

THE LIFE AND TIMES
OF
CHÁLUKYA VIKRAMÁDITYA VI.

Office of the
Director of Archaeology
Madras



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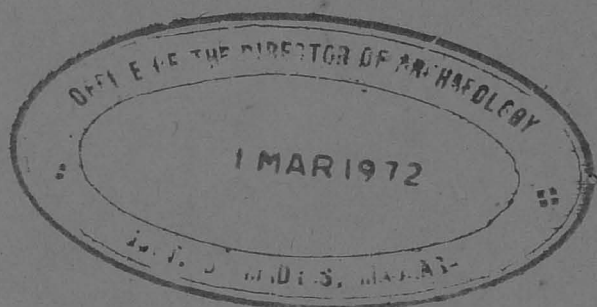
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OF

History

CHÁLUKYA VIKRAMÁDITYA VI.



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Table of Contemporary Sovereigns.

Ma'lava.

Munja (?)—997 A.D.)

Sindhurāja (997—1002 A.D.)

Bhoja (1002—1055 A.D.)

Jayasimha.

Udayāditya.

Cha'inkya.

Tailapa (973—997 A.D.)

(Satyāsraya (997—1008 A.D.)

Vikramāditya V (1008—1012 (?) A.D.)

Jayasimha (1012 (?)—1042 A.D.)

(A'havamalla (1042—1068 A.D.)

(Somésvara II (1068—1076 A.D.)

Vikramāditya VI (1076—1126 A.D.)

Cho'la.

Rájarāja the Great (985—1013 A.D.)

Rájéndrachóla (1012—1042 A.D.)

Rajadhiraja (1018—1053 A.D.)

Rájéndradéva (1052—1063 A.D.)

Virarújendra (1063—1070 A.D.)

A'dhirájéndradéva (1070 A.D.)

Rájéndrachóla II

alias

Kulo'ttunga I (1070—1118 A.D.)

Ve'ngi.

Interregnum and *Vimalāditya*.

Rájarāja I (1021—1062 A.D.)

Rájéndrachóla II (1063—1070 A.D.)

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THE LIFE AND TIMES
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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

The legendary origin of the Chálukyas, according to Bilhana,(1) is as follows:—Brahma was once engaged in his *sandhya* devotions when Indra came to him to complain of the growing godlessness on earth and requested him to create a hero that would be a terror to the wrong-doers. He then directed his eyes to the *chuluka*, i.e., the hand hollowed for the reception of water in the course of devotional exercise, and from it sprang a mighty warrior whose descendants were known as the Chálukyas. A somewhat similar account is also to be found in the Handárki inscription(2) of about the same date as that of Bilhana's work. Another version, slightly different in its details, is that the Chálukyas were the descendants of one sprung from the *chuluka* of Dróna when he was once ready to curse Drupada of Páñchála for having insulted him.(3) These accounts represent merely the tradition that was current about the origin of the Chálukyas and clearly betray by their variance an effort on the part of their authors to trace the origin to a mythical ancestor born of *chuluka*—an origin suggested by the name itself.

The mythical origin of the Chálukyas.

In *Prithvirájarása* of Chand Bardái we are told that the Chálukyas were the descendants of the Agnikulas,(4) but as the work is not of much value from a historical standpoint and as the statement stands alone unsupported by any other literary work or any of the numerous Chálukya inscriptions it need not be taken seriously. The Chálukyas themselves, as is seen in records, both literary and inscriptional, claim to belong to the lunar race and

The Chálukyas—not Agnikulas but of the lunar race, Mánavya gótra.

(1) *Vik. Charita*, Canto I, verses 31 to 56.

(2) *J. R. A. S.*, IV, 8 (Elliot.)

(3) Inscription of Yuvarája II. of the Haihaya or Kalachuri family—*Epi. Ind.*, I, 257.

(4) Tod's *Rájasthán* and Dr. O'jha's *History of the Sólankis*.

Mánavya *gōtra* and call themselves the descendants of Háríti.(5) But historically it is not possible to decide at this distance of time who they were and to what stock they belonged. Nor is it possible to trace step by step when and whence they came to the Dekkan. Bilhana states that their original seat was Ayódhya and that, desirous of further conquest, they went south.(6) The *Miráj* (7) and Kauthem (8) grants and the Yévúr tablet (9) confirm the same and give us details: "One less than sixty ruled at Ayódhya; after that, sixteen kings born in that lineage ruled the country that includes the region of the south"—evidently not the Dekkan but the Gángetic valley south of Ayódhya. Hence all that can be said with some certainty about their migrations is that they came from the North.

Their migrations.

The vicarious forms under which they are known.

The Chálukyas are variously known in inscriptions as "Chalikyās," "Chalkyās," and "Chalukyās," and Bilhana (10) calls them, in addition, "Chulukyās." In Guzerát they are more commonly known as the 'Sólankis' or 'Sólakis', a dialectic variant of "Chaulukyās."

The early Chálukyas.

The first historically famous prince of the early Chálukyas was Satyásraya Śrī Pulakéśi Vallabha Mahārāja, who crossed the Narmada and made Vátápípara (modern Bádámí in the Kaládgi district) their capital. The fortunes of the family reached their zenith in the days of his grandson Pulakéśi II. (610 A.D.—639 A.D.). He crushed the power of the Pallavas in the south and was undoubtedly the greatest king of the early Chálukyas. He performed an *aswamedha* or horse-sacrifice and became the paramount sovereign of the Dekkan as far as the Narmada, beyond which lay the dominions of Śiláditya or Harshavardhana of Kanyá-Kubja (modern Kanouj), the lord-paramount of all Northern India. It was about this time that Hwan Thsang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, visited India and stayed long in Harsha's court. He too testifies to the valour of the Chálukyas and records that they alone did not submit to Śiláditya but beat back

(5) Hémachandra's *Dwaywya Mahākāvya* } Quoted and referred
Jināharshana's *Vattapālacharita* } to by Dr. O'jha.

Inscription at Gadag—of the time of Vikramáditya VI. of the Western Chálukyas. *Ind. Ant.*, XXI, 167.

Korumelli plates of Rájarāja II. (E. Chálukya king)—*Ind. Ant.*, XIV, 50–55.

(6) *Vik. Charita*, Canto I, verses 63, 64, 65.

(7) *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, 18.

(8) Do. XVI, 23.

(9) Do. VIII, 15.

(10) *Vik. Charita*, Canto V, verse 55.

his invasions and effectually prevented him from extending his dominions to the south. It was during the same reign that Kubja-Vishnuvardhana, a brother of Pulakési II., led an expedition to Véngi between the Godáviri and the Krishna and became the founder of another branch of the Chálukyas, now known as the Eastern. More than a century later, the fortunes of the family were impeded in the time of Kirtivarman II. about 757 A.D., when Dantidurga of the Ráshtrakúta race vanquished him and wrested the sovereignty from him. The Ráshtrakútas continued to be the sovereign rulers of the country for nearly two centuries and a quarter from 748 A.D. to 973 A.D. All this time the Chálukyas undoubtedly held a subordinate position under them as their feudatories (11) and were divided into many branches. During the time of Khotika, the thirteenth of the Ráshtrakútas, Sri Harsha *alias* Siyaka, king of Málava, invaded his dominions and looted his capital Mányakhéta in 972 A.D. (12) and thus weakened the power of the Ráshtrakútas. Immediately after, Khotika died and was succeeded by his nephew Karkara or Kakkala. It was then that the feudatory Chálukyas, headed by Tailapa, whose father seems to have remained near Mysore, seized the opportunity and restored the glory of the house by overcoming Kakkala and Ranastamba in battle. (13) The date of this overthrow and the assumption of sovereignty by Tailapa must have been some time after 24th June 973 A.D., as Tailapa's reign commenced in *Srimukha* and Kakkala is said to have made a grant to a Siva temple in the month of *A'shádha* of the same year, Saka 895 (expired), corresponding to the date quoted above. (14)

The Ráshtrakútas.

Their overthrow by Tailapa of the Chálukyas.

(11) *Ind. Ant.*, XII, 11. Epigraphist's report, 1904. *Epi. Car.*, XI, Cl. 15.

(12) *Epi. Ind.*, I, 235—Udépur Ins.

(13) From these { Yévúr Tablet: *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, 15.
Record of Bijjala Kalachuri d/1142 A.D., refd. to by Dr. O'jha.

'Ranastamba' must be the name of a person, son or relative of Karkara, and cannot be 'a pillar of war' or the name of a place, as has been construed by Messrs. Fleet and Elliot respectively. Mr. Fleet's translation of the verse in the Kauthem grant is incorrect. The correct rendering would be: "Easily chopped off on the field of battle Karkara and Ranastamba, the two sprouts of the creeper of Ráshtrakúta Rájyalakshmi who were as it were the two feet of Kali triumphantly roaming about in person—wicked, strong of body and the sprouts of the tree of disrespectfulness to 'elders.' "

(14) *Ind. Ant.*, XXI, 167-168 and *J.R.A.S.*, IV, 12. Inscription at Gadag; Inscription at Kalige—both of the time of Vikramáditya VI, *Ind. Ant.*, XII, 270, 271: Ins. of Kakka at Gundur.

Relations between the early and the later Chálukyas.

Dr. Bhandarkar is of opinion that the main branch of the early Chálukyas became extinct after Kirtivarman II. but that several minor offshoots continued as feudatories of the Ráshtrakútas and that one of these in the person of Tailapa restored the fortunes of the Chálukyas. He also asserts that the later Chálukyas were not a continuation of the earlier and that Tailapa belonged to quite a collateral and unimportant branch.(15) His reasons are—

(1) "The princes of the earlier dynasty always traced their descent to Háríti and spoke of themselves as belonging to the Mánavya *gótra*, while these later Chálukyas traced their pedigree to Satyásraya only and those two names do not occur in their inscriptions except in the Miráj grant and its copies where an effort is made to begin at the beginning."

(2) "The titles Jagadékamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, etc., which the later Chálukyas assumed mark them off distinctively from the princes of the earlier dynasty who had none like them."

With reference to the first argument it may be observed that the later Chálukyas do not *trace* their pedigree to Satyásraya, but simply call themselves *Satyásraya-kula-tilakas*, i.e., ornaments of the race of Satyásrayas, an appellation which might as well apply to the early Chálukyas as every one of them had the *biruda* "Satyásraya" or 'refuge of truth' from Pulakési I. down to Kirtivarman II. with the only exceptions of Kirtivarman I. and Mangalísa.(16) As regards the second argument it must be pointed out that, besides some *birudas* common to the later as well as the earlier branches, such as Maharájádhirája, Paramésvara, Bhattáraka, Paramabhattáraka and Prithvivallabha, we find that some later kings(17) of the early dynasty had even the *birudas* Rájamalla and Uddhamalla, thus indicating a leaning to 'malla' title, so familiar among the later Chálukyas. Albeit, one is inclined to think that to argue continuity or otherwise from *birudas* which so much depend on the caprice and desire for novelty among individual monarchs seems to be treading on doubtful and even dangerous grounds—*vide* Mr. Rice's erroneous inference from the *ganga* titles noticed in Chapter II. Thus it will be seen that Dr. Bhandarkar's reasons for the assertion that the later Chálukyas were not a continuation of the

(15) Bhandarkar's *Early His. of Dekkan*, pp. 44 and 58.

(16) *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, Chapter II (Fleet.)

(17) Vikramáditya I. had the *biruda* Rájamalla } *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I,
Vinayáditya.....Uddhamalla } Part II, Chap. II,
p. 368.

earlier are not conclusive enough and that more substantial reasons than those adduced must be forthcoming before we can discredit the continuity of the two lines mentioned in the Mirāj Kauthem and Yévúr records. While on this point it may not be out of place to note that the records referred to above place seven(18) kings between Kirtivarman II. who ascended the throne in Saka 669 or 747 A.D. and Tailapa who restored the Chálukya supremacy in Saka 895 or 973 A.D. and that this gives an average of (226 years/8 kings) a little more than 28 years for each king. This in itself is not an impossible average ; nay, compared with the average of nearly 26 years each for the early Chálukyas, it is not even improbable, especially when we remember that these later Chálukyas were not independent sovereigns engaged in incessant warfare but only subordinate feudatories under the Ráshtrakútas living more or less in tranquillity. Compare also the average of 28 years in the Hanoverian period in England. Should, however, this average be still considered too high, it may well be conceded that one or two steps are wanting in the pedigree owing to the fact that no correct accounts of succession were kept up in the confusion caused by the overthrow of the early Chálukyas and the wresting of their supremacy by the Ráshtrakútas.

The last quarter of the tenth century witnessed a revolution in the mutual relations of powers contending for supremacy in the Dekkan. Everywhere the old combatants receded to the background and their places were slowly but steadily taken up by new ones. 'The old order changed, yielding place to new.' In the Dekkan the Ráshtrakútas disappeared from history. The way for their decline was paved, as was seen above, by Sri Harsha, the Pramára king of Málava, and the feudatory Chálukyas, under the leadership of Tailapa, seized the opportunity and extinguished their power and stepped in much to the chagrin of the Pramáras. In the farther south the Pallavas of Kánci had been thrown out of their foremost place mainly by the early Chálukyas and the Ráshtrakútas and the Chólas were already rising rapidly on their ruins. The latter also interfered successfully in the affairs of the Eastern Chálukya dominions of Véngi, which was broken by internal dissensions and a long period of anarchy and *interregnum*, and would appear to have wrested a part of their dominions from even the Gangás of Talakád in Mysore. This revolution contained in itself the germs of future hostility between the rising

The political outlook of the Dekkan at the close of the tenth and the beginning of the 11th century.

(18) Bhíma I., Kírtivarma II., Taila I, Vikramáditya III., Bhíma II., Ayyana I. and Vikramáditya IV. Dr. Bhandarkar places only six kings and gets the impossible average of 34 years,

powers and it must have been clear to keen-sighted politicians that in the place of the old rivalries between the Ráshtrakútas, Málavas and Pallavas in the ninth and tenth centuries the later Chálukyas would have to contend long and hard with the Chólas in the south and the Pramáras in the north.

Tailapa's Chóla
and Pramára re-
lations.

That even as early as Tailapa's rule the hostility between the Chólas and the Chálukyas showed itself is hinted at in some inscriptions, though details are not forthcoming.(19)

As for his relations with the Pramáras of Málava, it is claimed for Vákpati Munja, the uncle of the celebrated Bhója, that he defeated Tailapa sixteen times.(20) Though the number is evidently an exaggeration and the turn of war was not always favourable to Munja it indicates prolonged hostility between them, at the end of which it would appear that Munja crossed the Godávári, marched aggressively against Tailapa and was taken captive and executed(21) by the latter after a vain attempt at escape, some time between 993 A.D. and 997 A.D.(22)

The extent of
the Chálukya do-
minions in Tailapa's
time (973 A.D.—
997 A.D.)

It is somewhat difficult to determine exactly the extent of Tailapa's dominions. Some records(23) of his time mention definitely the Ráttas of Saundatti and the rulers of Banaváse, Sántalige and Kisukád as his feudatories. It is just possible that the Siláháras of Konkan and the Yádavas of Séunadésa also accepted him as their overlord. His kingdom certainly included the whole of the southern part of the Ráshtrakúta dominions and might have extended into the northern part as well. Láta (Southern Guzerát) was also under his control, for its lord Bápappa was sent by him against Múlarája, the founder of the Anahilwád dynasty in Guzerát.(24) He is also spoken of as the lord of

(19) *Ind. Ant.*, V, 17. Kanarése record of Jayasimha. *Epi. Car.*, VII, Sk. 125.

(20) *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVI, 169; *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, Chap. IV, p. 432; *Epi. Ind.*, I, 223.

(21) *Bhójacharita* reld. to in Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early His. of Dekkan*, p. 59; *J.R.A.S.*, IV, 12; *Ind. Ant.*, XXI, 168—Gadag ins. of Vikramáditya VI; *Epi. Ind.*, II, 218; *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, Chap. IV, p. 430.

(22) In *Subhúshitaratnasandóha*, written in 993 A.D. by the Jain Sádhu Amitagati, it is stated that Munja was then the ruler of Málava. Tailapa ceased to reign in 997 A.D. Hence the reverses, capture and execution of Munja must be placed between the years 993 and 997 A.D.

(23) *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, Chap. IV, p. 430.

(24) *Rásamálá* and *Kirtikaumudí* referred to by Dr. Bhandarkar.

Thilinga and Karnáta(25) and his kingdom included the whole of the Karnáta country.

Nothing is definitely known about the capital of his vast possessions. Vátápíura (modern Bádámí in the Kaládgi district) was made the capital of the early Chálukyas by Pulakési I. During the Ráshtrakúta sovereignty Mányakhéta (modern Málkhéd in the Nizam's Dominions) is said to have been flourishing in the time of Sárva or Amógavarsha I. (26) and it is almost certain that it became his capital. Hence there need be no surprise if Mányakhéta continued as capital(27) even under Tailapa who was so much the political heir of the Ráshtrakútas.(28)

His capital

Tailapa was succeeded by his son Satyásraya who is said to have ruled over the whole of Rattapádi.(29) In his time the danger from the neighbouring Chólas became thicker, as can be inferred from the two invasions(30) of Rattapádi by Rájarája the Great, in one of which he conquered Gangapádi(30a) and Nolambapádi, the bulk of modern Mysore.

Satyásraya

(997 A. D.—
1008 A. D.).

Satyásraya, dying childless, was succeeded by his nephews Vikramáditya and Jayasimha. The former seems to have ruled but for a few years and nothing historical is known of him. The latter calls himself in the Balagámve inscription(31) of 1019 A.D. "a lion to the elephant Rájéndrachóla" and he is said to have 'again and again immersed the Chéra and the Chóla in the ocean.' The Chóla inscriptions(32) inform us that Rájéndrachóla, the son and successor of Rájarája the Great, conquered from

Vikramáditya

(1008 A. D.—
1012 (?) A.D.)

Jayasimha

(1012 A. D.—
1042 A. D.)

