṣṭrakūta power weakened, Taila largely preserved the political unity of the great southern plateau and saved it from being overrun by ambitious monarchs from the north as well as from the south.

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(71) I.A. XXI. 167
(72) SIII. IX.1. 73.
(73) E.C. VII. Sk. 179.
We have several variants of the name of the king like Tailapa, Tailapayya and Mūrmādi-Talla. He had the usual birūda of Āhavamalla, but in a Karjol inscription dated 996 A.D. he is styled Bhuvanaikamalla-Āhavamalla (74). In the Gadaẏuddha and Sogel inscription he is described as Bhujabala-Chakravarti (75), and the Sayyamner plates seem to refer to him as Raṇaraṅga-Bhīma. From the Aṅkur inscription of Vikramaditya V we learn that the king followed in his life the principles laid down in the Manusāṁhitā (76).

Taila II married Jākavve, the daughter of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief named Bhamamahā, and had by her at least two sons, Satyaśraya and Daśāvarman, or Yaśovarman, of whom the former succeeded him. The Karjol inscription referred to above mentions a mahāsāmantādhipati Daśāvarma, who is described as "a bee to the lotus' feet of Bhuvanaikamalla-Āhavamalla" (77). The individual should probably be identified with the second son of the king.

(74) Bk.174 of 1933-34; ASR. 1934. p.244.
(75) IA.XL.41f; EI.XVI.4.
(76) EI.XVI.28. The king is described as Manu-mārg-āgrāṇi chakravarti-tilakam.
(77) Bk.179 of 1933-34.
Before we close the account of Tālā II several prominent persons of his court need mention. One of them was Ḡāvaraghalisāsa, styled the Jagadguru (the Universal Preceptor), who was considered to be "the origin of the growth of Tālā's kingdom". The king, at the festival of his installation, after the overthrow of the Raṣṭrakūtas, gave away to him the village of Mānīgaḷavallī in Tardavāḍī 1000 (Modern Managoli in the Bagovāḍī taluk, Bījāpur District) (78). Another was Mallapa, son of a Jaina Brahmin called Nāgamayya, who was an inhabitant of Kumādeśa in Vēŋimalḍala. Mallapa is praised as a great warrior and a liberal patron of learning. He is also said to have caused, like Ḡāvaraghalisāsa, the growth of the imperial fortune of Āhavamalla (sīrī-Āhavamalladeva-sāmrājya-lakṣmī-pravardhamanā-hetu-bhūta). Ronna-mayya and Gundamayya, to whom we have referred above, were respectively his brother and son. Two of Mallapa's daughters were given in marriage to Nagadeva, son of Dhalla. One of them Attiyabbe, alias Dānachintāmanā, became celebrated for her piety and patronage of Ranna. Dhalla, as we have seen, was the mahāmantrakṣa-pataldhipati of the Chāḷukya king. Ranna calls him the mahāmaṇṭṛi of the Chāḷukya-Chatravarti. Nagadeva's son Tālā became in course of time a commander of the Chāḷukya king's army (79).

(78) El. V. 54f. (79) For all the above information see sources of Karnāṭaka History, I. 134f; Karnāṭaka-Bhāṣā-bhūshana (edited by Rice), Introduction, pp. XV, XVII.
Finally, we find that Ranna himself was an illustrious luminary of Taila's court. The emperor bestowed upon him the title of Kavi-chakravarti, and presented him with a (?) Madanavatāra, a parasol, a chouri, an elephant, and a (?) bhattagāve (Brahmins' village) (30).
III. Satyaśrāya.

Fleet thinks that the accession of Satyaśrāya took place probably towards the end of 997 A.D. The earliest known epigraph of his time is dated 999 A.D. (81), and the latest 1008 A.D. (82). His name is sometimes given as Sattīga and Sattīma. The usual birudas of the king were Irivabedaṅga and Akalanka-Charita. A Lakkundi inscription dated 1007 A.D. refers to the reigning monarch as Ahavamalla. This suggests that Satyaśrāya, like his father, also took some title (83). Hanna applies to him a string of epithets like Irivabedaṅga, Chālukya-Nārāyaṇa, Chālukya-Kanṭhīravā, Chālukya-mārttanda, Chālukya-Kandarpa, Sāhasa- Bhīma, Kumaraṇaka- Raṁga, Akalanka-Charita, Sāhacñika, etc., (84).

Satyaśrāya, as we have seen, earned a good deal of distinction by his warlike activities while as yet a prince, and it was fortunate for the Chālukyan state to have a resolute fighter at the helm of its affairs after the death of Taila II.

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(81) E.C.VIII.56.334. Rice ascribes EC IV.89.50, dated 997 A.D. to Satyasrāya. But this is doubtful.

(82) Gadag Inscription of S 930 (Stk.179 of 1933) Kharopatan Plates of Rattarāja (EI. Ill. 297 f).

(83) Stk. I. 1.1.52.

(84) IA.XL.p.42; Gadāyudha, 1st and 2nd Suvāra.
For now, the full blast of Pējarējā's aggression in the north swept over it. The aim of the Chola king undoubtedly was to conquer all the territories that lay to the south of Krishnā and Tungabhadrā, and to secure a scientific frontier for his empire in the same direction. On the other hand, the Chālukyaas seem to have been equally determined to retain and extend their hold over the Kamarāsa and Telugu speaking districts of the same quarter. The initial phase of the conflict that thus broke out between the two races has been noticed under Tālā Tī. His descendants continued the struggle with the Cholas for about a century and a half with varying results. At the end of that period both the combatants fell exhausted and being overwhelmed by serious internal difficulties speedily headed towards destruction and ruin.

It appears that Satyāśraya had to deal with at least two Chola invasions, and in the first of these he suffered a serious discomfiture at the hands of the Chola king. The inscriptions of Pējarējā, from about 1003 A.D. state that he captured by force Rattapālī, "the seven and a half-lakh country" (85).

(85) MER 333, of 1927; H.K. Sastrī, Cola T. 210.
Specific references to his victory over Satyāśraya are found in the Larger Leiden Plates of the year 21 (1005 A.D.), Tanjore inscription No.1., and Tīrūvalangadā Plates (86). Verse 81 of the last mentioned record leaves the impression that the Chālukya king was caught almost unaware, and without putting up any strong defence fled away from the battle-field; and verse 84 says that Rājarāja exacted tribute from the vanquished. The second invasion was led by Rājarāja's son the Crown Prince Rājendrā I. From the introduction of his records, dated in the third year of his reign (1014 A.D.), we learn that he conquered Iditumai-nādu (identified with Eḍedore 2000, which comprised a large part of the Raichur district), Banavāse, Kollippākkai (Kulpak about 40 miles north-west of the city of Hyderabad) and Manṇaikkadakkam (identified with Manṇakhēta) which had unapproachable fortifications (87). The Charla Plates and Kanyākumārī inscription of Vīra-Rājendra state that Rājendrā I made Manṇakhēta the play-ground of his army (88). That this expedition was led against Sātyāśraya is made clear by another record of the third year of Rājendrā I, which informs us that a certain Rājamalla Muttaraiyān, who was placed in charge of the elephant troops, was killed before Manṇaikkadakkam while piercing the elephant of the Chālukya king, under the orders of the Chola monarch. (89)

(86) E.I. XXII.2264 line 65; III.11.No.1.; III,iii.p.421
(87) Sastri,op.cit. 236. (88) EL.XVIII.21 ff; XXV 261-Verse 70
(89) contd.
We are inclined to believe that it is this new Chola invasion which finds such graphic description in the Hottur epigraph of Satyāśraya, dated 1007 A.D. (90).

The record states that Rajendra-Vidyadhara, son of Rājarāja Nityavinoda, coming with a vast host of 900,000 men penetrated as far as Donavūra (modern Donur in the Bagewadi taluk of the Bijapur district) ravaged the whole country, perpetrated murders of women, children and Brahmans, and seizing women destroyed their castes. But Satyāśraya drove away the invaders, captured their bags and baggage, and is said to have even made a triumphal progress through the south (91). Rajendra's campaign apparently produced immense suffering for the subjects of the Chālukya king, but did not perhaps yield any substantial gain to the Cholas.

(89) SII. 111.6. Introduction, p.17. MHR 515 of 1912; Sastri gives the name of the individual as Śrūtiman Nākkan Chandran (Colas I. 237)

(90) EI.XVI.74 ff.

(91) N.K. Sastri believes that the Hottur inscription refers to the incidents that followed immediately after Rājarāja's invasion of about 1003 A.D. He also points out that Rajendra's campaign may have been undertaken in the course of the same war which his father waged with Satyāśraya (Colas I. pp.210-238).
On the other hand, the discovery of an inscription of Satyāśraya at Chebrolu in the Guntur district, dated 9.928 (c.1006 A.D.) (92) suggests that the Chālukya king established, at least temporarily, his authority over a part of the Andhra territory, which probably formed a sphere of influence of the Cholas about this time (93). It is not also altogether impossible that Rājendra's campaign was undertaken as a retaliation for Satyāśraya's aggression into the aforesaid region.

According to a Lakkundi inscription, dated 1007-8 A.D., credits Satyāśraya with a victory over the Gurjaras (94). If true, this possibly took place after the war with Rājendra I. We have already referred to the statement found in the Navasahasāṅkācharita that the Paramāra King Sindhurāja recovered the territory that was presumably overrun by Taila II after the death of Māha. Mirashi thinks that the event happened during the reign of Satyāśraya, when he was preoccupied with the Chola invasion (95).

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(92) S.I.I. VI. No. 102.
(94) Hk.I. I.1. No. 52, line 52-53.
(95) IA. 1933, 102.
The Sindhurāja king is also said to have conquered Lāṭa and Aparānta (96). This implies renewed interference by the Paramāras in the affairs of the Deccan, the full implication of which became only manifest during the reign of Sindhurāja's son Bhoja.

Two smaller incidents of this reign also deserve our attention. A hero-stone inscription from Yali-Sirur, Dharwar district, commemorates the death of a certain Kēta, a leńka, who fell in a battle at the front of Unukally (Unkal in Dharwar), where he fought at the command of Sattiga, probably the king himself (97). A second inscription from the same district refers to a siege of the agrahāra of Kalāugu in Belvola 300 by Desīnga, and the destruction of the forces of the king through the treachery of his pergade (98). These events, though of minor importance, suggest that Satyāśraya had to fight against internal disorders as well.

(96) Navasahasāṅkacharita, X.15; IA, 1933. 101,ff.
(97) Bk.I. L.l. No.51
(98) Bk.179 of 1933.
The king gave his daughter in marriage with Iliva-Nolambādhirāja (99). The princess seems to have been identical with Mahāderi, daughter of Sattiga, mentioned in the Marol inscription of the time of Jayasimha II, dated 1024 A.D., as administering Marqvolal (Marol) (100).

(99) Ek. XVI. 27f.
(100) Ek. I. 1. 1. 61.
IV. Vikramāditya V.

Satyāśraya had no male heir (103). His younger brother Dasavarma (also called Yasośvarman) seems to have pre-deceased him. The latter, by his wife Bhāgyavatī, or Bhāgaladevi, had at least three sons and one daughter. After the death of Satyāśraya the throne passed to the eldest among the princes, Vikramāditya. His name also appears as Vikramānka and Vikrama, and he had the biruda Tribhuvanamalla. His earliest known date is 1009 A.D. (104) and the latest 1014 A.D. (105).

The Kauṭheśa Plates of the king tell us that he stood out for the maintenance of the castes and stages of life. No other substantial achievement, referable to him, is found in the records of his own reign.

(103) We have several records which mention Kundarāja or Kundamā, son of Irvābedaṅga, as a provincial governor. He has been taken by some scholars to be a son of Satyāśraya, who had the epithet Irvābedaṅga. But this does not seem to be correct. See Kadambakula, p. 88 line 2.Karnatak Historical Review,II. 37 ff.
(104) Kauṭheśa Plates - IA.XVI.15 ff.
(105) Sk. 52 of 1929. 899.IX.1.79.
In the Daulatabad Plates of Jayasimha II (1017 A.D.) we get the vague statement that "beyond the sight of his uncle (jyeshtupituh paraksham) he, with his arm which dispersed the assemblage of his foes, lifted upon high the earth, encircled by the ocean, as if it were the thread of a bracelet" (106). A Gadag inscription, also belonging to the time of Jayasimha contains the interesting information that Kesa[va] who fought for Taila II in the Konkan and on the bank of the Godavari, pleased Vikramaditya by subjugating the Kosala country. Kesa[va]'s son Bhayiga also made other conquests for the king (107).

It is a pity that the only record which indicates that success of Satyāśraya had actually some military achievement to his credit, has come down to us in a fragmentary and mutilated condition. Kosal Kosala, which is said to have been conquered by the officer of Vikramaditya must have been identical with Dakshina-Kosala, ruled at this time by the Somavamsi kings. It may be noted that Mahāśiva-gupta II Yayāti of this line, who is assigned by some scholars to the period c.1010-50 A.D. (108) is credited with victory over the lords of Karnata.

(107) Ekl. I. 1.1. No. 76.
(108) DHNI. IX. 105.
Lēta, Gurjara(?), and Brāvīḍa (109). If the suggested dates for this king are to be accepted, then we have here a confirmation of the fact that the Kannāṭa and the Kosala kings stood in hostile relations with each other.

The Valipattana Plates of the Śilāhāra prince Kattarāja, dated 1010 A.D., make no mention of any sovereign authority, though he still called himself a mandalika (110). Chaklādāra argues from this that taking advantage of the Chālukya-Chola contest in the last reign, he probably declared his independence (111). The indifferent attitude of Kattarāja towards the Chālukyan sovereignty may have been encouraged by the in Lēta and Ayyarānta Pemārāra interference to which the Navasahasāṅka-charita bears witness.

(109) DHM II.19.402.
(110) THE IV.203f.
(111) ibid.
There is some doubt as to who was the immediate successor of Vikramāditya V. Several records of the time of Somesvara I and some of his successors mention Ayyana as the next king (112). But he is completely passed over in the known inscriptions and grants of Jayasimha II, which mention the latter as coming immediately after Vikramāditya V. We have an inscription from Budi (Bijapur District) which refers itself to the time of Ayyana's brother (name not specified) and registers some gifts made by mahāsāmanta Dāvanarasa, a servant of Vasudhaikamalla. It is dated 9.936, Ananda, corresponding to 1015 A.D. (113). The mention of Ayyana's name in this record, and the non-mention of his brother's name (unless Vasudhaikamada is taken to be a variant of Jagadekamalla, which is known to have been a biruda of Jayasimha II) seem to suggest that the former was the reigning king at this time. In this case Vasudhaikamalla may be taken even as a biruda of Ayyana. The Jaina author Vāḍirāja informs us that Jayasimha II obtained his kingdom in battle (114). This certainly implies that the latter's succession to the throne was not peaceful, and it may be that he forcibly seized the throne by removing his own brother. This perhaps explains why Ayyana's name is not mentioned in the records of Jayasimha II.

(112) Nimbargi Ins. of 3.969(Eliot I.59f)Nagal Ins.of 3.980(Ex. Arch.Se.No.8.p.9); SIT.V.No.68.VII.No.721.Ec.VII.8k.123.
(113) Bk.59 of 1936. (114) ranamukhe Jayasimha rajya-lakshmi babhāra (Sources of Karnataka History, I. p.157).
CHAPTER VIII
Jayasimha II and Sonesvara I.

Jayasimha II very probably ascended the throne in about 1015 A.D. (1), and his last known date is 1042 A.D. (2). He is sometimes referred to simply as Sihha. (3) His usual drivada was Jagadekamalla. But besides this he is also referred to as Mallikāmoda, Kirtividyādhara and Kodanda-Rāma. (4) An inscription from Tammadhāddi (Bijapur district) styles him as Trailokyamalla śrīmatu Vikramasiśna Jayasimhadeva. (5)

Jayasimha's early achievements are thus described in the Balagamve inscription of 1019 A.D. He was like a terrible conflagration at the end of time to the Cholas (Cholagrakālānala) and despised the wrath of the Chola king. He was "the moon to the lotus which was king Bhoja", and "the lion to the elephant which was Rajendra-Chōla". "He searched out the seven Mālavas (Mālavam-āḷumām), pursued them, assailed them, and put them to flight. He again and again drowned the Chola and Chera in the ocean". (6)

(1) BK. 92 of 1936. This is the earliest known date of the king.
(2) BK. I. I. No. 75.
(3) Hy. Arch. Se. No. 8, pp. 11, 19; BK. I. I. Nos. 57, 76.
(4) Somaratne, Madanatilaka History, I. I. 116-23; BS 147 f. 22.
(5) BK. I. I. No. 68; Intro. p. IX. On the Āruda Mallikāmoda, see Dr. Barnett's remark in EL XII. 144.
(6) IA. V. 15 f. The king's victories over the Cholas and the Malavas are also referred to in the Madanatilaka of Chandragrāmāja, one of his subordinates (sources of Karnataka History, I. 142).
The king's victory over the Cholas is also mentioned in an inscription of the time of Vikramāditya VI which tells us that he displayed great prowess by frightening a big army of Madhurantaka-Chola (Rajendra), which came upon him with great force, and cutting it to pieces on the bank of Kirudore (or the Tungabhadra) compelled him to flee towards Kāñchī. (7) The Chola records on the other hand claim a smashing victory for Rajendra over the Chālukya forces. The Melpadi inscription of the king, dated in his ninth year (1020-21 A.D.), tells us that he captured "the seven and a half lakh of Rattapādi (which was) strong by nature, and vast quantities of treasure, together with the inestimable reputation of Jayasimha, who, out of fear and full of vengeance (or to his great disrepute) turned his back at Muṣāngi and hid himself". (8) The Sanskrit portion of the Tiruvalangadu plates tells us that the Chola king started to conquer Jayasimha, seeing him to be the very seat of Kali. In a highly contested battle he defeated the lord of the Rattarāśtra, who fled away leaving his family, riches and reputation. The Chālukya army is said to have been totally destroyed. (9) It is difficult to reconcile the two

(7) MAS. 1931, p. 131.
(8) SII. III. i. No. 18; N.K. Sastri, op. at. 245f. N.K. Sastri, is inclined to identify Muṣāngi with Uchchangi in the Bellary district (p. 246).
(9) SII. III. iii. No. 205, verses 99-108.
contradictory accounts that have come down to us. The only fact that is certain is that Rajendra I led an expedition into the Chalukya territory, and apparently failed to secure any substantial advantage.

On the Chalukya side we have several other references, to either Jayasimha's or his subordinate's victories over the Cholas. A Gadag inscription of unknown date informs us that Madhavaraja, son of the same Kesā (va) who fought for Tāila II and Vikramāditya, won the admiration of Śiṅga-nripati (Jayasimha) by leading the cavalry forces against the Cholas. (10) An inscription from Shikarpur taluk, dated 1017 A.D., describes Kunderaja, governor of the Śanavasi province, as a Tivula-māri (plague or pestilence to the Tivulas or Tamils), (11) showing thereby that he probably took part in the battle of Muṣāngi. The Miraj plates of 1024 A.D. record that the grant mentioned in it was made by the king after he had overcome the valiant Chola. Another record, also of the year 1024 A.D., credits the king's officers Brahma-danda-dhipa and his brother Malla-danda-dhisā with victory over the same enemy. The latter is also said to have defeated in addition the Changalvas (12), Kongalvas and Hoysalas, who occupied the south-eastern and the eastern parts of the

§10 BK.I.I.No.76 (11) EC.VII.sk.285. 
(12) In Elliot's transcription the name appears as Bangalvas. I am indebted to Dr. Barnett for the suggestion that the correct reading should be Changalvas.
Mysore state. (13) There are evidences to show that the former two tribes owed their allegiance to the Cholas at this time, (14) and any move against them may have been prompted by a desire to embarrass their master. The Kulēnu inscription of 1028 A.D. says that Kunda-rāja routed the elephant squadrons of the Chola, Gangeya (the Chedi king) and Bhoja (the Paramāra king). (15) Some scholars think that the three rulers entered into a hostile alliance against Jayasimha, and made a simultaneous attack upon him. (16) But such a view should be regarded with great caution in the absence of more specific details in support of it. Finally, an inscription from the Shikarpur taluk, dated 1031 A.D. states that Kundarāja's son Satyāśrava churned the Tivular forces. (17) These various references should not be taken to allude to one and the same event. They rather point to the fact that the forces of the Chālukyas and the Cholas were pitched against one another on more than one occasion during Jayasimha's reign. But the exact chronology or correlation with one another cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge.

(13) Elliot, I. 27f & Inscription from Hangal, dated, s 946. (14) Rice, Mysore and Georg from inscriptions, pp. 141-45. (15) EI. XV. 33f. The Hallihal inscription describes Kundarāja as "the protector of the firm Ṛakṣā of the kingdoms of the Cholas (?) and Chālukyas, the thunderbolt to the race of the Kosālas, the destroyer of Iomjika, adamant to Gurjara, the destructive thunderbolt to the Cholas, and the annihilator of the kingdom of Maleya". (Moraes, Kadamba-kula, pp. 428, 432). (16) HPD. 91; EI. XXIV. 104. (17) EC. VII. sk. 30.
Jayasimha's hostility towards Bhoja was undoubtedly due to the threat presented by the extension of Paramara influence in Lāṭa and the Konkan. Some advance in this direction was possibly made as we have seen, by Sindhurāja. It now reached its culmination sometime towards the close of the second decade of the eleventh century under his son and successor. The Kalavan Plates and the Udaipur prasasti, which profess to describe the conquests of Bhoja, assign to him in a general manner victories over the kings of Kārnāṭa, Lāṭa and Konkana. (18) Two of his records, namely, the Banswara and the Betwa grants, both dated in 1020 A.D. specifically refer to fights made by him on the occasion of the anniversary of the victorious occupation of Konkana (Konkana-grahana-vijaya-parvani) and Konkana-vijaya-parvani) (19). The history of Konkana about this time is extremely obscure. But we do not find any reason to doubt the correctness of Bhoja's inscriptions. (20) The Paramāra

(18) El.XIX.71-72; I.235. (19) El.XI.182f, XVIII.320f. (20) The evidence of the Kalvan inscription (El.XIX,69ff) has been adduced to prove that Bhoja's feudatory Yasovarman was governing the "Svetapāda" province which comprised parts of the Nasik district. But the correct reading is "Svetapata" signifying the Svetambara Jains. (Bhandarkar, List, p.291 n).
occupation of the Koṅkana apparently took place sometime before 1020 A.D., and it is quite possible that Bhoja also made an attempt about this time to extend his influence over the neighbouring Chālukya territories, and thus came into direct conflict with Jayasimha, as is evidenced by the Balagamvē inscription. Bhoja, however, was not destined to enjoy undisputed sway over the Koṅkana for long. The Mīraj plates tell us that in about the year 1024 A.D. Jayasimha possessed himself of the wealth of the seven Koṅkana, and pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Kollāpura (Kolhapur) with the view to lead a ḍig-vijaya in the north. (21)

It was most probably aimed against Bhoja. We learn from a record of the time of Vikramaditya VI that the Kaḷamba Chattuga put to flight the Mālāvas on the highland and drank water from the Gautama-Gānge (i.e. the Godāvari). Thus for the services thus rendered Chattuga obtained from Jayasimha, while the latter was still in his camp, the title of "the Guardian of the Highland" (Kaṭakadagōvan).

(22) We thus see that Jayasimha actually led an expedition to the north against the Paramāras. It is quite possible that Kundarajā broke the elephant squadron of Bhoja on
We may now turn to consider Jayasimhasa's relations with another of his northern neighbours, namely, the Haihayas or Chedis of Tripuri. Taila II's mother belonged to the royal house of the Chedis. Relying upon a doubtful reading of a corrupt verse occurring in the Yewur plates, Fleet thought that Taila made wars on his maternal uncle's family. (24) But since then a correct text of the record has been made available to the scholarly world, and the passage in question has been commented upon by Mirashi, who shows that it actually

(23) Moraes is inclined to identify Chattuga with Kundaraja (Kadamba-kula, p198). In the Prabandhachintamani and Bhoja-charita appears a story which tells us that Bhoja was prompted to lead the expedition to the south to avenge the death of Munja at the hands of Taila II. He saw a dramatic representation of the fateful event, and being stung on the occasion by sarcasm of an emissary of the Chaulukya king Bhima I, proceeded at once towards the country of Telangana, and subjecting Taila to severe indignities, and finally executed him. (HPD.89ff). Taila died before Bhoja's accession, but accepting that there may be some truth underlying this tradition, R.G. Bhandarkar suggested that the Chaulukya prince who thus suffered death at the hands of Bhoja should perhaps be identified with Vikramaditya I(V) (EHD.3rd.ed.,141f). Others prefer to identify him with Jayasimhaha II (HPD.90). There is, however, nothing to show that either of the two Chaulukya kings met with a violent death.

(24) DKD.431.
alludes to Utpala or Muñja's victories over the Chedis, Utkalas and others. (25) But the friendship between the Chālukyas and the Chedis apparently did not last long. An inscription from Gurgi seems to refer to Kokkalla's II's victory over the rulers of Kuntala and Vanavāsa. (26) The date of this king is not known, and his Chālukya contemporary may have been any one of the three rulers - Satyārāya, Vikramāditya V and Jayasimha. His son and successor Gāngeya also receives credit for defeating the king of Kuntala. The Rewah inscription of Karna says that his father (Gāngeya) "was fond of defeating the (king of Kuntala) in a clever manner." (27) The Khairha Plates has the following verses in reference to Gāngeya: (28)

\[\text{sirasi kulisa(sa)pāto vairinām vīra-lakṣāṃ|patir=}
\text{abhavadapatyam yasya Gāngeya devah}  
\text{sa vīrāsimhasana-}
\text{mauli-ratnam sa Vikramāditya iti prasiddhah}  
\text{yasmād}
\text{akasmād apara(2 para)mānam-ichchhan|nakuntalah}
\text{kunta latām-va(ba)bhāra}  

The last verse has been differently translated by different authors. Hiralal renders it as follows: "The most jewel of crowned heads, he (Gāngeya) became famous under the name Vikramāditya, wishing to run away from whom with dishevelled hair (the king of Kuntala), who was deprived of his country, came to possess it again."

(25)IMQ.IX.132 (26)EI.XXII.132, R.D. Banerji ascribes this achievement to Kokkalla's son Gāngeya. But see ibid. pl29n (27), (28), & (29) contd.
Krishna Sastri says that the verse means, "He the crest jewel of the (kings of the) heroic throne, he who was renowned as Vikramāditya (identified with Chālukya Vikramāditya V), being deprived of Kuntala and wishing to run away from him (i.e. Gāngeya), suddenly took up the Kunta creeper (in hand as a sign of submission". (30) Mirashi accepts the first part of the translation as given by Hiraśal, but the last part is rendered by him as "wishing to run away from whom the Kuntala ceased to be the Kuntala." (31) If Krishna Sastri's translation is to be accepted, then Gāngeya must have defeated Vikramāditya V. But one naturally feels that the word "as" in the verse should be construed with Gāngeyadeva of the preceding verse.