(25) Mérutunga's *Prabhandachintámani*, refd. to by Dr. O'jha.

(26) Kardá grant.

(27) *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, Chap. IV, p. 430. Dr. O'jha considers it just possible that no one city was fixed as capital as there were a number of towns with abundant stores of provisions.

(28) Tailapa married Jákavva or Jákabba, the daughter of the Ráshtrakúta king, Brahma, and brought about an effective conciliation between the two families to the immense benefit of both. Kauthem grant: *Ind. Ant.*, XVI, 23.

(29) Khárepétan copper-plate grant: *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, Chap. IV, p. 431.

(30) Hultsch's *South Ind. Ins.*, II, 13.

(30a) The Chóla occupation of Gangapádi which is borne out by a considerable number of records in the Mysore State was no idle boast. Epigraphist's report for 1910, p. 88. It would, however, appear that the Chálukyas did not quietly acquiesce in such a conquest for any length of time.

(31) *Ind. Ant.*, V, 15; *Epi. Car.*, VII, Sk. 125; see also *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, 18—Miráj grant.

(32) Hultsch's *South Ind. Ins.*, I, 96 and 99.

Jayasimha Edatore, Banaváse and Kollippák and a few other towns in Rattapádi. "As both Jayasimha and Rájéndrachóla boast of having conquered each other the success was probably on both sides alternately or neither of them obtained any lasting advantage."

His Pramára relations.

As for Pramára relations "it is narrated (33) in *Bhójacharita* that, after Bhója had come of age and begun to administer the affairs of his kingdom, on one occasion a play representing the fate of Munja was acted before him and he thereupon resolved to avenge his uncle's death. He invaded the Dekkan with a large army, captured Tailapa, subjected him to the same indignities to which Munja had been subjected by him and finally executed him." But Bhója who, as will be seen later on in Chapter II, was certainly dead in or before 1055 A.D. and who ruled over Málava for a long period of 53 years must have ascended the throne only in 1002 A.D., i.e., five years *after* Tailapa ceased to reign, and so could not have wreaked his vengeance on Tailapa as recorded in *Bhójacharita*. (34) The tradition recorded there, however, must have at least some kernel of truth in it. The brutal murder of the uncle Munja by Tailapa between 993 A.D. and 997 A.D. must have sunk deep in the mind of his nephew Bhója, who was then a mere boy. As soon as he took up the reins of government in his own hands his first thought was to right the wrong inflicted and to retrieve the honour of the family. So he formed a confederacy, invaded the Chálukya dominions, vanquished the Karnátas (35) and must have killed, not Tailapa, but some one of his immediate successors. Who then was the Chálukya king that became the victim of Bhója's revenge? An inscription of 1019 A.D. of Jayasimha, *soon after his accession to the throne*, calls him "the moon to the lotus king

(33) Bhandarkar's *Early His. of Dekkan*, p. 60.

(34) This is not the only historical inaccuracy in *Bhójacharita*. The work is not a safe or trustworthy guide in historical matters as it is founded exclusively on the traditions of bards. The order of succession to the Málava kingdom has been totally mistaken by its author, as can be seen from the land grants of Munja and Bhója (*Ind. Ant.*, VI & XIV), and from the Nagpur prasasti (*Epi. Ind.*, II (Kielhorn) and Padmagupta's *Navasahasáńkacharita* in honour of Sindhurája (*Ind. Ant.*, XXXVI, Buhler and Zacharie). The legend of the wicked uncle Munja who is said to have thwarted the succession of the kingdom from the innocent nephew Bhója must also be given up as baseless. See *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVI, 165 & 172.

(35) *Epi. Ind.*, I, 223, 230—Udépur prasasti.

Bhója, (36) *i.e.*, the one that humbled Bhója as the moon causes the lotus to close its eyes, and details that he (Jayasimha) “searched out, beset, pursued, ground down, and put to flight the confederacy of Málava.” The vindictive tone of the inscription leads one to infer that Bhója must have inflicted some crushing defeat on Vikramáditya V, the predecessor of Jayasimha. Perhaps, as Dr. Bhandarkar shrewdly guesses, (37) Bhója even captured and slew him.(38) That was probably the reason why Jayasimha tattered to pieces the confederacy of Málava.

(36) *Ind. Ant.*, V, 17. The inscription reads as follows: *a-Jaya-singha-nripālam-Bhója-nripām-bhója-rājam*. The translation of Mr. Fleet in the *Bombay Gazetteer* and that of Mr. Rice in *Epigraphia Carnatica* are incorrect. *Ambhója* = lotus, not water-lily as Mr. Fleet takes it and *rājam* = moon, and not king as Mr. Rice does.

(37) Bhandarkar's *Early His. of Dekkan*, p. 61.

(38) Dr. O'jha thinks that it was Jayasimha and not Vikramáditya V that was slain by Bhója. He bases his conclusion on some verses (Canto I, verses 86 and 91 to 96) in Bilhana's *Vikramānka-dévacharita*, one of which (verse 86) when translated runs thus:—“Filling the whole of *swarga* with the fame of his victories he (Jayasimha) received a garland of flowers culled from the *Párijáta* tree from Indra's own hands.” Then follow the verses about Jayasimha's son and successor A'havamalla, who in one of his early exploits is said to have sacked Dhárá from which Bhója had to flee and this event is made much of by Bilhana who celebrates it in some five or six verses. Inferring from the verse translated above that Jayasimha died *on the field of battle*, Dr. O'jha construes the early exploit of A'havamalla to have been undertaken to avenge the death of his father on the battle-field. But in the opinion of Sanskritists the verse referred to does not lend any support to Dr. O'jha's inference that Jayasimha died *on the field of battle*. According to the Hindu mythology it is usually the *Apsarasās* and not Indra that are said to garland those who die on the battle-field. Indra's garlanding Jayasimha was but an act of recognition on his part of the meritorious deeds of Jayasimha, a recognition met with in Sanskrit literature, *e.g.*, Kálidása's *Sákuntala* (Canto 7, verse 2). Moreover it is usual with oriental poets, as is seen in other places (Canto VI and Canto IV) in Bilhana's *Vikramānka-dévacharita* and in other works (*Epi. Ind.*, II, verses 29 and 32, Nagpur stone inscription) to use such periphrastic and euphemistic expressions as “went to the world of Indra” “messengers of Indra were sent to call one to the skies” whenever they wish to say that a man died. Hence all that can be inferred from the verse referred to is that Jayasimha died—but not necessarily on the battle-field—and was duly honoured by Indra for his valorous deeds. The sack of Dhárá by A'havamalla was due, as in the parallel case of A havamalla going against the Chólas, to the traditional hostility between the Chálukyas and the Pramáras, and Bilhana celebrates it as the greatest achievement of A'havamalla as Bhója was the most illustrious and powerful ruler of the north and Dhárá was an impregnable fortress. Thus Bilhana's verses on which Dr. O'jha relies do not warrant his

Sómésvara I
or
A'havamalla
(1042 A. D.—
1068 A.D.).

Jayasimha ceased to reign about 1042 A.D. and his son Sómésvara I, who is better known as 'A'havamalla' (39) (the wrestler in war), succeeded him. Bilhana tells us (40) that, as usual with the Chálukya princes, he first marched against the king of the Chólas and defeated him; stormed Dhárá, the capital of the Málava king Bhója who was forced to abandon the same; destroyed the kingdom of Dáhala (Chédi) and utterly vanquished (41) its ruler Karna; planted a triumphal column on the sea-shore; defeated the king of the Dravidas who had run to encounter him; stormed Ka'nchi, the capital of the Chólas, and drove its ruler into the jungles. The inscriptions (42) generally confirm Bilhana's statements and occasionally supplement them with further details. The Chóla contemporaries to Chalukki A'havamalla were Rájádhirāja (1018—1053 A.D.) Rájéndradéva (1052—1063 A.D.) and Vírarájendra (1063—1070 A.D., *circa*), the three illustrious sons of Rájéndrachóla, the opponent of Jayasimha. The 29th year inscription (43) of Rájádhirāja dated 1047 A.D. records a victorious war against

conclusion. Moreover the murder of Vikramáditya V as early as 1012 A.D. or thereabouts rather than of Jayasimha so late as 1042 A.D. would better accord with the impatience of Bhója recorded in *Bhójacharita* to avenge his uncle's death, considering that Bhója should certainly have come of age in 1012 A.D. and begun to administer the affairs of his kingdom.

(39) Bilhana always calls him 'A'havamalla' and never as "Sómésvara"—not because, as Dr. Buhler insinuates, that he did not like to call the father to whom Vikrama was much attached by the same name as that of Vikrama's hated brother and predecessor, but because he was pre-eminently the 'A'havamalla' or 'wrestler in war' of the times and is known only as such in all the Chóla records and most of the Chálukya inscriptions.

(40) *Vik. Charita*, Canto I.

(41) The word विशीर्ण means literally "withered." *Epi. Ind.*, II, 303. Benares copper-plate inscription of Karnadéva (published by Kielhorn) is dated 1042 A.D. Karna's predecessor died in 1040 A.D. So Karna ascended the throne about 1040 A.D., more or less contemporaneous with A'havamalla. An inscription of Karna's son is dated 81 years later, 1121 A.D. So it is probable that Karna reigned for a long time and waged many wars and his power was severely felt by his neighbours. Kirtivarman the Chandella (1098 A.D.) claims to have defeated Karna, and Hémachandra eulogises Bhímadéva I of Guzerát (1021—1063 A.D.) for having defeated him. The word must therefore be taken to mean that he was *utterly vanquished or defeated* rather than, as translated by Dr. Bhandarkar, that he was *slain or deposed*.

(42) *J.R.A.S.*, IV, 13. Ins. at Nágavi. *Ind. Ant.*, VIII—Miráj grant.

(43) Hultzsch's *South Ind. Ins.*, III, 56.

A'havamalla. The Chólas followed up this success, set fire to Kollippák (one of the capitals of Jayasimha), destroyed the gardens and the palace of the Chalukki at Kampli (a minor capital of the Chálukyas and a town in Hospet Taluk, Bellary district), planted a pillar of victory there and vanquished the Kalyáns.(44) Not content with inflicting these disasters on the frontier of the Chálukya dominions, the Chóla brothers, Rájádhirája, the elder and the reigning sovereign, and Rájéndradéva, the younger and his associate, conjointly penetrated aggressively far into the interior of Rattamandalam (Rattapádi), seized Kalyán and planted a pillar of victory at Kolhápura (in the Nizam's Dominions). The chivalrous A'havamalla righteously indignant at these inroads invited them to battle at Koppa on the bank of the great river—evidently the Tungabhadra (45) which formed the natural boundary between the Chóla and the Chálukya dominions. There in 1053-54 A.D. (46) was fought one of the most fierce and sanguinary battles that ever took place. A'havamalla riding on a *mast* elephant pierced the head of Rájádhirája with the shower of his straight

(44) *Kalingattu Parani, Rájapárampariyam*, Canto 8, verse 26. •

‘கம்பிலிச்சயத்தம்ப னட்டதுங்...கல்யாணர்
கட்டறக்கிம்புரிப் பணைக்கிரியுகைத்தவன்.’

(45) ‘Koppa on the bank of the great river’ must be identified with Koppa on the Tungabhadra rather than with Kuppam on the Pálár suggested by Messrs. Rice and Hultzsck in the alternative. Reasons: (1) In all the inscriptions and in *Kalingattu Parani* the word is spelt with an ‘o’ கொப்பத்து and not ‘u’ குப்பத்து. (2) Koppa on the Tungabhadra would suit the circumstances of the case much better than Kuppam on the Pálár. The Chólas were aggressive and penetrated far into the interior of Rattapádi. Hence it is probable that A'havamalla gave them battle on the frontier of his own dominions rather than on the Pálár which is in the Chóla dominions. (3) The Tungabhadra is more full of historical remains than the Pálár.

(46) The latest verified inscription of Rájádhirája is in his 35th year, Saka 975, which corresponds to May 23rd, 1053 A.D. (*Epi. Ind.*, VI, 22—Kielhorn's dates of Chóla kings.) Up to this there has been no reference to Koppa. The earliest mention of Koppa is in a 3rd year inscription of Rájéndradéva at Bilvanáthiswara shrine (Hultzsck's *South Ind. Ins.*, III, No. 55, p. 112—Tiruvallam inscriptions.) Prof. Kielhorn has said May 1052 A.D. to be the 1st year of Rájéndradéva (*Epi. Ind.*, VI, 24.) An inscription at Heggadévanakóte couples Saka 979 with his 6th year. (*Epi. Car.*, IV, Mysore, Part II., p. 14). So his 3rd year = Saka 976 or 1054 A.D. Sk.118 which records the death of the Chóla king on the battle-field is dated Saka 976, Jaya, Vaisákha = May 1054, A.D. or thereabouts. So Koppa must have been fought between 23rd May 1053 A.D. and May 1054 A.D.

arrows and slew him. (47) Elated with his success A'havamalla, not very many years later, undertook a successful expedition to the south against Rájéndradéva. (48) Thus it is clear that A'havamalla prosecuted with great energy the war with the Chólas bequeathed to him by his predecessors and beat back the advancing tide of the Chólas who had the audacity to carry fire and sword into the very heart of his dominions.

Kalyán made
capital by
A'havamalla.

It was during the same reign that Kalyán (about 100 miles west by north of Hyderabad in the Nizam's Dominions) was fixed as the 'permanent abode' of the Chálukya dominions—perhaps because of its central position and strategic importance. The first epigraphic mention (49) of it is in an inscription of the year 1053 A.D. wherein it is called the '*nelevídu*' or capital. As has been pointed out by Mr. Fleet (50) the town is not mentioned in any of the numerous grants of the early Chálukyas, Ráshtrakútas or the later Chálukyas down to the time of A'havamalla. The question naturally arises whether it owed its very existence and foundation to A'havamalla or whether he merely developed it into a capital. Bilhana notices it in a verse (51) which lends support either way. (52) It is probable that it existed as an insignificant town from very remote times and that A'havamalla beautified and enlarged it to make it the capital of his vast dominions.

(47) *Epi. Car.*, VIII, Part II. Sb. 325.

Epi. Car., VII, Sk. 118 d/1054 A.D.—*A'havan-ganadol-chólikan-ammi-sattan*. In the midst of the battle the Chóla king exhausted his valour and died.

Ins. at Annigere, *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, Chap. IV, p. 441. Hultzsch's *South Ind. Ins.*, III, 39.

(48) Ins. at Sudi.....Do.....do....

(49) *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, Chap. IV, p. 440. For the meaning of *Nelevídu*, see *Ind. Ant.*, XII, 110.

(50) *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, Chap. IV, p. 427. Footnote 3.
do. do. Chap. II. p. 335. Footnote 1.

(51) *Vik. Charita*, Canto II, verse I.

(52) Dr. Bhandarkar takes the word 'पराथ्ये' 'most excellent' attributively rather than predicatively but the arrangement of words in the line favours the latter construction, which enhances its elegance. The line when translated would run thus:—

'He (the king) made the city named Kalyán most excellent.'

CHAPTER II.

BIRTH AND PARENTAGE OF VIKRAMÁDITYA: HIS EXPLOITS DURING THE LIFE-TIME OF HIS FATHER.

Bilhana tells us that amidst all his victories and prosperity A'havamalla was tormented by a profound sorrow as he had not the good fortune to be blessed with a son. The Lakshmi of the Chálukya dominions which had come to him in unbroken succession from his ancestors was often fluttering, like the bird on the top of the mast of a ship in the mid-ocean, for want of one under whom she could take shelter after him. He at last resolved to lay aside all regal pomp, made over the kingdom to the care of his ministers and, accompanied by his wife, retired to a temple of Siva to do severe penance and obtain a son through the favour of his *kuladévata*. The royal pair at once exchanged the pomp and plenty for a life of stern simplicity, privation and austerity. Pleased with their penance their guardian-deity made his appearance and predicted "O King! this your wife shall give birth to three sons. Two sons will be born to thee by virtue of the merit acquired by thy works but the second will come to thee by my favour alone and he shall surpass in valour and virtues all the princes of ancient times." In due course the queen bore him a beautiful son who was named Sómésvara. A second time she became big with child and then she had wonderful cravings which presaged the future greatness of the child she was carrying and in a most auspicious hour and under a most favourable conjunction of planets the wished-for son was born. Flowers fell from the sky and the gods rejoiced and he was named Vikramáditya. Not long after, the third son was born and he was called Jayasimha.(1)

Birth of Vikramáditya and his brothers.

Dr. Buhler(2) has observed that "the king's performing penance for the sake of a son is in harmony with Hindu customs and in itself not in the least incredible." Are we then to accept as a historic truth what Bilhana wishes us to infer that the three sons were born to A'havamalla long after his accession in 1042 A.D.? No. A slight reflection and close scrutiny of the inscriptions(3) make this impossible. We learn from these that

(1) Bilhana's *Vik. Charita*, Canto II, verses 25—91.

(2) Buhler's Edn. of *Vik. Charita*, Introduction, p. 29, footnote 1.

(3) *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 440. Inscription at Mulgund, *Ind. Ant.*, IV, 203. *Epi. Car.*, VII, Sk. 83, 11, 152.

as early as 1053 A.D. Sómésvara, the eldest son, was in charge of Beluvóla and Puligere districts and only two years later in 1055 A.D. the second son, Vikramáditya, was governing Gangapádi, Banaváse, Sántalige and Nolambapádi. They would not have been entrusted by their father with independent and important viceroalties, some of them on the Chóla frontier, unless they had already come of age to administer them effectively. Knowing as we do that A'havamalla came to the throne about 1042 A.D. we first begin to suspect from the above facts the authenticity of the penance story brought forward by Bilhana and our suspicions are confirmed and doubts set at rest by the Chóla records. In the 29th year inscription(4) of Rájádhirája of 1047 A.D. Vikki, who is certainly identical with Vikramáditya,(5) the second son of A'havamalla, is mentioned as a warrior of great courage. Therefore Vikramáditya must have been of fighting age and even a distinguished warrior as to be specially made mention of by the Chóla enemies in 1047 A.D. He must have been at least 16 years of age then and therefore born at the latest in 1031 A.D. Be it remembered that Vikramáditya was but the second son and had an elder brother in Sómésvara who must have been born a year or two earlier still in 1030 or 1029 A.D. Therefore it is certain that Sómésvara and Vikramáditya—the first two sons of A'havamalla—must have been born at least a dozen years before A'havamalla's accession in 1042 A.D. The third son Jayasimha—otherwise known as Singanan and Singi in the Chóla and Chálukya records respectively—is first made mention of in the second year inscription(6) of Vírarájendra of 1063-64 A.D. in connection with the battle of Kúdal-sangamam wherein A'havamalla is said to have retreated along with his two sons and warriors Vikkalan and Singanan. Hence Jayasimha must have been at least 16 years of age in 1064-65 A.D. to be associated with the father in his wars and must have been born at the latest in 1048-49 A.D. So it may be that the third son was born a few years after A'havamalla's accession to the throne. What then was the motive of Bilhana in bringing forward a penance story that is historically untenable? There can be no other explanation but this, *viz.*, that occasionally as in this instance the poet in him

(4) Hultzsche's *South Ind. Ins.*, III, Part I, p. 56, *Ins.* No. 28.

(5) 'Vikki' is but a shortened form of 'Vikkalan,' so common in later Chóla records, and both are *prakritised* forms of 'Vikramáditya.'

(6) Unpublished No. 113-A of 1896. Its historical introduction is the same as that of his 4th year inscription—Hultzsche's *South Ind. Ins.*, III, Part I, No. 20.—Karuvúr.

prevailed and he was carried away with a desire, so natural among poets, especially oriental, to cast a halo of divinity around his patron and hero so much gifted with head and heart.

Closely connected with the birth of the brothers there is another question, *viz.*, whether they were uterine brothers or not. Mr. Rice (7) infers from their *ganga* titles that Sómésvara and Vikramáditya were the sons of a Ganga princess and Jayasimha of a Pallava one, and calls them always half-brothers. But this inference is neither necessary nor correct. The attribution of special titles in each case can be explained as belonging to the ancient rulers of the provinces which they happened to be in charge of. Such investitures were not uncommon even among their Chóla contemporaries. Moreover, verse 51, Canto II, of Bilhana's *Vikramánkadévacharita*, "O King! this your wife (mark the singular) shall give birth to three sons," is decisive on the point and warrants us to infer that all the three were the sons of the same mother. Dr. Fleet has placed before us an inscription (8) which, while confirming the fact that the three were uterine brothers, gives us the name of the common mother as Báchaladévi who would appear to be A'havamalla's first wife. The question that next arises is to what family Báchaladévi belonged. Was she a Ganga or a Pallava princess? In an inscription at Deur (9) Jayasimha is not only given Pallava *birudas* but is distinctly described as *Mahá-Pallava-ánvaya*, *i.e.*, belonging to the great Pallava lineage, and this clearly suggests that Báchaladévi came of the Pallava stock.

To conclude in brief, three sons were born to A'havamalla, two at least long before, and the third probably a few years after, his accession, and they were all the sons of the same mother Báchaladévi who was a Pallava princess.

When Vikramáditya had come of age and become well-versed in all sciences, especially in military and administrative state-craft, A'havamalla thought of making one of his sons Yuvarāja and thereby designating his successor—as was the custom among Hindu rājas—partly to be relieved of the burden of bearing the toil and turmoil of the kingdom all alone in old age and partly to initiate the would-be successor in all the mysteries of state-craft so as to enable him to maintain the prestige and continue the

Appointment of
Sómésvara as
Yuvarāja.

(7) *Epi. Car.*, VII, Sk. 136, Dg. 133. Cd 12.

(8) *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, Chap. IV, p. 438. Footnote. *Ind. Ant.*, I, 297—Gadag Ins.

(9) *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, Chap. IV, p. 440, Footnote 5.

traditions of the family. Bilhana tells us that his eyes turned naturally to the more talented and therefore better fitted both by his physique and daring but unfortunately the younger and hence less entitled of his two sons and that he thought of making him (Vikramáditya) Yuvarāja in preference to his elder brother Sómésvara. He soon found himself on the horns of a dilemma and, unable to come to a decision, became somewhat troubled in mind. His own inclination and considerations of fitness and state-welfare would point to Vikramáditya, but custom and justice were on the side of Sómésvara. In a most vivid and charming dialogue Bilhana informs us that Vikramáditya, as soon as he came to know the perplexed state of his father's mind vacillating between right and inclination, respectfully but firmly declined the offer, alleging that the dignity of Yuvarāja belonged more naturally to the elder and that the appointment of the younger as such would not only be a deviation from the time-honoured custom but a blot on himself and the noble father and a stain on the fair name of the Chálukya family. He steadfastly persisted in this magnanimous refusal even when his father represented to him that both Siva's word and the decree of the stars pronounced him destined for the succession and consoled him with the assurance that he would serve both him and Sómésvara and toil for the kingdom under both without the title of Yuvarāja. Finding Vikramáditya not moved by all his exhortations A'havamalla reluctantly raised Sómésvara to the dignity of Yuvarāja. (10)

Dr. Buhler (11) has remarked—“ This part of the narrative of Vikrama's life which strongly puts forward his fitness for the throne and his generosity to the less able Sómésvara *looks as if* it had been touched in order to whitewash Vikrama's character and to blacken that of his brother.” But even the most impartial historian must admit that there is much substratum of truth in the picture drawn us by Bilhana, as will amply be evident from their later careers as rulers. The slight touching up that one might come across was due more to the poetic temperament of Bilhana rather than to any wanton perversion of historic truth. The question more relevant to our purpose and really more difficult of decision than this would be whether A'havamalla ever really and actually proposed the name of Vikramáditya for Yuvarájaship or whether it was merely a poetic fancy of Bilhana to give himself an opportunity to depict Vikramáditya and to

(10) Bilhana's *Vik. Charita*, Canto III, verses 26—59.

(11) Buhler's Edn. of *Vik. Charita*, Introduction, p. 31, footnote 1.

explain his later accession to the throne. There is nothing inherently impossible, for reasons suggested in what has been narrated above, in such a proposal having ever emanated from the father. Far-sighted as he was, A'havamalla might naturally have preferred the consolidation and expansion of his state—a state for which he had worked so laboriously and so long—under his more talented son to its probable wreck under another who, though more entitled to, was far less deserving of, the honour. After some vacillation the statesman in him might have prevailed and he might have made up his mind to brush aside a custom which stood in the way of his arrangements pregnant with such great consequences. Or, as is hinted at in another portion(12) of Bilhana, suspicious of the stability of his arrangements if they should have been done without the acquiescence of his other grown-up and more talented son he might have proposed it to the younger and on his own rejection which he very much would have wished for under the circumstances might have appointed Sómésvara Yuvarāja. If it can be allowed that the offer was actually made by A'havamalla we may be fairly certain that Vikramāditya declined it magnanimously as Bilhana has it, for Sómésvara continued as Yuvarāja during all his father's life-time and on the demise of the latter at once succeeded to the throne peaceably without any obstruction on the part of Vikramāditya who, as we shall see later on, not at all ambitious of the throne, was then far away from the capital, looking after Véngi affairs. Every page of Tod's *Rājasthán* is a living testimony to the heroism and touching instances of affection between brothers and the somewhat parallel but more historic instance(13) of the refusal of the throne offered by the father to his valorous son Govinda III among the Ráshtrakútas makes this not so unlikely as it may appear at first sight.

Though Sómésvara was designated Yuvarāja the real work of the state fell on Vikramāditya who was invariably employed by his father to fight all his battles. Vikramāditya set out on a series of military exploits. In a brief compass Bilhana(14) gives us a rhapsodic but none the less succinct and historical account of all his doings during the life-time of his father. He is said to have repeatedly defeated the Chólas; penetrated into the south as far as the ocean; entered the Malaya hills abounding in sandalwood trees; reinstated the king of Málava who sought his

Vikramāditya's
exploits under
A'havamalla.

(12) *Vik. Charita*, Canto IV, verses 53, 54 and 55.

(13) Bhandarkar's *Early His. of Dekkan*, pp. 49, 50.

(14) *Vik. Charita*, Cantos III and IV.

protection ; carried his arms north as far as Gauda (Bengal) and Kámarúpa (Assam) ; passed through the Eastern Gháts ; came to Kánci and plundered the same ; destroyed Malaya forests ; defeated the lord of Kérala ; took the city of Gangaikunda, the capital of the Chólas ; plundered Kánci once again ; thence directed his arms to Véngi and Chakrakóta ; and, while returning to the banks of the Krishna, heard the sad news of the death of his father on the Tungabhadra.

It is not impossible, though Dr. Buhler gives it up as hopeless, (15) in the face of the freshly available Chóla records which throw light on this portion of history, to determine the chronological order of these wars embracing a period of nearly a quarter of a century. The most convenient method would be to discuss them *seriatim* :—

*First descent on
Kánci.*

Vikramáditya's first intervention in Chóla and Malaya affairs was in 1047 A.D. *circa* when Vikki (Vikramáditya VI) is mentioned as a warrior of great courage.

*Intervention in
Málava.*

Next as regards Málava, the question arises—who was its king that sought the protection of the Chálukya sovereign and when and under what circumstances did he do it? In the Mándhátá plate (16) of 1055-56 A. D. (Kielhorn) Jayasimha is mentioned as the ruler of Dhárá meditating on the illustrious feet of Bhójadéva and this “furnishes us a sure and fairly definite limit beyond which the reign of Bhójadéva could not have extended.” Bhója must therefore have died in 1055 A. D. at the latest (17) and it is probable that he

(15) Buhler's Edn. of *Vik. Charita*, Introduction, p. 31, footnote 3.

(16) *Epi. Ind.*, III, 46—48.

(17) The discovery of the Mándhátá plate settles beyond doubt the duration of Bhója's rule over Málava. In the face of this record Dr. Buhler must give up his contention that ‘it is not impossible that Bhója was alive in 1063—1065 A. D.’ and that ‘Bhója of Dhárá was a contemporary of Bilhana whom he did not visit though he might have done so’—Buhler's Edn. of *Vik. Charita*, Intro., page 23, footnote 1. *Rājātaramgini* states that Bilhana left Kashmir during the reign (probably nominal) of Kalasa (1062—1080 A. D.). He stayed for some years in the court of Karna of Dáhala and then only came to Dhárá. So it must have been at least a decade after Bhója's death when he could have visited Dhárá. In stanza 96, Canto XIII, Dhárá is said to have cried to Bilhana in *pitiful tones*—“Bhója is my King. He, forsooth, is none of the vulgar princes. Woe is to me. Why did'st thou not come into his presence.” Dr. Buhler who relies on this stanza for his conclusion misinterprets it to mean that Bhója was merely out in camp, without minding the significance of the italicised expressions which would be too strong language to refer to the temporary absence of the king and which certainly

died only shortly before. The death of Bhója after a long and illustrious reign of about fifty-three years (1002—1055 A.D.) involved Málava in difficulties and furnished a golden opportunity to his neighbour and hereditary enemy Karna of Chédi—one of the greatest warriors of the age—who had formed a confederacy with Bhímadéva I of Guzerát with a view to attack Málava from two sides and sacked Dhárá (18) soon after Bhója's death. The country was thus invested by enemies on all sides and Jayasimha, unable to maintain himself, requested A'havamalla to assist him. The latter at once marched against Chédi in person to draw off Karna from Málava and defeated him in battle. At the same time A'havamalla directed his son Vikramáditya who was in the southern end of his dominions to go to Málava and settle its internal affairs. Accordingly the son proceeded to Málava, successfully interfered in its domestic affairs, made friends with Udayáditya, Bhója's relative, who in the meanwhile was defending himself as best as he could against Karna, (19) and succeeded in reinstating Jayasimha on the throne of Dhárá. Nothing better illustrates the truth of Hwan Tshang's observation (20) about the Chálukyas that "if one apply to them in difficulty they will forget to care for themselves in order to flee to his assistance," than this conjoint and timely help of both the father and the son for forlorn Jayasimha who, let it be remembered, was the successor of Bhója, their hereditary enemy. At any rate it must be accepted that their timely intervention in the affairs of Málava was a stroke of great diplomacy and conciliation if it was not altogether magnanimous. A weak Málava would have swelled the strength of Chédi and Guzerát which might eventually have proved a source of anxiety to the Chálukya frontier on the north, but a strong and friendly Málava would not only have been a check on the southern aggressions of these neighbours but might have gone a long way towards healing the old hostile memories of the Pramára and the Chálukya which would have been of no small value, especially against the troublous Chólas in the south. Whatever their motives, magnanimous,

suggest the death of the king as a woe which had befallen Dhárá. Moreover Bilhana would not have gone to the South and the Dekkan if such a liberal patron of letters like Bhója were ruling in the North.

Lassen places Bhója's reign between 997—1053 A. D. which is near the truth.

(18) *Epi. Ind.*, I. Udépur prasasti. Mérutunga's *Prabandhachintámani* refd. to by Dr. Bhandarkar.

(19) *Epi. Ind.*, II, 192, verse 32—Nagpur stone inscripn. (Kielhorn).

(20) Bhandarkar's *Early His. of Dekkan*, p. 40.

politic or utilitarian or all combined, it speaks volumes for their generosity and statesmanship that, in glaring contrast to Karna's cupidity, neither the father nor the son utilised the opportunity to annex the inimical kingdom for themselves.

*Invasion of
Gauda and
Kámarúpa.*

The invasion of Gauda (Bengal) and Kámarúpa (Assam) might have taken place on his return journey from Málava. Their conquest is not probable, but it is just possible that he made a cavalry raid on the countries in the neighbourhood of Málava.

*Vikramáditya's
second descent on
Káncchi.*

As has already been pointed out in a previous page, even the well-contested day of Koppa (1053 A.D.) did not pronounce finally between the Chólas and the Chálukyas, though the advantage certainly lay with the latter. Evidently the Chóla aggression began to ebb ever since the death of Rájádhirája at Koppa in 1053 A.D. and Rájéndradéva seems to have done nothing independently during his reign of about 10 years till 1062 A.D. The Chálukyas, on the other hand, were slowly but steadily working their way into the interior of the Chóla dominions during his rule and perhaps Vikramáditya's second penetration into Káncchi, Malaya, Simhala, Gangaikunda, etc., is covered up between the years 1053—1062 A.D. Rájéndradéva was succeeded by his son Rájamahéndra of whom nothing more is known than that he administered justice three or four times better than even the proverbial Manu (21) and that he made a free-gift of a *sarpa-sayana* to the god in the temple at Srirangam. (22) He does not seem to have ever ruled independently. After him the Chóla dominions passed away to his uncle Vírarájendra who ascended the throne in 1062—63 A.D. according to Prof. Kielhorn's astronomical calculations. Vírarájendra was far more active and energetic than his two immediate predecessors, had to keep back the advancing tide of the Chálukya aggression which was quite a serious danger at the time of his accession, and wanted, if possible, to avenge the death of Rájádhirája and the defeat of Rájéndradéva by A'havamalla. Meanwhile A'havamalla appointed (23) his most talented son Vikramáditya to be the governor of Banaváse (12000), Gangapádi (96000), Sántalige and Nolambapádi—all on the Chóla frontier—from 1055 A.D. to 1062 A. D. An inscription (24) of Vírarájendradéva as early as the 2nd year of his rule (1063—1064 A. D.) records that he drove

(21) *Kalingattu Parani: Rájapárampariyam*, Canto VIII, verse 28.

(22) *Vikrama-Chólan-Ula*.

(23) *Ind. Ant.*, IV, 203 : *Epi. Car.*, VII, Sk. 83, 152, 11.

(24) Hultzsch's *South Ind. Ins.*, III, No. 20—Karuvúr inscription, same as No. 113A of 1896—unpublished, dated in his second year.

from the battle-field at Gangapádi into the Tungabhadra the Mahásámantas, whose strong hands wielded cruel bows, along with Vikkalan (Vikramáditya) who fought under a banner that inspired strength. This was the first encounter of Virarájéndradéva with the Chalukki A'havamalla. His second exploit was when he defeated the army which Vikramáditya had despatched into Vénginádu in the same year and cut off the head of Vikramáditya's *dandanáyaka* (general) Chávundaráya. What was the cause of the despatch of the army by Vikramáditya into Véngi? A brief survey of the affairs at Véngi is but necessary before we can shrewdly hit at the right reasons that led to the intervention of Vikramáditya and Virarájendra. Simultaneously with the death of Rájéndradéva of the Chóla throne the illustrious Rájarája I of the Eastern Chálukya dynasty died after a long reign of 40 or 41 years in 1061 or 1062 A. D. (25) leaving a brother (probably younger), Vijayáditya, and an only son Rájéndrachóla II. For three generations (26) there were a series of important political intermarriages between the Chólas and the Chálukyas of Véngi and Rájéndrachóla II, so named after his maternal grandfather, though certainly not adopted into the Chóla family, (27) was perhaps brought up (28) for a time in

*Despatch of
armies to Véngi
by Vikramáditya.*

(25) Pithápuram inscription of Mallapadéva gives him 40 years : *Epi. Ind.*, IV, 33, verse 21. Copper-plate grants of Rájarája give him 41 years : Hultzsch's *South Ind. Ins.*, I, 59 : *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, 35 ; *Epi. Ind.* V, 10, verse 4.

(26) Eastern Chálukya Vimaláditya married Kúndavvaiyyár, daughter of Rájarája the Great of the Chóla throne.

Vimaláditya's son Rájarája married Ammangadévi, daughter of Rájéndrachóla or Gangaikondachóla.

Rájarája's son Rájéndrachóla II married Madhurántaki, the daughter of Rájéndradéva. Chellúr grant—Hultzsch's *South Ind. Ins.*, I, 59.