On the other hand, the last part of Hiraśal's rendering is far from happy. The general sense however is pretty clear, that is, the defeat of the king of Kuntala at the hands of Gāngeya. Now to the question, who was the Kuntala king who...
thus sustained discomfort at the hands of the Chādi monarch, no definite answer can be given. On the Chālukya side reference to an encounter with Gāngsya is met with only in the Kuhānum epigraph of 1028 A.D., which speaks of Kundāraja as the breaker of the elephant forces of the Chedi king. (32) Taking into consideration the date of this record we tentatively assign the feat of Gāngsya to the reign of Jayasimha.

The Balambida inscription of the time of Somesvara I mentions that Jayasimha destroyed the kings of the Cholas, Koṅkana, Gurjara, Mālava, Kerala, Pañchāla, Gauḍa, Kalinga and Vaṅga. (33) This is undoubtedly an exaggerated account of the military achievements of the Chālukya king. Another inscription, dated 1164 A.D. says that Jagadekamalla (Jayasimha) obtained herds of elephants, wealth, troops and horses by churning the hostile armies of the Cholas and Gurjaras. (34) But no details of any Chālukya-Gurjara contest is known from other sources. We have pointed out in a previous context that one of the king's officer, Malladandadhis placed claim to have defeated the Hoyasalas as early as 1024 A.D. (35) Vāvanaras the governor of Belvola and Puligere, is described in a Hottur inscription, dated 1037 A.D., as "a scatterer of

(32) El.XV.331f. (33) MAS.1928.72f. (34) EC.VII.108. (35) see ante, p. 107
Doradesa, which, Dr. Barnett suggests, may stand for Dorasamudra. (36) Here we have perhaps references to some early attempts to bring the Hoysalas under the Chalukya suzerainty, which seems to have bore fruit in the next reign.

Amidst all these wars and invasions Jayasimha was confronted with a serious internal crisis created by the rising of a number of śāmantas and maṇḍalesvaras. It almost cost him his throne, but the prompt action taken by Kālidasa-dandaḥhipa, who is described as the founder of the prosperity of the Chalukya king’s rule (uṇpādita-Chālukya-rāja-rājya-ābhuyadayam) retrieved the situation. (37) The date of this important event is not known. Neither do we know the cause of this rebellion. In this connection we may also note the following facts. Vaṇavarasa, whom we have already met, is described as an uprooter of Pannāla (Panhala in the Kolhapur State), which was under the Silāharas of Kārhad; a grindstone to Baḷēvaṭṭana (i.e. Bāliapattam in the Malabar district), which was under the Goa branch of the Kedambas; and the shatterer of the pride of the fortress of Bijavādi (probably Bījavādi in the Hunsundul taluk, Bijapur district). (38) Another officer of the king’s Bijjarasa of the Chālukya family, is said to have been the final day of destruction to Pattarali, scatterer of Bhillama (probably Vādeva Bhillama) (36)EI.XVI.75ff. (37) The Nāguiā inscription, dated 1058 A.D. (Hy. Arch. Se. No. 8. pp. 11, 19) (38) The inscription has been edited and places identified by Dr. Barnett in EI.XVI.75ff.
III), grindstone to Paṭuhakōṭa, breaker of the pride of Baṇṭuga, lion to the rutting elephant Chaṭṭuga (probably the Kadamba prince of the same name, who got the title of Kaṭakāda-gōvan from Jayasimha), and plague to Torahara. It is further stated that he captured Toragale (Torgal in the Kolhapur state) in a moment, attacked and seized Bhatā, and plucked up the Beydars by the root. His brother Gonarasa, governor of the Sāntaligenāḍ, and described as the armour of the south, slew Arasaṅka and Gondapa, and drove away the Maleyavars of the seven Male. (39) These exploits of Vāvaṅarasa and Bijjarasa were performed specially to put down local rulers, including the Kadambas of Goa and Ṣanavasi, the Śilāhāras of Karhad and perhaps the Yādava Bhillama III, who had accepted the suzerainty of the Chālukyas. It seems to us that these were the Śāmantas and maṇḍalikas who wanted to bring about a political revolution and deprive Jayasimha of his throne, but were thwarted by the loyal services of several other officers of the state.

We have seen that Taila II ruled from Mānyakheta. But one of his immediate successors transferred the seat of government to Kalyāṇi. N.K. Sastri suggests that this was probably done after the sack of Mānyakheta by

(39) EC.VIII.Sagar 108 (bis), 109 (bis).
Rājendra-Chola during the reign of Satyāśraya, the earliest epigraphic mention of the city as the capital of the Chālukyas is found in two inscriptions of Jayasimha, both dated 1033 A.D. (40)

Jayasimha had at least three queens, Suggaladevi, Lakshmidēvi and Devaladevi. (41) The name of only one of his sons, Somesvara (I) who succeeded him, has come down to us. His daughter Hamma or Avvalladevi was given in marriage to the Yādeva chief Bhillama III Chandrarāja in his Mahakatilaka, says that Jayasimha was a worshipper of Devadeva i.e. Śiva. (42) From Channabāsavapurana we get the information that the king was converted from Jainism to the Śaiva faith by his queen Suggaladevi. (43)

Jayasimha's successor Somesvara I had the Tirudas Trilokyamalla and Hāvamalla, He is also referred to as Chālukya-Nārāyaṇa, Chālukya-Kanṭhirāva and Vīra-Mārtanda. (44) The accession of the new king took place shortly before January 1043 A.D. (45) He died on the 29th of March 1068. (46)

The twenty-five years of Somesvara's reign were spent in almost ceaseless warfare with his neighbours on all the frontiers of his dominions. But the chief interest of the reign centres round the long duel which the king

(40) BK.I.I.No.69; BK.128 of 1934. The Elliot collection, (I.p.286) contains an inscription of the time of Jayasimha from Kalyāṇi bearing the date 5947.
(41) The last two are mentioned in BK.122 of 1933 & SII.IX.I. nos.91-92. (42), (43), (44), (45) & (46) contd.
fought with his Chola contemporaries. It began soon after he came to the throne, with an expedition led into the Chālukya territory by Rājādhīrāja, son of Rājendra-Chola I. The relevant incidents are found narrated in the records of the twenty-sixth or earlier years of Rājādhīrāja, and are to be dated before 1044 A.D. (47) It appears that the invader aimed at a plundering raid upon the Chālukya capital itself, which, as we have seen, was now located at Kalyāni. A close study of the available facts suggests that Rājādhīrāja had to fight several engagements with the defending forces before his objective was realised. We learn from one set of inscriptions that he defeated the Chālukya army under Gandapayya and Gangādhara, both of whom fell in the battle and forced to retreat Vikki and Vijyāditya (identified with princes Vikramāditya and Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya) along with Sṛīgāmasyya. The invader then set fire to the city of Kolliṭakai and seized a large amount of booty.

(42) Sources of Karnataka History, I. p. 142.
(43) DKD.435. (44) EI.XV.87; Hy. Arch. sc. No.8, pp.10-11.
(45) EI.XVIII.173. Note that Jayasimha was alive till October, 18, 1042 A.D. (BKr. I.I.No.75).
A second set of inscriptions tells us that the invader fought "a hot battle at Būndi," and inflicted a crushing defeat on Vichhaya, who fled away leaving his parents on the field. It is said that Āhavamalla then attempted to open negotiation, but the messengers were treated insultingly, and forced to carry inscribed on their persons, the account of the flight of their master. The Chola next pushed on still further for bathing his elephants at Śirputturai, Perundurai and Deivabhīmakāsi. On his way he replaced the boar ensign of the Chālukyas by the tiger emblem of the Cholas. Next he defeated another set of enemy leaders which included the Nalumba, Kālidāsa, Chēmunda, Kommayya and Vīlavarāja. He beheaded the Gurjara king (?) and spared those who offered submission. Finally the city of Kālīyāni was sacked and razed to the ground. Amidst its ruins Rājarāja went through a vīrābhisheka. The victor also carried away with him an image of a dvārapālaka. (48) The Chola account given above seems to be substantially correct, for the burning of Kālīyāni in the reign of Someśvara I by the Cholas is admitted in several late Chālukya inscriptions. (49)

(48) 172 of 1894; SII. V. 465; Colas, pp. 273-76.
(49) EC. VII. sb. 325; M. S. 1911, 47; ELLIOT, I. 3528. The account found in these inscriptions suggests that the destruction of Kālīyāni followed the burning of Kāṇchi by a Chālukya general. But the latter event possibly predated the battle of Koppam, see below.
The Manimangalam inscription of Rājadhirāja, shows that before the close of 1046 A.D. he led his army into the northern region for a second time, and defeating the chiefs Gandar-Dinākaraṇ, Nārānana (Nārāyaṇa), Kanavādi or Gaṇavādi (Gaṇapati) and Madisūdanaṇa (Madhusūdana), burnt the palace of the Chālukya king at Kampil. (50) N.K. Sastrī assigns about this time several other skirmishes between the Cholas and the Chālukyas. (51) At Pūndūr, on the left bank of the Kṛishṇā river, several vassal chiefs of Someśvara were captured, and the city of Pūndūr was destroyed. This was followed by the burning of a large palace at Manṇanḍippai. These repeated invasions produced great distress among the subject populations in the southern districts of the Chālukya kingdom. A Śūdi inscription of 1050 A.D. specifically records the renewal of a corporate constitution, granted to eight settis and eighty householders, which broke down because of stress of the Shola war. (52)

In the meantime on the Chālukya side Someśvara appears to have directed his attention to extend his influence over Vēṅgī and Kaliṅga, which apparently admitted Chola overlordship. As early as 1044-45 (ś 966 Tārāṇa)

(50) SII.iii.No.28,p.57. (51) Colas, I.304. (52) EI. XV.76f.
Sobhanarasa, the governor of Belvola and Puligere, is styled Verigipura-varzesvara. (53) The same epithet is applied to prince Somesvara (II) in inscriptions dated 1049 and 1054 A.D. (54) In another epigraph dated 1053 A.D. the king's subordinate Bhogarasa is said to have obtained successes in Kalinga and Vengi. (55) A record of 1054 attributes to the king victory over the Kalingas. (56) Finally at Draksharama has been found an inscription of the king bearing the date 977 (1055 A.D. (57) These evidences clearly suggest that the Chalukya king had attained considerable success in the two Chola dependencies on the eastern coast of the Deccan. This is also borne out by the Kanyakumari inscription and Charla Plates of Virarajendra, which specifically mention the fact that Vengi and Kalinga, which had been in the Chola family for long (vamsa-kram-ābhya-gatam), were neglected by his elder brothers (bhratribhyam), obviously meaning both Rājadhirāja and Rājendra II, and had passed into the occupation of enemies. (58)

Rājadhirāja led yet another expedition into the Chalukya territory, which culminated into the celebrated battle of Koppam, in which the Chola king was killed. The

(55) El. IV. 261F. (56) EC. VII. sk. 118.
antecedent of this last mentioned event are found in an inscription of the time of Vikramāditya VI. "After forcing Mummuri of Koṅkana to bend his neck, Pulakesin without difficulty burnt Kāñchī. It being said that the Chola burnt Kalyāṇi (?), Āhavamalla, taking a single elephant, slew the valiant Chola." (59) The raid on Kāñchī by Somesvara is also attested by the Nagai inscription of 1058 A.D., the Kaligi inscription of year 27 of Vikramāditya, and Bilhana. (60) That it occurred before the battle of Koppam is rendered probable by the fact that the discomforture of Mummuri is mentioned in an inscription of 1053-54 A.D. (61) Chālukya records, therefore, leave the impression that the last invasion was undertaken by Rājādhiraṇa as a retaliatory measure for the destruction of one of his capitals. There cannot also be any doubt that he was thoroughly exasperated by the aggressive activities of Somesvara on the coast of the eastern ocean. The Manimangalam inscription of Rājendra II however, reports that being desirous of war, the Chola king started and reached Irattamandala, and there began to carry on great depredations. Hearing this Somesvara came

(59)EC.VII.sb.325;MAS.1911,p.47;Elliot.I.352b. It should be noted that Kalyāṇi was burnt by Rājādhiraṇa at the beginning of Āhavamalla's reign, and on this occasion it was the Belvola-Puligere provinces which suffered the same fate. (60)Hy.Arch.se.No.8,pp.10,18;Elliot.I.264;Vikramāṅkacharita, I.15. (61)Elliot.I.72b.
in great anger, and took up his position in the stronghold of Kopam, which Fleet locates near Khidrapur on the bank of the Krishna in the Belgaum district. A furious battle took place in which Rajadhiraja lost his life. Thereafter the entire rank of the Chola army was thrown into a state of confusion and disorder. But Rajadhiraja was accompanied by his younger brother Rajendra, who now came forward, and taking the lead, turned a sure defeat into a glorious victory. Jayasinganā, the brother of the Chālukya king, "the warlike" Pulakesi (undoubtedly identical with the one who burnt Kānchi), Dasapanmaṇ, Asokaiyaṇ, Ārgaiyaṇ, Mottaiyaṇ, Nānī-Nolambaṇ and many other princes lay dead on the field. Vanniya-Rēvaṇ, Tuttaṇ, Kundamayaṇ, and others fled away, and Ālavavalla himself "was forced to plunge into the Western ocean". A rich booty fell into the hands of the victor, which included the queens Sattiyavvai, Sāngappai, many noble horses and elephants, and the banner and other royal insignia of the Chalukya king. Rajendra celebrated his victory by crowning himself on the field of battle, and by erecting a pillar of victory at Kollapura, which has been identified with modern Kolhapur. (62) The place was destroyed by Rajadhiraja on this occasion. (63)

(62) SII.iii.No.29.
(63) EI.XXV.p.262.Verse 73.
The date of the battle of Koppam can be definitely placed in 1054 A.D. This is the latest known regnal year of Rājādhirāja, (64) and an inscription of the same year, recording the various conquests of Āhavamalla, says that in the middle of the battle the Chola king died. (65) We have several other references to this event in inscriptions of Somesvara's own times. (66) The Nagai inscription of 1058 A.D. says that the king, having killed the Chola monarch in anger, brought his freshly decapitated head. (67) Another inscription of the same year states that Somesvara slew with ease the Chola king, who was accompanied in the battle field by hundreds of elephants, and brave and powerful warriors. (68) A third inscription, dated 1062 A.D. describes Mahāmandalesvara Permala Mādrasa, governor of Belvola and Puligere, as Rājādhirāja-Chola-goṇḍam (slayer of Rājādhirāja Chola). (69) The Annigere inscription of 1071 A.D. relates some of the destructions wrought by Rājādhirāja on this occasion. We are told that the "wicked" Chola, abandoning religious observances, penetrated deep into the Belvola country, and burned the Jain temples built by the Gaṅga king. (either Būtaka or Maṇasimha).

But he eventually lost his head at the hands of Somesvara I. (70)

(64) Colas, I.,p. 291. (65) EC, VII., sk. 118.
(66) We note them here specially because a high authority has remarked that "the inscriptions of the reign of Somesvara tells us nothing of the battle of Koppam" (N.K. Sastri, Colas, I., p. 310. (67), (68), (69) & (70) contd.
Although the Cholas claimed the final victory at Koppam, the initiative in the Chālukya-Chola contest probably passed for a time into the hands of the Chālukyas. We now find them making definite encroachments on the Chola territories lying within the borders of the Mysore state, and also carrying on offensive operations against the enemy. Several inscriptions ranging between 1055 and 1060 A.D. describe Vikramāditya, the second son of Somesvara, as the governor of Gaṅgāvādi, which was conquered by the Cholas in the days of Rājarāja I. (71) One of them states that he was ruling the province as a prince's field (Kumāra-vṛitti). Chālukya occupation of the province is also implied by the fact that on the eve of the battle of Kūḍāsangamam (c.1064 A.D.) Viṭarājendra claims to have driven away the Chālukya mahāsāmanatās, who fought under the banner of Vīkkalan (i.e., Vikramāditya), from Gaṅgāvādi into the Tungabhadra (72). In 1060 the Somesvara king made a victorious expedition to the south, and having  

(69)BK.I.1.I.97. He also possibly finds mention in BK.189 of 1933 as Cholanagonda.  
(70)DKD.441; EI.XV.347-48.  
(71)BK.69 of 1936; BI.XIII.168f; SII.IX.1.118, BC.VII sunk.83,152.  
(72)SIII.III.p.37.
conquered the Cholas, halted on his return journey, at Full in the Śindavādi province and made some grant. (73) This event is possibly referred to in the Chola epigraphs of the ninth year of Rājendra II and third year of his son Rājamahendra (1061–62 A.D.) (74). We learn from these records that in order to remove the ignominy of the defeat at Koppam the Chālukya invaded the Chola territory with a large army which was led by Vālādeva. A battle was fought on the bank of the Muḍakkāru in which the leader of the enemy forces was killed, and Āhavanalla, Vikramāditya, Iṟungaiyan and others were forced to beat a retreat. On the Chola side Rājendra II, Rājamahendra and possibly Vīraraṇjendra took part in this battle. (75)

In 1064 Vishnuvardhana-Viṣṇujīvāḥ, son of the Chālukya king, and governor of the Nolambavādi led an expedition to the south. (76) The incident may have been connected with some of the major engagements that took place about this time. In the Karuvur inscription of Vīraraṇjendra it is stated that he drove away from the battle-field in Gangaṇāḍi into the Tungabhadra the Mahāsāmantas who were fighting under Vikkalan. He attacked and destroyed a powerful army which the enemy had sent to Vengai-nādu, and cut off the head of its leader Chāmunḍra-γajā. (77)

(73)EI.XV.85ff., cf. also SII.123.
(74)Colas,I.317f.
(75)Ibid. Chola inscriptions tell us that Rājendra II defeated Āhavanalla three times. (EI.XXI.221) This apparently refers to his feats at Koppam and the Muḍakkāru. An inscription of the time of Vikramāditya, on the other hand styles Āhavanalla as Rājendrachola-gajā-mṛiṣa-γajā, lion to...
The victor also takes pride in recording that he severed the nose of Chāmundayaean's daughter Nāgalai, who was the queen of Irugaiyan. (77) The Chālukyas, however, fell upon the Cholas for a third time to avenge their former defeat. The rival forces met at Kūdai-sangamam and victory favoured the side of the Cholas. Virarājendra claims that he defeated countless samantanas and put to flight Āhavamalla; his son Vikkalan and Śīnganan (Jayasimha), Māduvanan, who was in command, Aṇgalan and others. Śīngan, the king of Kōsalai, was cut to pieces. Thereafter he seized Āhavamalla's wives, family treasures, royal insignia, and a herd of war-elephants and prancing horses (78). The Charla Plates of Virarājendra says that on the very day of his coronation he proceeded to the north and routed the Chālukyas at Kūdai-sangamam. This would place the event in about 1064 A.D. The Māñimangalam inscription, on the other hand, mentions that the victory was achieved by the Chola king before his accession to the throne. (79)

It is extremely difficult to measure the actual gain made by the Cholas as a result of their recent victories.

(75)(contd) the elephant Bājendrachola (Elliot, I. 264).
(76) SII. IX. I. no. 127. (77) N.K. Sastri, Cols. I. 318.
(78) SII. III. p. 37. The site of the battle of Kūdai-sangamam has not been satisfactorily identified as yet. N.K. Sastri thinks that it may have been fought at Kūdali at the junction of the Tunga and the Bhadra, or that of the Tungabhadra and the Krishnā.
(79) EI. XXV. 247.
The Charla Plates record the grant of the village of Cheram in Puli-nāgu, which has been identified with Charā in the Pungamur taluk of the Chittoor district. The place was captured by Virarājendrā in his last campaign. (80) This piece of information is highly interesting as showing the farthest limit of the Chalukya advance in this direction. We are not at all sure that the whole of the Gaṅgavāḍi province was recovered by the Chola king (80a). In Vengi also he does not seem to have achieved any substantial success at this time.

In 1065 (?) Someśvara led another expedition to the south. (81) Next year (the fourth year of Virarājendrā (82) the rival hosts met "on the bank of a river of whirling water". The Chola king claims that he defeated his enemies and cut off the heads of the Gaṅga, Nulumba, Kādaya and Vaiduva (Vaidumba) kings, and those of Valliyaṇṇaṇ, Vaṇjippayan, and Vaṅgaraṇ. The victor then retired to Gaṅgaiṅḍāchola-puram. But in the meantime Someśvara felt the sting of defeat, and thinking that "it is better to die than live in such disgrace", sent a written invitation to the Chola king for another trial of strength on the same field of Kudat-Saṅgamam. The message

(80) El.XXIV.265.  (80a) From 1060 onwards we find Hoysala Vinaśāditya, who seems to have been connected with Someśvara by matrimonial ties, described as the ruler of Gaṅgavāḍi. BC V.Ar.186; MAS.1929,p.73; Rice,Mysore & Coorg,p.98. (81)SIIa128,line 25.  (82)Colas.I.326n.
was handed over to the Ganga chief Kettan for delivery, and ren" those who do not come to Kudal through fear are no kings, but are disgraceful liars in war " . Virarājendra accepted the challenge, and encamped at Karandai or Kandai till one month after the appointed day. But Somesvara did not turn up, and we are told that he hid himself in the western ocean. Three Chālukya generals Devanaṭha, Setṭi and Kesī, were put to flight. A pillar of victory was erected on the bank of the Tungabhadra. (83)

The Chola king next proceeded to reconquer Vengi and thereby to redeem the vow made by his brothers and by himself. Before this he on his part sent a note to the Chālukya king announcing "Hear this, and if you have any power, come and protect" . A battle was fought at Vijayavaḍai (modern Bezwada) in which the chiefs Jananāthan, Rajamayan and Mupparaśan were defeated and put to flight.

The victorious army also raided Kaliṅga and Chakrakota. The last mentioned place seems to have been conquered by the Chālukyas at a certain time which can not be exactly specified. Bilhana attributes the conquest to Vikramādityya on the eve of Somesvara's death. (84) But as

(83) It has been suggested that Somesvara could not keep his engagement because of the sudden attack of an incurable malady to get relief from which he drowned himself in the Tungabhadra on the 29th March 1068. (Coñas, I. 328).

(84) Vikramaṅkacharita, N. 30.
early as 1062 A.D. Mahāmāndaleśvara Mādarasa, "the slayer of Rājadhirāja", is described as a forest fire to Chakrakotta. (85) We also learn from the Kāzipet inscription of Kākatiya Beta II, dated 1090 A.D. that his father Prola I. drove the chieftain of Bhadrāṅgapura and conquered Chakrakūṭa, Koṅkana-mandala and Gonna, and obtained permanently the Anumakonda-viṣhayā from Trailokyamalla, i.e. Somesvara I. (85a)

The second engagement at Kudal-Saṅgamam, and the incidents that followed immediately after, are all found in the Manimangalam inscription of the fifth year of Viśarājendra, and are to be dated before September-10 1067. It is clear that by this time, when Somesvara's reign had almost come to a close, the Cholas had recovered much of their lost ground. But it is possible that the Čaṇukyas received some accession of territory towards Gangavāḍi at the expense of their southern rival. (86)

(86) SII.III.No.30. cf. also the Tirumukkudal inscription of year 6 (EI.XX.220ff), and the Charla Plates of year 7 (EI.XXV 241ff. Viśarājendra claims to have seen the back of Ahavamalla five times". It has been suggested that the occasions were:-1. the campaign against Gaṅgapati, 2. the first invasion of Vengi, 3. the first battle of Kuḍalsaṅgamam, 4. the battle on the bank of "the river of whirling water", 5. second battle of Kuḍalsaṅgamam. The Tirumukkudal inscription (6th year) refers to another contest between the Cholas and the Čaṇukyas, But it is not certain that the rival was a western Čaṇukya (EI. XXV.249).
The Chalukya king inherited from his father not only the latter's rivalry with the Cholas, but also his enmity against the rulers of Malava and Chedi. Bilhana tells us that he seized Dhara and compelled Bhoja to flee. (87) The statement of the poet is also confirmed by epigraphic evidence. The Nagari inscription of 1058 A.D. says that Somesvara raided and burnt Dhara and Ujjayini, and in the latter city "bore the silver ball with pride, by the strength of his own arm". The record also contains the information that the general Madhuva drove out the lord of Dhara. (88) Three other officers who took part in Somesvara's campaigns in Malava were Nagamayya, "described as a GaGuna to the serpent Bhoja" (89), Gundamaya, said to have been held in honour at Dhara, and Jemarasa, represented as "a flame of doom to Bhoja". (90)

Bhoja died some time before 1055-56 A.D. in the midst of a war with the allied forces of the Chaulukyas and Chedis, who seized the Paramara kingdom. In the Vikramâkacharita occurs a statement that prince Vikramaditya gave protection to the king of Malava and helped him to regain his kingdom. (91) The latter has been identified with Jayasimha, son and successor of Bhoja.

(87) Vikramâkacharita, I.91-96. (88) H. Arch. Sc. No. 8, pp. 10-1. (89) EI. 87, Xv.88. (90) MAS. 1928, p. 68f. (91) EI. XVI.86. The destruction of Dhara by Bhoja is also referred to in several other inscriptions. cf. MAS. 1928, p. 72f; Elliot, I. 263f, 350f.
D.C. Ganguly is further inclined to identify him with the Jananatha who fought on the Chalukya side and suffered defeat at the hands of Virarajendra at the battle of Bīzwada. (92) But this is not beyond doubt. (93)

Regarding Somesvara's conflict with the contemporary Chedi king no detail has come down to us.

The Rewa inscription of 1049 A.D. says that the latter overran the district of Kāṇchi and shook the fortunes of Kuntala (94). Mirashi draws attention to an apabhramsha verse which refers to Karna's victory over Vikramaditya. (95) Undoubtedly when the latter was acting as his father's general. Karna apparently carried on the hereditary feud with the Chalukyas that started in the reign of his grandfather. On the other hand, Bilhana says that Somesvara "utterly destroyed the power of Karna". But this seems to be only a poetic exaggeration.

Some contemporary inscriptions attribute to Somesvara the conquest of Lāṭa, Konkana and the Seven Males. (96) The claim may be accepted as genuine. It seems that Somesvara finally destroyed the Paramāna influence in the former two territories. The subjugation of Konkana seems to

(92) HPD. 123f. (93) EI. XXI. 226n, 242n; XXII. 56n.
(94) EI. XXIV. 106. (95) ibid.
(96) Elliot I. 59; SIT. II. 118; MAS. 1928, p. 72f; EC. VII. SK. 118.
have been a protracted affair, and several officers of state took part in it. As early as 1047 A.D. the king's subordinate Chamundräja is said to have made sport of Koṅkana (97). In an inscription of 1054 A.D. another feudatory, Revarasa, is represented as the submarine fire to Mumuni of Koṅkana (98). The same description is again applied to an official named Gunḍamayya (99). An inscription of the time of Vikramaditya informs us that Pulakesi (who burnt Kaṇchi) marched on Thana, and forcing Mumuri to bend his neck, put in his place an agent of his. (100) And finally the Balambida inscription of 1060 A.D. states that Somesvara put down the haughtiness of the Koṅkanas, having deprived them of their softless royal insignia, and established his name for truth. (101) Mumuni is of course identical with the northern Śilahāra prince of the same name for whom we have the dates 1049 and 1060 A.D. (102)

We have several other inscriptions which purport to give long lists of Somesvara's victories over the peoples of well known Janapadas in Dakshināpatha as well as in Uttarakāpatha. Thus an inscription, dated 1057, states that he was a lion to the Chola, submarine fire to Magadha, sun

(97) EC.VII.SK.151. (98) Elliot.I.726f.
(99) MAS.1928,p.68f. (100) EC.VIII.SK.325.
(101) MAS.1928,p.72f. (102) EI.XXV.53f; DKD.543.
to the darkness Gaula, wind to the cloud Lāla, Indra
to the mountains Ánga, Vaṅga, Vaṅgala, Varāla, Mālava.
The same record also describes the victories of the
king's son Vikramāditya over the Cholas, Gaulas, the
lord of the Barbaras, Andhras, lord of Maru, Mālava
and Gurjara (103). The Sudi inscription of 1060 A.D.
reports that Someśvara shattered the pride of the Chola
monarch, he was a submarine fire to the Mālavyas, a wind
to the clouds the Ángas, Vaṅgas, Khasas, Vaṅgi, Pāṇḍya,
Saurāshtras, Kerala, Nepalas, Turushkas, Cheras and Magadhas.
(104) A third inscription of the time of Someśvara II,
says that his father got tribute from Lāta, Kalinga, Ganga,
Karahata, Turushka, Varāla, Chola, Karna, Surāシュtra,
Mālava, Dasaśra, Kosala, Kerala and other countries. He
killed the (kings of) Magadha, Andhra, Avanti, Vaṅga,
Drāvila, Kuru, Khasa, Abhira, Pañchala, Lāla and others, and
plundering them, and taking tribute from them, reduced
them to a state of servitude. (105) Another record of the
ninth year of Vikramāditya reports that Someśvara subjugated
the kings of Kīra, Kalinga, Vaṅga, Magadha, Arbuda, Gurjara,
Pāriyātra, Nepal, Turushka, Gauda, Khasa, Koṇka, Kerala,
Chera, Chola, Śindhu, Pārasa, Varāla, Saurāシュtra, Lāla, Barbara.
and Abhira as well as a king named Kantaraja. (106)

These are some of the typical examples. There are other lists, not so long, but as of the same character, which need not be detailed here. (107)

There cannot be any doubt that these inscriptions grossly exaggerate the achievements of Somesvara, and, as Dr. Barnett observes, the "details seem to be more epic than historical". (108) Attention, however, has been drawn to the fact that in Bengal and Nepal we find about this time, or a little later, the rise of rulers who claim Karnatakaka connection, and it has been conjectured that they may have been military adventurers who accompanied prince Vikramaditya, who is said by Bilhana to have led his arms against Gauda and Kamarupa. (109) But in view of the life-long feud with the Cholas, the possibility of Somesvara's having sent his son on a dig-vijaya in northern India seems to us to be very remote. In the Deccan, on the other hand, the Chalukya king almost certainly held a predominant position. On the north, the Yadavas of Sauradasa must have admitted his suzerainty. The death of Singa, "(the king of) warlike Kosalai", while fighting on behalf of Somesvara I against the Cholas (110) shows that the Chalukya influence had penetrated into the upper

(106) Eli. XV. 104. (107) see Elliot, I. 59ff, 294; EC VII. SK. 118; XI. dg. 1; BKI. I. I. No. 103. (108) Eli. XV. 104. (109) DHN. I. 203. (110) see above.
valley of the Mahānadi. Further north Jayasimha I of Malwa was probably a subordinate ally of the Chalukyas. On the west the Śilāhāras of Konkana were brought under subjection. The Goa Kadamba chief Jayakeshin I, is again, expressly described as his feudatory. (110a) On the south the pre-nomen of Mahāmanḍalesvāra Trailokyamalla-Vīra-Santara (II), in an inscription which falls within Somesvara's reign, shows that he was a vassal of the latter (111). Again, the presence of a queen named Hoysaladevi in the palace of Somesvara suggests that Vīnayāditya of Dorasamudra also joined the side of the Chalukyas, very probably as a subordinate ally. We should note in this connection that he definitely acknowledge Vikramāditya VI as his overlord. The inclusion of parts of the "Rēnāndu 7000", which comprised parts of Arcot, Cuddapah and Nellore, within the sphere of Somesvara's influence, is indicated by the decapitation suffered by a Vaidumbha chief at the hands of the Chola king at the battle of Kuḍal-sangamam while fighting on the enemy's side. (112) This is also confirmed by the statement regarding the capture of Chēram in the Puli-nādu (Charla in Īḷanganur taluk Chittoor district) by

(110a)DKD.567.  (111)EC.VII.SK.63.  (112)see above.
Vīra-Rājendra from the Chalukyas to which we have referred above. On the east, as we have seen, Somesvāra almost certainly exercised suzerainty over Chakrakota, Kalinga and Vennī till they were recovered by the Cholas immediately before his death. It is possible that the Kākatiya chief Prola I was specially appointed to administer the Anumakondavishāya (Warangal area) in order to guard the frontier in this region. The capital of this extensive empire was situated, as we have seen, at Kalyāṇī, which seems to have been vastly developed by the king, and it is in this sense that we have to interpret the statement of Bilhana that Somesvāra was the maker of Kalyāṇī.

Four queens of Somesvāra are mentioned by Fleet, namely: Bāchaladevi, Chandrīkādevi, Mailadevi, and Ketaladevi. We now know of two more, that is, Hoysaladevi and Līlādevi. (113). The name of four of the king’s sons have come down to us. Three of these were in order of seniority Somesvāra (II), Vikramāditya and Jayasimha, born of Bāchaladevi. (114) The position of the fourth, Vīshṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya, cannot be determined. Neither do we know the name of his mother. All these princes served under their father as provincial governors.

(113) Rice, Mysore and Coorg, I. 98.
(114) DKD. 440n. Bilhana says that these princes were born sometime after the accession of their father to the throne as a boon from the god Siva. But this is a poetic fancy. Note that Vikramāditya and Vijayāditya fought against the Cholas even before 1044 A.D. (see also IA. 1919.133f).
and must have gained considerable experience in civil and military matters. Somesvara II held the Belvola-Buligere provinces during the years 1049 and 1054 A.D., and was styled Chālukya-ehudāmani and Vengipuravaresvara. (115) Vikramaditya ruled GangaVadi and Banavasi in 1055 A.D. Two years later we find Nolambvadi added to the list. Next year (1058) he was ruling GangaVadi, Banavasi and Sāntalige 1000. Two inscriptions of 1060 A.D. however, mention him as administering GangaVadi only. (116) The prince assumed typical Ganga titles and is described as Chālukya-Vikramaditya-Ganga-Permadi, lord of Kuvalālapura, Nandagiri-nātha, Nanniya-Ganga etc. Jayasimha is found controlling the Tardevādi 1000 in 1064 A.D. He is given the Pallava titles of maha-Pallavaṇavay Śri-Pritivi-vallīha-mahārajādhirāja-paramēsvara-Kaṁchi-purevamāsēvara-Trailokyaṇamalla-Nolamba-Pallava-Permānadi. (117) Vishnuvardhans-Vijayaditya governed the Nolambvadi 32000 from 1063 to 1066 A.D., and in addition Kadambalige 1000 and Ballakunde 300 in 1065. (118) He is described as Vengîmandalesvāra, Āhavamalla-aṅkakāra, Sāhasamalla, Chālukya-mānikya. The Vikramāṅkadevacharita does not show any acquaintance with the last mentioned prince, and relates that amongst the other three Vikramāṅditya alone acquired

(115)EI.XVI.53f;BKI.I.I.Nos.84 and 90.
(116)EI.XIII.168f,BKI.69 of 1936;SII.IX.I.118;EC.VII.BK.83,152 XI.2g.140.
(117)BK.23 of 1937,43 of 1938;DKD.440.
(118)EI.IV.212f;SII.VI.Nos.574-75;IX.I.Nos.126-28;EC.VII.ca.18.
all the "sciences" and showed remarkable ability for government and soldiership. Someśvara I, therefore, conceived the idea of making him the Yuvarāja, and thus to designate him the heir apparent by passing over the claims of his first-born. The prince, we are told, refused this very high honour, and continued as before to bear the burden of the duties of the king and of the Yuvarāja, just as the primeval tortoise carried the serpent Śeṣa and the earth. Bühler thinks that this part of the narrative of Vikramāditya's life has been touched up by the poet. (119) It is, however, interesting to note that Vikramāditya, Jayasimha and Vijayaśālita find mention — the former repeatedly — as participants in the wars against the Cholas during their father's life time; Someśvara II is not mentioned even once. The assignment of the important province of Gangavadi to the care of Vikramāditya also perhaps testifies to the confidence reposed in his courage and ability by his father.

The manner of Someśvara I's death is rather interesting. Bilhana tells us that being afflicted by an incurable malady he drowned himself into the Tungabhadra. The king was a Śaiva by faith. (120)

(119) Vikramānkarātā. III. 26-59; Intro. p. 31. Note that an inscription from Galaganatha, dated in Chālukya-Vikrama year 5, states that Vikramāditya defeated the Pailavas when he was a Yuvarāja. (Elliot I. 1856; DJD 442n).
(120) See also EC VII, SK 136.
CHAPTER IX.

SOMESVARA II and VIKRAMADITYA VI.

Somesvara II's accession to the throne took place on the 11th of April 1068 A.D. (1). He had the distinctive epithet of Dhuvanaikamalla.

The chief incidents of this reign are thus found in the Vikramânkacharita. When Somesvara I died, Vikramaditya was on his way back from an expedition to the south. He heard the sad news when he had come near the river Krishna and great was his grief. But after performing the obsequies suitable to the occasion he proceeded towards Kalyân to console his elder brother. The latter came out to meet him, and the two brothers lived for some time in amity and friendship. Vikramaditya showed to the king the honour due to him, and offered him his share of the booty obtained in war. Somesvara, however, soon fell into evil courses, and alienated all right-minded persons by his arrogance, suspiciousness, cruelty and avarice. When Vikramaditya found out that he even intended to do harm to him, he left the court, taking Jayasimha with him, and was accompanied by a large body of armed followers. Somesvara then sent several armies in pursuit of the fugitives, but on each occasion they were defeated, and after repeated failures he left his brothers in peace. Vikrama next

(1) EC.Vill.Sk.136
rested his army on the bank of the Tungabhadra, and after spending some time in the Banavasi country once again resumed his march towards the south with the object of fighting with the Cholas. At this stage Jayakesi, king of Konkaña (identified with Jayakesi I of the Goa Kadamba family) came with presents, and the lord of the Alupas also offered his submission. Realising that he would not be able to cope with the Chalukya prince, the Chola king (Vira-Rajendra) sent his envoy to arrange for peace. The conditions were that Vikramaditya was to retire to the Tungabhadra, and that the daughter of the Chola king was to be given in marriage to him. Vira-Rajendra and Vikramaditya then met together on the bank of the river and the nuptials were duly celebrated. The former died almost immediately after this event. The Chola kingdom was now thrown into a state of confusion, and anarchy. But Vikramaditya went thither, and entering Kāñchī restored order. He next fell upon "Gangakunda" (i.e. Gangaiv-konda-cholapuram), and destroying the army of the enemy secured the throne for his brother-in-law (Adhirajendra). But the work of Vikrama did not last. Soon after his departure a fresh rebellion broke out and Adhirajendra was killed. Rājiga, the lord of Vengi (Rajendra-Kulottunga I) seized the Chola throne and proclaimed himself the king. Vikrama
at once started to punish the usurper. But the latter prevailed upon Somesvara to join his forces with him and to destroy their common enemy. Vikramaditya became very much distressed when he heard of the intention of his brother, and sought to bring about a reconciliation. Somesvara made a throw of acceptance of his proposals, but all the while harboured treacherous intentions in his mind. When Vikramaditya, at last, confronted Rajiga, the army of the Chalukya king was not far off. The battle took place next morning. Rajiga was defeated and fled away, and Somesvara fell a prisoner in the hands of the victor. Thereupon with great reluctance, and through the intercession of Siva, Vikramaditya deposed his brother, and ascended to the throne (2).

Such is then the story of the unfortunate reign of Somesvara II as related by the Court poet of Vikramaditya VI. The Gadag inscription of his twenty-third year (1098 A.D.) substantially corroborates the cause of the fall of Somesvara II as given by Bilhana, and says that "after pursuing for some time the course of

(2) Vikramāṅkacharita, IV, 69-VI.99. Introduction, pp.31-37
righteousness (he) became infatuated with pride, and neglected his subjects' burdens, whereupon he was removed by the virtuous Vikramāditya" (3).

Let us now turn to the evidence of some other epigraphic records, and try to build up the story of Someśvara II's reign in the light of them. The reign of the king began under the shadow of a Chola invasion. In a record, dated in his sixth year (1068 A.D.) Vira-Rājendrā claims that he defeated Someśvara before the latter could take off his kathārī or necklet, and after burning the city of Kampili, erected a pillar of victory at Karadikka (4). A Chālukya record of the same year also admits that taking advantage of a new reign, Vira-Chola came with an immense force, and besieging Gutti did much damage. But Someśvara compelled him to turn his back (5). The Charla plates of the Chola king, dated in his seventh year (1069 A.D.) informs us that he routed the army of Someśvara, and compelled him to abandon the Kannada country. Then he invested the Chālukya prince

(3) EI.XV. p.349, verse 15.
(4) EI. XXV.219; BII. 111.201. Karadikka has been identified with a village in the Lingsagar taluk of the Raichur district (Colas I.333).
(5) E.G. VII. Sk.136
vikramāditya with the Kanthikā, and bestowed on him the whole of Rattapādi (6). Some scholars think that the above events mentioned in the records of the sixth and seventh years of Vīra-Rājendra are identical, and according to them the evidence tends to show that immediately after the death of Ḡhavamalla, and almost before the coronation of Somesvara II was completed, the Chola King led an expedition into the Chālukya territory for upholding the cause of Vikramāditya (7). But it appears to us that there was a short interval between the two invasions of Vīra-Rājendra mentioned above. The Chālukya record of 1068 A.D. which speaks of Somesvara's victory over the Cholas, also contains the following statement: "Junior is king Vīra-Gaṅga (Vikramāditya) to me (Somesvara II); to that Permādideva the next junior is Vīra-Nolambadeva (Jayasimha); to me, to Permādi and to Singī you are junior; thus with favour exalting him, Somesvara II gave to Lakshmana full and dignified rank". It is further said that Lakshmana became the lord of Banavasi, Vikrama(vīra?) - Nolamba-lord of Nolambavan, Sindavādi and the Gaṇgamanḍalika(apparently Vikramāditya) the lord of the territory beginning from

(6) Eli.XXV.265. (7) Ibid. 249; Colas I. 333.
(8) Ec. vii. 5k. 136.
Alampura "in view of their being as a long bar (or bolt) to the south"(8). Till the date of the issue of this record, therefore, there was no apparent breach between Somesvara II and Vikramaditya VI. Bilhana also, as we have seen, records that the brothers lived for some time in peace. The Charla plates, however, definitely show that this period was a short one. The causes of the estrangement were, as given in the records of the time of Vikramaditya, Somesvara's negligence of state affairs, cruelty, capriciousness and intrigues against his more talented brother. But one may feel inclined to doubt if this really contains the whole truth.(9) We may note in this connection that a Balagamve inscription, dated 1071 A.D. refers to a general conspiracy against Somesvara II which was ultimately put down by his general Udayaditya (10).

(9) It is difficult to judge the character of Somesvara on the basis of evidence supplied entirely by the records of Vikramaditya's reign. The Anigere and Gavurud inscriptions show that he tried to repair some of the ravages wrought by Rajaditya to the temples of Belvola in his last invasion (EI.XV.337; 347-48). A late inscription of the time of Vikramaditya described Somesvara II as "dear to the world of poets" (EC.XI.Gg.1).

(10) Mysore Inscription, p.164, APD.128.
However that may be, the retirement of Vikramāditya from the capital, and his march towards the south, as stated by Bilhana, were actual facts (11), so also his meeting with Jayakesi of Goa. We learn from a Kadamba inscription that when Vikramāditya arrived near the confines of the Kingdom of Jayakesi, the latter hastened to meet him, gave his daughter in marriage to him, and also bestowed upon him "abundant ornaments, many damsels, and wedding gifts without count."(12) It is really curious to note that Bilhana speaks of the presents brought by Jayakesi, but does not refer to the marriage on that occasion.

(11). Ec.XI.Dg.1. dated 1123 A.D. contains the following statement:— "setting forth in search of great wealth, this favourite of the earth, together with his brother (Jayasimha?) a fine army and the son of his friend, arrived through manifold dangers at the shore of the ocean, where the glory of his terrible fortune shone forth". This possibly refers to the departure of Vikramāditya for the south after he incurred the displeasure of Somesvara II.

(12) Narendra inscription, EI. Xlll. 298 ff.
The next important incident was the alliance between Vikramaditya and Vīra-Bājendra, which was cemented by another marriage. But the circumstances which brought about this "diplomatic revolution", as narrated by Bilhana, are clearly overdrawn. On the other hand, Vīra-Bājendra's claim that he drove away Someśvara from the Kannada country and conferred upon Vikramaditya the entire Rattapādi is also a gross exaggeration. Epigraphic evidence clearly indicates that Someśvara II's authority continued to be recognised in Banavāsi, Belvola and Puligere almost till the end of his reign(13). But at the same time there cannot be any doubt that Vikramaditya established himself in Nolambavādi and the adjoining region as an independent ruler. We have one inscription from Doni in the Dharwar district(13a), two from Nelligere district, dated 1071 and 1073 A.D., two from Anantapur district, dated 1072 and 1073 A.D., and one from Chitaldrug taluk, dated in December 1073 A.D.,

(13) See Bk.I.1.1.Nos.109-118; Bk.18 of 1934; 75 of 1936. E.C. VII.Bk.51. 130; EI.XIX. 184 etc

(13a). Bk. 27 of 1928
which mention Vikramāditya as reigning with full sovereign titles. It is interesting to note in this connection that the last mentioned epigraph (one from the Chitaldrug Taluk) describes Jayasimha as a subordinate of Vikramāditya, and as anna-nissimam, not bounded by his elder brother, probably Somesvara II. An inscription of Jayakesi I, dated 1071 A.D. also refers to Tribuvanamalla, i.e. Vikramāditya VI, as the reigning king, and it further claims that Jayakesi established the western Chālukyas in their kingdom, and caused the Chālukya and the Chola to be friends at Kāñcī (15). The inference naturally suggests itself that it was through his instrumentality that the alliance between Vikramāditya and Vīra-Rajendra was brought about, and it was probably through the help of the Cholas that Vikramāditya was able to seize a portion of the Chālukya dominions. Another inscription also dated in 1071 A.D. tells us that Vikramāditya was ruling Govindavādi after his victory over the Dañdanāyaka Chiddaya (16).

(14) SII. IX.1. 1009. 135-138; EC.XI. Chital. 82.
(15) SEL.A.R. Ins no. 431 of 1926
(16) SII IX.1. No. 135.
The latter was very probably an officer of Somesvara II.

The Niralgi inscription of 1074 A.D. refers to a mahamandalesvara Vikramāditya and one Bhuvanaikamalla-Pallava-Permanadi Vishnuvardhana(?)-Vijayāditya, and further says that they made a tour of state for the king Bhuvanaikamalla at the standing camp of Bankāpura (17). Dr. Barnett identifies these two personages with the king's brothers so named (18). In this case we shall have to presume that about this time some sort of reconciliation was effected between Somesvara II and Vikramāditya. This is also perhaps indicated by the fact that an inscription from Holal, in the Hadagalli taluk, Bellary district, which was probably included within Nolambavādi, refers to Bhuvanaikamalla as the reigning king (18a). The cause of this change of mind among the brothers is not apparent. It is, however, not altogether impossible that about this time Vikramāditya conceived the plan of leading his army against the Chola king Kulottunga I(IX)(Rājīga), and desired to secure the neutrality of his elder brother by making a show of submission.

(17) EI. XVI 65f.
(18) ib. p.69
(18a) SII. IX.1.139.
But the breach between the two brothers was too wide to be spanned, and suspicion against each other too deep to be altogether removed. Somesvara soon succumbed to the temptation of an alliance with Kulottunga, when it was offered to him, to destroy his hated rival. We have recounted Bilhana's version of the results of the war that followed after this. An inscription from the Shikarpur taluk, dated 1077 A.D. says that Vikramaditya chased away the feudatories of both emperors (ubhaya-chakravara-samanta-bhubhrīt) who fell upon him, and became the lord of the Lakshmi of the Chalukya kingdom (19). Another from Davanagere describes Vikramaditya as the monarch who pursued both the kings (20). On the other hand, inscriptions of the seventh year of Kulottunga (1077 A.D.) apparently referring to the above mentioned conflict, claim victory for him, and state that he drove away Vikkalan and Singanana to plunge into the Western oceans (21). In some other records it is said that Kulottunga obtained as a result of his victory the two countries of Gangamandelam and Singanam, troops of elephants and crowds of women (22).

(19) E.C.VII. Sk. 12k.
(20) EC.XI. Dg.l.
(21) N.K. Sastri, Colas, II. p. 11.
Whoever might have won the battle, one fact is certain. Somesvara II fell into the hands of his brother and lost his throne. How he ultimately ended his life is not known to us. Besides Jayakesi I several other Chalukya samantas seem to have joined the side of Vikramaditya about this time or a little before, and immensely helped him in these difficult days. The Vratakhandha of Hemadrī tells us that the Yadava Seunachandra II saved Paramardideva (i.e. Vikramaditya) from a coalition of his enemies and established him on the throne of Kalyani (23). A Hoysala inscription, dated in the twenty-fifth year of Vikramaditya says that Ereyanga, at the command of the emperor (Vikramaditya) caused his elder brother to sheathe his sword, and the Chola ruler to wear leaves (24). But Raya-Pandy, another feudatory of the king, who calls himself the destroyer of the designs of Rājiga-Chola (25), also may have joined the side of Vikramaditya at the time of the above mentioned Chalukya-Chola war.

(22) ibid, pp 10-11 (23) DKD .515
(24) EC.V.Ar.102. (25) SII.IX.180. 141.
Another chief, who was also brought under the subjection of Vikramāditya through the instrumentality of Jayakesin I probably about the same time, was the Kadamba Kirtivarman II of Hangal (25a).

Early in his reign Somesvara II also came into conflict with the king of Malwa. This is evidenced by a Sudi inscription which describes him as "a blazing fire to the ocean that is the race of the Mālavyas". Again an inscription from BalagamVe dated 1071 A.D. tells us that the king's subordinate daṇḍanāyaka Udayādiya completely defeated the Malava king "who had raised his enmity, and all those who had secretly conspired against the throne and against the master, and seizing their property and women laden with jewels he handed them over to his emperor (Somesvara II)". The contemporary Malava king has been identified with Jayasimha, son of Bhoja, and it has been supposed that he probably made common cause with Vikramāditya VI, and thereby gave offence to Somesvara II. A Paramāra epigraph gives the information that immediately before the accession of Udayādiya (successor of Jayasimha) the kingdom was overwhelmed by the united forces of Karna and the Karnātakas. Karna has been

(25a) Narendra inscription, EI. XIII. 298 ff.
(25b) EI. xV. 97f.
identified by some with the Chalukya king Karna and by others with the Haihaya or Chedi king of the same name, and it is quite possible that Somesvara II wreaked his vengeance upon the king of Malwa by entering into a coalition with one of the above mentioned rulers. But the success of the allies was short-lived, and they were expelled from Malava by Udayaditya (26).

The names of two of the queens of Somesvara II are mentioned in an inscription at Sivapuram in the Kurnul district. They were Kanchaladevi and Mailaladevi (27). It is not known whether he left any son.(27).

The last known date of Somesvara II is 1st September 1076 (26). An inscription from Wadageri, dated Chalukya-Vikrama year 1, Phalguna sud 5, Nala Samvatsara, corresponding to the 31st January 1077, refers to a mahâdâna on the occasion of the coronation of Vikramâditya(29)

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(26) This entire episode has been discussed in detail, with relevant references, by D.C. Ganguly in his History of the Paramâras, pp.127 f. See also E.I.XXVI. 179f. Ganguly thinks that the Hoysala Ereyanga also took part in the war against the Malava king on behalf of Somesvara II. But the former was a partisan of Vikramâditya VI, and we are inclined to assign the achievement of Ereyanga in this respect to the reign of the former. (Vikramâditya).

(27) St.IX. No.134.

(28) BK I. 117. 117.

(29) Elliot 1.165; DKD 446
We may, therefore, with reasonable certainty place the accession of the king between these two dates. He assumed the Giruda Tribhuvanamalla. In certain inscriptions he is also referred to as Chālukya-chakravarti, Chālukya-Rāma, Rāya-Nārāyana, Rāya-Kolahala and Pērmānadi (30).

Vikramāditya signalised his accession to the throne by annulling the Śaka era, and instituting a reckoning of his own. The Wadageri inscription referred to above shows that it was certainly done before 31st January, 1077. The motive of the king in taking this measure is thus described in the Yadarave inscription: — "Having said "why should the glory of the kings Vikramāditya and Nanda be a hindrance any longer?" he, with a loudly uttered command, abolished that (era) which has the name of Śaka, and made that (era) which has the Chālukya counting" (31). It is not unlikely that the king was inspired by a revival of the Vikramāditya tradition in certain parts of India about this time (32). The reckoning was continued for about a century.

The last known year is 1202 (33).

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(30) SIE. AR. 1927. App. C. No. 96; EC. X1. Dg. 1; SI. IX. 1. 197; MAS. 1929. p. 131f; Elliot 1. 536, EC. VII. Sk. 137. 297

For variants of the personal name of the king see DKD 446

(31) Elliot 1. 223, lines 5 -7; DKD 447

(32) Advanced History of India, p. 184.