(27) & (28) From verses* 5 and 6 of Canto 10 of *Kalingattu Parani* it has been inferred that Rájéndrachóla II was adopted by Rájéndrachóla I or Gangaikondachóla. As we know that the latter had 3 grown-up and valiant sons of his own and that Rájéndrachóla II was the only son of Rájarája of Véngi, it is inexplicable why a grandson by his daughter should have been adopted by Rájéndrachóla I or how Rájarája would have given his only son in adoption. The idea expressed in the stanzas is no more than a pious grandmotherly wish and might be taken as conceding that Rájéndrachóla II was brought up for a time in his grandfather's house.

* கங்கைகொண்ட சோழன்மேவி
குலமகடன் குலமகளைக்கொண்ட
மலர்க்கையா னெடுத்தக்கொண்டே
* * * * *
யிவனெமக்குமகனுதி யிரவிகுலம்
பாரிக்கத்தருவ னென்றே.

his grandfather's house and he married Madhurántaki, the daughter of Rájéndradéva. Thus the rulers of Vengi were leaning more and more towards the Chólas and Rájéndrachóla II was more or less a Chóla at heart and consequently the influence of the Western Chálukyas over their brethren in the East was slowly waning day by day. Vikramáditya probably wanted to regain the ancient Chálukya influence at Vengi and supplant the ascendancy of the Chóla there and it was probably with a view to accomplish this object that he sent Chávundaráya to Vengi with a small army. To counteract it Virarájendra sent an army of his own which defeated him and prevented him from gaining a hold there. Neither Vikramáditya nor Virarájendra were directly interested in Vengi—less extensive and less fertile than their own dominions—for conquest or annexation, but each wanted to be on the alert to prevent its falling into the other's hands. Both keenly desired to exercise their own influence at the 'buffer state.' With a friendly Vengi each could hope to terminate the border struggle on the Tungabhadra in his own favour and it was in this view that each saw in it a lever of influence for the furtherance of his own interests.

Vikramáditya
at Kúdalsanga-
mam.

• Meanwhile, while the eyes of both Vikramáditya and Virarájendra were thus cast on Vengi, the never-ending struggle between the Chólas and the Chálukyas on the Tungabhadra assumed greater proportions. A fierce battle at Kúdalsangamam (29) at the junction of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra was fought in the second year of Virarájendra (1063—1064 A.D.) wherein A'havamalla is said to have retreated along with his two sons Vikkalan (Vikramáditya VI) and Singanan (Jayasimha). The Chóla claims this to be his third successful encounter with A'havamalla, but if we exclude the minor attacks at Gangapádi and Vengi with Vikramáditya and Chávundaráya respectively this was his first and the only really great exploit against the Chálukyas and deservedly does *Kalingattu Parani* (30) refer to him as 'the Abhaya that defeated the Kuntalas at Kúdalsangamam.' The utter defeat of the Chólas at Koppa in 1053 A.D. circa was in a way fairly avenged at Kúdalsangamam in 1063 A.D., nearly a decade later.

Vikramáditya's
second interven-
tion in Vengi.

Immediately after the Kúdala day (1063—64 A.D.) Vikramáditya seems to have directed his march to the north towards Vengi and Chakrakóta, as Bilhana has it, perhaps to undo the

(29) Hultzsch's *South Ind. Ins.*, III, No. 20. Karuvúr inscription, same as No. 113A of 1896, unpublished, dated in his 2nd year.

(30) *Rájapárampariyam*, Canto VIII, verse 29. 'குந்தளரைக்கூடற் சங்கமத்து வென்ற கோடையன்.'

victory of the Chólas on the Tungabhadra by creating for himself an effective sphere of influence there. This time he did not content himself with despatching his deputies thither as he did on a previous occasion, but went in person. There, though Rájéndrachóla II was duly anointed (31) to the Véngi throne on the death of his father Rájarája I in 1062 A.D., his ambition was not and could not be confined and cribbed within the narrow limits of Véngi. Though an Eastern Chálukya by birth he had by extraction and training become a Chóla at heart and aspired to its throne in his double relationship of son-in-law and nephew (sister's son) of the late Rájéndradéva. So, desirous of a tour of conquest apparently but really desirous of the Chóla kingdom (32) he bestowed his patrimony (Véngi) on his uncle Vijayáditya in the very year of his accession (33) and appointed him his deputy and viceroy during his absence. Having done this he went perhaps to the southern end of his own dominions and was biding his time and working his way to the Chóla throne, remaining near its northern outskirts.

Meanwhile Virarájendra seems to have followed up his victory at Kúdal (1063-64 A.D.) and claims to have defeated before his fifth year (1066-67 A.D.) on the banks of the winding river—probably the Tungabhadra—some chiefs among whom figure the Gangas and the Nolambas who were the feudatories of the Western Chálukyas. The fifth year inscription of Virarájendra at Manimangalam (34) informs us that A'havamalla, desirous of wiping out the disgraceful defeat at Kúdal, wrote an autograph letter to the Chóla king challenging him to meet him once more on an appointed day at the same Kúdal. Virarájendra duly proceeded to Kandai (apparently a town near Kúdal) and though he waited there for more than a month after the appointed day

(31) Chellúr grant of Virachóda. Hultzsche's *South Ind. Ins.*, I, 59. 'At first occupied the throne of Véngi, the cause of the rising of (his) splendour.'

Pithápuram pillar inscription of Mallapadéva (*Epi. Ind.*, IV, 227, No. 4, verse 27 and No. 33, verses 18 and 22) says that Rájéndrachóla ruled over A'ndhravishaya (the Telugu country) together with the five Dravidas.

An inscription at Tiruvottiur (2nd year of Rájéndrachóla II—1072 A.D.) says that he ruled over the 'region of the rising sun' which can only refer to Véngi, and not Burmah as Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar takes it—*vide* his paper on the Chólas in the Journal of the South Indian Association, Madras, Vol. I, p. 64.

(32) Hultzsche's *South Ind. Ins.*, I, 60—Chellúr grant. *Epi. Ind.*, V, 78.

(33) Hultzsche's *South Ind. Ins.*, I, 51, Introduction to Chellúr grant.

(34) Hultzsche's *South Ind. Ins.*, III, 68, No. 30.

A'havamalla did not turn up. Vīrarājendra naturally thought that his absence was due to cowardice and called him a liar as he did not keep his appointment and made much of his exploits. He claims to have planted a pillar of victory on the Tungabhadra bearing a description of his exploits and not content with this he made an image of Vallabha (*i.e.*, A'havamalla), tied round its neck a necklace, wrote unmistakably on a board how he escaped the trunk of an elephant (by his cowardly evasion of the appointment as the Chóla thought) suspended the board as well as a *closed* quiver of arrows to the image and thus ridiculed the Chalukki (A'havamalla). (35) The latter's failure to appear at Kúdal on the

(35) The original of the Manimangalam inscription corresponding to the portion in the text reads as follows:—

1. 24. * * * * *
வல்லவர்கோனை வரவுகாணுது, சொல்லியநாளின் மேலுமோர்
திங்கன் பார்த்திருந்த
1. 25. பின்னைப்பொத்தவன் கால்கெடவோடி மேல்கடலொளித்
தலும் * * * * *
1. 26. * * * * *
* * * தங்கபத்திரக்கரை ஆயபத்திரத்துன்
நாநிலம் பரசநாட்டி, மேநான்வந்த
1. 27. பிறட்டனை வல்லவனுக்கிச் சுந்தரகண்டிகைகட்டி
புரையாளை புழைக்கையிற் பிழைத்திவ் வுலகமறியவோடிய
பரிசொரு பலகையிற் பழுதற வெழுதியபின்னை சார்த்தின
1. 28. வுறையுஞ்சனாக்கி பதம்பெற்றபூத்தின மார்வோடும்பூட்டி
* * * * *

Dr. Hultzsch takes the expression மேநான்வந்த பிறட்டன் (lines 26 and 27) to refer to Vikramāditya, the son of A'havamalla, applies to him all the later remarks in the inscription which he considers to be historical and infers that Vikramāditya came on a subsequent day, negotiated with Vīrarājendra to make him *Vallabha* or Chálukya king (in spite of his elder brother Sómésvara) and was recognized heir-apparent and given his daughter in marriage, etc. But 'மேநான்' cannot mean the *subsequent* day but only the *previous* day or occasion and பிறட்டன் can only apply to A'havamalla who did not keep his appointment at Kúdal, as is evident from another reference to him as பொத்தவன் (பொய்த்தவன், பொய்யன் or liar as Dr. Hultzsch himself takes the word to mean) in line 25 of the inscription. Vikramāditya cannot by any stretch of imagination be stigmatised as a liar, as Dr. Hultzsch has done, simply because he was the son of A'havamalla, the liar who did not keep his appointment. Thus the reference can only be to A'havamalla who *appeared on a former occasion* at Kúdal but who, in spite of his autograph letter, failed to meet Vīrarājendra at Kúdal and was therefore called *the liar*. On this ground and for the following reasons the details of this portion of the inscription are nothing but a piece of mockery or farce (not uncommon in ancient and even in modern times), and do not allude to any historical events with reference to Vikramāditya such as Dr. Hultzsch has supposed. Reasons: (1) The inscription is dated in the fifth year of Vīrarājendra (1066-67 A.D.) and A'havamalla died in March 1068 A.D.

appointed day was not at all due to cowardice as the Chóla king boasts but was the result of circumstances far beyond his control. He was seized with a strong and malignant fever which culminated in his death the next year. Disappointed in his expectations of A'havamalla at Kúdal, Virarájendra is said to have declared "certain it is that we shall not return without regaining the country of Véngi which had fallen into our possession on a former occasion." This statement coupled with its tone of determination indicates plainly that Vikramáditya, who had been tarrying in the north from 1063 A.D. to 1067 A.D. ever since the day at Kúdal, had nearly succeeded (36) in establishing his influence in Véngi and that it was with a view to check this ere it was firmly rooted that Virarájendra resolved to conquer and annex Véngi for himself. The same inscription continues—"he defeated the great army which was sent to resist him at Vijayavádi near the bank of the great river (modern Bezwáda on the Krishna); his elephants drank the waters of the Godávári; he crossed over to Kalingam; despatched his armies as far as the further end of Chakrakóttam; (37) re-conquered Véngi and bestowed it on Vijayáditya who took refuge under his feet; returned in hot haste to Gangápuri (Gangaikondachólapuram in the Trichinopoly district), the then capital of the Chólas, with the goddess of victory who showed hostility in the interval." The army that Virarájendra claims to have defeated at Bezwáda on the Krishna could have been no other than the advance-guard of the ruler of Véngi sent to resist the march of Virarájendra. From

*Virarajendra's
march against
Véngi.*

Though A'havamalla was seized with a malignant fever by this time he did not yet succumb to it. It is highly improbable that Vikramáditya even during the life-time of his father A'havamalla would or could have dared to negotiate with Virarájendra, the common enemy of himself and his father. (2) Bilhana tells us that Vikramáditya was returning to the Krishna from Véngi and Chakrakóta when he heard of A'havamalla's death. So Vikramáditya was then away in the north and not in the south as Dr. Hultzsch would have us believe. (3) According to Bilhana some years (at least two or three) must have elapsed before Vikramáditya later on actually married Virarájendra's daughter, for his return to Kalyán, amity with Sómésvara, and his leaving Kalyán in disgust with his brother must all be placed during this interval. (4) Above all, the idea that Virarájendra the Chóla accepted Vikramáditya as the Yuvarája and even as king (Vallabha) of the Chálukya dominions as early as 1067 A.D. while Sómésvara II continued to rule till 1076 A.D. is nothing less than preposterous.

(36) This inference seems to receive support from a large number of Vikramáditya's inscriptions found at Drákshárama on the Godávári and other holy places.—Sewell's *List of Antiquities in the Madras Presidency*.

(37) Chakrakóttam has been identified by Pandit Hira Lal with Chakrakótya in the modern Bastar State. *Epi. Ind.*, IX, 178, Epigraphist's report, 1909.

the statement that Vīrarājendra bestowed Véngi on Vijayāditya who had bowed before his feet it has been inferred (38) that Vīrarājendra supported the uncle Vijayāditya against his nephew Rājéndrachóla II whose cause it is alleged was taken up by Vikramāditya and that it was the disputed succession between the uncle and the nephew for the throne of Véngi after the death of Rájarāja I of the Eastern Chálukyas in 1062 A.D. that furnished the immediate opportunity for both Vikramāditya and Vīrarājendra to interfere somewhat indirectly in 1063-1064 A.D. and more actively now 1064—1067 A.D., each to secure a sphere of influence for himself. This explanation and inference, plausible and convincing as it may seem at first sight, cannot stand the test of historic criticism. The notice of Rájiga (a shortened form of Rājéndrachóla II) in Bilhana's *Vikramānkadévacharita* (39) as the "lord of Véngi" just before his accession to the Chóla throne in 1070 A.D., the omission of the name of Vijayāditya—a deputy rather than an independent ruler—from all the Eastern Chálukya genealogies, the fact that Vijayāditya continued to be in possession of Véngi till his death in 1077 A.D., undisturbed by Rājéndrachóla II, and that after him, the latter was able to *peaceably* appoint his sons as deputies of Véngi, the high terms (40) in which Vijayāditya is referred to in the Chellúr grant of Vīrachóda and, more than all, the enigma (41) of Rājéndrachóla II's position in the interim between 1063—1070 A.D. if the disputed succession were allowed, and the specific statement in the Chellúr grant that Rājéndrachóla II, desirous of the Chóla kingdom or a tour of conquest, bestowed Véngi on his uncle Vijayāditya—all these taken together go to discredit entirely the story of the disputed succession. If

(38) Hultzsch's *South Ind. Ins.*, III, 128—"It looks as if the rightful heir Rājéndrachóla II *alias* Kulóttunga I had been ousted by Vijayāditya with the assistance of Vīrarājendra." Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's paper on the Chólas in the *Journal of the S. I. Association*, Madras, Vol I, p. 56—"The Véngi country passes into the possession of Vijayāditya, an uncle of Kulóttunga I, through the good offices of Vīrarājendra. This disputed succession ought to have brought Vikramāditya on the scene."

(39) Canto VI, verse 26.

(40) Hultzsch's *South Ind. Ins.*, I, 60. "Having ruled over the country for fifteen years this god-like prince who resembled the five-faced (Siva) in power has gone to heaven."

(41) Rājéndrachóla II could not have remained in Véngi if Vijayāditya had been reinstated on its throne nor could he have remained in the Chóla dominions for Vīrarājendra would have kept him out. Where then could he have been between 1062 and 1070 A.D. to work for and get the Chóla throne?

Vírarájendra really conquered Véngi as the inscription boasts then it passes one's understanding why he should not have annexed, in accordance with his former resolve, a country so valuable from a diplomatic standpoint and why he should not have anticipated the work of Rájéndrachóla II or Kulóttunga I by a few years by bringing the two crowns, Véngi and Chóla, under one rule embracing the whole Eastern sea-board. The unguarded but ominous and significant statements at the end of the inscription—that Vírarájendra returned *in hot haste* to Gangápuri with the goddess of victory *who showed hostility in the interval* give us a clue that all was not so entirely favourable to Vírarájendra as the inscription boasts and that the alleged conquest and bestowal of Véngi on Vijayáditya may be a vain boast like the bestowal of Rattapádi on Vikramáditya later on in 1070 A.D. Our suspicions are only increased by the Ganga grant(42) published by Mr. Fleet wherein Rájarája of Kalinganagara is said to have come to the relief of Vijayáditya when he was about to sink in the great ocean of the Chólas. The Chóla danger could only have been from Vírarájendra and from none else.(43) Vírarájendra, far from being a protector of Vijayáditya, as would appear from the inscription, must have been the very person that threatened him and his kingdom in 1067 A.D. The truth was that when Vijayáditya, the deputy of Véngi, was hard pressed by Vírarájendra and could not defend himself singly he entered into a triple alliance with Vikramáditya who for years was working in the north against his enemy Vírarájendra, and Rájarája of Kalinganagara, the son-in-

(42) *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII. Vizag. copper-plate grant of Anantavarman Chódagangadéva.

(43) Dr. Hultzsch considers that the *Chóla* enemy who threatened to absorb the dominion (Véngi) of Vijayáditya was no doubt Kulóttunga I who, after Vijayáditya's death, replaced him (Vijayáditya) by his own (Kulóttunga's) sons Rájarája II and, soon after, Vírachóla.—Hultzsch's *South Ind. Ins.*, Vol. III. This is from the standpoint of the disputed succession between Vijayáditya and Rájéndrachóla II and even from it it is untenable for the following reasons:—Rajiga(Rájéndrachóla II) was the lord of Véngi only till he usurped the Chóla throne in 1070 A.D. Ever since his usurpation down to his 4th or 5th year he did not even assume the new title Kulóttunga, but continued, as of old, to call himself Rájéndrachóla as he was every moment afraid of Vikramáditya's descent on Kánci, the capital of his usurped dominion. Till the day of the battle on the Tungabhadra(late in 1075 or early in 1076 A.D.) he had no time to turn his attention to Véngi affairs. Keen diplomat and scheming politician as he (Kulóttunga) was, he would not have added to his natural difficulties by just then interfering in his Véngi affairs and with Vijayáditya. Therefore the Chóla danger must have been from Vírarájendra (1062–1070 A.D.)

law (44) of Rájéndrachóla II, who saw a menace to his own state in the annihilation of Véngi by Vírarájendra. Vírarájendra tried, though in vain, to prevent this combination and that was the reason why he sent armies to the Godáviri, Kalingam and Chakrakóttam. The triple alliance was eminently successful in its main objects. The Chóla danger was effectively warded off and Vijayáditya continued to rule as deputy. Perhaps Vírarájendra had even to retreat before the combined armies and therefore it is that the inscription has it that he returned in hot haste to Gangápuri with the goddess of victory who showed hostility in the interval. (45) Thus did Vikramáditya more than make amends for the disgrace at Kúdal by eminently transforming to his advantage the situation in Véngi, Kalinganagara and Chakrakóta by means of timely alliances with their rulers at the expense of the impetuous Vírarájendra who was compelled to retreat. While he was thus returning from his brilliant exploits in the north to the banks of the Krishna he heard the sad news of the death of his father on the Tungabhadra.