(33) Bk. 54 of 1934. See also DKD 447n.
We have seen above that Bilhana bears testimony to the solicitude of Vikramāditya for his younger brother Jayasimha. An inscription of the latter describes him as "an abode of modesty, Vikrama Nolamba; a cherished companion of Vikramāditya's heart, a beloved younger brother who, having won over king Chālukya-Rāma, had mounted up and gained his affection" (34). Bilhana says that upon his accession Vikramāditya conferred the viceroyalty of Banavasi on Jayasimha. We know from other sources that the latter was elevated to the position of Yuvāraja, and in that capacity ruled Banavasi, Belvola, Puligere, Sāntalige Thousand, Kundur Kömand, Mandali Kömand, Karawe Kömand, Bāsavalli Thousand and Hayve (35). There cannot be any doubt that, next to the king, this prince was the most powerful individual in the state. His loyalty to the king, in the beginning, was unquestioned. But power soon intoxicated his brain, and he appears to have aspired to full sovereign rights, and began to make preparation for the realisation of that end. Bilhana informs us that he tyrannised over his subjects and filled his coffers with money.

(34) EC.VII.Bk.297.
(35) For some inscriptions of Jayasimha, see Bk.128 of 1927, 237 of 1929, 42 and 43 of 1934; MAS.1929, p.111, l31;1930, p.23,235; EC.VII.Bk.107,293; Eli.V.IV.214f. XVI.58f,239; Elliot, 1.185b.DKD.449 and note.
He increased his army, and brought under his own subjection some neighbouring forest tribes. He even made overtures to the Chola king for help. Vikramāditya heard all these, but shrank from taking any action with the prospect of another fratricidal war. He exhorted his brother to give up the idea of rebellion, but the advice fell upon a deaf ear. Jayasimha advanced on the Krishna, where, mandalikas joined him. This further accession to his strength made him still more certain of victory. To harass the king he allowed his soldiers to loot and burn the country-side and to carry the inhabitants into captivity. These excesses must have goaded Vikramāditya to exasperation. He now collected an army and proceeded to punish the rebel. At this stage once more he tried reconciliation, but when this failed he gave orders to strike. The rival forces were routed, and its leader was taken a prisoner. But the king treated him with kindness and pardoned him. These events must have happened after the seventh year (1062-83) of the Chalukya king. Till then we find Jayasimha acknowledging the suzerainty of his brother (36). He was obviously removed from his office and is heard of no more.

(36) Bk. 128 of 1927; MAS 1930. p. 231.
Recounting the exploits of Jayasimha before his rebellion, an inscription, which has been assigned by Rice to about 1078 A.D., says that through the aid of the Nolamba the seven Konkanas became like the bracelet of the emperor (37). Another, of 1080 A.D., informs us that because of the prowess of this prince "Dhāale was still smoking, Lāla was trying to enter the forest, Tivula (i.e. the Cholas) tried to run south of Lāṅka, and Konkana, thinking that he will be angry, was filled with anxiety" (37a). Vikramāditya's own achievements during this period are thus found in two inscriptions, dated 1077 and 1084 A.D. (38). The earlier one states that "to use his sword on the Chola king he thought not much of, to the Lālā he showed the might of his arms, overcoming him; to the lord of Dhāra he was a source of great fever of terror". The later one says that "the hostile Cholas come not in battle, Lālā's play has been put far away, Malepas show not their heads, Konkanas quiver like a lotus-leaf". There can hardly be any doubt that Jayasimha's exploits were performed in the course of wars waged by his brother.

(37) EC.VII. Sk.107
(37a) EC.VII. Sk.297
(38) EC.VII. Sk.124; Sudī inscription of 3.1006 (EP.XV.100f)
The subjugation of Konkana, or properly speaking, northern Konkana (39) was probably necessitated by an attempt on the part of the successor of the Śilāhāra Mummuni to shake off the authority of the Chālukyas during the period of the civil war. An inscription dated 1077 A.D. says that the Kadamba chief Kirtivarman II subdued the seven Konkānas as if in sport (40). He seems to have been acting in concert with prince Jayasimha.

There are two inscriptions of a subordinate of Jayasimha, named Tambarasar, to show that a new war had to be waged with the Cholas in or before 1080 A.D. (41). One of these records says that "on account of his (Tambarasar's) fear Chola lost his heart, vacated his capital and ran away; chasing the troop of the Chola King at Madakedore he set up a pillar of victory. What a fame did he bring to the Chālukya emperor? The Chola king Jayangonda of Gaṅgegonḍapuram was overcome by fear, and Tambarasar, under the order of the emperor of Kuntala, set up a pillar of fame in Jayagondapuram and also had a flag

(39) Southern Konkana was under the Goa Kadambas whose ruler Jayakeshika I was a loyal supporter of Vikramaditya.

(40) EC. VIII, sl. 262.

(41) MAS. 1929, p. 131ff; 1930, p. 235 ff.
set up in the city and an inscription slab put up.
Tambarasrar crossed the Ghati in the south and on its
slopes set up with great valour a pillar of victory for
thrashing Rājiga". The other inscription describes
Tambarasrar as a victor over the Chola king, who
confronted him in battle, and the destroyer of Kāñchipura.
The Hoysala Freyanga also seems to have joined in this
campaign, and it is said of him that he dragged out the
Chola and completely plundered his capital (42). There
cannot be any doubt that this war is described by Bilhana
in Chapter XVII, verse 43-48, of the Vikramâanka-charita.
It is said there that the Chola became again proud and
insolent. Vikramâditya, therefore, led an expedition
against him. The Chola king fled away after being defeated
in the battle and the victor entering Kāñchi amused himself
there for some time before returning to his capital.

(42) EC VII. Sh. 64
An inscription of 1114 A.D. says that Kānci was overwhelmed by the vast of Vikrama's elephants (43). We must however note that there is no indication in Chola records to show that any disaster of the kind narrated above befell their capital. Yet in view of both epigraphic and literary evidences cited above, we cannot altogether reject the claim of a Chālukya victory over the Cholas at this time which perhaps resulted in the spoliation of their capital (44).

(43) EC. VII. Sk. 137

(44) Commenting upon the narrative found in the Vikramādītakaḥarita N.K. Sastrī observes that "Bilhana's rhapsodic account of a final expedition against Kāñci for the exercise of his hero's arms itching for a fight in the absence of suitable foes, can hardly be accepted as true". But Bilhana's account certainly does not stand uncorroborated by contemporary records.
It also appears that from the last decade of the eleventh century onwards, Vikramaditya VI was almost constantly engaged in attempts to oust the Cholas from the province of Vengi, and his efforts were ultimately crowned with success. Inscriptions of the king have been found at Draksharâmâ dated in the regnal year 17 (1093 A.D.) S 1021 (1099 A.D.), and the regnal years 45 to 49 (C.1121-25 A.D.)

A pillar inscription at Nidikonda records grants of land within the Vengi country made by the wives of Duggarasa, lord of Nâtavâdu, who was a subordinate of Vikramaditya (46). Several other inscriptions of the king have been found in the Nuntur district, three of which furnish interesting information (47). One of these bearing the date year 40 (1115-16 A.D.) refers to a gift made by the king himself in the presence of his general Anantapâla and several other officers. Another dated year 41 (1116 A.D.) tells us that while the

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(45) IMP. II.Gd.127, 160; SII. I.V.Nos 1035, 1111,1211-3,1216, 1228-9, 1250-1,1253,1255-6,1398,1303,1310,1356-8,1364. SII.V.No.51 is an undated inscription of Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramaditya) found at Bhimavaran, Godavari district.


(47) SII.IX.1.nos.193-96; VI.Nos.112-13.
queen Padmaladevi was ruling over the agrahara Mangola (apparently Mangola in the Hadagalli taluk, Guntur district). She, at the request of the Mahajanas of the locality, gave orders to Puliyama-Nayaka to make a gift of land to the god Narasinghadeva (at Rangapuram, Hadagalli taluk). The third record informs us that in the year 43 (1118 A.D.) Anantapala was ruling Vengi fourteen thousand. Another record, dated 1121 A.D. says that the king's subordinate Lakshmarasa, governor of Belvola and Puligere, was for some time in charge of the Telugu country (48). Finally, an inscription at Tripurentakam (Kurnul district), dated 1126 A.D. reports that at that time Anantapala was ruling "Bengi twelve-thousand" and Emmadale six-thousand, and his nephew Govinda (younger brother of the above-mentioned Lakshmarasa) was administering Kondapalli three-hundred (Kondapalli in the Kisna district). Govinda is said to have depoiled Kumara at Jananatharajupura, conquered Gonka (the Velanandu chief Gonka II), defeated the Chola king and burnt Vengi (49). On the other hand inscriptions of Kulottunga-Chola have been found at Simhachalam dated in 1099 A.D. and at Draksharam in a continuous series up to his forty-ninth year (1116-19 A.D.) (50).

(48) ASI. 1930-31, p. 213.
(49) SII. IX.1, No. 213. For the identification of Jananathapura, see DKD, 497.
(50) N.K. Sastri, Colas II. 461; IMP. III. Vz. 191.
In 1118 A.D. Vikrama-Chola left Vengi and went to the south. After this no Chola record is found till we come to the ninth year of his reign (51). These facts leave no room for doubt that the possession of Vengi formed the bone of contention between the Cholas and the Chalukyas for almost a quarter of a century (c.1093-1118), and after varying degrees of success achieved by both sides, the issue was finally decided in favour of the Chalukyas about 1118 A.D., and the province was placed in charge of Anantapāla.

Regarding Vikramāditya's conflict with the rulers of Lāṭa and Dāhala, no detailed information has come down to us. An inscription at Muddagavur dated in year 32 (1110 A.D.) claims that he conquered enemy kings, Karna and others (52). We are inclined to think that the latter is very probably to be identified with the Haihaya Yasaḥ-Karna (1073, 1078 A.D.) ruler of the Dāhala country (53). A Ron inscription, dated 1180 A.D. tells us that the Sinda mahāmanḍalesvara Āchugi II (known date 1122 A.D.) defeated the king of Dāhala (54).

(51) Colas II. 46
(52) Elliot I. p.294 b. lines 12 - 16.
(53) His identity with the Chālukya king Karna cannot be entirely precluded.
(54) EI. XLIX. 224f
Our evidence seems to suggest that Vikramāditya VI came into conflict with the Haihayas at least on two occasions - once at the very beginning of his reign when Prince Jayasimha took part, and a second time at a later period, in which Achugi II won distinction. We may also mention in this connection that an inscription at Yarabalu, Bellary district, records that the Nolamba chief Pāṇḍyadeva chased the king of Ratnapura at his master's command (55). This statement seems to contain an allusion to Vikramāditya's conflict with the Tummaṇa branch of the Haihayas as well.

The statement that "to the lord of Dharā (Vikramādatya) was the source of a great fever of terror", found in the inscription of 1077 A.D. quoted above (55a), probably recalls his exploits in Mālava performed during the reign of his father. There is however reason to believe that not long after his accession to the throne Vikramāditya tried to reassert his authority over the Paramāras. Some time before 1087 A.D. he wrested from the Paramāra king Udayāditya the region round about the modern city of Nagpur.

(55) SII.IX.1.No.205. (55a) EC.VII.68.124
This is evidenced by the Sitalbaldi inscription of the Chalukya monarch, which mentions a feudatory of his, named Dhāḍibhaṇḍaka of the Mahārāṣṭrakūṭa lineage, who was governing in that locality (56). But the acquisition did not prove permanent. The Nagpur inscription of Paramāra Naravarman, a younger son of Udayaditya, shows that he was in possession of the surrounding country in 1104-5 A.D. But it was apparently reconquered by his elder brother and predecessor Lakshmadeva, who carried his military operations to the foot of the Vindhya mountain, and the bank of the Reva, and also made a grant to a temple at Bhandak in the Chanda district, which lay to the south of the Nagpur District (57). But the hostile activities of the Chalukyas against the Paramāras still continued after this. The Abbalur inscription of year 26 (1101 A.D.) states that at the command of the Chalukya emperor, Dandanaṅgaka Annantapāla led an expedition to the north and gave the seven Mālavas to the flames (58). There are several other inscriptions which speak of Hoysala Ereyanga's victory over the Mālavas at Dhāra, the earliest being dated in the twenty-fifth year of Vikramaditya (c.1100 A.D.) (59).

(56) EI. 111.304 ff. (57) E.I. 11.180ff; XXVI.182
(58) EI.V.229 ff. (59) Ec.V.Ak.102a; see also V.31.52; Ar.62.93; MV.Vol.93; VStSk.64; etc.; HPD pp.128f. MAs 1930, 107f.
One of these claims that he "took Dhāra, the chief city of the powerful Malava kings, which Bhoja by victories over hostile kings had enlarged". He also burnt other principal fortresses of the great Paramāra ruler (60). Another record says that "while Chalukya was looking on, Ereyanga without effort plundered the Malava king's hill fort, which was too strong for the Chālukyas" (61). A third record says that he gained victory for the emperor and set up the standard of his fame in the north by subduing Dhāra (62). Ereyanga's son Vishnuvardhana is also spoken of as having "swallowed up Dhāra" (63). It is possible that he accompanied his father in the northern expedition.

Now the above mentioned facts clearly indicate that Vikramāditya made a very serious attempt to subjugate the kingdom of Malava at the close of the eleventh century, and we should perhaps ascribe it to some special cause.

Merutunga tells us that Jaigaddeva, probably the youngest son of Paramāra Udayāditya, was earnestly invited by the Chālukya king to his court and accepted service under him (64).

(60) EC.V.EL.52.
(61) ib. Ak 117.
(62) EC.IV.Net.93
(64) Prabandhashintamani, translated by Tawney, p.186; EI.XXII.57
This statement receives full confirmation from the Dongargaon inscription of Jagaddeva, which tells us that the king of Kuntala graciously addressed him as "you are the first among my sons, the lord of my kingdom, my right arm, such a victory incarnate in all regions (nay) my very self" (65). Can it be then that Vikramāditya's expedition into Mālava had some connection with the coming of the Paramāra prince to his court? The find-spots of his inscriptions and the land grant recorded in one of them suggest that Jagaddeva was entrusted by Vikramāditya with the administration of a province which comprised parts of Yeotmal and Adilabad districts (66).

The Jainad inscription of Jagaddeva informs us that he led an invasion into the Andhra country and defeated its ruler; he uprooted the king of Chakradurga; he slaughtered enemies at Doraśamudra and caused great pain in the heart of Malaharakaḥonīśā (67), he won a victory over the Gurjara king Jayasimha - (Siddharāja) near the Arbuda mountain, and he conquered the king Karna (68).

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(65) ET.XXVI. 185
(66) ET.XXI.54; XXVI. 177 ff.
(67) It has been suggested that Malaharakaḥonīśā may stand for the Kanarese epithet Malaparol-ganda assumed by the Hoyasala rulers (ET.XXI.55n).
(68) ET.XXI.55f and also 63n.
Jagaddeva was undoubtedly fighting the battles of Vikramāditya. We have already spoken above about the latter's conflict with a king called Karna and the struggle for the occupation of the Veṣṇī province comprised within the Andhra country. Chālukya interference in the Chakrakota kingdom is attested by the fact that the daṇḍanāyaka Govinda, nephew of the general Anantapāla, is described in an inscription as the shaker of Chakrakūṭa (Chakrakūṭa-saṅchālana) (69). The Hoysala Ereyanga and Viṣṇuvardhana also took part on the same errand on behalf of the Chālukya sovereign. About the former it is said that he laid waste Chakragottā (70), and regarding the latter we are told that he was a powerful lion to Somesvara, and displayed his valour before Māṇikyadevi of the Chakrakūṭa throne (71). Somesvara was undoubtedly identical with the homonymous Nāgavamsi king for whom we have the dates 1069 and 1108 A.D. (72).

(69) S.II. VI. No.112.
(70) E.C. II. (second edition), No.349; DKD 494
(71) EC.V. Belur 16; 117, 147; VI Muddare 22 etc.,
(72) Hiralal, Inscriptions of C.P. and Berar (2nd ed.), p.162f.
Manikyadevi also finds mention in several other inscriptions (73). The occasion for Chalukya interference was most probably a contest for succession.

The fact of Vikramaditya's conflict with the Chalukya king Jayasimha-Siddharaja receives confirmation from other sources as well. A Sudi inscription of 1107 A.D. informs us that "he burnt the Gurjara sovereign's brilliant city" (74). The Kanginelli inscription of the year 45 (c 1120-21 A.D.) describes the king as a tiger to the deer that was Jayasimha (Jayasimha-Kuranga-Sardula (75). From a Huli inscription we come to know that Bijjala, a feudatory of the king, "took the royal fortune of Jayasimha of the Gurjara kingdom" (76). A Talwar epigraph, on the other hand, claims that it was the Chalukya king who crushed Paramadhi, who has been correctly identified with Vikramaditya VI (77).

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(73) Hiralal, op.cit.p.169; STE.AR.1909 p.111; 234 of 1909
(74) EI.XVI.35.
(75) Elliot, I. 356.
(76) EI.XVIII.201 ff.verse 15.
(77) DHNI. II. 967,972
The course of events appears to have been something like this: Vikramaditya led an expedition against the Gurjara king and advanced as far as Abu. There an engagement took place in which the Chalukya forces came out victorious. Thereafter they probably fell upon Anahilapātaka and plundered and burnt it. But finally the victor was compelled to turn his back by Jayasimha.

We may now consider Vikramaditya's relations with the rulers of Dorasamudra. Epigraphic evidence clearly indicates that Vikramaditya Hoysala recognised the suzerainty of the Chalukya king from 1078 A.D. onwards till his death in C.1100 A.D. (78). His son Ėreyanga, as we have seen, fought on the side of his sovereign on various occasions. One record describes him as the right hand of the Chalukya king (78a). Ėreyanga very probably predeceased his father, and the latter was succeeded by his grandsons, Vīra-Ballāla I and Vishnuvardhana, who appears to have ruled conjointly till the former's death (79). If we can rely upon the date of an inscription from the Arākikere taluk, then the raid of Jagaddeva into Dorasamudra took place in the very first year of the reign of the two brothers (80), and we learn from a late inscription that the Paramāra prince and others were sent for the purpose by the Emperor himself (81).

(78) See EC.XII.Tip.105 dated 1078 A.D. and EC.V.El.114 dated 1100 A.D. (78a) EC.XII.Tip.58.
(79) See EC.XII.Tip.105 dated 1078 A.D. and EC.V.El.114 dated 1100 A.D. (80) EC.XII.Tip.58.
(81) See N.K.Sastri, Colas II.42 and note. (80)EC.V.Ar.34;ELXXII.
Why Vikramaditya VI thought it necessary to take such a drastic step is not made apparent by our records. D.C. Ganguly suggests that the brothers very probably made an attempt to declare their independence (82). It is also possible that the punishment was deemed necessary for their aggressive activities against the Pandyas of Nolambavadi (83). The leader of the invasion, as we have seen, claims a complete victory for himself. But a large number of Hoysala records tell us that Ballala, together with Vishnuvardhana defeated the Malava(?) king Jagadeva, and in one record it is said that they captured his treasury and the central ornament of his necklace (84). Whatever might have been the result of the battle, we find that the Hoysala chiefs continued to mention the name of the paramount sovereign in their records even after this. But the control exercised over them by the latter must have been of a very loose character. We should also note that the Hoysalas occupied a strategic position of great importance in relation to the Chalukya-Chola contest, and the defence of the southern provinces of the Chalukya

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(82) E.I. XXXI. 58

(83) EC.V.B1.58 says that Ballala I, along with Vishnuvardhana put down the Pandyas and seized their wealth. Also see MAS.1913. p.35.

(84) E.C.II.349.B1.58.124,147; Vl.Kd.96.TK45.etc.,EI.XXI.59
empire fell largely upon them together with the governors of the Banavāsi and Nolambavādi provinces. This fact must have afforded an opportunity to the Hoysalas to develop their military resources considerably. About the time of which we are speaking the famous Vaishnava reformer Rāmānuja fled before the persecution of the Chola king and took shelter with Vishnūvardhana. The event marked a turning point in the career of the latter. He not only embraced Vaishnavism by renouncing Jainism, but his new faith seems to have inspired him to prosecute the wars against the Cholas with greater vigour. Finally, Gaṅgarāja, the general of the Hoysala prince, succeeded in capturing Talakad and expelling the Cholas from Mysore some time before 116 A.D. We may presume that this achievement greatly increased the prestige of Vishnūvardhana, and infused in his mind a new feeling of dignity and confidence in his own power.
In the year 1116 he also fell upon the Pāṇḍyas of Nolambavāḍi, and claims to have captured the fortress of Uchchaṅgi (85). Next year 1117 A.D. he felt himself strong enough to make an incursion into the Chālukya territories in the north (86). Relying upon the evidence of a late inscription, Fleet suggested that on this occasion the Hoysalas advanced as far as the bank of the river Krishnā, and burnt Belvola (87). But this exploit may have belonged to a later stage of Vishṇuvardhana's aggression into the Chālukya territories.

The invader was repulsed by the Sinda chieftain Āchugī II (88). Soon after this Vikramāditya appears to have sent a punitive expedition against Vishṇuvardhana (c. 1118 A.D.). But the latter's general Gaṅgarāja claims that he inflicted a severe defeat over the army of the Chālukya emperor Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya) in a night attack when it was encamped at Kannegāla (near Hassan according to Rice) under the command of twelve sāmantas, captured their stores and vehicles, and presented them to his master (89).

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A late Hoysala inscription says that Vishṇuvardhana
"was again and again reminded by his servants of the
honour done to him by the king Paramardideva, who said
"know the Hoysala alone among all the princes to be
unconquerable" (90). This statement possibly gives us
the clue to the future relation between the Chālukya
emperor and his overpowerful feudatory. The former
apparently thought it better to leave the latter alone.

Recounting the exploits of Āchugi II, a Sind inscription says "at the command of the universal
sovereign Vikrama, he, a very lion in war and shining
like a hot-rayed sun, sounding his war-cry, pursued and
prevailed against Poysala, took Gove, put to flight
Lakshmana in war, valorously followed after Pāṇḍya,
dispersed at all times the Malepas and seized upon
Konkaṇa" (91). Another inscription reports that
he gave Gove and Uppinakatte to the flames, and "swallowed
up and vomited forth a certain Bhoja, together with his
troops which had invaded his country" (92). Fleet thinks that
these facts "imply, either that the Kadambas of Goa, the
Pandyas of Nolambāvādi province, and the Silāhāras of

(90) IA. II. p. 300: R. G. Bhandarkar, Early History of the Deccan,
2nd ed. p. 150.
(91) JBRAS. XI. 234, 244.
(92) JBRAS. XI. 269, DKD. 453
of Karhad, joined with the Hoysalas in some general conspiracy against their sovereign, or else took advantage of the Hoysala invasion to raise disturbances on their own account" (93). We should, however, note that, as far as we can judge from other records, very friendly relations subsisted between the Kadambas of Goa and the emperor. The services of Jayakesīhi I for the cause of Vikramāditya have already been noticed, and his daughter was given in marriage to the latter. Vikramāditya's own daughter, Mahalādevi, was espoused by Jayakesīhi II. The fortune of the latter was further advanced by his father-in-law, who made him, along with his wife, the ruler over Pañāsīge 1200, Payve 500, Kavaḍidvipa lakh and a quarter, Hānumgal 500 and several other smaller districts in addition to Konkana 900. Lakṣmarāja, who was in the service of the emperor was commissioned to the household of Mahalādevi (94). Under the circumstances it is difficult to believe that the Goa Kadamba chief entertained any treacherous design against the Chalukya king. The Pāṇḍyas, who suffered at the

(93) DKD.453; see also EHD, 2nd ed. p.150
(94) EI.XII.298 f.300 f.
hands of the Hoysalas, also could hardly have any special reason for either collaborating with them, or rising against their suzerain. As regards the Śilāhāras of Karhad we find it stated in the Kolāpur copper plates of Gandarāditya, dated 6.1037 (1115 A.D.) that he made Vikramāditya Miśāṅkamalla (94a). This implies his loyalty to the king. Āchugi II was very probably carrying on private warfare with his neighbours which was permissible in those days.

Longer lists of Vikramāditya's conquests are found in several records. Thus an inscription of 1077 A.D. speaks of his victories over the Chōlas, Lālas and the king of Dhārā, and further says that his feet were reverenced by the Saurāśṭra, Āṅga, Kaliṅga, Vāṅga, Magadha, Āndhra, Avanti and Pañcāla kings (95). A record of C.1088-89 repeats of the kings victories over Āndhra, Magadha, Kaliṅga, Turushka, Chaṅgāliva, Konsāliva, Chera, Śimhala, Guriṅa and Mālava (95a). Another record dated in C.1099 says that the king terrified and scared the Cholika, Lāla, Gauḍa, Maleyāla, Telīṅga, Kaliṅga, Vāṅga, Pañcāla, Turushka, Guriṅa, Jajāhuti, Mālava, Koṅkana and other rulers (96). An inscription of year 27 (1002-3 A.D.)

(94a) G.H. Khare, Sources of Mediaeval History of the Deccan (in Marathi) vol I. p. 37 ff.
(95) EC. VII. Sk. 124. (95a) Elliot I. 202.
(96) EC. VIII. Sb. 325.
says that Vikramāditya conquered Vanga, Turushka, Chera, Kira, Pariyātra, Anga, Vaṅgala, Chola and others (97). A record of 1114 A.D. states he defeated the Chola, Pallava, Siṅghala, Mālava, and Gurjara and the kings of Sauvira Abhim, Andhra, Gośta and other places prostrated themselves at his feet (98). An inscription of 1124 A.D. refers to the king’s victories over Maru, Ganga, Anga, Kalinga, Gauḍa, Magadha, Pañcāla, Nepāla, Barabara, Saurāśtra, Varāṭa, Lāṭa, Karahūta, Ghedī, Kāśmīra, Gurjara, Sindhu, Dravīḍa, Andhra, Mālava, Turushka and other famous kings (99). There are several other lists of this found in later inscriptions as well (99a). It is needless to comment upon the authenticity of claims made in the above records.