Resumé of Vikramáditya's work under Ahavamalla.

Thus for nearly a quarter of a century Vikramáditya, the worthy son of a noble father, associated himself with the latter in almost all his great undertakings and shared all his burdens. In his two descents on Kánci and the South, in his successful intervention in the internal affairs of Málava and in his transformation of the situation in Véngi and the North eminently favourable to the Chálukya interests he has given 'tokens of rare strategic capacity, originality of conception, boldness of resolution and rapidity of action which would have won immortal historic fame for any general. Nay, more, in these brilliant campaigns were laid the foundations of Vikramáditya's future greatness as an administrator for, talented beyond measure as he was by nature, he had the good fortune to be thus trained under, and associated with, A'havamalla who was without doubt the greatest warrior and statesman of the times.

(44) *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, No. 179, Vizag. copper-plate grant of Anantavarman Chódagangadéva, Saka 1040. "Rájarája of Kalinganagara wedded Rájasundari, the daughter of the Chóla king—line 86. *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, No. 178, Vizag. copper-plate grant of Anantavarman Chódagangadéva, Saka 999. "Rájarája's *agramahishi* was Rájasundari, the daughter of Rájéndrachóla, line 28.

(45) Hultzsch's *South Ind. Ins.*, III, 70. Footnote 4. "This is an admission of the fact that the Chólas experienced reverses."

CHAPTER III.

VIKRAMÁDITYA DURING THE REIGN OF HIS BROTHER.

A'havamalla was suddenly seized with a strong fever. Finding the pang unbearable and the end inevitable he went to the Tungabhadra and, after performing the rites of the supreme Yóga at Kuruvartti, drowned himself in the river amidst the din of waves and musical instruments on the 29th March 1068 A.D.(1) After performing the obsequies of the father, the eldest son, Sómésvara II, who had already been designated heir-apparent, duly ascended the throne on the 11th April, 14 days after the death of the father, in accordance with the Hindu custom, and assumed the title of Bhuvanaikamalla. The Chóla king, Virarájendra, thought of taking advantage of this change of rulers and exclaimed—"a new reign, (a kingdom) fit only for a hero; now is the time to invade it; I will surround Gutti (in Anantapur) and besiege it."(2) This he did and in addition burnt Kampli (in Hospet taluk, Bellary district) even before Sómésvara could untie the necklace of Yuvarája to assume the greater dignity of the regal diadem.(3) These successful border raids into the Chálukya dominions so soon after the death of A'havamalla plainly indicate the weakness of Sómésvara and the situation was relieved mainly by the exertions of Lakshmana,(4) the Governor of Banaváse, who was regarded as indispensable to the Chálukya kingdom and whom, in return for his meritorious services, Sómésvara, after lavishing provinces and praises on him, raised in dignity next only to the three royal brothers.

Death of
A'havamalla.

Accession of
Sómésvara II.

Meanwhile the news of the passing away of A'havamalla was duly conveyed to Vikramáditya who came to know of it on the Krishna while returning from his brilliant exploits in Véngi. After performing the funeral ceremonies Vikramáditya hastened to Kalyán to console his elder brother and entered it with muffled drums. Sómésvara went out to meet him and received

Return of
Vikramáditya
from Véngi.

(1) Bilhana's *Vik. Charita*, Canto IV, verses 44—68. *Epi. Car.*, VII, Sk. 136, dated 1068 A.D. Dr. Bhandarkar calls this mode of death a *jalasamádhi*.

(2) Hultzsch's *South Ind. Ins.*, III, 201, No. 83—Virarájendra's sixth year inscription at Tindivanam.

(3) *Journal of the South Indian Association, Madras*, Vol. I, p. 60—Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's paper on the Chólas.

(4) *Epi. Car.*, VII, Sk. 136, dated 1068 A.D.

Amity between
the brothers.

Appointment of
Vikramáditya as
Yuvarāja.

Unpopularity of
Sómésvara II.

Vikramáditya
leaving Kalyán in
disgust.

him affectionately. The two brothers mourned deeply the loss of their father and for some time there was good understanding between them. Vikramáditya made over to Sómésvara the booty he had brought from his wars and honoured him duly as the chief of the household.(5) Perhaps it was during this short period of concord and amity that Sómésvara appointed Vikramáditya Yuvarāja. There is an inscription(6) dated 1080 A.D. in the temple of Gargésvara at Galagnáth in Dhárwár which informs us that Vikramáditya, *when Yuvarāja*, defeated the Pallava king. This period of Yuvarájaship could not have been during the life-time of his father, for Sómésvara certainly occupied that post all through that period. It is therefore just possible that Sómésvara, who seems to have had no sons of his own though nearly 40 years of age, might have appointed his more talented younger brother Yuvarāja soon after his return to Kalyán.

Sometime after, Sómésvara fell into bad ways. A great miser, lacking in tact, he always teased others by picking holes in their character. He became intoxicated with the pride of his power and position, oppressed his subjects, sucked out their life-blood by imposing heavy taxes on them and became thoroughly unpopular ere long. He would not listen to the counsels of better and wiser men and the result was that Kuntala lost a great deal of its importance and influence and the fair name of Chálukya was tarnished. Vikramáditya, unable to bring his brother round and suspecting his evil intentions towards himself and his younger brother, Jayasimha, left Kalyán in disgust with an army and the younger brother. (7) Perhaps as Yuvarāja he was painfully alive to the consequences of the misrule of Sómésvara which would tell upon the solidarity of his kingdom and wanted to counteract the internal mismanagement by resuming, as of old, his warlike projects on the Tungabhadra where he always felt more at home than in Kalyán. The suspicions of Sómésvara were aroused by the departure of the brothers and he sent armies after them, though in vain. Vikramáditya enjoyed himself for a time at his headquarters in Banaváse—the province which was for long under his charge in the life-time of his father—and then became

(5) Bilhana's *Vik. Charita*, Canto IV, verses 69—76.

(6) *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, Chap. IV, p. 442. Fleet's extract—footnote 1. '*Yuvarāja-padaviyól-Pallava-nriṣanam-nilisi.*'

(7) *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, Chap. IV, p. 444.—Gadag inscription, dated 1098 A.D. Bilhana's *Vik. Charita*, Canto IV, verse 97 and Canto V, verse 9.

anxious to fight the Chóla. Jayakési I of the Kadamba family and a Chálukya feudatory ruler of the Konkan, whose capital was Gópakápattana (modern Goa),⁽⁸⁾ paid homage to him and brought him more wealth than he desired. The lord of the Alupás (modern Aleppy in Malabar) whose dominions formed part of Jayakési I's territory made his obeisance to him.⁽⁹⁾ The lord of Kérala was defeated and Vikramáditya attacked the Chóla country from the south. Thus surprised and intimidated, Vírarájendra, who had to be alert against the intriguing designs of his nephew Rájendrachóla II in the north, sent a messenger with proposals of peace and, on the request and the assurance of the herald, Vikramáditya stopped his expedition and retired to the Tungabhadra where Vírarájendra met him with his daughter and gave her in marriage to him.⁽¹⁰⁾ The inscriptions do not specifically record a marriage between Vikramáditya and Vírarájendra's daughter, but Jayakési I of Konkan claims to have made Vikramáditya and the Chóla king friends⁽¹¹⁾ and it is also certain from an inscription of Vírarájendra of 1070 A.D.⁽¹²⁾ that he entered into some friendly relations with Vikramáditya.

Submission of Jayakési I of Goa to Vikramáditya.

Alliance with Vírarájendra.

While Vikramáditya was still tarrying on the Tungabhadra with his newly wedded Chóla wife he heard that his father-in-law Vírarájendra died in the same year (1070 A.D.) and that the Chóla kingdom was consequently in a state of anarchy. He immediately started to the south to place his wife's brother Parakésarivarman A'dhirájendradéva (13) on the throne and thus

Revolution in the Chóla kingdom.

(8) J. B. R. A. S., IX, 282 (Fleet)

(9) Do.

(10) Bilhana's *Vik. Charita*, Canto V, verse 20 and Canto VI, verse 3.

(11) J. B. R. A. S., IX, 279 (Fleet)

(12) Hultzsch's *South Ind. Ins.*, III, No. 84, p. 203. Inscription at Perumbér: "Invested the Chalukki Vikramáditya who came and bowed to (his) feet with the necklace which illumined the eight directions." This cannot mean, as Dr. Hultzsch supposes, that Vírarájendra appointed Vikramáditya Yuvarája, for it is unreasonable to concede that the Yuvarája of the *Chálukya* kingdom was appointed by the *Chóla* king. 'Necklace' here is no more than a marriage present and a symbol of friendship.

(13) Hultzsch's *South Ind. Ins.*, III, 114—No. 57.

There is a third year inscription of Parakésarivarman A'dhirájendradéva which refers to the eighth and the last year of Vírarájendra. From this it can be inferred that the former was the latter's successor. *Vikrama-Chólan-Ula* places a king, of whom no particulars are given, between the defeater of the Kuntalas at Kúdalsangamam (Vírarájendra) and Kulóttunga I.

maintain the *status quo* and keep up the alliance so recently cemented, entered Kánci, put down the rebels, went even to Gangaikunda (Gangaikondachólapuram in the Trichinopoly district) and reinstated him on the throne. Shortly after his return to the Tungabhadra he came to know that his brother-in-law lost his life in a fresh rebellion of his subjects and that Rájiga (Rájéndrachóla II), the lord of Véngi, had taken possession of the throne of Kánci.(14) The anarchical state of the Chóla country mentioned by Bilhana is confirmed by the inscriptions(15) of Rájéndrachóla II and is detailed in *Kalingattu Parani*.(16) It is certain that Rájéndrachóla II reaped the benefits of the disaffection in the Chóla kingdom and embraced the opportunity to make himself its ruler, though it is not possible to say to what extent the anarchy was the result of his own machinations or the outcome of other causes such as the oppressive taxes on the people and the weakness of A'dhirájéndradéva. The localities(17) in which the inscriptions of Rájéndrachóla II up to 1075 A.D. are found show that he was then in possession of a portion of Mysore, Madras and Chingleput districts only. He did not even assume the new title of Kulóttunga but continued to call himself Rájéndrachóla II till his fourth or fifth year (1074-75 A.D.), for he did not yet occupy the whole kingdom and was afraid of the stability of his new position on account of the preparations of Vikramáditya for an impending war with him. As the son-in-law of Vírarájendra and the brother-in-law of A'dhirájéndradéva Vikramáditya's claims to the Chóla throne were in no way less strong than those of Rájéndrachóla II, the son-in-law of Rájéndradéva and the nephew of Vírarájendra. So Vikramáditya desired to challenge Rájéndrachóla II's usurpation and was perhaps anxious even to annex the kingdom for himself, if possible, or at any rate wanted to frustrate the union of Véngi and Chóla crowns under one and the same ruler as it would certainly upset the balance of power between the Chólas and the Chálukyas in the south. To prevent Vikramáditya's descent on Kánci and thus secure his newly-acquired throne Rájéndrachóla II wanted to embarrass Vikramáditya in the rear and for this purpose dexterously played upon the suspicious nature of Sómésvara against his brother, represented to

Rájéndrachóla II
instigating
Sómésvara II
against his brother
Vikramáditya.

(14) Bilhana's *Vik. Charita*, Canto VI, verses 6—26.

(15) Hultzsch's *South Ind. Ins.*, III, 142—Fifth year inscription of Kulóttunga.

(16) Canto X, verses 27—36.

(17) Tiruvottiyur and Sómangalam, Chingleput Dt., Tiruválangádu, North Arcot Dt., and Kolar in Mysore.

him that Vikramāditya's marriage with Vīrarājendra's daughter in 1070 A.D. and his present march on Kānchi were but preparatory steps in his scheme of usurpation and asked Sómésvara to forestall his danger in time by allying himself with him. In an evil hour Sómésvara yielded to the solicitations and the specious arguments of Rājēndrachóla II, foolishly imagining that a favourable opportunity presented itself to thwart the ambitious designs of his brother. "Bilhana who is of course anxious to show his patron guiltless in this fratricidal war represents him to have been deeply afflicted when he saw that his brother had made common cause with his enemy and to have endeavoured to dissuade him from the course on which he had embarked." (18) Sómésvara made a show of yielding to his brother's expostulations but really temporised only to strike a more decisive blow. Vikramāditya finally resolved to give battle to the two armies, that of Rājēndrachóla II in the front and of Sómésvara in the rear. A hot battle ensued on the southern side of the Tungabhadra and Bilhana tells us that Rājēndrachóla II fled and Sómésvara was taken captive. (19) That there was an attempt at a combination between Rājēndrachóla II and Sómésvara is confirmed by some inscriptions (20) and Hemādri's *Vrata-kanda*. (21) As for the results of the combined battle it is clear that Rājēndrachóla II did not flee from the battle-field, as Bilhana represents it, for in one of his inscriptions it is recorded that the bow in the hand of Vikkalan was not even bent and that everywhere from Nāngili of rocky roads with Manalūr in the middle down to the

Combined battle
on the Tunga-
bhadra.

(18) Bhandarkar's *Early His. of Dekkan*, p. 63.

(19) Bilhana's *Vik. Charita*, Canto VI, verses 26 to 99.

(20) (1) *Epi. Car.*, VII, Sk. 124, dated 1077 A.D. "The feudatory kings of both emperors who fell upon him, mounting the furious elephant, he (Vikramāditya) chased them away and became the lord of the shining Lakshmi of the Chálukya kingdom."

(2) *Epi. Car.*, V, Ak. 102-A. Ereyanga, the Hoysala feudatory, at the bidding of the Chálukya emperor (Vikramāditya) caused his (Vikrama's) elder brother to sheathe his sword and the Chóla king to wear leaves." *Epi. Car.*, V, Ak. 102-A. Tribhuvanamalla Pándya who is said to be the defeater of the designs of Rājiga (Rājēndrachóla) (*Epi. Car.*, VII, Ci. 33) claims the honour of having turned back Bhuvanaikamalla (Sómésvara II) in person and, seizing his kingdom, given it to Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI).

(21) Refd. to in Bhandarkar's *Early His. of Dekkan* and quoted by Dr. O'jha: Séuna, (the Yádava feudatory) is represented to have saved Paramardideva (Vikramāditya VI) from a coalition of his enemies and to have placed him on the throne of Kalyán.

Deposition of
Sómésvara II.

Tungabhadra there lay dead his elephants.(22) Hence Vikramáditya was not all successful against Rájéndrachóla II in the front but that he was wholly victorious against his brother in the rear is borne out by a number of inscriptions, one (23) of which records that Sómésvara II after he had enjoyed the sovereignty for a time became intoxicated with pride and neglected the sufferings of his subjects, whereupon Vikramáditya, virtuously disposed, deposed or confined him and made himself emperor. Of course there is no direct mention in inscriptions that Sómésvara was helped by Rájéndrachóla II in the battle which cost the former his throne for the very simple reason that Vikramáditya effectively succeeded in preventing the combination of the two forces by his own advantageous, though dangerous, position in the centre and that Rájéndrachóla II prudently and selfishly kept himself quiet as soon as his immediate object—the prevention of Vikramáditya's descent on Kánchi—was realized. Vikramáditya allowed Rájéndrachóla II to boast of a victory in the front but, righteously indignant with his brother for his attempted coalition with Rájéndrachóla II and the frustration of all his plans of Chálukya welfare, concentrated his attention and forces on him and took him captive. The Yádava Séuna, the Hoysala Ereyanga, the Kadamba Jayakési I of Konkan and Tribhuvanamalla Pándya and a few other feudatories claim to have rendered Vikramáditya yeoman service on the day of the combined battle. It is, however, needless to observe that his younger brother Jayasimha co-operated heart and soul in all the périlous campaigns and that whatever might have been the extent of the services rendered to Vikramáditya by his brother and the numerous feudatories, yet, as the Tengli and Gadag inscriptions suggest, Vikramáditya's own valour was the root cause of his mastery over a dire and critical situation brought on quite unexpectedly by the wily Rájéndrachóla II and the suspicious Sómésvara.

Is Vikramáditya
a usurper?

“It looks very doubtful,” says Dr. Buhler,(24) “if Vikramáditya in acquiring the throne of Kalyána was merely a victim

(22) Hultzsch's *South Ind. Ins.*, III, 176. — Inscription at Perumbér. A passing reference to the great battle on the Tungabhadra, the capture of elephants at Navilai and the encounter at Manalúr is also found in *Kalingattu Parani*, Canto IV, verse 7, Canto II, verse 74 and Canto XIII, verse 63, respectively.

(23) *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, Ch. IV, p. 444—Gadag inscription of 1098 A.D.; also Tengli and Kalige inscriptions.

(24) Buhler's Edn. of *Vik. Charita, Intro.*, p. 37, footnote 1.

of destiny as Bilhana wishes to make out " and he is personally inclined to give the verdict against Vikramáditya and Bilhana and assume that the former designedly used his superior talents to oust his weaker brother. Of the several reasons for his conclusion one is that it looks very suspicious that the poet, in order to vindicate Vikramáditya's course of action, is obliged to bring in Siva three times—at the time of his birth, just before his battle with his elder brother and at the time of his accession to the throne—and that Siva is brought in regularly whenever Vikramáditya comes into conflict with the moral law. But against this it must be observed that Siva's prediction of a son (Vikramáditya) more famous than the rest is, as has been already pointed out, no more than a natural fancy on the part of poets to give a divine origin to their heroes. In the mouth of oriental poets such expressions as 'Siva asked one to fight,' 'Siva commanded one to take up his regal diadem,' mean no more than that he resolved to fight and crown himself after some hesitation. The bringing in of Siva is not so much a *vindication* of the course of action as is a *poetic explanation* of the decision come to after some mental struggle and vascillation and is, so to speak, the prompting of the inner self in the words of the psychologist (25) The second argument of Dr. Buhler is—"Vikrama's alliances with Kadamba Jayakési I and the Chóla (Virarájendra) seem to indicate that he was on his side preparing himself for coming events or had far-reaching designs." But it must be remembered that Jayakési I of Konkan and the lord of the Alupás were not independent sovereigns whose friendship Vikramáditya courted but were merely feudatories of the Chálukyas bound to help him with men and money and their submission to him was nothing more than an act of homage paid to the Yuvarája Vikramáditya as representative of or next only to the reigning sovereign, Sómésvara II. Vikramáditya levied armies and collected tribute from them not with any deep-seated plan of usurping the throne of his brother but with the more desirable and congenial object of intimidating and surprising Virarájendra in 1070 A. D. and of unsettling Rájendrachóla II's usurpation of the Chóla throne between 1070—1076 A.D. Can it be maintained that Vikramáditya

(25) Siva is brought in for a *fourth* time by Bilhana. The Vidya-dhara, Siládhara of Karaháta, was here commanded by Siva to hold a *swayamvara* when he was vascillating whom he should select as the husband of his lovely daughter Chandralékha. This is evidently *not an instance of conflict with moral law* and it is unfortunate that Dr. Buhler omits to notice this instance which goes against him and gives us the key to the right interpretation of the bringing in of Siva by the poet and lends support to the view indicated in the text,

married the daughter of Vīrarājendra solely with the idea of usurping the throne of Kalyāna backed up by a powerful monarch? As early as 1070 A.D. (26) Vīrarājendra claims to have driven out Sómésvara II from the Kannara (Karnāta) country and to have tied round the neck of Vikramāditya the necklace and to have bestowed on him Rattapādi. This is no more than a pious father-in-law's wish and an empty boast, for we know as a matter of fact that Sómésvara II continued to rule as late as 1076 A. D. and that Vikramāditya did not acquire Rattapādi before the same year. If it was the expectation of military help that induced Vikramāditya to form an alliance with Vīrarājendra then it must have become plain to him in 1070 A. D. after the death of his father-in-law and brother-in-law that he could not hope for any help from that quarter. Why then did he let slip five precious years from 1070 A. D. to 1075 A. D. without any activity, when as early as 1070 A. D., with the feudatories already assembled to intimidate Vīrarājendra (before the marriage of his daughter), he might, simultaneously with Rājendrachóla II's usurpation of Kānchi, have minded his own? We are told (27) that the untimely death of Vīrarājendra in 1070 A.D. unsettled the arrangements of Vikramāditya and made him halt in his plan of usurpation and bide his time as late as 1076 A.D. If so it is inexplicable why he should have complicated his situation—already gloomy because of Vīrarājendra's death—by challenging Rājendrachóla II's usurpation and creating in him a new enemy, when with his connivance he might have bought his friendship. Did he delay only to thicken his difficulties? Did he prick Rājendrachóla II only to throw him into the arms of his brother and have another thorn in his side? These are questions that must be left unanswered and unexplained if Vikramāditya is to be credited with a deep-seated plan of usurpation. It was quite unnecessary for Vikramāditya to have sought Chóla alliance for military purposes, especially as he had a large army of his own, a brother faithfully to co-operate with him and a number of feudatories ready to do his bidding. After all it was in spite of Chóla hostility, not because of Chóla help, that he ascended the throne. It is stranger still

(26) Hultzsch's *South Ind. Ins.*, III, p. 203.—Inscription of Vīrarājendra at Perumbér.

(27) *Journal of the South Indian Association, Madras*, Vol. I, p. 61—Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's paper on the Chólas. 'The death of his (Vikramāditya's) powerful ally and father-in-law made him halt in his course towards achieving the usurpation that he must have planned already.'

how a great warrior like Vikramāditya could have taken eight long years (1068 to 1076 A.D.) to usurp the throne of Sómésvara II whose weakness and unpopularity were but too well known even from the very beginning. The fact is that Vikramāditya was perfectly content with his position as Yuvarāja and the governorship of Banavāse, (28) feeling quite sure that he would duly become emperor when his day and turn should come, and had not the remotest idea of warring with his brother until the latter necessitated the same and brought about his own destruction by his extremely censurable alliance with Rājéndrachóla II who must have been fought against conjointly by the two brothers to prevent the union of the two crowns, Véngi and Chóla, under one and the same ruler and maintain the equilibrium of the Chóla and Chálukya powers as was Vikramāditya's plan. Thus by an irony of circumstances and a concatenation of events which none could have foreseen the armies that have been mustered by Vikramāditya primarily to fight Rājéndrachóla II were utilised to make Sómésvara captive. The actions of the selfless and truly patriotic Vikramāditya who toiled for more than a quarter of a century under his father on the frontier and who, though he left Kalyán in disgust with his brother's bad ways and unpopularity, had not been inactive on the Tungabhadra all during Sómésvara's rule, have been totally misrepresented and he has been branded and handed down to posterity as a scheming usurper. To none of the world's great heroes has history done more injustice than to Vikramāditya. This is because of the mere accident that his life happened to be written by his own Vidyápati or court-poet, Bilhana, who has been mistaken to be a mere panegyrist by virtue of his office and whose account, though highly historical as that of a contemporary and an enlightened eye-witness, is in vain doubted at every stage.(29) Another reason is that our sympathies are always on the side of the fallen and the defeated party—however heinous its offences—the more so in this case as Sómésvara was the elder

(28) *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, Ch. IV, p. 444. Nirálgi inscription, dated 1074 A.D., records a grant made by Mahamandalésvara Vikramāditya on a request preferred to Sómésvara II, which shows that the two brothers were not unfriendly even so late as that year.

(29) That this assumption is incorrect has been amply shown at several stages of this thesis. It must also be remembered that instances of sturdy independence of court-poets are not rare in olden times—Of, Kálidása, Kamban, Pótarazu, etc. The early incidents of Bilhana's own career (especially his departure from the Court of his patron Karna of Chédi—Canto XIII) testify that he possessed it in an eminent degree,

brother and reigning sovereign. Whatever be the standpoint from which the motives and methods of Vikramáditya might be looked at, either unreasonably of a selfish and scheming usurper or more justly of a blameless brother brought to the throne by stress of circumstances, none can deny the truth that the Chálukya empire, which was already crumbling to pieces by the total mismanagement of affairs—both internal and external—by Sómésvara II, would certainly have become an utter wreck, especially in the face of the powerful Kulóttunga on the Chóla throne, but for the assumption of its government by Vikramáditya who not only saved it from dismemberment for nearly a century more but gave it its full measure of zenith and prosperity and immortalised it in the history of India.

CHAPTER IV.

VIKRAMÁDITYA AS SOVEREIGN.

Soon after the combined battle on the Tungabhadra and the defeat and captivity of Sómésvara II, Vikramáditya crossed the river, entered Kalyán, deposed him and crowned himself amidst the joy of his subjects and with the approbation of all his feudatories. He assumed the titles of Tribhuvanamalla and Chakravartin, besides the usual *birudas* of Mahárájádhirāja, Paramésvara, Paramabhattáraka, Satyásraya-kula-tilaka, Chálukyābharanam, etc. He is also known as Kalivikrama, Paramardidéva or Permádi or Perumanádi. What was the date of the combined battle and when did he crown himself? The latest inscription(1) of Sómésvara II is dated Saka 997, Rákshasa Samvatsara, Pushya Suddha I (Dec. 11, 1075 A.D.) An inscription(2) on a stone in front of the Basava temple at Honnáli taluk, dated the *first* year of Chálukya Vikrama era states that Vikramáditya was ruling with the usual Chálukya titles in Nala Chaitra Suddha Panchami (March 14, 1076 A.D.) Hence the combined battle on the Tungabhadra, the defeat and captivity of Sómésvara and the coronation of Vikramáditya VI must all have taken place between these two dates (Dec. 11, 1075 A.D. and March 14, 1076 A.D.)(3)

Coronation of
Vikramáditya VI.

An inscription at Wadageri,(4) dated the *first* year of Chálukya Vikrama era, Nala Phálguna Suddha Panchami, records grants made on account of *pattabhandótsava*. In the face of the earlier Honnáli inscription of the same year (Nala) the *pattabhandótsava* referred to in the Wadageri inscription cannot mean

(1) *Epi. Car.*, VII, Sk. 130, dated 1075 A.D. But in *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, Chap. IV, p. 446, Dr. Fleet says 'We have a date in the reign of Sómésvara II that falls in Aug.-Sep., 1076 A.D. and none after that time.' But he has not specified the inscription nor has it been traceable.

(2) *Epi. Car.*, VII, Honnáli 14. This is the earliest inscription in Vikramáditya's reign that has yet come to light.

(3) For English dates corresponding to the Hindu ones, see *Indian Calendar* by Sewell and Dikshit.

(4) Extract given in *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, 191:—'Srimach Chálukya Vikrama Varsha prathama Nala Phálguna Suddha Panchami Brihaspativarad-amdu pattabhandótsava-nimittadim palavummahá-dúnangalam-mádi dúnaká ladol.'

the day of coronation or *pattabhandā* as Sir Walter Elliot(5) understood it, or of the festival immediately following *pattabhandā* or coronation ceremony as Dr. Bhandarkar(6) has suggested, but only the anniversary or annual festival commemorating the *pattabhandā* or coronation. The actual *pattabhandā* or coronation must therefore have taken place exactly a year previous to the date of the Wadageri inscription—Rākshasa Phālguna Suddha Panchami. There has been some hesitation to draw this inference regarding the date of the actual coronation from the Wadageri inscription as its details do not work out correctly, i.e., as the week-day (Brihaspativāra) and the *thithi* (Panchami) mentioned in the inscription do not correspond.(7) This non-correspondence might have been due to a confusion(8) on the part of the scribe of the Wadageri inscription who, while recording a grant made on the occasion of *pattabhandotsava* (the anniversary or annual festival of *pattabhandā*), inserted erroneously the week-day (Brihaspativāra) of the actual coronation or *pattabhandā* along with its month and *thithi* (Phālguna Suddha Panchami) for Somavāra (Monday), the day of *pattabhandotsava* (the festival of *pattabhandā* or coronation) on which the grant was actually made. Hence from the Wadageri inscription itself might be inferred the exact day of *pattabhandā* or coronation, viz., Rākshasa Phālguna Suddha Panchami, Brihaspativāra, (Feb. 11, 1076 A.D.). As the actual coronation took place so late in Rākshasa that the remaining few days might have been taken up mostly by the festivities connected with the coronation, Vikramāditya might have thought it better to count his regnal years from the 1st day of Nala, the following year. This view accords well with what Prof. Kielhorn has said (9) that his examination of a large number of dates in Chālukya Vikrama *varsha* has yielded the results that their dates and the Jovian years quoted with them coincide with the lunar Sāka years beginning with Chaitra Suddha 1 and ending with Phālguna Vādi 15.

Bilhana informs us that on the very auspicious day of his coronation Vikramāditya liberally rewarded his younger brother, Jayasimha, who had toiled all along with him, and raised him in

(5) *Ind. Ant.*, VIII.

(6) Bhandarkar's *Early His. of Dekkan*, p. 63, footnote

(7) *Ind. Ant.*, XXII, 110. (Kielhorn).

(8) *Vide* Mr. Fleet's remarks in *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, Ch. IV, p. 446, footnote 6. The details of the Wadageri inscription work out satisfactorily for Rakshasa and not for Nala.

(9) *Ind. Ant.*, XXII, 109, 110.

in Vikramáditya. His was neither the pretentious lot of many a great man in history 'to plait around his own brow the laurels which another hand had plucked' nor was his the tragic lot of many a genius to see only afar off the vision of his country's greatness and the fruition of his labour and toil. With his own hands Vikramáditya laid the foundations of his country's greatness and blessed as he was with a longevity of life—nearly a hundred years (1031 A.D.—1126 A.D.)—he lived to see with his own eyes his country occupying the front rank undisputedly in his time and to guide its administration for more than fifty years in its zenith and prosperity. With all due reverence and historic appreciation may we truly echo the stanza at the close of Vijnánésvara's *Mitákshara*—

'On the surface of the earth there was not, there is not, and there will be not, a town like Kalyán; never was a monarch like the prosperous Vikramánka seen or heard of; and, what more, Vijnánésvara, the poet, does not bear comparison with any other. May this triad which is like a celestial creeper exist for ever!'(32).

(32) The excellent translation of Dr. Bhandarkar in his *Early His. of Dekkan*, pp. 65 and 66.

CHAPTER V.

SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS, ADMINISTRATIVE AND ECONOMIC PICTURE OF THE PERIOD.(1)

Having traced so far the political history of the period an attempt will now be made to give in the following pages a fairly detailed account of the social, religious, administrative and economic condition of the Chálukya empire during the 11th and the early part of the 12th centuries, as can be gleaned from inscriptions and literary records of the period.

A.—Social.

General character
of the people.

As to the general condition and character of the inhabitants the words(2) of Hwan Thsang about the early Chálukyas may as well be echoed of their descendants in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. "The natives are tall and haughty and supercilious in character. Their manners are simple and honest. Whoever does them a service may count on their gratitude, but he that offends them will not escape their revenge. If any one insult them they will risk their lives to wipe out that affront. If one apply to them in difficulty they will forget to care for themselves in order to flee to his assistance."

The type of beauty
among women.

Their ornaments.

The type of natural beauty among women of the Kuntala land was the same then as now. A slender waist, feet red below and on the sides, high breasts, red lower lip, large eyes, thick eyelashes and dark profuse hair were the characteristic marks of the genteel and beautiful lady of the age. She put on ornaments on the ankles and on the five fingers, rubbed herself with saffron (*kunkuma*) on the breasts when bathing, had a single garland of pearls (*ékávali*), wore ear-ornaments (*kundala*), adorned her face with designs of creepers and leaves drawn on sandal-wood paste, used lamp-black to cool the eyes, had a mark on the forehead of camphor or something of a dark-red colour, dressed her hair in such a manner as to have some stray locks beautifully

(1) As has been observed by Mr. Fleet and as will be seen from the account given in this chapter Bilhana's *Vikramánkadévacharita* is 'invaluable for the study of manners and customs, trade and commerce, methods and routes of communication, geographical hints, and the details of domestic, social, public and religious life.'

(2) Bhandarkar's *Early His. of Dekkan*.

suspended on the forehead, used a hair-perfume (*krishnāgaru*) and put on garlands of flowers on her head.(3)

She had a jacket to cover the upper part of her body and lower down wore a separate cloth which did not, as now, pass between the legs but which could be easily put on or off.(3)

Their dress.

Of the several modes of intellectual diversion of kings may be mentioned practice in arms, horsemanship, training of elephants, wrestling, cock-fighting, bringing up of dogs, poetry, music, dancing, sports in gardens and fields and mountains and sand banks, games, etc.(4)

Sports and amusements of kings.

The queens were invariably governors of provinces, large or small, fertile or otherwise, according to their hold on the affections of the king. They were given these provinces for their *angabhōga* (pin-money). These they administered themselves or through a number of deputies. There were several ranks among the various queens of the royal household. The chief or senior queen was known as *piriyarasi* or *pattarāni* or *agramahishi*. Thus Mailāladēvi and Hoysaladēvi were the *piriyarasis* under A'havamalla and the latter proudly styled herself as the breaker of the pride of co-wives.(5) Similarly, Chandralékha and Lakshmādēvi were the chief queens of Vikramāditya VI and the latter ruled in Kalyān, the capital of the empire, exercising equal authority with the king. The same was the case with the Chōla contemporaries.(6)

The queens of the royal household.

The women of the upper classes accompanied their husbands to the hunts and battle-fields. Akkādēvi, the sister of Jayasimha and the aunt of A'havamalla was the ruler of Kisukād—70. Like Boadicea of old and the maid of Saragossa she was a warrior-queen and laid siege to the fort of Gokāge probably to quell some local insurrection.(7) She is described to have been

The women of the upper classes.

(3) Bilhana's *Vik. Charita*.

(4) The hand-book entitled *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilashitārdha Chintāmani* written in 1130 A.D. by Sómēsvara III, surnamed Bhūlóka-malla, the son and successor of Vikramāditya VI and a king and man of letters more or less of the times about which we are writing, is of great value for the domestic picture it gives of the upper classes of society and especially for the light it throws on the private life of kings.—Bhandarkar's *Early His. of Dekkan*.

(5) *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, Ch. IV, p. 438; *Epi. Car.*, VII, Hl. 1.

(6) *Kalingattu Parani*, Canto X, verse 55, line 3—'சென்னி ஆனையுடன் தன்னுடன் நடத்துமுரிமைத்தியாகவல்லி.'

(7) *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, Ch. IV, p. 435.

a very *Bhairavi* in battle and in destroying hostile kings; charming by reason of her virtues (*gunada-bedangi*); and of one word (*ekavákye*).⁽⁸⁾ These instances certainly point to a high state of learning, military training and freedom among the gentler sex. We hear even of a *strirájya* or a country of the Amazons under the suzerainty of the king of Kashmir somewhere at the foot of the Himálayas. The high class women were often proud and addicted sometimes to the use of spirituous liquors. Dancing, drawing and singing formed the ordinary accomplishments of every Hindu household—poor and rich, low and high, each in its own degree. The women spoke Prakrit and occasionally Sanskrit. The lower class women who could not afford solid gold and silver jewels used lac inside them. There was also prevalent the custom of tonsuring the widows.⁽⁹⁾

The accomplishments of women in general.

Tonsure of widows.

Tenderness to animals.

The Chálukyas of the Dekkan had a great tenderness towards animals. Horses were given an intoxicating drink (*madira*) when they were tired after hard labour during the day. They had armour on them when they were made use of in battles⁽⁹⁾

Belief in Astrology.

The Hindus of the eleventh century had as now immense belief in astrology and supposed that the planets exerted an influence for good or evil on the course of men's lives.⁽⁹⁾

Festivals.