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(97) Elliot I. 260 b. (98) EC.VII.Sk137. (99) EC.XI.Dg.2.
(99a) EC VII.sk 100 (1129 A.D.) Humcha inscription of Vira-Ballāla II (MAS 1911 p.47 etc.)
Coming now to the extent of Vikramāditya's empire, we find that on the north the Yadavas of Sounadesa still continued to recognise the authority of the Chalukyas during this reign. The help rendered by Seunachandra II to the emperor has already been noticed. His successor Irāmādeva (Paramādeva of Hemādri) claims that he conquered the kingdom consisting of seven divisions which king Bhuvenaikamalla could not conquer, and handed it over to his successor Paramardi (100). The inclusion of parts of Berar within the Chalukya dominions is, as we have seen, implied by the Dangargaon inscription of the Paramāra Jagadeva. The king's suzerainty was very probably recognised by the Silāhāras of Konānā, and certainly by the Kadambas of Goa and Banavāśi. On the south the Pāṇḍyas of Olāmbavāḍi, Sāntaras and Alupas accepted his vassalage. As for the Hoysalas, in spite of all the incidents recounted above, Vishnuvardhana still continued to call himself a pādapadmopāpai of Vikramāditya. In the east Vikramāditya certainly established his authority over the Veṇgī province, and a Kākatiya inscription tells us that dandanāyaka Vaija, the hereditary minister of

(100) Asvi grant of Irāmādeva, dated S.1020(Bīsmi, III.1ff) JAHRS II. 93f.
Betarasa XI, brought the latter to the feet of the emperor Vikramāditya, and made him rule the district of Sabbi 1000 as a feudatory of that monarch (101). This is also confirmed by the inscriptions of Betarasa XI and of his son Prola II which mention Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramaditya) as their suzerain (102).

Finally we may note that the fame of Vikramāditya spread beyond the limits of the Deccan. Harsha of Kāsmīra formed projects leading an expedition against the Karnāṭa king and capturing his queen Chandaladevi (103). Vikramāditya also exchanged a diplomatic embassy with the king of Ceylon (104). Furthermore, though the reign of the Chalukya king was full of military activities, yet he found time to patronise some of the noble arts of peace. It was in his court that the celebrated jurist Vijnānesvara composed his famous digest, the Mitākṣhara, on the law of the Hindus. Another luminary of the king's court was of course the Kashmirian poet Bilhaṇa, from whose book we have quoted so often.

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(101) 8I. IX. 256f.
(102) Ibid. Also see A Corpus Inscriptions in the Telingana Districts of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, p. 22f. etc.
(103) DUNI. I. 151.
(104) Sewell, HIST. p. 88.
Fleet refers to six queens of Vikramāditya VI, namely, Sāvaladevi, Lakshamādevi, Jakkaladevi, Malleyamadevi, Chandaladevi and Mālaladevi. Three others were Ketaladevi, Padmaladevi and Dhāgaladevi. Among the children of the king the names of two sons, Somesvara and Jayakarna, and one daughter Mallalamahādevi were previously known. Three inscriptions now show that Vikramāditya had a son named Mallikārjuna, who was elevated to the position of the Yuvarāja and ruled for some time the Tardavādi province. He apparently predeceased his father. (106)
CHAPTER X.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE LATER CHĀLUKYAS,

I. INTRODUCTION.

With the death of Vikramāditya VI we enter the end of an epoch. Hitherto the main interest in the political history of the later Chālukyas lay in external affairs, — in their struggle for power with their neighbours, particularly in the north and the south. During the succeeding period we still hear of claims of victories over the Cholas, Lāṭa, Mālava, Gurjaras, Kālīṅgas and others. In some cases they may have been real, but none of them, as far as we can judge in the present state of our knowledge, was of any great moment. The threat to the Chālukya rule in the Deccan came not from any foreign quarter, but from the operation of the centrifugal forces of local autonomy within the empire. It appears that so long as the Paramāras and the Cholas were powerful, the necessity of self-protection compelled the Yādava, Hoysala and Kākatiya chiefs to acknowledge the suzerainty of the rulers of Kalyāṇī. But from the beginning of the twelfth century the Paramāras were engaged in a deadly struggle with the Chālukyas, and ultimately passed under the subjection of Jayasimha-Siddharaja (c.1094-1144) and
Kumarapala (c.1144-73). The Chola empire also began to decline during the latter years of the reign of Kulottunga I (1070-1122 A.D.). These new changes seems to have brought about a corresponding alteration in the attitude of the more powerful feudatories of the Chalukyas to their sovereign. No longer in need of any help from the latter, they gradually assumed a more independent role, and began to aggrandise themselves at the expense of their smaller neighbour and thereby to extend their territories.

The Hoysalas apparently took the lead in this respect. We have already seen how Vishnuvardhana defied the might of Vikramadeva, and practically declared his independence. After the death of that emperor he again began his hostile activities against the Chalukyas, and this time seems to have attained more tangible success. The Kakatiyas followed suit, and in the middle of the century their leader even took the emperor prisoner. The Yadavas seem to have entered the field at a later stage. In the meantime a deadlier blow at the authority of the Chalukyas was dealt by the usurpation of Bijjala, and this illegitimate grabbing of power by an officer of the state must have still further hastened the process of disintegration. Finally, we should note that linguistic differences among the Marathi, Kanarese and Telugu speaking peoples,
as also religious animosities among the followers of Saivism, Vaishnavism and Jainism, also seem to have greatly weakened the unity of the Chālukya empire. During the last two decades of the twelfth century once more a Chālukya king ruled in the Deccan, but his authority rested upon the support of an all powerful general of the army, rather than his own prestige and ability; and with him the rule of his family ended. The history of the Chālukyas after the death of Vikramāditya VI, therefore, is the history of the gradual decline and ultimate disappearance of their power in the Deccan, and the beginnings of the independent rule of the Hoysalas, Kākatlyas and Yādavas, who finally divided the Chālukya empire among themselves. Unfortunately the paucity of materials does not allow us to give a connected narrative of the various episodes that brought about this momentous change in the history of the Deccan.
II A chronological problem.

Before we pass on to describe the various events of the reigns of the successors of Vikramaditya VI it is necessary to draw attention to a chronological problem. From the study of the dates of several inscriptions of the period it appears that there was possibly some overlapping of the reigns of Vikramaditya VI and his three immediate successors. The last date of Vikramaditya VI so far known is January 14, 1127. (1) The first year of his son and successor Someśvara III fell in the Prabhava samvatsara, corresponding to 1126-27 A.D. (2) Sewell has calculated that the accession of the latter took place on a day between July 24 and October 5, 1126 A.D. (3) An inscription from the Sorab taluk would seem to indicate that this latter event may have happened even before the 8th February 1126. (4) The last known record of Someśvara III is dated in the month of Phālguna of the Kālayuk大家都 samvatsara (regnal year 13), falling in the beginning of the year 1139 A.D. (5) The earliest known date of the next king, Jagadekamalla, fell in December 1137 A.D., and his last known verifiable date is in December 1150. (6) An inscription from the Sorab taluk finishes for him &

(1) IA, 1919, p. 2.  
(2) DKD, 455.  
(3) HIST, p. 99.  
(4) IA, 1919, p. 2.  
(5) EC, VIII, sp, 415, 417.  
(6) IA, 1919, p. 3.
a date in the Prajapatisamvatsara (6074=1151 A.D.). (7) Jagadekamalla is also invoked as the reigning sovereign in several other records with dates ranging from 1155 A.D. onwards. (8) But it does not seem probable that he was alive even in 1155 A.D. The evidence of a large number of inscriptions suggests that the rule of Taila III probably began towards the end of the Sukla samvatsara which correspond to 1149-50 A.D., while there are other records which go to show that the Premoda samvatsara, corresponding to 1150-51 A.D. was his first year. (9) Fleet thinks that the king died before the 19th January, 1163 A.D., which is the English equivalent of the date of Anmakonda inscription of the Kākatiya Rādadeva, where the event is mentioned. (10) A Venkatasubbiah, however, points out that the date of the record in question may have corresponded to the 24th December, 1163 A.D. (11) We are unable to reconcile the various discrepancies of dates noted above. One is tempted to think that from the time of Vikramaditya VI the practice of associating the crown prince with the royal function was adopted. But such a view requires further proof in support of it. The chronology of Vikramaditya VI, and his three immediate

(7) EC. VIII. 56, sb. 132, cl. also SII. IX. I. No. 257.
(9) DKD. 459n; BK. 78 & 103 of 1933; 124 & 130 of 1934; 54 of 1927 etc.
(10) DKD. 461-62.
(11) IA. 1919, p. 4 and note.
successors stands somewhat as follows:

Vikramāditya VI ........................ 1076-Jan. 1127
Somesvara III ........................... 1126- 1139
Jagadekamalla II ........................ 1137- 1151
Taila III ................................. (?), 150-Dec (?), 1163.

III Somesvara III.

Vikramāditya VI's son and successor Somesvara III assumed the Girude Bhuvalamallaka. In several inscriptions, the dates of which fall within his reign, the reigning king is called Tribhuvanamallaka and Trilokyamallaka (12) The king seems to have been a man of wide interests, and to him is ascribed the authorship of an encyclopaedic work named Abhilashitartha-chintamani or Meinasaśāsa, which treats of such diverse subjects as polity, astronomy, astrology, dialectics, rhetoric, poetry, music, painting, architecture, medicine, training of horses, elephants, dogs etc. Indeed for his proficiency in these different branches of knowledge he was known as Rājasarvajña or Sarvajñachakravarti.

Somesvara inherited an extensive empire from his father, but he failed to prevent the reconquest of Vengi by the Cholas. The southern half of the province was lost in the very first year of the reign. This is

(12) SII. IX. I. 225; ASI. 1930, p. 174; EC. XII. Sira 7, IA. 1919, p. 2n.
evidenced by an inscription dated 1127 A.D., found at Chebrolu in the Bapatla tahuk of the Guntur district, which mentions Matsamandalesvara Nambaya, the ruler of the Shatsahasra country, situated to the south of the Krishna, as a subordinate of Vikrama-chola. (13) Another inscription, also coming from the same area, and dated in 1135 A.D. shows that the Velanãndu chief Gónka II, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chola king. (14) Two inscriptions of Somesvâra at Draksharam, one of them dated in 11054 (1131-32), and the other in regnal year 5, and two at Bhimavaram, one of them dated in regnal year 9, indicate that the Châlukyas retained their hold over the northern part of the Vengi province till about (1135 A.D.) (15) An inscription of Anantavarman Châdâ-Ganga of Kâlinga dated 1128 A.D. found at Draksharam, (16) suggests that he may also have tried to extend his possession towards the Godavari at the expense of the Châlukyas at the very beginning of Somesvâra's reign, but apparently did not attain any permanent success. The Chellur plates, dated 11056 (11065) show that the Godavari district was finally the conquered by the Cholas either during the reign of Somesvâra III or his successor Jagadekamalla II. (17)
Far more serious than the loss suffered in Velgi were the renewed incursions of Vishnuvardhana. In 1130 A.D. the Hoysala king besieged Hangal and beheaded the Madamba Taila II (18). Inscriptions dated 1132 and 1134 A.D. claim that he exercised control over Nolambavadi, Banavasi and Hangal. (19) Another inscription dated 1136 A.D. tells us that he destroyed root and branch Masana, wrote down Banavase 12000 in his Kadita or account book, pursued Jayakesi (Jayakesi II of Goa), and gained possession of Palasige 12000 and (Hayve?) 500. (20) A second inscription of 1136 A.D. describes Vishnuvardhana as the master of the territory south of the Krishna. (21) An inscription of 1137 A.D. mentions Banakura in the Dharwar district, as a royal city of the Hoysalas. (22) In 1138 he set out on a military expedition, crossed the Tungabhadra, marched on Banavasindu, and laid siege to the fortress of Hangal. (23) In 1140, 1143 and 1152 we again find him ruling from Bankapura. (24) The above statements are contained in Hoysala records, but their authenticity is borne out by two Kadamba and one Sinda epigraphs. On the Kadamba side we find in an inscription dated 1134 A.D. that a certain Mahadeva fought with the Hoysala Bittideva on

(18) Moraes, Kadamba-kula, pp. 128-29.  
(19) DKD. 499; EC. XII. Gb. 34.  
(20) EC. V. Belur 17.  
(21) EC. V. BI. 93.  
(22) EC. V. Ar. 144.  
(23) EC. V. BI. 202.  
(24) EC. V. Ar. 18; VI. Kd. 99; V. Ar. 52. For additional details regarding Vishnuvardhana's conquests, see also DKD. 495ff; Rice, Mysore and Goerg, pp. 99ff.
behalf of Mallikārjuna (1132-45), the second son of Taila II. (25) The second record, dated 1135 A.D., refers to the death of a hero in a fight against Hoysaladeva, who besieged the fort of Panumgal (Hangal) when Mallikārjuna was ruling Panumgal 500. (26) The Sinda inscription tells us that Lermādi I, son of Achugī II, put to flight Hoysala, who ruled with severity the countries of Chengiri, Chera, Chola, Malaya, Maie, the seven Tulus, Kolia, Palkwa, Kongu, Nolambavādi, Banavāsi, Kadamvale and Hayve. (27) Recounting the exploits of our evidences indicate that Vishnuvardhana made repeated attempts to bring the territories ruled by the Kadambas under his own sway, and at times succeeded in pushing the frontier of his own domain at least as far north as Bankapura in the Dharwar district. A Balagamve inscription informs us that in 1129 A.D. Somesvāra, with the intention of making an expedition in all directions, came to the south, and pitched his camp at Huluniya-tīrtha at the confluence of the Varadā in the Banavāsinād. (28) It was probably aimed against the Hoysala chief. But Somesvāra does not appear to have attained any permanent success over his powerful feudatory, who continued to pay only lip-service

(25) ASI. 1930, p. 174 (26) ibid.
(27) JBBRAS, XI. 270; DKD. 499.
(28) EC. VII. SK. 100; MAS. 1936, p. 174.
to the Chāḷukya emperor in his recôrds, and at the same time carried on his aggressive designs.

On the eastern frontier the Kākāṭīyas also seem to have become very restive. Prola II, who succeeded his father Beta II in or before 1117 A.D. (29), and appears to have had a long reign, as represented in an inscription of his son to have captured in battle king Taila, "the crest jewel of the Chāḷukyas"; made captive and then released Govinda-dandeśa; conquered king Laila, the chief of Mantrakūta and put to flight Jagaddeva, who came with his feudatories and besieged the city of Anumakonda. (30) In the above list Govinda-dandeśa has been identified with the nephew of Anantapāla, both of whom were as we have seen loyal officers of Vikramādiṭṭya VI, and placed by that monarch at the end of his reign in charge of the newly conquered province of Vengi. Jagaddeva has been identified with the homonymous Sāntara chief. But he is in all probability the same as the Paramāra Jagaddeva. It is possible that some of the successes of Prola II were achieved during the reign of Someśvara III.

The Nimbaragi inscription mentions Bharmaṇḍadevi as the senior queen of the king. (31)

(29) EI. IX. 256f. (30) IA. XI. 12f.
(31) Elliot, I. 446.
IV Jagadekamalla II.

Somesvara III's son and successor Jagadekamalla II, also called Perma-Jagadekamalla, had the distinctive epithet Pratāpachakravartin. An inscription dated 1143 A.D. informs us that he drove away the Chola king in alarm, attacked the Hoysala and gained great fame by capturing his elephants. (32) Several other records refer in general terms to his victories over the Gurjara, Lāta, Mālava, Kaliṅga, Chola and Pallava. (33) A record of the time of Taila II says that he slew the generals of the hostile Chola and Gurjara kings. (34) The king's minister Keśirāja is said to have defeated the Cholas, Lālas and Gurjaras, and got presents from the Mālava, Kaliṅga and Cholīka monarchs. (35)

If the actual date of the Chellur plates, referred to in connection with Somesvara III, is 1065 or 1143 A.D., as Kielhorn thinks it is, (36), then it is quite possible that the Chālukyas and the Cholas came into conflict with each other during the reign of Jagadekamalla for the possession of the Godavari district. But in this case the victory went to the Cholas rather than to the Chālukyas. The Gurjara contemporaries of Jagadekamalla were Jayasimha-Siddharāja and Kumārapāla.

In the Sukṛita-kīrti-kallolini there is a verse which gives:

(32) EC.XI.Dg.85.  (33) EC.VII.sk.108,123; XI.Dg.35,43
(34) EC.VIII.sb.277.  (35) EI.XVI.44f.
(36) Kielhorn, List of South Indian inscriptions, No. 574.
a long list of Kumārapāla's conquests all over India, and it includes a victory of the Gurjara king over the Kārnāṭakas. (37) But it is extremely doubtful if we can accept this evidence in support of a Chālukya-Gurjara contest at this time. The claim of Jagadekamalla's victories over Mālava, Lāta, Kaliṅga and Pallava rulers cannot also be verified from other sources. On the other hand, Jagadekamalla may have actually gained a victory over the Hoysalas about 1143 A.D. This is also borne out by a Sinda inscription dated 1144 A.D. which states that the king's feudatory Permādi I "vanquished Kulaśekhara, gloriously besieged Chatta and took his head with a sword, alarmed and pursued Jayakesī (II), seized the royal power of Poysala, who was the foremost of the fierce rulers of the earth, and acquired the reputation of being himself proof against all reverses". The record further claims that the Sinda chief went "to the mountain passes of the Marauder Bittiga", plundered him, besieged Dorasamudra, and pursuing him took the city of Belupura, i.e. Belur. He again drove him before his sword, arrived at the mountain-pass of Vahadī and gained great fame. Finally he pursued and seized in war the friends of the kings who had joined,
Bittiga in the work of killing and brought them as prisoners. (38) The description of Vishnusvardhana as "the foremost of the fierce rulers of the earth" is an interesting commentary on the power and status of the Hoysala king at this time. The concluding portion of the statement again shows that he was not operating alone, but had under his flag several other chieftains. It is not impossible that he forced Kulaśekhara, Chatta and Jayakesi II to fight on his side. The Sind inscription no doubt leaves the impression that Vishnusvardhana suffered a crushing defeat. But the fact that he was ruling at Baṅkāpura in 1143 and 1152 A.D. tells another tale. (39)

An epigraph from Ganajur in the Haveri taluk records the death of a hero in a fight when Mallikārjuna besieged Lokkigunḍi. (40) This shows that the Kadambas of Hangal also adopted an aggressive attitude during this reign. It probably happened some time before 1140 A.D. when we find the king leading an expedition to Lokkigunḍi, obviously in order to relieve the town. (41) The Pāṇḍyas of Uchchāngi, however, remained still loyal, and an inscription of 1145 A.D. states that Vīra-Pāṇḍya subdued Male and gave it to the ornament of the Chālukyas, namely, Jagadekamalla. (42)

Like his father Jagadekamalla also seems to

(38) JBBRAS XI, p. 244.  (39) see above under Somesvara III
(40) Br. 45 of 1933.  (41) ECoVII Si. 37
(42) ECo XI Di. 168.
have attained some distinction as a writer. He is said to have produced a book called Sangītammuktāvalī in five chapters. (43)

V. Taila III

Jagadekamalla II was followed on the throne by his brother Taila III. He had the Gīruda Trailokyamalla, and also probably that of Tribhuvanamalla. (44) An inscription from the Sorab taluk in Mysore styles him Vikrama-Nūrmaḍī-Taila. (45) In addition, the king also assumed the distinctive title Chālukya-chakravarti.

Recounting the achievements of Taila III, an inscription from Abbalur says that "the Cholika came against him in war, but unwillingly paid tribute; the Mālava was frightened and fled away; the Gurjara saved himself by giving more than the Chola had given." (46) This statement appears to be a mere conventional prāsasti, and possibly has no substance in it.

As far as we can judge from the scanty data at our disposal, the prestige of the Chālukya kingship reached its lowest ebb during the reign of this monarch. Some time before 1158 A.D. (47) he suffered a disastrous

(43) JAHRS. III. 201. R.K. Kavi seems to identify the writer of the work with Jagadekamalla-Jayasimha. But the distinctive epithet Pratāpachakravarti clearly shows that we must identify him with Jagadekamalla II.


(45) EC. VIII. Sb. 524. cf. also the Barangi inscription (Elliot I. p. 539 b, lines 11-12) Where the king is described as Nūrmaḍī-Tailan atarkkya(8)-Vikrama. See also BK. 54 of 1927; SII. IX. I. No. 268.

(46) El.V. 234. (47) contd.
defeat at the hands of the Kākatiya chief Prola II. We are told that the latter captured in a moment in battle Tailapa, the crest jewel of the Chālukyas, but because of his devotion and love set him free instantly. (48) The cause of this conflict is not stated in our record. But we may perhaps presume that after his initial successes against Govinda and Jagaddeva, Prola II made further attempts to extend his influence over the eastern districts of the Nizam's dominions. The emperor seems to have personally led an expedition against his ambitions feudatory to bring him to book, but himself fell a prisoner in the hands of his adversary. The event is important as showing not only how easily the authority of the sovereign could be flouted at this time, but also the degree of weakness that had overtaken the imperial forces. (49)

Meanwhile a much more fateful situation for the continuance of the western Chālukya rule was fast developing nearer home. This was designed and shaped by the ambition and intrigues of Bījāla Kalachurya, who finally usurped the throne. The rise of the Kalachurya family is obscure. Bījāla's father Permādi is styled a mahāmāndalesvāra, and in 1128 A.D. was administering the

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(47) This is the earliest known date of Prola II's successor Rudra (SII. IV. No. 1107; JAHR. V. 234).
(48) IA. XI. 17 8
(49) DKD 476.

We must thank Mr. Barnett for suggesting to me that Tailapa may have been released by Prola on the definite understanding that the former will wink at his activities.
the Tardavādi province as a subordinate of Somesvara III.

(50) Inscriptions dated in the tenth year of Jagadekamalla (1147 A.D.) show that Bijjala succeeded his father in the same post, and had the same official designation. (51) The process by which he elevated himself from the position of a mere feudatory official to independent sovereignty has been very ably described by Fleet. (52) We may however note the following points in this connection. There is no warrantable evidence to show that the Kalachurya chief got control of the entire Chālukya army in about 1150 A.D. (53) But epithets like Kshonipāla and Bhūpālaka, found applied to Bijjala in the Bijapur inscriptions of the third and fifth years of Taila III, may imply that he enjoyed some sort of precedence among other state functionaries even at the very beginning of the latter's reign. These records however specifically refer to him as a subordinate of the Chālukya king. (54) One of the earliest steps that Bijjala took to advance his cause appears to have been to secure the support of Mahādevarasa, the royal officer in charge of the Banavāsi and the Purigere provinces, till 1154 A.D.

(50) ASI.1929–30, p.175; BK.96 of 1930.
(51) Dr. Barnett suggests to me that Prola may have released Tail on the definite understanding that he will wink at the former's activities. (52) KD.470-75.
(53) This view was based upon the translation of a Harikara inscription given by Rice in his Mysore Inscriptions, p.37. Fleet doubted it (KD.472n). See now the revised text and translation in MC.XI.Dg.35, where the passage in question implies altogether a different meaning. Fleet assigns the record to about 1150 A.D. & Rice to c.1160. Available dates of Kasapayya show that Rice is correct in this respect. See below (54)BK.124of1934;130of1934.
we find the latter recognising only the authority of Taila. (55) But an inscription dated in December 1155 A.D. represents him as a subordinate of the Kalachurya, and further describes him as "the embodiment of the mind of Bijjala". The actual position held by Bijjala about this time is indicated by the statement, found in the same record, that "he was governing all the countries". (56) Mahādeva was succeeded in his post by Kesirāja, for whom we have the dates 1157—1159 A.D. (57); and the latter again was followed by Kasapayyanāyaka, for whom we have the dates 1159, 1162, 1168 etc. (58) These officers also owned special allegiance to Bijjala. Others followed suit. An inscription from Kukkanur in the Nizam's dominions, dated 1156 A.D. mentions a certain Revaleyanāyaka, as a mahāpradhāna of Bijjala. (59) In 1158 A.D. mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Nanniya-Gaṅgapermāṇaṇadi was ruling Edēvetṭe 70, Ballave 70, Nerivelige and the agrahāra of Bēgūr as a subordinate of Bijjala. (60) An inscription dated 1159 A.D. informs us that his subordinate Kesirāja conquered Sankanamale, Santalā, the Vanavāsi hill forts, Kandaraṭe, Hayve, the celebrated Gutti and Nettila. (61) The investment of Gutti, undoubtedly

(55) Elliot, I.533; BK. 780 f.1933; El. XVI.43; V. 234; EC. VIII. Sb. 510.
(56) EC. VII. SK. 104; DKD. 473. (57) BK. 103 of 1933; EC. VII. SK. 123, 185.
(58) EC. VIII. SB. 328; VII. SK. 102; XI. DG. 42; VII. SK. 92 etc. (59) DKD. 460.
(60) EC. VII. SK. 18 (61) EC. VII. SK. 123; cf. also EC. XI. DG. 35.
the hilly stronghold of the same name in the Anantapur district, by Bījjala's men is specially referred to in another inscription of 1159 A.D. which says that they were opposed by the Kādamba Kūmāra Kīrtideva's officers. (62) The evidence we have cited so far shows that by the end of the sixth decade of the twelfth century Bījjala's authority was recognised over practically the whole of the Bījapur, Bīharwar and North Kanara districts, the adjacent parts of the Gūlbarga and the Raichur districts, a large part of the Shīmoga district, and apparently also the Bellary district and a section of the Anantapur district. (63)

The change in the power and personal position of Bījjala found expression in the introduction of a reckoning of his own, the first year of which fell in 1156-57 A.D., and in the assumption of the Bīruda Tribal Bhūvanamalla, and the designations Bhūjabala-chakravarti and Kalachūrya-Chakravarti. In several records he is also called a mahārāja-dhirāja. (64) There cannot be any doubt, as Fleet points out, that Bījjala virtually declared his independence in 1156 A.D. But he did not assume full imperial titles till 1162 A.D. In the interval the myth of the Chālukya suzerainty was retained. This is evidenced by the mention.

(62) B.C.VIII.Sb.416. (63) Parts of the last two districts were included in the Nolambavādi N22000. An inscription of 1162 A.D. shows that the ruler of this region, Vīra- Pāṇḍya, accepted the suzerainty of Bījjala (SII.IX.I. No.293) (64) D.K.D. 474.
of Taila as the reigning sovereign, as also the use of his regnal years, in several records of Bijjala's own subordinates inscribed after 1156 A.D. (65) It is also interesting to note that during this period of extreme decadence of the Chālukya power Taila still appears as the paramount ruler in a number of Hoysala records. (66) The Pattadakal inscription of the Sinda mahāmandalesvara Chāmunda II, dated in May–June 1163 A.D., shows that he also recognised the authority of Taila till the latter's death. (67) But the effective control of the Chālukya king does not seem to have extended much beyond the home province with its centre at Kalyāṇi.