There is a reference⁽¹⁰⁾ to the hook-swinging festival in which a Súdra offered himself to be suspended by a hook (*sidi*) fastened through the sinews of the back and swung round, the endurance of the torture being supposed to gratify the god. Far more pleasant and of a wholly different nature was another festival, known as *Dólótsavam* (swinging the cradle),⁽¹¹⁾ in which the young and the old, men and women, joined together, swung the *dóla* (plank), sang songs and made themselves merry at the commencement of spring, the season of plenty and mirth. Even now the festival is observed in Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts.

Education.

Boys learnt their alphabets by writing them on sand—a method even now prevalent in the pial schools of rural districts. The education imparted was almost encyclopædic and comprised such subjects as the vedas, the sástras, the smritis, grammar, polity, astronomy, astrology, dialectics, rhetoric, poetry, music, painting, architecture, medicine, etc. The 1300 Brahmans of Béгур

(8) *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, 271.

(9) Bilhana's *Vik. Charita*.

(10) *Epi. Car.*, VII, Sk. 246.

(11) Bilhana's *Vik. Charita*.

agrahára are said to have been well versed in the four vedas, with their *angas* and *upáṅgas*, the *sástras*, the eighteen *smritis*, *puráṇas* and *kávyas* (dramas) and in their interpretation. They are said to have been also much skilled in *Nyáya*, *Vaiséshika*, *Lókháyata*, *Bauddha*, *Mímámsa*, and other *sástras* and *ágamas*.(12) Shikarpur inscription 126 contains an elaborate praise of Lakulésvara—a Siva teacher and the founder of Lakulasamaya—who is said to have been a lion in splitting the skulls of rival debaters, a sub-marine fire to the Bauddha ocean, a falling-star to Digambara speakers, an inveterate enemy to Lókháyata, Sánkhyā and Advaita luminaries.(13) Excellence in literary composition was considered to be the highest goal of general education. Mallidéva or Mallik-árjuna *alias* Sómésvarapāṇḍita is said to have been a master of eloquence, a Brahma in memory, quick in composing; emperor of mnemonics (*dhárana sārva bhauma*); *ádipattukavi*. He is praised as an *Iśvara* among poets and is also spoken of as a skilled *avadhāni* composing poems extempore, repeating a number of stories from mere narration and making calculations in any given figures.(14) These give an exalted but none the less a true picture of the high learning of the times. The advance made in sciences was no less remarkable. There is a reference to the atomic theory—the formation of bodies by means of atoms. Scientific explanation of natural phenomena was also well-known. “Rain is caused by the heat of the sun drawing off water from the surface of the ocean.”(15) The age was not, however, remarkable for any great original treatise in science, arts or religion. It was mainly an age of systematization and of definition and commentaries. “The attention of the Brahmans was for the first time directed to reducing the civil and religious law to a system or towards its codification. The texts or precepts on the subject were scattered in a great many *smritis* and *puráṇas* and often there were apparent inconsistencies and the law was doubtful. *Nibandhas* or digests, of which we have so many, began to be written in this period, but the form which they took, and which even now is one of the recognised forms, was that of commentaries on *smritis*. Vijnánésvara, the author of *Mitákshara*, flourished in Kalyán during this period and his work was a commentary on the *smritis* of the great sage Yájñavalkya. The same movement was

(12) *Epi. Car.*, VII, Sk. 16.

(13) *Epi. Car.*, VII, Sk. 126.

(14) *Epi. Car.* VII, Sk. 98 and 99.

(15) Bilhana's *Vik. Charita*.

continued by Hémádri in the thirteenth and by Sávana in the fourteenth centuries.”(16)

Architecture.(17)

The century under reference witnessed also the slow evolution of a new style of architecture—neither the least extensive nor the least beautiful—of the three styles into which Hindu architecture naturally divides itself. Situated as it was locally half-way between the Dravidian and Northern styles, the Chálukya style retained or borrowed occasionally a feature or form from the one or the other but not to such an extent as to obliterate its individuality or to prevent its being recognised as a separate and distinct style of architecture. The Chálukya style was naturally evolved from the Dravidian, preserved on the whole the general plan of the Dravidian shrines and was but an embodiment of Chálukya details engrafted on Dravidian buildings. The earliest temples were not always clearly marked off from the Dravidian type and it was only by degrees that the Chálukya style acquired its distinctive character. Their *sikhharas* or towers either show the curvilinear outline of the Northern style or the storeyed pyramids of the Dravidian. Later on the corners were made more prominent by flat increments placed over them and the projections on the walls were but slight. The *sikhara* or roof soon lost the distinctively Southern storeyed form and became stepped, forming pyramids of different heights with breaks corresponding to the walls. Still later the plan often became star-shaped—though the rectilinear form and plan is kept in the specimens found in Bellary. A favourite arrangement was the grouping of three shrines round a central *mandapa* or hall. Stone windows specially belong to the Chálukya style.

Carving.(17)

Chálukya carving exhibits marvellous intricacy and artistic finish in even the minutest details. The ornament is generally completely undercut and sometimes attached to the solid masonry by the slenderest of stalks. Its general principle was based on a broad mass of foliage standing in high relief from a narrow but deeply undercut background. Colonel Meadows Taylor has remarked thus about Chálukya carving: “No chased work in gold or silver could possibly be finer and the patterns to this day are copied by goldsmiths who take casts and moulds from them but fail in representing the sharpness and finish of the original..... The carving in some of the pillars and lintels and architecture of the doors is quite beyond description.”

Sculpture.(17)

Chálukya sculpture also shows the greatest possible exuberance of varied forms boldly designed and finely executed.

(16) Bhandarkar's *Early His. of Dekkan*.

(17) Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* and Rae's *Chálukya Architecture*.

All the Chálukya temples with a few exceptions are constructed of a species of hornblende as porous as marble. It is said to be soft on being quarried and to harden on exposure to the weather. It is thus admirably adapted to sculptural work, for, while it readily lends itself to the carver's skill, centuries of exposure do not diminish its sharpness. The workman was no doubt greatly assisted by the pliability of the material on which he had to work but his complete mastery of the art is none the less remarkable.

The area over which the style extended includes Mysore and the Kanarése districts and the valley of the Tungabhadra in the South. The Dhárwár district may be regarded as the cradle of the style. Specimens are also to be found in Bellary. It is in Mysore, however, that the style attained its fullest development and the highest degree of perfection in the three centuries from 1000 A.D. to 1300 A.D., and the double temple at Halebíd (Dévapuri or Dwárasamudra) may be regarded as one of the most marvellous exhibitions of human skill.

B.—Religious.

The Dekkan was the home of varied religious worship in the 11th and 12th centuries. The worship of the puránic gods flourished as ever. We hear of the worship of Brahma (18) and come across a mention of the Perumállu temple (19) in inscriptions. The worship of Siva in the form of Linga of the Sankarácháryan type was in the ascendant. Jayasimha made a grant for the repairs of the temple of Pancha Linga set up by the Pándavas to the celebrated Siva teacher Lakulésvarapandita. (20) This grant contains an invocation to Siva and ends saying 'Mahádéva is God.'

Worship of the puránic gods.

From the boar ensign (*Varáhaláncchana*), the boar stamp on coins (*Varáhamudra*) and the invocation to the boar form of Vishnu (*Varáha avatár*) in most of the Chálukya inscriptions and grants Dr. Buhler and Mr. Fleet have inferred that Vishnu was the titular deity of the Chálukya sovereigns. But Bilhana tells us distinctly and expressly that the *kuladévata* of the Chálukyas was Siva. (21) This is confirmed by the fact that all their grants

Siva and not Vishnu, the *kuladévata* of the Chálukyas.

(18) *Epi. Car.*, VII, Sk. 246.

(19) *Ibid*, Sk. 83.

(20) *Ibid*, Sk. 126.

(21) *Vik. Charita.*, Canto II, verse 40. 'Kulaprabhur - bálá-mrugánka - sékharah.

bear the figure of the Lingam in the centre and that in several of the remains of magnificent temples the figure of Mahádéva occupies a central position in the sculpture over the entrance with Brahma on one side and Vishnu on the other.(22) Most of the princes were votaries of Siva. Canto IV, verse 58, of Bilhana's work, contains a regular confession of A'havamalla's faith in Siva. Vikramáditya was a favourite of Siva.

Jainism and Buddhism also professed and patronised.

Besides the free and unstinted worship of the Trinity, Jainism and Buddhism were also professed and patronised. The Terdal inscription(23) records grants made by the Virabananja sect who were worshippers of the Jaina goddess Padmávati. Mandalika Lakshma repaired the Jain temples that fell into ruin in Beluvola.(24) Rúpabhattacharya, the chief minister, established the Jayanti Buddha vihára in Balligáve and made grants for it and for the worship of Tárábhagavatí, a Buddhist goddess.(25) The site of the vihára can still be seen and there is even now the image of Tárábhagavatí. The wife of Hampachetti constructed another image of Tárábhagavatí and petitioned the emperor A'havamalla for a grant for its repairs.(26) As late as 1095 A.D. Buddhism seems to have held a place in the Dekkan, for we hear that ten settis of Dámbal built a vihára of Buddha and another Sangamvayya of Lokkigunde built another for Tárádévi.(27)

Worship of local (Dravidian) deities.

In addition to the worship of the above-mentioned Aryan gods and goddesses, there seems to have been prevalent the worship of a large number of local deities. Reference(28) is made to Bhagavatí Balliyabbe, to Káli and to the line of the gurus of Saktipárshe of Muvara-kónéya Santati whose *agráni* or chief was Kédárasakti. Frequent mention is made of individuals of the snake race. The Sindas, one of the feudatories of the Chálukyas, claim to belong to the race of hooded serpents.(29) Many of the old Hindu temples are filled with sculptural representations of snakes set up for adoration. The inscriptions at Gurazála and Mácherla of the time of Sómésvara III are inscribed on *nága* pillars and contain an invocation to the eight *nágas* to decide the auspicious or inauspicious nature of the grant.(30) There is still

(22) *J. R. A. S.*, IV (Elliot).

(23) *Ind. Ant.*, XIV.

(24) *Epi. Car.*, VII, Sk. 136.

(25) *Ibid*, Sk. 170.

(26) *Ibid*, Sk. 169.

(27) *Ind. Ant.*, X.

(28) *Epi. Car.*, VII., Sk. 323, 107 & 98. *Epi. Car.*, XI, Dg. 128.

(29) *Epi. Ind.*, III, 230.

(30) Epigraphist's report, 1910.

the observance of the Nágapanchami day in many parts of India. The continuance of the worship of the local deities such as *sakti*, tree, *nága*, and *káli*, side by side with A'ryan gods, plainly indicates how the A'ryans, when they conquered the Dravidians and colonised India, went half-way to meet the conquered and met them on their own ground by incorporating into their religious pantheon some of the worships of the Dravidians. It reveals to us the process of amalgamation and the spirit of compromise that were at work in the A'ryanisation of India.

We come across very many instances not merely of varied but also of combined religious worship. Rúpabhattachayya, the minister, made grants for Késava, Lókhésvara and Bauddha.(31) Akkádévi practised the rituals of Jína, Buddha, Ananta (Vishnu) and Rudra (Siva).(32) Lord Nágavarma built Jína, Vishnu and Siva temples.(33) The Siláhára chief of Kolhápur constructed a large tank and placed on its margin an idol of Buddha along with those of Siva and Arhat and assigned lands for the support of all.(34) Banaváse province was well known as the Jína, Vishnu and I'svara habitation and also as the habitation for the Munigana.(35) Balipura (Balligáve or Balagámve) contained the favoured abodes of Tripura (Siva), five *mathas* practising the rites of their own respective creeds and three Brahmapuris.(36) With lines of temples of Jína, Rudra, Buddha and Hari, Balinagara was well known as the place of five *mathas*.(37) Even the most fastidious student of history must be convinced from the above-quoted examples, which are only a few among a large number of that series, that the most perfect religious toleration was extended to all creeds. India has always been deservedly known as the museum of religions existing side by side in perfect concord with one another. Kings, princes and private persons patronised all religions and in none of the inscriptions is there any indication of open hostility between them. On the other hand we often hear of kings so open to truth and new ideas that they of their own accord gave their support to new faiths whenever they were convinced of the truth of their tenets. For example, Jayasimha turned a Jain from a worshipper of Siva through the

Combined religious worship.

Perfect religious toleration.

(31) *Epi. Car.*, VII, Sk. 170.

(32) *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, 271.

(33) *Ind. Ant.*, IV, 179.

(34) *J. B. R. A. S.*, XIII, 4.

(35) *Epi. Car.*, VII, Sk. 151.

(36) *Epi. Car.*, VIII, Sb. 277.

(37) *Epi. Car.*, VII, Sk. 100.

persuasion of Suggale, his Jain wife. Bittidéva became a Vaishnavaita through the preachings of the great religious apostle Rámánuja and called himself Vishnuvardhana.

Preponderant religious worship.

During the century under review we have but the last traces of Buddhism. Its flourishing period had long ago gone by and it survived as a sect only here and there. Jainism too was no longer the preponderant religion that it once was, though the grants made to temples of that persuasion were more numerous than to other temples. The worship of the puránic gods, especially of Siva in the form of Linga, rose into much greater prominence than before, but even this kind of worship was encumbered with meaningless ceremonials and elaborate rituals which were shocking to the good sense of many and thus paved the way for the adoption in the near future of a simplified form of worship of Siva in the form of Linga—the Lingáyatism of Basava with its entire negation of all ceremonies, rituals and caste distinctions.

Formularies of religion.

Bilhana tells us that A'havamalla performed a great many sacrifices and it may be inferred from this that these were still in vogue in the 11th century. Pilgrimages to distant and holy places, bath in the holy waters of sacred rivers and ablutions in the sacrificial fire (*hómam*) were considered to denote purity of life. The 32,000 Brahmans of Tánagundi, said to have come thither from Ahichchatra, are talked of at great length in inscriptions as having gained 12,000 *agnihótras* or *agnistómas* and as having bathed in the holy waters of several rivers and the *tírtas* of the five great Lingas.(38) *Sáligrámas* (round smooth pebble-like black stones), which are still an object of worship in orthodox Hindu households, were used in *dévárchana* (*Dévathárchana* of modern days). The sacred thread was always on the neck and not merely on sacrificial occasions, and hung from it like a garland.(39) It neither passed through the armpit as now nor was it tied to the waist as is done by the Parsis down to the present day.

Religious grants and endowments.

Grants and endowments for religious purposes(40) were made by all classes of persons—the official hierarchy and corporate bodies and private persons, including women and ascetics. These grants were not all of one sort. Some lands were given away entirely free from all imposts, the donee becoming the virtual and sole proprietor thereof and not liable to assessment. Such a grant was called a *sarvanamasya* grant. It is also known as

(38) *Epi. Car.*, VII, Sk., 178.

(39) Bilhana's *Vik. Charita*.

(40) *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, 271.

sarvabhyantara-siddhi, i.e., a grant with full and complete rights of enjoyment. Sometimes the land was made over conditionally, exempt only from certain dues specified in the grant. If only one person was entitled to the sole and entire enjoyment of it then the grant is said to be an *ekabhōga* or *ekābhōgya* grant. If enjoyed by a number of persons collectively it was a *ganabhōgya* grant. If enjoyed by three parties—probably God, Brahmans and the donee—then it was a *tribhōga* or *tribhōga-abhyantara-siddhi* grant. Hence it may be inferred that these grants differed from one another in the amount of freedom that appertained to the land that was given away in charity and in the number of persons who had proprietary rights over the same. In a large sense, of course, every grant was a conditional one. The grant once made might be continued or disallowed by the successor, but such a revocation, though legal, was rarely, if at all, resorted to.

C—Administrative.

At the head of the State was, of course, the Mahārāja who had a large number of *birudas*. The Chálukya sovereigns styled themselves Mahārājādhirāja, Paramésvara and Paramabhattachāraka and had, besides, one or another of the various *malla* titles—such as A'havamalla, Trailókyamalla, Jagadékamalla, Bhuvanākamalla or Tribuvanamalla. The Mahārāja was the fountain of all power—civil, military and religious. His office was hereditary and it was filled up only by members of the royal family. Within the royal circle, however, there was a great latitude in selection which was influenced more by considerations of efficiency and fitness rather than mere priority of birth or primogeniture. A strong grown-up brother was in most cases preferred to a weak and immature son. An element of divinity always hedged an oriental monarch. In theory he was absolute and irresponsible, yet in practice there were some moral limitations on his absolutism. If he was virtuously disposed there was always the fear of God above and if very despotic there was the danger of a popular rising or insurrection. There was always an assembly of *Mahā-pradāns* (a council of ministers) presided over by a *Sarvādikāri* who corresponded more or less to the modern prime-minister. The king was expected to ask the advice of this assembly and even to follow it in most cases. In theory this was merely a consultative body the decisions of which were not legally binding on him. Yet in practice he deferred to its opinions. Thus the monarch, though absolute and irresponsible in theory, was not always despotic necessarily in practice.

Some years after his accession the Mahārāja used to nominate the Yuvarāja. Like the Cæsar of Imperial Rome the Yuvarāja

The Mahārāja.

The Mahā-pradāns.

The Yuvarāja.

was the presumptive successor to the throne or heir-apparent. The designation of one as Yuvarāja was always considered to be a great public function to be performed with the knowledge of the subjects and in the presence of the ministers. There were certain religious ceremonies such as fasting, ablutions in the sacrificial fire (*hómam*), etc., before one was invested with the dignity. The Yuvarāja was chosen from among the royal circle. It did not come by right to the eldest son but it was more or less customary to nominate him to the post in the majority of cases. There were two motives in thus associating some one with the government. The sovereign might, as the Yuvarāja came of age, delegate more and more of his arduous public functions to his more youthful associate and eventually resign the cares of sovereignty and seek repose and tranquillity in a life of solitude and contemplation in his last years, as was the ideal among Eastern monarchs. Secondly the would-be successor to the throne would become practically initiated into all the mysteries of statecraft so that when the turn came for him to rule independently he would ere long have been enabled to administer the affairs of the realm fairly and to continue the traditions of the family. In hereditary monarchies there is always a great deal of the personal element on which the weal or woe of the subjects so largely depends and, as Dr. Mommsen has observed, "of all haphazards, none is more hazardous than that of a hereditary monarchy." The appointment of Yuvarāja was an effective safe-guard against this risk and went a long way towards mitigating the evils of pure hereditary monarchies in general.