An inscription at Harasur in the Nizam's dominions, however, mentions that he was ruling at Jayantīpura, identified by Fleet with Banavāsi in North Kanara, in April 1161 A.D. (68) The lease of Taila's rule came to an end very soon after this. Some time before the 14th of May 1162 A.D. Bijjala occupied Kalyāṇi and was ruling from that place on the same date. (69) About this time he also must have assumed full imperial titles, although the earliest available record in which these are found is dated in December 1162 A.D. (70) A Sinda inscription at Benachimatti, dated 1165–66 A.D., says

(65)DKD.473; EC.VII.SK.123,185;VIII.SB.328.
(66)EC.V,AK.117;Ch.228,246;V.I.Kd.72;XII.Tp.61,Ch.32 etc.
(67)DKD.460,462.
(68)DKD.461.
(69)Br.14 of 1938.
(70)DKD.475.
that Bijaña seized "the braid of the hair of the handsome and clever lady, the land of Kuntala, by resorting to strength of arms". (71) This statement implies that, before the final stage in the long process of usurpation of the Chālukya sovereignty by Bijaña was reached, he came into direct clash with Taila III. He also seems to have received material assistance from the Śilāhāra prince Vijayāditya of Karahataka on this occasion. (72) A saying attributed to Basava, the famous Vīraśaiva saint, refers to the destruction of Kalyāni and the extinction of the rule of a Chālukya king because of the offence he gave to a Jāngama. (73) The king should perhaps be identified with Taila, and if the saying is genuine, then his fall may have been precipitated by some religious quarrel. The Anmakonda inscription of Rudradeva shows that the Chālukya king died a natural death, but how or where he spent the last few months of his life is not known at present. (74)

(71) El. XX. 118f.
(72) DKD. 475.
(74) R.G. Bhandarkar says that in 1157 A.D. Taila left Kalyāni and fled to Annigere in the Dharwar district, and Bijaña, after assuming imperial titles, marched against him in S 1084 (a. 1162 A.D.). Taila then retired to Banavasi (AHD, 3rd ed., 157) But epigraphic evidence proves that Banavasi region was administered by Bijaña's own officials since 1155 A.D. (see above).
VI. Somesvara IV.

The paramount rule of the Kalachuryas lasted for about two decades. But, as R.G. Bhandarkar points out, it suffered greatly from internal dissensions which resulted from a quarrel that broke out between Bijjala, a devout follower of Jainism, and Basava, the founder of the Lingayat sect; and ultimately led to the assassination of the former. (75) The whole episode shows that the Lingayats made a desperate attempt to seize the political power in the state, and were temporarily crushed by the immediate successor of Bijjala. But the confusion thus created seems to have afforded an opportunity to the adherents of the old ruling house to lay plans for the restoration of Somesvara IV, the son of Taila III, to his ancestral throne, with the help of the Lingayats. This view receives support from the fact that Somesvara extended his patronage to the Vīra-Śaivas and persecuted the Jainas. (76) We may also note that one of the king's feudatories, Mahāmaṇḍalesvara Virūparasa, claims that he was "a forest fire of Jainā religion, a destroyer of Bāuddha religion and establisher of the Śivalinga-simhasana". (77) The leadership of the anti-Kalachurya movements was assumed

(76) See the Abbalur inscription assigned by Fleet to c.1200 A.D. (EI.IV.258-59); also ASI.1928-29, p.117 for an inscription which refers to the persecution of the Jainas.
(77) ASI.1929-30, p.117.
by the mahāpradāhāna senādhipati dāndanāyaka Brahma, who is mentioned as an officer of the Kalachurya king Sōvideva in an inscription of 1175 A.D. Contemporary records refer to him as "the establisher of the Chālukya sovereignty" and "the fire of death to the Kalachuryas". (78) Fleet has drawn attention to a piece of evidence which shows that he was acting in opposition to his father, the dāndanāyaka Kāvana, who is described as "the upraiser of the Kalachurya sovereignty", and was the commander-in-chief of all the forces of the Kalachurya Sahkāma in 1179 A.D. (79) The movement for the restoration of the Chālukya sovereignty attained partial success by the year 1181 A.D., when the authority of Somesvara IV was acknowledged by the Sinda chief of the Ballakundavishaya. (80) The concluding stage was reached only after the 18th October 1183 A.D., when the Kalachurya Singhana was still ruling with full paramount titles. (81) An inscription dated 6 1107 (1185 A.D.) shows that he eventually accepted the position of a feudatory under the Chālukyas. (82) Somesvara IV had the Bīruda Tribhuvanamalla, and is also referred to as Chālukya-Chakravarti, Chālukya-pratāpa-chakravarti and Vīranārāyana. (83) His inscriptions
have been found in the Bijapur, Dharwar, Bellary, Shimoga and Chitaldrug districts, and his suzerainty was acknowledge among others by the Kadambas of Goa, Hangal and Banavasi; the Guttas of Guttavolal, the Pandyas of Nolambavadi and the feudatory chiefs of Sindava di. (84) In 1185 A.D. the king was encamped at Manejara-tirtha on the bank of the Godāvari. (85) This gives us the clue to the northern boundary of his kingdom.

For the distinguished services rendered by him Brahma was appointed to the highest post in the state next to the king. In some records he is simply called the mantrin and dandanāyaka. But the extensive power wielded by him is indicated by the statement of the Bammanakatti inscription that he was governing all the countries in the Kuntaladesa. (86) An inscription from Sogi describes Brahma as "the venomous serpent of the chiefs of Tondamandala" and "the thunderbolt to the strong hill-fortresses of the Hoysalas." (87) On the other hand, a Gadag inscription dated 1192 A.D. tells us that the Hoysala Vira Ballala II defeated and took the sovereignty from the famous general Brahma. (88) The subsequent event shows that the boast of the Hoysala king was fully justified. In the meantime the Yadavas of Devagiri also had begun to

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(84) See DkD. 465-6; IA. 119, p. 5; Bk. 221of 1927, 86of 1929, 38of 1934. (85) ASI. 1930, p. 171. (86)Bk. 38 of 1934. (87) SII. IX. I. No. 287. (88) IA. II. 299; DkD. 464n.
to make encroachments upon the Chalukya territory from the north, and inscriptions at Muttage in the Bijapur district and at Anigere in the Dharwar district prove that their king Bhillama occupied a considerable portion of the Chalukya kingdom some time before 1189 A.D. (89) Next year (1190 A.D.) the Yadavas and the Hoysalas came into clash with each other, and Vira-Ballāla II claims that he ploughed up the region from Soratur to Belvola, and manured it with the bodies of the Sevūṇa army. (90) Another inscription dated 1192 describes Vira-Ballāla with full imperial titles and reports that he routed the army of Bhillama at the battle of Lokkiguṇḍi. (91) Finally a record of 1195 A.D. reports that the Hoysala king destroyed the Sevūṇa army with the city named Viravarddhana, and having giving back Lokkiguṇḍi, was ruling the kingdom as far as Kalyāṇi. (92)

It appears that with the defeat and discomfiture of Brahma at the hands of the Hoysala king Somesvara IV lost the chief support of his rule, and after the occupation of the bulk of his territory by the rival forces of the Yadavas and the Hoysalas he gradually retired towards the West. His authority, perhaps only nominal, was acknowledged by the Kadamba chief, Kamadeva of Hangal till 1189 A.D., and

(89) [Note: Additional references follow the text.]

(89) [Note: Additional references follow the text.]

(90) [Note: Additional references follow the text.]

(91) [Note: Additional references follow the text.]

(92) [Note: Additional references follow the text.]
Jayakesi III of Goa, till 1198 A.D. (93) The last known date of Somesvara IV is 1200 A.D. (94) With him we reach the final end of the sovereign rule of the Western Chālukyas. After this several petty chiefs of the Chālukya family continued to rule in certain parts of the Konkana till the middle of the thirteenth century. (95)

(94) IA, 1919, p. 5.
(95) DKD, 466-67. A Chālukya Bhuvallabha Rāya-Permadī with the dates 1160, 1169 and 1171 A.D. is mentioned in a number of inscriptions, coming from the Tumkur district in Mysore, as ruling the seven and a half lakh country from Kalyāṇa (EC, XII, 42, 43, MAS, 1910, p. 30). He cannot be fit in the known genealogy of the Chālukya family. It should also be noted that the earliest year falls in the reign of Tails III, and others during the period of the Kalachurya Vashputra. We very much doubt whether he was a historical figure.
The Later Chalukya Genealogy

Vijayaditya (696-733/34)

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<tr>
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<td>Tâila II</td>
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<td>Vikramôditya III</td>
<td>Ayyana I</td>
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<td>Mahâ MahâmÂ</td>
<td>Vîkramâditya IV</td>
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Satyakshya 999-1008

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Vikramôditya V Ayyana II Jayasimha Akkadävi-

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<td>Ayyâla-devi = Vâlakâyana Dhâllama III</td>
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Somaśvara II Vikramôditya VI Jayasimha Vishnûvardhana-

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<td>1076-1127</td>
<td>Vîkramôditya</td>
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<td>Hâllakârjuna</td>
<td>Somaśvara III Jayakarna Mahâlakâdevi - Jayakâli II</td>
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<td>Jagadokâmalla II</td>
<td>Somaśvara IV</td>
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<td>1137-1151</td>
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CHAPTER XI.

ASPECTS OF WESTERN CHALUKYA ADMINISTRATION

The theoretical principles of ancient Indian statecraft are found embedded in a fairly large number of text-books on Dharma or Law and Niti or Polity, that have come down to us. It was undoubtedly the aim of every ruler and statesman to follow these precepts as far as possible. An inscription of the twelfth century claims that the Chālukyas reigned in so praiseworthy a manner as to illustrate well the observance of the Code of Manu. (1) Among the earliest rulers of the race Pulakesin I is specially mentioned as being conversant with the work of the famous law-giver. (2) In later times Taila II gets the epithet Manu-mārg-āgrani-Chakravar-titilakam. (3) Vijñānesvara, as we have seen, wrote his famous commentary - the Mitākshara - on the Yājñāvalkyasmrīti under the auspices of Vikramaditya VI. His son Someśvara's Mānasollāsā also contains several sections on the Rājadharmā (first four vimśatis). But neither the Manusmṛiti, nor the Yājñāvalkyasmrīti with its commentary, nor the work of Someśvara can serve for a correct description of the political institutions of the western Chālukyas. For

(1) EI.V.16,20.  (2) The Nerur Plates of Mangalesa. IA.VII 161  
(3) EI.XVI.28.
in actual practice the course recommended by them had to be largely modified in accordance with the socio-political progress of the country concerned, and various other local and governmental needs. Under the circumstances contemporary inscriptions, which form the chief source of the political history of the Chalukyas, must also constitute the actual basis for our study of the structure and working of their administrative system.

I. The King

The head of the state was the king. In the early records of the Chalukyas he is described as Satyasraya (the asylum of truth), Vallabha (the Beloved), Vallabhesvara and Vallbhendra (the chief among the Beloved), Srivallabha (the Beloved of the Goddess of Fortune), Prithivivallabha (the Beloved of the Earth), Sripriithivivallabha (the Beloved of the Goddess of Fortune and of the Earth) and Maharaja (the great king). (4) In addition to these Pulakesin II assumed the epithet Paramesvara or the supreme lord after defeating Harshavardhana, and in his case the title was fully justified by his position and achievements. (5)

(4) In the Nerur Plates Mangalesa is also called Lokavallabha or the Beloved of the people.
(5) According to the Lohanera Plates and the spurious Hasur Plates Pulakesin II had the Giruda Raṇavikrama (see Khare, Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan, I, 4ff; IA.VIII 96; ECG.XI.Gb.48) His grandfather Pulakesin I had the same epithet. His father and uncle had the appellations Pururana-parakrama and Urk-Raṇavikrama or Raṇavikrama respectively. His son Vikramaditya I was called Raṇarasika. Two other Giruda of the latter were Anivarita and Rajamalla (see Kielhorn, List of South Indian Inscriptions, p. 5n).
His successors styled themselves as Mahārājādhīrāja (the great king of kings) instead of the simple mahārāja, and during their time the full imperial titles were fixed as Satyāśraya Śrīprithivīvallabha Mahārājādhīrāja Paramesvara Bhaṭṭāraka or Bhaṭāra (the worshipful one) (6) Vinayāditya was also called Rājāśraya (the asylum of kings), and his son Vijayāditya was styled Samastabhuvaṃśraya (the asylum of the whole earth). (7) In assuming regal titles the later Chālukyas followed the early tradition with slight modifications. In their records they are usually referred to as Samastabhuvaṃśraya Śrīprithivīvallabha Mahārājādhīrāja Paramesvara Satyāśrayakulatilaka (the foremost in the family of Satyāśraya) and Chālukyaśabhaṇaraṇa (the ornament of the Chālukyas). The epithet Śrīprithivīvallabha appears to be an interesting one. Attention has been drawn in this connection to the fact that it is found to be one of the standing epithets of the great god Vishnu, and the Chālukya kings by assuming it probably regarded themselves as his counterpart on the earth in the aspect of the Preserver, and it also perhaps emphasized the divine character of the kingship which came very much into vogue during the Gupta and the post-Gupta periods. (8) Among the external insignias of the Chālukya kings the most important was the Varāhā-lāṅchhana. Vinayāditya, after his victory over a northern king, added to this the Paśchidhvaja, the signs of the rivers Gaṅgā and

(6)In one instance we have the use of the epithet Parama-bhaṭṭāraka (DKD. 370). (7)IA.XIX.142f; IX.126f; DKD. 368f 370. Vijayāditya seems to have been also called as Niravādya (see the Pattadakal inscription of Kirtivarman II. EI.III.1ff). (8)Advanced History of India, p. 191-92.
Yamuna, the ḷhakkha-drum etc.

Writers of manuals on law and polity lay great emphasis upon the education, moral discipline and a large number of good qualities that an ideal king should possess. Thus for example, Yājñavalkya says that "the ruler of men should be of very enterprising spirit (mahotsāba), vast aims (sthūlalaksha), grateful (Kṛitajña), serving elders (vṛiddhasevaka), cultivated (viniṭa), endowed with equanimity (satvasampanna), of good family (kulin), truthful in speech (satyaśāk), pure (suchi), not verbose (adirghasūtra), strong of memory (smṛhitimān), not petty-minded and not carping (akshudra, aparusha); religious (dhārmika) without vices (avyasana), intelligent (prājña), brave (śūra) knower of secrets (rahasya-vidyā), guarding against his own weak points (svarandhragoptā), versed in the science of philosophy (Āṇvikṣikī), and similarly also in the rule of punishment and in polity, (daṇḍanītyāṁ), and in economics (vārttā), and also in the three-fold science called Trayā (Rik, Jajus, Sāman) so should be the ruler of men". (9) Speaking about the same subject Kautilya lays down that a king should be of "a noble family (mahākulīna), godly spirited (daivabuddhisattvasampanna), consulting the aged (Vṛiddhadarsī), virtuous

(dharmika), truthful and not failing in his promise
(satyavāgyāsyamvādaka), grateful (Kritaṉa), taking
broad views (sthūlalakeśa), highly enterprising
(mahotsāha), not verbose (adīrghasūtra), having powerful
feudatories (śākya-sāmanta), firm in mind (dṛḍhabuddhi),
having not a small council of ministers (akṣhudraparishatka),
and desirous of self-discipline (vinayakāma). He should
be desirous of learning, studying, understanding of what
is studied and retaining it, reflecting, discussing, so and
devoted to the principles accepted after discussion. He
should study Ānvikshiki, Trayā (which also includes
Itihāsa and Purāṇa), Vārtā and Danḍānīti.(10) The
descriptions of the personal accomplishments of Ranaṅga,
Pulakesin I, Kirtivarman IX, Mangalesa and Pulakesin II,
found in a number of early Chālukya inscriptions, to which
we have referred to in their relevant contexts, show that
many of the qualities befitting an ideal king set forth
above were quite well-known to the composers of those
records, and may have also inspired the afore-said kings
and their descendants in their conduct and action. (11)

The principal duties enjoined upon the king by
the political theorists are the protection of subjects

(11) cf. the Mahākūta Inscription of 578 A.D. (IA.XIX.7ff);
Godachi Plates of Kirtivarman (JUS.1937, pp.165ff); Nerur
Plates of Mangalesa (IA.VII.161f); Hyderabad Plates of
Pulakesin II (IA.VI.72b); the Aihole inscription (EI.VI.1ff)
etc. See also above pp.33-34,45,53-54,91.
from internal and external dangers, punishment of
the wicked and the upholding of the rules of castes
and stages. (12) The same idea is found in Chālukya
inscription. The Godachi Plates records that Kṛtivarman
is gratified all the elements of the state by protecting
them according to the rules applicable to the castes
and stages (Varnāśrama-dharma-nyāya-paripāla-ānurāṇjita-
sarvva-prakritih). (13) The Chiplun grants specially
refer to the fact that Pulakesin II punished the wicked,
honoured the learned and extended favours to servants
(of the state). (14) In the Kauthem plates Satyāśraya
is described as a supporter of all castes, and his
successor Vikramāditya Ṣix V is said to have stood for
the maintenance of the castes and stages of life. (15).
A Nagai inscription says that during the reign of
Someśvara I the four castes did not abandon their respective
rules of conduct. (16) Attention may also be drawn in
this connection to a rather interesting passage which is
found in the Balambida inscription of the time of the same
king. We are told that "while he was ruling the earth,
confusion or overlapping of castes (and letters-verma)

(12) cf. Manus. VII. 35, 144; śā Navalkya, I. 335; Kaṟnt.
was never witnessed except among the uncultured Kayastha people (scribes); the word taskara (thief) was indicative of its own form (not a person), and remained only among the grammarians since its meaning was nowhere applicable; upasargas (calamities and particles of words) were never seen except in samasas and the commentary on the taddhitānta words". (17)

In later Chālukya inscriptions also we meet with the statement that the king or his feudatory is governing with the punishment of the wicked and the protection of the good (dushta-nigraha-viśishta-pratipālanādīmālu). (18)

The king was also called upon to look to the material and moral well-being of his subjects in general, and to support students, learned Brāhmaṇas and sacrificers in particular. (19) The numerous grants of land and taxes and other items made to the temples and Brāhmaṇas by the king, his feudatories and officials, with various conditions attached to them, clearly indicate that the Chālukya sovereign was not unmindful of this part of his duty. Indeed, the temples were not only houses for worshipping gods, but they were great centres of education and social and philanthropic activities (which included feeding and

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(17) MĀŚ. 1928, p. 74.
(18) IDK. 428n.
(19) Kautilya I.19; II.I; Manu VII 821, 134; Yājñavalkya I.315, 323 etc.
and clothing of ascetics, brāhmaṇas, guests, students, and maintenance of water-sheds, ponds, wells and gardens etc) often subsidised at the expense of the state.

For a proper discharge of his functions every king was invested wide executive, judicial and legislative power during the period of our survey. He appointed his ministers and other high state dignitaries, he adjudicated upon cases specially brought for his hearing, and under special circumstances he even made laws (rājasāsena) which according to Kautilya book precedence over any other law or customs or usage in case of conflict. Nārada says that "whatever the king in pursuance of his function of protector, administrator and dispenser of charity may do is authorised."

(20) The Chāluksya kings certainly were not excepted from this general practice. The dependence of officers and feudatories on the sovereign in later times found expression in such description as tat-pāda-padmopajīvi ("subsisting on his (king's) lotus feet") applied to the former in the inscriptions of the period. It also appears that to make known his decisions on important affairs of the state the early Chāluksya kings used to issue royal proclamations (rāja-śrāvita). (21)

(20) Kautilya, III.1, Nārada, XVIII.21. I am indebted to Dr. Barnet for drawing my attention to these references.

(21) EI, XIV, 186ff; IA, VIII, 286; XIX, 144ff. The Chipun plate plates (EI, III, 50f) at the end invoke blessings for the writer, reader and hearers. This implies that land grants had also to be proclaimed for interesting ceremony connected with land grants by Chola kings, see SII, III, 3, no. 205, pp. 429f. I am indebted to Dr. Barnet for these references.
Finally, we should note that the king was also a great war-leader, who was ever intent to fight and personally led the army into the battle-field and directed all its actions. In this respect also, his conduct received the approbation of the writers of Rājadharma. The existence of a large number of petty states in the country, often entertaining hostile feelings against each other, elevated aggressive warfare into a legitimate profession for the members of the royal races. The mutual antagonism between the rival kings was fostered by local particularism which grew out of differences of races, languages, culture etc; and to these causes we should attribute the constant conflicts between the early Chālukyas and the Pallavas and Tamil states, and also between the later Chālukyas and the Gurjaras, Paramāras, Rāhavas, and the Cholas. At the same time the use of such expressions as Chatus-samudrārāni-nivārita-yaśaḥ, pūrva-paśchima-samudra-tāt-ōshitaśva-sena-rajah-pata-vinārmita-dīg-vitānaha, pūrvv-śparśambu-nāthaḥ, chatur-udaḥi-mekhal-öparjita rājya-śri, tri-samudra-madhya-vartī-bhuvana-mandala-dhisvaram, ambudhipraya-nivārita-sāsanaḥ etc. found in early Chālukya records, (22) points to the currency of the Chakravarti ideal in the

(22) The Mahakarta ins, of 578 A.D., Aihole ins. of Raviśrītī; Lohanera Plates Μ Yekkeri ins. of Pulakesin II and the Jeguri plates of Vīnayaditya.
court of Badami, and it may have inspired some of the kings of the early period notably Pulakeśin II, in their warlike activities, and made them ambitious of building up a trans-Vindhyah empire.

It is apparent that the Chālukya kings wielded enormous power. Yet their rule could not have been an unmitigated despotism. The fall of Maṅgaleśa and Somaśvara II illustrates the fate of kings who deviated from the right path or neglected the welfare of subjects.

The succession to the throne was hereditary, and was normally governed by the law of primogeniture. In the early Chālukya inscriptions we meet with the expression priya-tanuja, priya-tanaya, priya-sunī, priya-ūtmaja and priya-putna to indicate the relation between the predecessor and the successor. Fleet thinks that this probably points to the existence of some sort of a custom of selection for succession to the throne by the father from amongst the princes. He specially draws attention to the case of Vikramāditya I, who is known to have been a younger son. (23) But it may be pointed out that Adityavarman, a brother of Vikramāditya I, also claims to have been a priya-tanaya (24), and as the same or

similar expressions were found applied to every case without any exception from the time of Pulakesin I to that of Kirtivarman IX, when a son succeeded a father, it most probably did not carry any special significance with it. (25) Under special circumstances, however, there could have been exceptions to the general rule. Thus Mangalesa succeeded Kirtivarman IX to the exclusion of the latter's sons who were presumably minors. But the evidence of the Aihole inscription clearly indicates that the right of Pulakesin II to the throne of his father was specially protected, and by violating this Mangalesa lost his life. The accession of Vikramaditya I, to the exclusion of Chandraditya (who however may have resigned his claim to the throne) took place at a time of grave national calamity. Bilhana says that Someśvara I intended to nominate Vikramaditya VI as his successor, to the exclusion of Someśvara II, because of Vikramaditya's agility and proficiency in all the sciences; but the very fact that it did not actually materialise shows how strong was the claim of the eldest born to succeed to the throne of his ancestors. In the absence of a son the crown passed to a younger brother, or a younger brother's son, to the

(25) cf. the expression priyānuja applied to Vishnudhara I in eastern Chālukya grants.
exclusion of any daughter or daughters, as happened after the death of Satyāśraya of the later family.

II. The Yuvarāja

The practice of appointing a yuvarāja, apparently to help the king and to train him up in the work of administration, was also adhered to during our period. The post went either to the heir-apparent or to the heir-presumptive. The Aihole inscription implies that the quarrel between Mangalesa and Pulakesin II broke out when the question of appointing to the Yuvarājaship cropped up. (26) Among the early Chālukyas Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana, the brother of Pulakesin II, Vijayāditya, Vikramāditya II and Kirtivarman II are expressly mentioned as Yuvarājas. (27) In later times we find that Somesvara II was appointed yuvarāja when Vikramāditya VI refused the office. The latter selected his brother Jayasimha to fill the same post. The statements in the Nerur plates of Vijayāditya and the Vākkleri plates of Kirtivarman II that they were trained in the sciences of arms in their childhood show that the would-be king had to be specially an adept in military matters. It may also be presumed that he, together with other princes, were

(26) EI.VI.9n.
(27) IA.XIX.303f; VI.88; EI.XIV.188f; V.200ff. etc.
trained in all the other lores recommended for their study in the Dharmaśāstras and the Arthaśāstras. The cases of Vishṇuvardhana, Vikramāditya, Somesvara II and Jayasimha show that the Chālukya yuvarājas served as provincial governors. (28)

III The machinery and departments of the central government,

Paucity of information does not allow us to form any clear idea about the machinery of the central government during the early Chālukya period. The Godachi plates of Kirtivarman I, as we have seen, refer to the great Brāhmaṇa (mahā-brāhmaṇa) Vyāghrasvāmin, who was well-versed in various lores including the Nītisāstra, and who is described as a Brihaspati of those days (ādyakāla-Brihaspati), as the bearer of the burden of the whole kingdom (rājya-sarvasva-dhurandhara). (29)

This implies the existence of a post of something like a first minister of state at this time. In the early copper-plates we find reference to another official called the mahāsandhi-vigrahika, the great minister of peace and war, one of whose duties was to draw up the charters for land grants made by the king. A spurious Kurukṣetra inscription, alleged to be of the time of Vikramāditya I,

(28) IA.XIX.303ff; EI.XIV.188ff, and above under Somesvara I.
(29) see ante, p.52.
enumerates several other dignitaries like the sreshta (banker), senapati (commander of the army), sachiva (minister, leader), parthivanka (the royal army) and adhyaksha (superintendent). (30) We have also references to the preceptors (guru) of Vikramaditya I and Vinayaditya (31), but there is nothing to show that they took any important part in the administrative affairs of their royal disciples. Among the minor officials, mention is made in the early Chalukya records of the Pratihara (door-keeper), duta (envoy), chara (spy), chaṭas and bhatas. (32) The Bagumra plates of Nikumbha-Allasakti refer to the chandikarana (thief-catcher) and the daṇḍapāśika (policeman). (32a).

Under the later Chalukyas we find an elaborate and a complicated system of government at the centre. The king was apparently helped by a number of ministers who deliberated with their master on the important affairs of the state. No reference is found to a mantri-parāśad, and each individual minister probably acted on his own responsibility. As to the number of royal councillors we cannot be altogether definite. Manu prescribes that the king should select seven or eight ministers. Somesvara III also approves the same number and says,

(30) IA.VII.217ff. (31) see the Talamanchi plates (EI. IX.98ff), Lakshmeshwar inscription (IA.VII.112) (32) cf. see the Goa plates (JBSRAS.X.365f) and Chiplun plates (EI.III.50f) of Pulakesin II; the Sanjan plates of Buddhavaraha (EI.XIV.144ff); the Mahakuta inscription (IA.XIX.7f). Regarding the significance of the terms chaṭa and chaṭa, see contd. (32a) contd.
anvayad āgatān sūdhān upadbhbhiḥ parīkṣhitaṁ
sacchivān sapta vāśṭau vā kuryte matimān nripaḥ (33)

It is not impossible that the precept was actually followed by the rulers of his own family. It is also interesting to note in this connection that a āyurv inscription informs us that Jayasimha II entrusted a certain Koppa, who proved his upright inness in an unique manner under test (tāmayaḍ=ōnd-upadhā-viduddhigir) to the administration of his inexhaustible Treasury. (34)

But this method of selecting officials could not have been extensively used in a state where the offices tended to become hereditary.

In the Āsthānarāhoga section of the Mānasollāsa Somesvara gives us an interesting glimpse into a royal court teeming with the members of the royal family, feudatories and state officials. (35) We cannot say with absolute certainty if it corresponded to the actual conditions obtaining in those days. But it is worth describing here. The centre of the court is the king himself. When he wishes to hold a darbar he should ask his pratiḥāra to issue an invitation to all to attend. In response to this first come the women of the harem, who occupy their

(32) contra EI. IX. 284n, 296; XIV. 152n. (32a) IA. XIX. 268.
(33) Mānasollāsa, II. 2. 57.
(34) EI. XII. 271, 280.
(35) III. 11.
allotted seats on all sides of the throne except the front. After them come all the princes, bowing to the king and seating themselves in front of him. Then come purohita, amatya, mantri and sachiva and take their seat at their respective places. They are followed by the mandalesvaras and samantamatyakas, whose seats are in front of the king to the right and left. Then enter other officers of state and take their appointed places. This number is quite enormous, and is recounted as follows:

desādhikārīnaḥ (governors of districts), grāmādhikārīnaḥ (heads of villages), kośādhikārīnaḥ (treasurers), balādhikārīnaḥ (officers of the army), durgādhikārīnaḥ (commandants of forts), vastrādhikārīnaḥ (officers in charge of clothes), bhushādhikārīnaḥ (officers in charge of ornaments and decorations), nishkādhikārīnaḥ (mint officer), varnādhikārīnaḥ (officers in charge of castes), tulādhikārīnaḥ (officers in charge of weights and measures), mudrādhikārīnaḥ (officers in charge of royal seals), dūtādhikārīnaḥ (heads of envoys), dusktādhikārīnaḥ (heads of the jails, police departments), tīrthādhikārīnaḥ (officers in charge of pilgrimage), māvādhikārīnaḥ (officers in charge of boats or ships), mārgādhikārīnaḥ (officers in charge of roads), dvārādhikārīnaḥ (heads of the doorkeepers), bhārādhikārīnaḥ (officers in charge of loads of merchandise), dīpādhikārīnaḥ (officers in charge of lights),
ahgādhiṅkārīnāḥ (?), yodhādhiṅkārīnāḥ (officers in charge of fighters), devādhiṅkārīnāḥ (officers in charge of temples), rāstrādhiṅkārīnāḥ (lawyers?), dānādhiṅkārīnāḥ (officers in charge of charities), dandādhiṅkārīnāḥ (judges?), gajādhiṅkārīnāḥ (officers in charge of elephants), aśvādhiṅkārīnāḥ (officers in charge of horses), rathaḥdiṅkārīnāḥ (officers in charge of chariots), prāṇādhiṅkārīnāḥ (?), rāstrādhiṅkārīnāḥ (officers in charge of swords and the like), chāpādhiṅkārīnāḥ (officers in charge of bows), mrigādhiṅkārīnāḥ (officers in charge of animals), pakṣādhiṅkārīnāḥ (officers in charge of the aviary?), mānādhiṅkārīnāḥ (officers in charge of baths), sūdādhiṅkārīnāḥ (officers in charge of the kitchen), toyādhiṅkārīnāḥ (officers in charge of water), cchātṛādhiṅkārīnāḥ (officers in charge of royal umbrellas), tailādhiṅkārīnāḥ (officers in charge of oil), gavādhiṅkārīnāḥ (officers in charge of cows), ghāsādhiṅkārīnāḥ (officers in charge of grass), kṣhīrādhiṅkārīnāḥ (officers in charge of milk), karmādhiṅkārīnāḥ (officers in charge of works), sayyādhiṅkārīnāḥ (officers in charge of bedrooms), kāntādhiṅkārīnāḥ (officers in charge of the queens), putrādhiṅkārīnāḥ (officers in charge of the princes), vidyādhiṅkārīnāḥ (officers in charge of schools?), vādyādhiṅkārīnāḥ (officers in charge of musical instruments), geyādhiṅkārīnāḥ (officers in charge of singers), nṛttādhiṅkārīnāḥ (officers in charge of dancers), chitrādhiṅkārīnāḥ (officers in charge of paintings), parṇādhiṅkārīnāḥ (officers
in charge of betel-leaves), sulkādhikārinah (officers in charge of customs), dhānyādhikārinah (officers in charge of corn), sūdhadhistamārinah (officers in charge of liquors?), etc. Mention is also made of tāmbuladharinah (bearers of betel-bags), khadgadhārinah (swordsmen near the throne), kavayāh (poets), ganaṁ (astrologers), pāṭhakāh (readers), kathakāh (reciters), vaitālikāh (heralds), etc. (36) In the amātyādhyāya Somesvara mentions the following officials: mantri(minister), purāhita (chaplain), jyotirvid (astrologer), senāpati (general), dharma dhikāri (chief judge), kōśāhyaksha (treasurer), vaidya (royal physician), pratiḥāri (chamberlain), sandhivigrāhika (minister of peace and war), lekhaka (writer), sārathi (charioteer), sūda (royal cooks), and antahpurārakshaka (protector of the seraglio). (37)

Somesvara says that the whole assembly should bow to the king as they would at the moon. The king should they ask the pratiḥāri to summon the weaker princes who have come for protection. These latter on entering should prostrate themselves before the throne. The king should sympathetically speak to them and make them take their appointed seats and befitting their position. He should please them with his words and present to them fine

(36) The officers have been enumerated in the order in which they are found in the text, and no attempt has been made to classify them.

(37) Manasolūṣa, II.2,
clothes, jewels, ornaments, horses and elephants, villages, cities and even small territories. In like manner he should please the princes, ministers, warriors, officers, scholars and others who have assembled in the darbar.

In contemporary inscriptions mention is made of the following officials:

(i) Mahāmantri, Pradhanāgraṇi, Pradhanāmātya. (38)
These terms correspond to the chief minister. The officer with these designation appears to have enjoyed some sort of precedence among his colleagues. We also meet with the term Mahāpradhāna, which probably implied nothing more than an officer of ministerial rank, as all the important state functionaries are found to have assumed this epithet.

(ii) Mantri or ordinary minister.
The Mahāmantri and the Mantri apparently advised the king on all the important matters of state.

(iii) Purohiṭa (39) His function was to propitiate the gods and to perform ceremonies to remove evils etc.

(iv) Senāpati, Senādhipati, Sainyādhikāri, commander of the army.

(v) Sandhivigrahi, Mahāsandhivigrahi. Somesvara says that he must be intelligent, well-versed in several languages, in matter connected with peace and war, in the art of

(38)BK.I.1.52, line 7; Sudi ins. (EI. XV. 85ff); Gadag ins. (EI. XV. 352, Verse 32).
(39)SII, IX.1. No.193.
writing and engraving and also able to deal with the sāmantas and maṇḍalesvaras etc. (40)

(vi) Dharmādhikārī. Somesvara says that he must be well-versed in the meanings of the Smrītisāstra and able to administer justice in consultation with those who know the smrītis. (41)

(vii) Śrīkaranādhikārī or Śrīkarana. He was the superintendent of royal offices.

(viii) Paṭṭale Karana ('Provincial Registrar').

(iv) Akshapatalādhipati (officer in charge of records), (42)

(x) Pasāyita, Mahāpasāyita (officer in charge of robes).

He probably corresponded to the Vastrādādhipālam of the Mānasollāsa.

(xi) Maṇiveṛgaṇe, the royal steward or the palace comptroller.

(xii) Bānasa-veṛgaṇe (chief of the kitchen), He probably corresponded to the Śūdādhipālam or Śūdādhyaksha of the Mānasollāsa. Somesvara says he must be an expert in cooking, should be able to examine carefully the king's food, and cannot be bought over by the king's enemies (asambhedya). (43)

(xiii) Kaṭita-veṛgaṇe (the chief accountant).

(xiv) Haṭapavala (bearer of the betel-bag). He corresponded to the tāmbuladāhārī of the Mānasollāsa.

(40) Mānasollāsa, II.2.127-130.
(41) ibid., verses 93-94. EI.XV.352.
(42) BK.I.I. No.52, line 7.
(43) II.2.134-137.
(xv) Antahpurādhyaksha, apparently antahpurarakshaka of the Mānasollāsa. Someśvara, says that one who is unattractive in appearance, without greed, careful, who has his senses under his control, expert in interpreting signs, pure, tested in the seven kings of desire (sapta-kām-opadha-suddha) should be appointed as antahpurarakshaka. (44)

(xvi) Rājadhyaksha or Rājabhāri (king's representative)

(xvii) Kośādhyaksha (treasurer)

(xviii) Mūdrāhasta (officer in charge of the royal seal) (45)

(xiv) Sāvasigal-adhisṭhāyaka ("president of the intendents") (46)

(xx) Tantarapāla (recorder)

(xxii) Āsthāneavastunāyaka (officer in charge of the property of the king's court)

(xxii) Dauvārika (door-keeper)

(xxiii) Gajasāhanī (officer in charge of elephants)

(xxiv) Turagasāhanī (officer in charge of horses)

(xxv) Patṭasāhanī (probably officer in charge of frontlets or fillets tied to the head of the king's favourite horses and elephants).

(xxvi-xxvii) Chāṭas and Bhaṭas. Besides the above there were two special officers, one was the Sarvādhikāri or

(44) ibid. 146-150.
(45) BK. 46 of 1938.
(46) Lakshmeshār Inscription. EI. XVI. 32ff.
Sarvādhyaksha, who apparently had some sort of superintending power over all the departments of the state. It has been suggested that his functions might have resembled those of the Sarvārthachintaka of Manu. (47)

The other was the Bāhattara-niyog-ādhipati, i.e. "the lord of seventy-two offices". (48) These seventy-two offices seem to have some connection with the royal camp. (49) Need was also felt for the elaboration of the office of the minister of peace and war. An inscription of the time of Jayasimha II mentions Vānañarasa, the governor of Belvola and Puligere, as the Kannāda-sandhivyagrihi, that is, the minister of peace and war for the Kannāda or Karnaṭa country. (50) The motive for this innovation is not at all apparent, as the Karnaṭa country formed an integral part of the Chālukya dominions. In inscriptions of the time of Someśvara II we meet with officers styled Hēri-sandhivyagrihi. The meaning of the word Hēri is not known. Dr. Barnett thinks that it may have been connected with the word hēriga, and the whole phrase in this case would signify "a minister in charge of secret intelligence department of the foreign policy". (51)

In still later time we find an officer, called Hēri-Lāta-Karnaṭa-sandhivyagrihi and Hēri-Lāta-sandhivyagrihi. (52)

(49) cf. the expression Chālukya-chakresvara-kataka-bāhattara-niyogi-nivaha (EI. XV. 88). (50) EI. XVI. 79;
(51) EI. XVI. 45. (52) DLD. 458.
Curiously enough about the same time when these special officers were being created there was also launched a policy for concentrating a larger amount of civil and military powers in the hands of a few individual officers. Thus, for instance, Madhusūdana, an officer of Somesvara I, is described as the mahāprachāṇḍa-danādānāyaka, Karnatatasandhivigrāhādhipati, sārvabhauma-

nājya-niyoga-rājādyaksha ("the king's superintendent of the services employed in the Kingdom of the emperor"), who was also "the superintendent of the sons of learned men (bhaṭṭa-putrak-ādhisēthāyaka), clever in the mastery of the languages of several countries and employed for being despatched difficult royal missions to troublesome provinces". He is also called a yuvarāja (yuvarāja-
padāvī-vīrājita). (53) Somesvara II's officer Udayāditya is styled a mahāsāmāntādhipati, mahāprachāṇḍa-danādānāyaka, mahāpradhāna hēri-sandhi-vigraha manevergaḍe. (54) Under Vikramāditya VI, Kālimarasā (Kālidasa) rose to become a mahāpradhāna rājādyaksha, Kaḍitavergaḍe, Karnaḍasandhivigrāh
danādānāyaka. (55) Another subordinate of the king Bhīvanayya, is described as mahāpradhāna sāvāsīgal-ādhisēthāyaka, manevergaḍe pattale-karanā danādānāyaka. (56) Bhogayya or

(54)EC.VII. sk. 129.
((55))The Nagai Ins. (Hy. Arch. se. No. 8, 13).
((56))The Lakshmeshwar Ins. (EI. XVI. 32))
Bhogabhatṭayya, who was a mahāsāmantaśāṁtipati mahāpradhāṇa Kannāḍa-sandhivigraha, senādhipati, served under both Vikramāditya and his son Somesvāra III. Under Jagadekamalla II we have Keśimayya described as Mahāpradhāṇa antahpurādhyaḵsha Kari-turaga-patta-saḥāṇi śrīkaraṇa sarvādhyaḵsha and hērī-Lāṭa-sandhivigraha. (58) Another officer, Kālīdasa, is called a daṇḍādhisha mahāsāmantāśāṁtipati mahāprachandaṇḍadaṇḍanāyaka samastādhiṅkāri manoevergade. (59) An inscription from Raybag describes him as bāhattera-nirṛyyar (niyog?)-ādhipati rāya-pitāmaha mantri-chāḍaṇaṁī and mahāpradhāṇa. (60) Another officer of the same king, Barmarasa, became a mahāpradhāṇa antahpurādhyaḵsha Kari-turaga-saḥāṇi pergade śrīkaraṇa sandhivigraha paṛāyita manoevergade haḍapavala. (61) These are typical examples, and there are many other instances of this kind in contemporary inscriptions. Some of the officers again attained extra special position in the court and assumed such epithets as Chālukya-rāja-rājya-bhāra-dhaureya and Chālukyarājya-mula-stambha. (62)

At times significant marks of distinction were conferred by the king upon his favourite officers. Thus Vikramāditya VI allowed his ministers Somesvarabhatta and

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(57) Sc. VII, sb. 170; SII, IX, I, Nos. 123.
(58) SII, IX, I, No. 240. (59) IA, VI, 139.
(60) JBHS, 1930, p. 192ff. The inscription belongs to the reign of Jagadekamalla II, and not the first king of that name, as the editor supposes. (61) SII, VIII, 363.
Raviga to use all the marks of royalty (sva-rājya- 
chihna, samasta-rājya-chihnamgal). (63) Several other 
facts in connection with these high state officials 
deserve attention. The study of our records suggests 
that all of them assumed the distinctive epithets of 
mahāprachandaṇdaṇḍanāyaka and mahāpradhāna, which seem 
to signify that they were magistrates of ministerial 
rank and also indicate their civil and military powers. 
They were very often sent to govern important provinces 
and also to administer taxes of particular territories. 
Thus Bhīvanāyyya, a subordinate of Vikramāditya VI, 
to whom we have referred above, was administering Palaśi 
12000 and the achchupannāya tax of the seven and a half 
laṭkh country in 1102 A.D. (64) In the reign of the same 
king Anantapāla, who was mahāprachandaṇḍadānāyaka 
mahāpradhāna bānasavergade, was administering the 
vaḍḍarāvula tax of the seven and a half lakh country in 
1112-13 A.D. and was later on sent to govern the province 
of Vengi. (65) We need not multiply other instances. These 
minister-governors are probably referred to as sāmantāmā- 
tyakas in the Mānasollāsa. The policy of investing high 
officials with wide and extensive power, both civil and

Ei.XV.351,359;XII.281,287.
military, and also entrusting to them the government of provinces was probably dictated by the necessity of waging constant wars by the Chalukya kings against their neighbours. But it ultimately contributed to bring about the ruin of their sovereignty in the Deccan by facilitating the rise of all powerful state functionaries like Bijjala.
IV. Law and Justice.

The stability of any government worth its name largely depends upon an impartial administration of justice to its subjects, and proper punishment meted out to the wicked and criminals. This fact was thoroughly recognised by writers on law and polity in ancient India, and they insisted that the king should personally look into the complaints of his people. (1) Somesvara III also repeats that the administration of justice should be the personal concern of the king. (2) The Chālukya kings acted according to this advice. Among the early rulers Mahgaleśa receives special praise for his adherence to justice in his own kingdom (sva-rāṣṭre nyāyānuvarti). (3) In later times we find Somesvāra I and Vikramaditya VI settling disputes brought before them for adjudication. (4) Besides the king, as we have seen, there was an officer at the centre called the dharmādhikārī. In the provinces the governors must have discharged the same function. The princess Akkādevī, about whom we shall speak below, had under her a

(1) see P.V. Kane, History of Dharmasastra, II, pp.57,242 for various references on the subject in literature on Law and Polity. (2) Manasollasa. II, 20,1234; Kane, ibid. (3) The Nerur Plates (IA.VII.161) (4) II, IX, I, Nos.123,169.
In the towns and villages the duty was entrusted to local councils often headed by the king's officials, and sometimes without the presence of the latter.

In deciding cases the king's and other officials were in all probability guided by the injunctions of the Smṛitīsāstras. Long standing customs (pūrva-maryyāde, pūrva-bhukti) apparently played an important part. (6) So also did the vyāvasythe or charters of privileges granted by kings, governors or individuals to other individuals, local bodies and temple corporations, etc. (7) Under certain circumstances, as we have seen, the king himself could make laws which took precedence over others. Finally the opinion of Brāhmaṇas, members of craft-or social-guilds and village authorities also must have been solicited and enforced in particular cases. (8) Trial by ordeal was resorted to on occasions. One of our records mentions that two Brahmaṇas occupied the umbali land of three gāmunḍas by force, and continued to enjoy it for three years. The latter decided to fight with the Brāhmaṇas, and an agreement was reached that if any one of them died fighting, the other two should give to the

(5) The Śuci inscr. of s 976 (EI.XV.80ff)
(6) The Lakshmeshwar inscr. of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya (EI.XIV.190b) EI.XIII.171. (7) EI.XIV.190f; BK.170 of 1934; 179 of 1934 ASI.1934, p. 241; BK.52 of 1929; BK.8 of 1935; EI.XV.78f, etc.
(8) The Lakshmeshwar inscr. of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya enjoins the royal officials to protect the authentic testimony of good men (EI.XIV.190f).
heir of the dead man one-third more share of land in addition to his legitimate share. The fight seems to have taken place before Somesvāra I when he was leading an expedition to the south and the agreement was duly honoured. (9) A Gadag inscription of the time of Vikramāditya VI refers to ordeals by dipping the hands into boiling water, striking a snake placed in a jar and mounting the balance. (10) Some of the inscriptions again supply interesting information regarding punishment for certain offences. An epigraph from Anjheri (Nasik district) belonging to the time of Vikramāditya II prescribes that a fine of Rs. 108 should be levied for outraging the modesty of a virgin; Rs. 32 for adultery; Rs. 16 for mutilation of an ear; Rs. 4 for bruising the head; Rs. 108 if a merchant's son is found to have illicit connection with a female porter, and if one is caught in the actual act of adultery the decision of eight or sixteen elders of the town should be regarded as final. (11) An inscription of the time of Tāila II ordains that the nose of the woman guilty of adultery is to be cut off and the male adulterer put to

(9) SIH. IX. I. 123; SIE. 1921, p. 88.
(10) E. X. p. 360.
(11) E. X. V. p. 237 f.
death. Causing wounds and letting out blood by beating is to be punished with a fine of 8 panas. (12) The Kotavumachgi inscription of the time of Taila's grandson Vikramaditya V gives the following list of fines for criminal offences: 2 panas for abusing one another; 3 gadyānas for drawing a dagger; 12 for stabbing (it is provided the amount may vary in consideration of distinction of caste); 3 if a bachelor commits adultery. (13). An inscription of the time of Somesvara I imposes a fines of one pana for defaming, 6 panas for striking, 12 for causing blood, and 3 panas for association with those who are given to plunder. (14) A Śudi inscription of the time of the same king contains the following curious information: "if one strikes (with a weapon) a thief, robber, burglar, enemy or evil-minded person under a shop, screens, verandah, there shall be a fine but no guilt; the fine upon the striker shall be three gadyānas. If one strikes with the ginger(?) the fine shall be ...... gold gadyānas, with the cudgel the fine shall be two panas". (15) Cattle lifting accompanied with rape of women was a very common offence

(12) SII. IX. I. No. 77
(13) EI. XX. 68ff.
(14) SII. IX. I. 102.
(15) EI. XV. 79ff.
in certain parts of the Kanarese area. The inscriptions of Tāila II and Vikramāditya V show that there was hardly any uniformity in the punishment of the crime of adultery (and there must have been many other instances of the same kind) in the same age and almost the same region, and a lack of sense of proportion in the minds of those who prescribed it. The varying of punishment in consideration of the caste of the offender proves the influence of the smṛiti writers on criminal administration. (16) The fine for defaming is undoubtedly interesting.

V. Army.

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang bears eloquent testimony to the fact that the early Chālukyas maintained a highly efficient military machine. (1) He specially praises the bravery of their soldiers and the strength of their elephants. The Badami inscription of Mangalesa tells us that Kirtivarman obtained banners of victory in many a battle in which the charioteers, elephants, cavalry and infantry took part. This suggests that all the four traditional divisions of the army were maintained by the early Chālukyas. On the other hand, the Nerur plates of Mangalesa refer only to the elephants.

(1) see above, p. 80.
cavalry and infantry of the Kalachuri king Buddhharaja, and as far as we can judge from other records, the chariots most probably fell into disuse in those days, or were very seldom used. The Aihele inscription of Ravikāti speaks of the six-fold army of Pulakesin II, namely, maula (hereditary), bhṛitaka (mercenary), śreni (caste-men), mitra (troops supplied by allies), amitra (troops that once belonged to the enemy), and ātavika (foresters). The same record also refers to the navy of the Chālukya king with which he invested Puri, the capital of the Mauryas. (2) For purposes of defence forts were built on land (sthaladurga) and in water (jalaṣurga), over hills (giridurga) and in forests (vanadurga). In the later Chālukya period the main composition of the army and the defensive arrangement did not alter much. Somesvara III no doubt refers to the sārathī and the rathādhikārī, but there is no epigraphic evidence to show that the chariots were used in war. It is also doubtful if the later descendants of Pulakesin II maintained a navy. (4) They also seem to have depended to a great extent upon feudal levies supplied by the principal feudatories.

The chief command of the army was vested in

(2) Verse 21.
(3) EI.VI.1.5; Chipurapalle grant of Vishnuvardhana, IA.xx.16f.
(4) The Kadambas of Goa seems to have had a navy. The Narenda inscription refers to Shashtkaraṇa’s victory in naval engagement (EI.XIII.298ff).
the king himself both theoretically and practically, and he was helped by the senāpati or senapātis. It is interesting to note that in the later period we find many generals of Brahmin extraction. There was no clear cut division between the civil and military functionaries. Both in the early and later times the Chālukya kings appear to have been accompanied by the women of their seraglio when they went on military campaigns. This is implied by the statements in the Godval and Savanura plates that Vikramāditya I made grants of land from the jayaskandhāvāra at Uragapura in the Cholikavishaya at the request of Gangamahādevī and Agnipodi; (5) and the claims of the Chola kings Rājendra II and Vīrārājendra that they captured the queens of Someśvara I and other women at the battles of Koppem and Kuṇaḷ-sangamam. The battles in those days were very often accompanied by the destruction of property, including temple property, and slaughter of inhabitants of the country without any distinction of caste, creed, sex or age. (6)

(5) EL.X.100ff. BISMJ.XXI.73ff.
(6) e.g. the destruction of Vatāpi by Narasimha Pallava and the spoliation of temple property by the three rulers of the Tamil states; the slaughter and destruction perpetrated by the Chola in the reign of Satyārāja and Someśvara I; the imprisonment of country folk, burning etc. done by Jayasimha when he was in rebellion against Vikramāditya VI.
VI. Revenue.

The mainstay of public economy in ancient India was the tax on land. This was supplemented by customs and octroi duties; professional taxes, fines levied upon criminals and various other imposts. The rulers also tapped natural resources like mines, forests etc. for additional income. Another source of revenue must have been the attributes obtained from feudatories. Forced labour was perhaps very often demanded, and the king and his servants also enjoyed accommodation, gifts, perquisites, etc., at the expense of the subjects.

The early Chalukya records distinctly refer to the following:

1. Bhāga: the king's share of reaped corn.
2. Bhoga: translated as "enjoyment". It has been suggested that this probably refers to the right of the landlord or the tenant to enjoy the land when left fallow, or to the use of waste and taking of grass etc.
3. Udraṅga: exact meaning not known. Bühler takes it to mean the share of the produce usually collected by the king. Dr. Barnett suggests to me that the word may have been connected with drangā, a police officer, and signified some sort of a tax for maintaining the police.
4. Uparikara: another obscure term. Fleet thinks that it
was a tax levied on cultivators who had no proprietary right to the soil. Dr. Barnett points out to me that this word is an exact translation of the Tamil word mēl-vāram, which means the upper tax.

5. Kara: rent proper, or according to some extra cess.


8. Sūṅka or toll, under this head we may include the stall tax, caravan tax, pannasa income etc. mentioned in inscriptions. (1)

The birth tax (puttige) and taxes for celebrating the festivity of attaining puberty are referred to in the Lakshmishwar inscription of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya (II) and Balagamve inscription of Vikramāditya respectively. The former record also refers to fines for theft, minor delinquencies and "ten offences", and escheat of property to the crown in the absence of any heir. A Pattadakal inscription of the time of Vikramāditya II, after recording a grant made by the queen, says that there is no peremptory demand (tagappu), no obligation of presenting cattle, no right of perquisites allowed to the king's servants. (2)

(1)EI.XXV.235;SIE.1938,p.82.
(2)IA.X.167.
Another epigraph of the time of the same king, recording a grant by a feudatory, lays down that there shall not be any accommodation or provision for state officials (rājapurushānam vāsako jemakascha etān nāsti).

(3) Reference to vishtī or forced labour is met with in the last mentioned record and the Sanjan plates of Buddhavarasa. (4)

During the period of the later Chālukyas the taxes on land fell under the following known heads; Siddhāya (fixed land rent), pratisiddhāya, bhattāya, ārūvana (quit rent), and (?) dasabandha (Ana). The principal custom duties were the herajjunka (levied on the chief articles of trade), kirukula (levied on miscellaneous articles in which the transaction was small), vaddharavula, and pannāya (taxes on betel-leaves and areca nuts); bilkode (tax paid on every load of betel leaves by the people of the town); toṇṭa and bānnigadere-suṅka (garden toll); manneya-suṅka (seigniorial tax) etc. We also find reference to two other taxes, namely biravana and mālālke, the nature of which cannot be determined. Besides these, references are made to the house tax (manedere, manevasam), oil-mill tax, taxes on grass,

(3) EI. XXV. 237f.
(4) EI. XXV. 237f; XIV. 149f.
(4a) For prati-siddhāya, see IA. XIX. 164; Bhattāya (SII. IX. I. 162), dasabandha (Bk. 71 of 1937); SIE. 527 of 1913.
fine-wood, vegetables, salt, sugar, etc. Among the professional classes levies on the artisan, barbar and gardeners (totigas) are mentioned. (5) Fines on criminals were known as daṇḍaya and daṇḍadōthta. Festival expenses (biḻë-biya) were exacted. Forced labour and benevolencies were also not unknown. (6) One had to take special presents (kāṇike) if he wanted to go near the presence of the king. (7) The local authorities also levied extra cesses for specific purposes whenever required.

It has been rightly pointed out that in those days the burden of taxation fell almost wholly upon the merchant and professional classes and the cultivators of the soil. On the other hand we should remember that a considerable portion of the revenue was given back in the shape of temple endowments and other gifts for constructing or maintaining irrigation works, like tanks or wells, feeding and rest houses, educational institutions etc. What ultimately went to the coffer of the king must have been spent mainly on the palace expenditure, salary of the officials, maintenance of the army and the like.

Taxes and duties were realised both in cash and

(5) Bk.11 of 1934; SII. IX. I. Nos. 132, 195.
(6) SII. IX. I. No. 77; EI. XV. 341, 346 and note.
(7) ibid.
in kind. In the early Chālukya inscriptions mention is made of monetary units called gadyāṇaka and paṇa. (8) An inscription coming from the Nasik area speaks of the Krisnārāja-rupaka, probably a coin introduced by or current in the days of the Kaṭachchuri king Krishṇa-raja. (9) The inscriptions of the later Chālukyas very often refer to gadyāṇa and pāga or hāga. Another unit was pon or honnu 'gold'. (10) One inscription refers to Lokki gold coins and Peacock gold coins. (11)

VII. Territorial Divisions.

For administrative purposes the kingdom was divided into small territorial units. In the early Chālukya inscriptions occur such terms as mandala, vishaya, āhāra, bhoga, bhaga, pathaka and grāma. Of these, mandala and vishaya formed the largest units, and they possibly comprised something like a province. Āhāra generally indicated a smaller unit than a Vishaya. Thus the Nausari grant of Śryāśraya Śilāditya refers to the Thāharikāvishayāntargata Kandavalāhāravishaya. But the name Kandavalāhāravishaya itself indicates that these āharas should perhaps be distinguished from ordinary āharas like Khetāhāra (cf. also Talitāṭhāravishaya

(8)EI.III.5; XIV.188f.  (9)EI.XXV.235.
(10)SII.IX.I.260.  (11)ibid.No.164.
mentioned in the Raygarh plates of Vijayaäditya).
Bhoga and bhāga were definitely smaller than mandala
and vishaya. Thus we have a Sātimālabhoga in the
Pālayatthānavishaya, Edevolalbhāga in the Banavāsi-
mandala. These territorial units had in all probability
a fiscal implication. The only instance of a pathaka
called Moshiripathaka is met with in the Lohanera plates.
The exact relation between āhāra, bhoga, bhāga and
pathaka cannot be determined. The smallest territorial
unit of course was the village, grāma.

Towards the close of the early Chālukya period
the practice of indicating different territorial units
by adding numerals to them came into vogue. The Sanjan
plates of Buddhavarasa refers to the Dvādasagrāma on the
sea shore in the Avarantavishaya; the Bagalkot plates of
Vijayaäditya refer to Mallagrāma 30; a Pattadakal inscription
of Vikramāditya II records the grant of Nāreyamgal 50;
the Anjheri grant of Bhogaśakti speaks of Purī-Koṅkana
consisting of 14000 villages (chaturdasa-grāma-sahasra-saṃkhy
am); and finally Didgur inscription of Kirtivarman II
refers to Banavāsi 12000. (1) Scholars are not unanimous
as to the actual implication of these numbers. Burnell
and Rice thought that they denoted the amount of revenue.

(1)EI.XIV.149f; SIE.1934-35,p.57;IA.X.167;EI.XXV.230;VI.253.
Fleet was of opinion that "the reference is to the numbers, real, exaggerated, or traditional of the cities, town, and villages". According to Pran Nath the figures indicated the estates, while others think that they point to the number of population. The whole question has been discussed by Altekar, and we are inclined to agree with the view, first set forth by Fleet, that the figures refer to villages, real as well as fictitious, in a particular territory. (2) It may also be noted in this connection that several writers on Law and Polity, including Somesvara III, recommended grouping of villages for administrative purposes; (3) and here is another instance of their influence upon the rulers of the Karnataka and the adjoining region. In the later Chālukya period the use of the figures against territories to indicate the size of the political units came into very extensive use, though such terms as desa, janapada, maṇḍala, vishaya and nādu to denote a province or a part of a province, were not altogether unknown. We also find reference to smaller units called Kamāṇa and thāne. (4)

(2) Altekar, Rāṣṭrakūtas and their times, pp.139-149. That even such a large figure as 96000 added to Gangavadi, was supposed to indicate the number of villages (ur), is now proved by the Halebid inscription of 1027 A.D. (MAS.1936,p.181)
(3) For reference see Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, III.141
(4) For thāne, see BK.73 of 1936;
VIII. Feudal and Provincial Government.

Every empire that arose on the soil of India, including perhaps the highly centralised empire of the Mauryas, consisted of two main political groups, namely (a) the imperial provinces and (b) a number of feudal principalities. The empires of the early and the later Chālukyas also did not form exceptions to this rule. Indeed a close study of the political system under the later Chālukyas leaves the impression that under them the principles of feudalism received a very wide extension, apparently, as we have suggested before. due to military reasons. The feudatories belonged to different grades. The Aihole inscription of Raviśrītī refers to the existence of the anubhāvopanata sāmantas like the Gangas andĀlupas, pratāpopanata sāmantas like the Gurjaras, Mālavas and Lāṭas, and the dāndopanata sāmantas who are not specified but who must have included the Kadambas, and the Naḷas and Mauryas if they were not totally extirpated. (1) The former two groups naturally enjoyed more freedom of activities than the last mentioned one. Under the later Chālukyas also we find that there were powerful feudatories like the Yādavas, Hoysalas, Śilāhāras, Kākatīyas, Nolamba-Pallavas and perhaps the

(1)EI.VI.5f.
Kadambas of Goa who enjoyed almost an independent position and even exercised the right of waging war. Another group consisted of local families like the Rahtas of Saundatti or the Sindas of Yeelburga, who enjoyed a large amount of local autonomy but certainly could not claim the same power and prestige as the members of the first group. The Kadambas of Banavasi and Hangal and apparently the Sántaras seem to have formed a class by themselves. Our records reveal that the territories over which they ruled were also administered by officers appointed by the emperor side by side with them. Thus, for example, the Nilgund inscription of Taila II tells us that Kannapa ruled Belvola, Puligere, Kogali and other districts of Banavasi.

In 997 A.D. Bhimarasa was governing Banavasi 12000 and Sántalige 1000. In 1024 A.D. Brahmadandadhipa was administering several provinces including Hanagal. In 1036 A.D. Akkadevi was ruling Hangal, Banavasi etc. In 1045 Singanadevaras was ruling Kisukad, Banavasi, Sántalige etc., and so on.

The native rulers of Banavasi, Hangal and Sántalige apparently enjoyed very limited power.

(2) see DKD.435. (3) El.IV.204ff.
(4) EC.VII.SK.179. (5) Elliot.I.27.
(6) El.XVI.75ff. (7) See DKD for other instances; also Moraes, Kadamba-Kula, Chap.VIII.
The records of the early Chalukyas show that the imperial governors were recruited from amongst the ranks of the royal princes including the Yuvarāja, near relatives of the royal family (note the cases of the Druvarāja Indravarman of the Bappūra family and Senānanda, the maternal uncle of Pulakesin II) subordinate chiefs (note the case of the Sendrakas of Khandāshā who were possibly followed by the ancestors of the Rāśṭrakūta Dantidurga), as also from amongst individual officers of haphazard origin who must have distinguished themselves by their loyalty, administrative talent or generalship (note the case of Svāmichandra of Kannana). (8) Under the later Chalukyas the same practice was apparently continued. We have already referred to princely governors like Dāsavarman, son of Taila II, and Somesvara II, Vikramāditya VI, Jayasimha and Vishnubardhana-Vijayāditya. But far more remarkable was the appointment of royal ladies to administrative posts during this period. The practice was not altogether new in the Kanarese country. Though the case is not altogether beyond doubt, it is possible that Vijayasamhādevi, the consort of Chandraaditya the eldest brother of Vikramāditya I, ruled as a provincial governor. The Gaṅga King Śrīpurusha’s queen

(8) EI. XXV. 230f.
Paramabbe was administering Agali in his forty-second year; and the Gang King Dūtuga's queen Paramabbe governed Kurgal. (9) An inscription at Kesarsabhavi informs us that a daughter of Rāshtrakūta Amogha-varsha I was ruling over the Edadore and other districts, in 837 A.D. (10) The later Chālukyas, requisitioned the services of the royal ladies on a wider scale. The earliest instance of a later Chālukya princess serving as an administrative officer is that of Akkādevī, sister of Vikramāditya V and Jayasimha II and aunt of Somesvara I. Her official career was a long one, and she served under all the three kings. In 1010 and 1021 A.D. she was administering Kisukād 70; in 1037 A.D. Banavēsi 12000 jointly with the Edambha Mayuravarman; in 1050 and 1054 Kisukād 70, Torugare 130 and Māsavādī 140; She was still alive in 1067 A.D. Akkādevī is praised for her virtuous qualities and uniformity of speech (śkavākye), and one inscription describes her as "the very Bhairavā in battle and in destroying hostile kings". In 1047 she laid siege to the fort of Gokage (Gokak in the Belgaum district), most probably to quell some local disturbance. (11) Among other instances of princess-administrators we find mention of Mahādevī, daughter of Sattiga, i.e. Satyāsraya, who was

(9) BC X Mb. 80; IV Hn. 92. (10) BK I I I No. 7.
(11) For Akkādevī see EI XV 75f; 77f; 80f; XVI 75f; 82f; IA XVIII 273f; BK I Nos. 36, 38 etc.
ruling Moruvojāl (Maral in the Bijapur district) in 1024 A.D.; Suggaladevī, daughter of Someśvara I who was administering Nīpongeṇḍi in Kisukaḍa 70 in 1076 A.D., and Mailaladevī, daughter of Vikramādītya VI, who together with her husband Jayakesī II of Goa, was ruling, in addition to the hereditary territories of the Goa Kadambas, Unkul 30, Šabbī, Muntakuli 30, Hanumgal 500, Utsugrāma 30, Kādaravalli, Polalgunde 30, Velugrāma 70 etc. (12) Someśvara I and Vikramādītya VI also appointed their queens as state officials. (13) During the reign of the former Maiłaladevī was holding the government of Banavāsī 12000 in 1053-54 A.D., and Ketala-devī was managing the Ponnavāḍa agrahāra in 1054 A.D.; under the latter Sāvaladevī was administering Nāreyamgal, which her husband had given for her aṅgabhoga in 1077-78 A.D., Lakshmīdevī is said to have been ruling at the capital of Kalyāṇi in 1084-85 A.D., in 1095-96 A.D. she was administering the town of Dharmapura together with eighteen agrahāras; in 1109-10 and 1111 she was managing the village of Nīttasingi. Ketala-devī was ruling Siruguppe (Bellary district) in 1091-92 A.D. (14)

(12) BKI. I. I. Nos. 61, 117, II. XIII. 317f.
(13) Most of the following instances have been mentioned by Fleet, see DKD, pp. 440, 448f.
(14) SII. IX. I. No. 159. She should not be confused with Someśvara I's queen of the same name. Note also that Someśvara II, like that of his father, had a queen named Mailaladevi (SII. IX. I. No. 134)
Jakkaladevi was managing Ingunige in 1093–94 A.D.; Malleyamadevi was administering Kiriya-Kerreyur in 1094–95 A.D.; and finally Padmaladevi was ruling the agrahara Maṅgola (Magola in the Guntur district) apparently situated in the distant province of Vennī, in 1116 A.D. (15) We have already drawn attention to the fact that the later Chālukyas also appointed their ministers as imperial governors.

The rank of a feudatory and imperial governor before Pulakesin II was indicated by the title rāja (e.g. his maternal uncle Senānanda is given that title). After Pulakesin II we find also the use of the term mahārāja (Chandraditya is called mahārāja, so also the Sendraka Pogilli and the Ālupa Chitravahana; Sendraka Nikumbhallaṣakti, however, is described as a rāja in the Kasare plates). (16) The epithets Satyasraya, śrivallabha, īśrīprithivīvallabha etc. were also not the close preserves of the emperor himself. Thus Dhruvarāja-Indravarman gets the epithet Satyasraya; Senānanda is called śrivallabha; Chandraditya, Vishnuvardhana, Nikumbhallaṣakti, Avanijanāśraya Pulakesin of Lāṭa and Dantidurga are all described as śrīprithivīvallabha. (17)

(15) SII. IX. I. No. 195.
(16) Bt. III. 50f; IA. XIX. 142ff; IA. XIX. 149ff; BISMJ. XX. 66f; XXI. 691.
(17) JBBRAS. X. 365; Bt. III. 50f; IA. VII. 163ff; VIII. 45f; XIX. 303ff; BISMJ. XX. 66f; XXI. 69f; BI. LXXV. 30.
In the Kasare Plates the epithet samavāptapañchamahāsabdha is applied to Nikumbhāllasakti, while Dantidurga and his ancestors are referred to in the Ellora plates as samadhipata-pañchamahāsabdha mahāsāmantādhipati. (18) In the later period the usual titles assumed by feudalatories, as well as imperial governors, were samadhigata-pañcha-mahāsabdha—mahamandalesvara or mahāsāman-tadhhipati. The full imperial titles current in those days, however, are applied to Jayasimha (III), even though he was only an imperial governor. (19) Another instance is found in the case of Udayaditya, the Gauḍa subordinate of Someśvara II. (20) It should also be noticed that īrīprithivīvallabha appears as a standing epithet of the Nolamba-Pallavas.

The governorship in later times were held under various conditions. Taillā II, as we have seen, ruled Tardavādi as an anuga-ājīvita or follower's fief. This mode of tenure is also mentioned in subsequent inscriptions. (21) The feasts held by the princes were known as Kumāravṛtti. (22) Vāvanarasa ruled the two six hundreds (i.e. Belvola and Puligere) according to sarvabhyyantara siddhi, probably with full internal rights. (23) Mallarasa

(18) EI.XXV.29f. (19) DKD.440n.
(20) IA.IV.208f. (21) e.g. the Hottur ins. EI.XVI.88f
(22) ibid. SII.IX.I.No.118. (23) BKL.I.I.No.65; cf. also EI.XV.88,92.
governed Sindavādi according to tribhogābhyantarasiddhi, a term which has been differently explained by different scholars. (24) The Haihaya Loka ruled A[τ]alū 300 and Mṛiti 300 as Gīlānuvṛitti. (25)

The jurisdiction of the imperial governors in the early as well as later periods extended over a number of vishayās. Thus Dhurvarāja-Indravarman is styled the lord of four vishayās and mandalas. The inscriptions of the Chālukyas of Lāta record their grants in Naṣikyavishaya, Kārmaneyāharāvishaya, Thāhirikāvishaya, etc. The inscription of Bhogaśakti also indicates that he exercised control of several vishayās. (26) The instances in later times are too numerous to need any special mention here. A study of the records of the later period again suggests that the emperor often made changes in the allotment of the vishayās to individual governors. We cite here one or two typical examples. In 980 and 994 A.D. Šobhanarāsa was governing Belvola and Puligere. In 1002 he is found administering Kundurū 500 and Kukkanūru 30 in addition. About a couple of years later (§ 926) he was ruling Belvola, Puligere and Palasige 12000, but no mention is made of Kundurū or Kukkanūru. (27) Vikramāditya VI transferred Anantapāla and his nephew from the Kanarese

area to govern the Vengi region. Another inscription of the same monarch informs us that Rakkhamarasa, who was governing Belvola and Puligere in 1121 A.D., was for some time in charge of the Telugu country. (28)

The imperial governors, like the feudatories acted virtually as local chiefs. Both maintained costly courts which were almost replicas of the system prevailing at the centre. In the records of the Chalukyas of Lata and the Sendmakas of Khandesh we meet with their sandhivigrahika or Mahāsandhivigrahika. A Śudā inscription of the time of Somasvara I mentions that Akkādevī had under her a pradhāna (minister of state), an aliya, a manevargade, an adapada, two tantrapēlas and a tantrada senābova. (29) Another inscription mentions her dharmaṇḍhyaksha, nāḍ-pergade and senābova. (30) The governors also maintained their own private army. These high officials were apparently entrusted with extensive civil and military duties of varied character and exercised enormous powers. Their loyalty to the emperor must have depended upon constant vigilance on his part upon their activities. The jayaskandhāvāras of the early emperors, and the reclame iūs of their later descendants

(28)ASÍ.1933-34,p.243.
(29)EI.XV.77f.
(30)ibid.80ff.
point to the fact that the sovereigns personally made

tours of inspection of the provinces of the empire, and
thereby kept themselves in touch with their powerful
subordinates. (31) The description of the royal court
found in the Mānasollāsa suggests that the governors,
as well as other subordinate officers, were expected to
attend the imperial darbar from time to time. The
maintenance of a body of spies was another means by
which the emperor appraised himself of the activities in
different parts of his dominions. Finally, a Nagai
inscription of the time of Somesvara I shows that the
later Chālukyas had under an highly placed officer at
the centre, a body of intelligent young men, well-versed
in the languages of several countries, who were employed
by them to carry royal messages to troublesome provinces.
(32)

Next in rank to the imperial governors were the
Vishayapatis, who ruled the vishayas. Their functions
were most probably analogous to those of the former, which
they exercised over a limited area and on a smaller scale.
Another officer called the rāṣṭrakūṭa is mentioned in both

(31) The nelevīṇus, literally "fixed or standing camps" are
regarded by Fleet as something like cantonments which formed
part and parcel of the military administration of the later
Chālukyas period (JRAS. 1917, p.117f). We are inclined to think
that they corresponded to the jayaskandhāvāras of the earlier
period. Another word found in later inscriptions is
appayānāvātī, which means a temporary halting place (JRAS.
early and late records. His exact jurisdiction and functions cannot be determined with absolute certainty. An inscription of the later period informs us that mahāsāmanta Jayakesiarasa was the rāṣṭrākūṭa of Puligere 300. (33) This implies that the official in question held a high rank which seems to have been on a par with the vishayapatras. During the early period the links between the village officials and higher officers in the districts and provinces were probably maintained through functionaries styled āyukṭakas. In the later age, between the rulers of vishayas and nādas stood the nāl-gāmunḍas or nāl-gavunḍas. They are found in our records as managing territorial units like Basavura 140, Sattalige 70 etc. Of the same grade, and having perhaps similar functions, were the nāl-prabhur. There were also the Nāda-karamas in charge of the offices, and the nāda-sunīka-vergade in charge of tohils and taxes, of these small divisions. Two other officers who find frequent mention in later inscriptions were the pergade and the manneya. It is very difficult to determine their place in the official hierarchy. The former is found along with some karanas as governing Banavasi on behalf of

(33) BK. 29 of 1936. For another reference to the rāṣṭrākūṭa in a late record, see SII. IX.I, No. 193.
Vallabharasa; in charge of the two six-hundreds i.e. Belvola and Puligere, in charge of Tardavādi, and also in the villages. (34) The pergades belonged to different classes. Reference has already been made to the Bānasa-vergade, mane-vergade and nāda-sunka-vergade. Manneya-sunka-vergade, perjjuṅka-vergade, pannayada-vergade and sāda-vergade are also alluded to. The pergades thus discharged functions of a varied character, including revenue administration. As regards the manneyas, we find them administering small territorial units like the Mulgunḍa 12, and also big units like Puligere Tardavādi 1000, Elamelanādu, etc. (35) They were possibly a kind of revenue official. Another officer of this class was the sunkādhikāri. (36)

IX. Rural and Urban Government.

Villages formed the smallest division in the administrative system, and scholars are agreed that they constituted the most characteristic feature in Indian polity everywhere, and in all ages, — perhaps until quite recently. Records found in different parts of the vast country reveal the common fact that each village was a self-contained unit, socially, economically and politically, and enjoyed a large amount of local self-government. In

(34) BK. 122 of 1933, 157 of 1927; 196 of 1929, 183 of 1934, 72 of 1933, 82 of 1933, etc.
(35) BK. 111 of 1927; 36 of 1934; 155-56 of 1934; 21 of 1937; 46 of 1936, etc.
(36) Dr. Barnett translates the terms pergade as superintendent; nal-gamunda as the holder of country-shrievalty.
Southern India it usually functioned through its own headman and an assembly of village elders. The records of the early Chalukya period refer to two officials who can be definitely connected with the villages, namely, the grāmakūṭa or village headman, who apparently discharged some executive duties, and the grāma-bhogika (also called simply bhogika), who must have been connected with the revenue administration. The Goa plates of Pulakesin II speak of an officer called bhojakā. He was very probably the same as the grāma-bhogika. The existence of the village assembly in this period is implied by the references to the mahattaras or "the elders" in certain copper-plate charters.

In the later Chalukya period the village headman was called the gāmunda. (1) An inscription at Kallihal (Dharwar district) shows that the gāmunda had to serve under a nāl-gāmunda. (2) Another record from the same area indicates that the latter could even appoint the former. (3) Some villages again had more than one gāmunda. Thus Sirivura had six, and Benqevura had twelve. (4) One inscription at Yeraguppe (Dharwar district) speaks of two hundred gāmundas of the place. (5) These large figures

(36) contd. and also as sheriff; mannaya as controller of seignories.
(1) The earliest mention of the word gāmunda is found in the _MACHINE and Annigere inscriptions of the time of Kirtivarman II (IA.XI.70; EI.XXI.204f).
(2) BK.122 of 1933. (3) BK. 117 of 1933. 
(4) BK 87 of 1928. (5) BK.36 of 1934.
indicate that at certain places the heads of the most important families, or of all the families, acted as gāmunḍas. We have another official connected with the village called the uroḍeya, lit. "the village-lord". He is usually taken to be a village headman. But our records clearly distinguish him from the gāmunḍa. For example, an inscription of c.1014 A.D. records the grant of a samsthāpatra to the uroḍeya and the gāmunḍas of Kānda (ga)le. (6) The relation between the two cannot be determined. As it is, the uroḍeya seems to have been a superior officer. We often find him at the head of the assembly of a village folk, though such a position was also occupied by the gāmunḍas as well. (7) Among other village officials mention is made of the senābova or the village accountant, and the talāra or watchman. In certain villages the pergade and the prabhu were also present.

The records of the Kanarese country to a certain extent reveal to us the composition and the activities of the village assemblies of the region. Sometimes the assembly consisted of the chief men (uttamapurushara) of the village (as in Sol 30); (8) or, of the Brahmin population (mahājana); or, Brahmins and merchants (sātīls) (9); or, (6) BK.52 of 1929. (7) EL.XVIII.175f, 188 etc., EL.XVI.79, 81 88. Dr. Barnett translates Urođeya as the "mayor". (8) EL.XVI.5, 8. (9) BK.76 of 1928.
Brahmins and a learned body, (10) or, of the entire population consisting of the mahājana, nakaras and other communities. (11) These bodies were generally entrusted with the management of temple properties and funds according to the conditions made by the donor, the maintenance of works of public utility like wells, tanks etc, or the conduct of useful institutions like those connected with education, feeding, charity etc. For the proper discharge of their duties they could levy local cesses. They also met to decide questions of common interest. Thus we are told that the fifty (mahājana) and others of Balguli having assembled resolved to collect grain and salt at the rate of two ballas out of the quantity worth a pannu in each kind and invested 103 gadyānas to conduct a feeding-house for four persons every day. (12) They settled disputes among villagers, could try petty criminal cases and levy fines. (13) There are also instances which show that sometimes the sovereign himself, or officers of state, granted statutes (vyāvasthe) in favour of village assemblies conferring certain rights and privileges. (14)

Our knowledge about the municipal administration

(10) BK. 35 of 1934. (11) BK. 163 of 1933.
(12) S.I.I. IX. I. No. 89. (13) The Kottavumachri Ins. EI. XX.
67b. (14) BK. 170 of 1934; EI. XV. 78ff; 85;
XVI. 79, 81 etc. For some details connected with the village administration, see the Karnataka Historical Review, III. 10ff; V. 30ff.
under the Western Chalukyas is extremely meagre. Most probably the pattern of government in the cities and the towns did not materially differ from that of the villages, except in so far as was due to the predominantly mercantile character of the population in the former places. We do not hear of any official like Nagarapati or Purapâla. The Anjheri plates of the early Chalukya period refer to a town council headed by the merchants Ėla and Karapûta (Ēlaśreshti-Karapûta-śreshti-pramukha-samasta-nagarasya) as well as to the city-elders (nagara-mahallakāh). The record shows that these bodies, like their counterparts in the villages, administered works of public utility etc., and could try certain criminal cases and levy fines. (15) The Lakshmeshwar inscription of Yuvarāja Vikramaditya contains a social (āchāra-vyāvasthe) and a municipal constitution (nagara-maryyāde) which the prince granted to the mahājāras, burgesses and other citizens of the town of Purigere. The record specified certain rights and obligations of the king's officers on the one hand, and the citizens of Purigere on the other. The former were required to protect the houses that were untenanted, the king's gift, the royal proclamation, authoritative testimony

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(15) EI. XXV. 237b.
of good men (?), constitutional usage (maryyāde),
copper-plate edicts, continued enjoyment of estate
enjoyed and the lives of the five dharmas. The other
party was required to pay a house tax annually as festival
expenses to the governor of the district; a birth tax,
fine for theft, etc., to the guild and so on. Unfortunately
this interesting record is only half legible in certain
parts, and the concluding part is obscure and doubtful.
No light is thrown by the records of the later Chālukyas
on the municipal government in their days. We only know
of a nagara-pegade whom Dr. Barnett takes to mean the
sherriff of the city. (16)

Before we conclude this section reference should
be made to the existence of professional guilds in the
Karnātaka country during the early as well as the later
Chālukya period, both in cities and in villages. They must
have exerted considerable influence upon the political
system of those days. But this can only be studied in
connection with the economic history; which is beyond the
scope of this thesis.

(16) EI. XV. p. 29 line 49.
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