Military adminis-
tration.

The standing army
and feudal levy.

Divisions of the
army.

Weapons of war.

'The king always maintained a body of dauntless champions to the number of several hundreds.' In addition, his numerous feudatories were also bound to supply him with men and money whenever they were called upon to do so. It was on his standing army and feudal levy that he relied mainly for his victories. The army was divided into many sections whose chiefs were known as *Mahásamantas*. They had a superior over them called *Mahásamantádhipati*.⁽⁴¹⁾ Besides these military officials there was an officer for peace and war (*Samdhivigrahin*) to control and guide the army administration as a whole. The Indian army consisted of three divisions—the elephants, cavalry and infantry. The elephants were arranged in front, the cavalry on the wings or in the centre and the infantry at the rear. The weapons of war used by the Chálukyas were swords, spears, javelins, bows and arrows. The 'shower of their straight arrows'⁽⁴²⁾—which reminds

(41) *Ind. Ant.*, X, No. 97.

(42) Hultzsch's *South Ind. Ins.*, III, 63. 'శతశత్రుపాణి'.

us of the long bows of the English in the Hundred Years' War more than two centuries later—and the 'sharp edge of their spears'(43) often led the Chálukyas to many a victory. 'Each time the soldiers prepared for war they drank wine to intoxicate themselves and then one of these men would defy ten thousand enemies. Besides, they intoxicated many thousands of naturally fierce elephants. At the time of their coming to blows they drank strong liquor and ran in a body trampling everything under their feet. No enemy could stand before them.' The wives of kings as well as of soldiers accompanied their husbands to the battle-field. The Chálukyas had a curious but very exemplary way of punishing a cowardly general. 'When a general lost a battle, instead of punishing him corporally they made him wear women's clothes.'(44)

Martial law.

The monarchs of the eleventh century were truly chivalrous in an eminent degree and, like the Celts of old, loved nothing so much as personal combat. 'If any one insult them they would risk their lives to wipe out that affront.' We have two striking examples confirming their high sense of personal honour. When A'havamalla heard that Rájádhirája, the Chóla king, penetrated far into his dominions and slaughtered many of his subjects he exclaimed 'This is a disgrace to me,' rode on a single *mast* elephant and slew him with his own hand. (45) Again, after the defeat at Kúdál in the days of Vírarájendra A'havamalla became troubled in mind, thought it much better to die than to live in disgrace and at once wrote an autograph letter challenging him to meet him once more at the same place on a day appointed for the purpose. One must read the autograph letter to be impressed with the depth of the bitter feeling experienced by its author at his defeat, which reflects his high sense of honour and chivalry, (46) (though through circumstances far beyond his control the challenger himself was unable to meet the challenged). The standard of international morality was no less lofty. 'Whenever they had an injury to avenge they never failed to give warning to their enemy.' The instance cited above is one in point. 'In battle they pursued the fugitives but never slew those who gave themselves up'(47) Pillage or plunder for its own sake, slaughter of innocent women, children and Brahmans, taking girls to wife and destruction of castes were all considered to be heinous devia-

High chivalry of the times.

Standard of International morality.

(43) Hultzsch's *South Ind. Ins.*, III, 140. 'அயில்முனைக்கொந்தவரசர்.'

(44) Bhandarkar's *Early His. of Dekkan*—Hwan Thsang's Travels.

(45) *Epi. Car.* VIII, Sb. 325.

(46) Hultzsch's *South Ind. Ins.*, III, 69.

(47) Bhandarkar's *Early His. of Dekkan*.

tions from the canons of international understanding of the times and this is well echoed in the Hottúr inscription(48) of Satyásraya where his Chóla contemporary Rájarája the Great is said to have deviated from these conventions. The chivalrous A'havamalla mocks partly in disgust and partly in anger at the actions of Rájádhirája when he heard that he had destroyed his towns and cities and had ruined his rivers. The office of herald and messenger was always held in high esteem, *e.g.*, the messenger of Vírarájendra was treated with due courtesy by Vikramáditya though sent by his bitterest foe. Bilhana tells us that Vikramáditya took possession of everything in Kánci except temples and flags, from which it could be inferred that these were exempt from seizure. Deservedly therefore did the Chóla that burnt the Jain temples in Beluvóla earn the epithet 'wicked' in the inscription at Annigere(49) that records the atrocious deed. There is not a single instance either in their own or in their enemies' records, in which the reproach of the non-observance of international morals could be laid at the doors of Chálukya sovereigns.

Civil administration.

Territorial divisions for administrative purposes and the several grades of officers.

The empire was divided for the purpose of administration into a number of *ráshttras* corresponding to the *mandalas* of the Chólas and to our own presidencies or provinces. Each *ráshttra* was again split up into a large number of *vishayas*, equivalent to the Chóla *nádu*s and to our districts or taluks. Each *vishaya* was further sub-divided into a large number of *grámams* or villages. The heads of these various divisions were known respectively as *ráshttrapati*, *vishayapati* and *grámakútak*. Besides these there is mention of *ayuktaka* and *niyuktaka* whose functions are not clear. The head of a *ráshttra* was invariably a *mahádandanáyaka*, *mahámandalésvara*, the chief of a *vishaya* or *nádu* was known as *nálgavunda*, *núrgavunda* or merely *gavunda*, and sometimes as *mannéya*. The head of the village was an *úrode* or *úrgavunda*. The divisions of the empire were known by their numerical designations, *e.g.*, Gangapádi 96,000, Banaváse 12,000, and Nolambapádi 32,000. Smaller divisions called such and such a seventy or fifty occur frequently in inscriptions. It seems probable that these figures denote the number of villages each division was composed of. Whenever a place had to be located reference was made to the *nádu* or *vishaya* and *ráshttra* of which it formed successively a part. Thus Ponnávádi is said to be an *agrahára* in Bäge 50, which lay in a sub-circle or group of 600 towns, which in turn formed a part of Tárdavádi 1,000 or *vishaya*; Halebid was

(48) *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, Chap. IV, p. 433.

(49) *Ibid.*, p. 441.

a village in Kunda *vishaya* or *núdu*, part of the district of Gangapádi 96,000 *Khampana*.

The machinery of the central government consisted of a number of departments, each with an officer at its head. The assembly of *mahápradáns* or the council of ministers certainly included these heads of departments. The division into departments was not very rigid and it is not unusual for the head of one department to hold some minor or miscellaneous offices in connection with some other department. Thus Rúpabhattayya, the great minister and treasurer, was also the superintendent of the guards of female departments, general superintendent, and *dandanáyaka* in charge of *vaddarávula* and 18 *agraháras*.(50) Therefore there seems to have been the combination of very many functions in spite of a general division of duties. The chief departments of the State were the army, justice, public works and the treasury. To look after the military affairs there was, as was already noted, an officer for peace and war (*Samdhivigrahin*.) Justice was administered in accordance with the canons laid down in the *Mitákshara* of Vijnánésvara. We hear of a superintending engineer (*Sútradháritanakki*) in charge of public works. The most important department was, of course, the treasury and a well-replenished treasury was considered to be one of the seven requisite *angas* (conditions) of a well-ordered State. There were several ways of filling the treasury. The monarch of the 11th century realised a part of his revenue from *mámeva* or seigniorage and from benevolences or free gifts. It was on land, however, that the lion's share of taxation fell. The adjustment and mode of realising the land revenue was the chief function of the civil government. There is reference in inscriptions to various kinds of lands—arable land, garden land, crop land, *guddemánya*, etc. The lands were divided into various classes according to their fertility and there seems to have been some fixed proportion in which the lands of different qualities were taxed. For watered lands of the best quality or wet lands with black soil the rate was higher than in other cases. The taxation varied according to the fertility of the soil and the amount of the crop realised. The lands free from rent were known as *umbali* lands. Besides the rent on lands, taxes were levied on houses,(51) on marriage pandals and even on the locking-glasses of dancing girls.(52) There is mention of a tax named *kodéna*,(53) which perhaps was a sort of

The central government.

Chief departments.

Sources of revenue.

Land.

(50) *Epi. Car.*, VII, Sk. 170.

(51) *Ind. Ant.* IX, No. 98.

(52) *Epi. Car.*, VII, Sk. 295.

(53) *Ind. Ant.*, X, No. 98.

Customs.

profession-tax on umbrella-makers. As the administrator and sole proprietor of the whole realm the sovereign had rights to treasure-trove, underground stores, water-courses, stone-quarries, grain, gold, etc. A large portion of the annual revenue was realised from customs duties. The merchants of the time plied a busy trade and held markets and fairs to facilitate buying and selling. They trafficked not only in the necessities of life but also in rare and luxurious commodities. On account of this large volume of trade of which there is unmistakable evidence in inscriptions the excise and transit duties always formed a highly profitable and lucrative source of the Crown's income, next only in importance and amount to the land revenue. There were two classes of customs. The heavy customs on important articles of trade were known as the *hejjunka* or *perjjunka*.⁽⁵⁴⁾ The duties on miscellaneous articles in which the transactions were small were known as the *kírukulasunka* and the transport duties on imports and exports, especially on arecanut, betel, etc. were termed *bilkode*.⁽⁵⁵⁾ There was a host of officials

Customs officials.

in charge of these various customs. Over and above them there were several managers of customs—*Sunkádhikárav*, *Sunkamam kaikondú nedéva*—and an accountant of the heavy customs (*Perijunkáda Kanikára*).⁽⁵⁶⁾ The excise appears to have been farmed out or managed by an agent appointed by the Government. To

Revenue officials.

look after the revenues accruing from sources other than customs there was a considerable number of revenue officials,⁽⁵⁷⁾ *karanas* (karnams), *vadda-byahaváris* (senior merchants) in charge of *vadda-rávula* (principal taxes) and a chief of *karanas* (*Pramukha-karanam*). Over and above all these there was a chief treasurer (*Bhándáre*) in charge of all the receipts and expenditure.

Budget surplus.

The annual expenditure always as a rule fell short of the income. A surplus or reserve was kept up year after year for emergent occasions such as war, drought, famine or pestilence or for expensive schemes of public welfare. Out of such surpluses accumulated for years, anicuts were thrown over rivers to prevent water from wastefully flowing into the sea; watersheds (*prapás*) were erected for wearied travellers; tanks were dug; large trunk-roads enabling big cars (*márgali*) to move on and connecting the richer and poorer parts of the country for the advantage of the latter, medical dispensaries for the promotion of *dharma*, and *satrams* or hostels (*pátasála*) for students (*brahmacháris*)⁽⁵⁸⁾ were also put up.

(54) *Epi. Car.*, VII, Sk. 297.

(55) *Ibid.*

(56) *Epi. Car.*, XI, Dg. 129, 139, 141.

(57) *Epi. Car.*, VII, Sk. 297. *Epi. Car.*, XI, Dg. 133.

(58) Bilhana's *Vik. Charita* and *Epi. Car.*, VII, Sb. 277.

The unit of the body politic and the basis of administration at all times was the Village Twelve, consisting of the headman, variously known as *maniyagar*, *patel* or *ganda*, the *karnam* or *shānbhōg* (the accountant), the *nigranti* to distribute water proportionally to the fields, the *talāri*, the *tōti*, the *jōtishya* (astrologer) to predict auspicious or inauspicious times for sowing, ploughing, reaping, etc., the smith, the carpenter, the potter, the barber, the washerman and the village schoolmaster. The barber, washerman or potter was not 'paid by the times or number but each one's livelihood was secured to him in the form of a certain amount of paddy from each household. The compensation for his labour was not in money but in allotments of land from the common stock in some proportion. The village land was divided into three classes—arable, meadow and waste. The land that was not under cultivation was known as waste. If necessity should arise it could be brought under cultivation by any one on an application to the king who would grant the permission on payment of a nominal fee. The meadow was the common pasture for the cattle of the village. Each family had a portion of the arable land to itself according to its numbers. Mostly each occupant tilled his own land. The method of tillage was intensive rather than extensive except in the case of hill-tribes. The principle of rotation of crops was not unknown and the land was allowed to lie fallow once in a few years. Each man's holding consisted of a large number of small scattered acre or half-acre strips. These strips of land had names of their own, e.g., *doddanamānya*, *koggalemānya*, etc.(59) The strips of each were separated from those of his neighbour only by balks of unploughed turf, as is the practice even to this day. It was an 'open field' system and cattle were allowed to roam over after harvest was gathered in. 'The boundaries of each man's landed property were carefully maintained with as much jealousy and rancour as the frontiers of most potent kingdoms.'(60) As Sir Henry Maine has observed, 'the village community of India exhibits resemblances to the Teutonic township which are much too strong and numerous to be accidental.' Justice was administered in the village by means of a *pañcháyat* (a body of five honest folks) named by the parties in dispute and presided over by the village head who was at once the judge and commander of his village. India in the eleventh century knew not litigation and the long train of lawyers. The inhabitants gave themselves no trouble about the breaking up and

Local administration. (58a)
The Village Twelve.

The village land.

The village *pañcháyat*.

(58a) Rice's *Mysore Gazetteer*.

(59) *Ind. Ant.*, IX, 75.

(60) Rice's *Mysore Gazetteer*.

Stability of the village constitution.

division of kingdoms and never looked beyond their own village. 'The interior constitution of each village remained unchanged; no revolutions affected it; no conquests reached it. Conquests, usurpations or revolutions considered as such had absolutely no influence on its condition.' The whole frame of the interior management of the village remained unalterably the same. 'Every village was a kind of republic and India was nothing but a series of such republics.' Thus the government though centralised and absolute at the top was broad-based on pure democratic principles, justifying the worn-out maxim that 'it is democracy that is ancient and despotism that is new.'(61)

D. Geographical.(62)

Soil, climate, products, imports and exports.

The soil of the Kuntala country was rich and produced plenty of grain. The climate was warm even in the *sarat* season (October—November). Rice (*sáli*) was the crop that was raised and there was also the cultivation of sugar-cane which was as white as pure crystals. Banaváse province was famous for areca-palms, (*kramukha*), *kéthaki* flowers, cocoanuts and plantains. The North or Hindustan was famous for horses and the South for areca palms (*púgadrúmas*); Kérala and the islands in its neighbourhood produced camphor; the western coast or the Malaya hills abounded in cloves and spices. Sáratha (?) was noted for saffron; Pundraka (?) produced sugar as fine as sea-sand; Kashmir was famous for vine-creepers and wine. It was from these countries that the chief commodities were imported into the Chálukya dominions. Not only was there good land communication between the various parts of India but there seems to have been a large amount of sea-borne trade. Bilhana tells us that he sailed in a ship to the south from Gúrjjara or Sauráshtra (Guzerát). The oil for burning lamps was got from Persia.

Sea-borne trade.

E. Economic.

Intervention of money as a medium of exchange.

Long before the 11th century the Dekkan had passed through the stage of pure barter and money already intervened as a medium of exchange. There were coins of all metals, gold, silver and copper. The chief gold coin was *nishka*. Gold and silver seem to have been used also as bullion, e.g., *gadyanas* of gold and silver weighing forty-eight *gunjaphálas*.(63) 'Pon' was used in the sense of a *varáhan*, and was also a gold coin or bullion though its value at the time is not certain. *Hága* or *pága*, *hana* or *pana* seem to be copper coins the exact values of which are difficult

Coins.

(61) Lord Acton on Liberty.

(62) Bilhana's *Vik. Charita*.

(63) *Madras Jour. of Lit. and Science*, XX—Numismatic gleanings (Elliot).

to determine. The Chálukya coins were not struck to the southern scale of weights. They were curious cup-shaped pieces known as *padmatankás* or lotus-coins. The coin of Jagadé-kamalla published by Mr. Vincent A. Smith is concave and shallow and cup-shaped on the margin, with *Srī* written three times. They have the boar form on the obverse and the *padma* or *chakra* on the reverse. Considering the extent and long duration of the Chálukya power their coins are not numerous and one plate of Mr. Elliot contains the whole collected during twenty-five years. They are not on the whole historically so valuable as those of the Northern India.(64)

Lands were measured by means of poles of varying lengths, such as *bhérundagále*, *kachchāvi*, *māragundi*, etc. *Matta*, *mattār* or *gantimattār* and *kamma* denoted different lengths or areas of land. One *matta* was equal to hundred *kammas*. '*Kulī*' denoted a certain measure of rice. *Kāni* and *vīsa* were terms of weight. Weights and measures.(65)

We hear of looking-glasses, windows of red stone, houses with flags flying over them, houses for play (*kridāgraha*), drinking-vessels (*cheshakas*), conches (*sankhas*), syringes for watering purposes (*karianthras*) and *mashī* (a liquid for writing orders, probably on paper). The mention of these domestic articles points in general to a high standard of life. Domestic furniture.(66)

Much advance was made in mechanical skill and technical knowledge. There was a kind of pulley (*pāniāghatīyantra*)—an arrangement or contrivance for drawing water from wells. Toddy (*sura*) was drawn by means of pots attached to trees. The artisans could draw portraits on slabs with brushes. Looking-glasses were silvered by pasting some powder. Lac was used inside gold and silver ornaments. There is mention of lenses (*sūryōpalas*). We hear of a slender instrument for boring pearls (*salāka*), an instrument for sharpening swords and a lapidary for cutting and polishing gems (*sānāpalapattikā*). Mechanical skill and technical knowledge.(66)

There seems to have been a large number of merchant-guilds (*srēnyas*) or commercial corporations. We come across in inscriptions of grants made by the guild at Balligāve.(67) Besides the general body of the merchant-guild there seem to have existed side by side with it specialised bodies known as craft-guilds. There is a record of two districts headed by the guild of Merchant-guilds, Craft-guilds,

(64) Vincent A. Smith's *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum*,

(65) *Ind. Ant.*, IV, 179; *Ind. Ant.*, IX, 75.

(66) Bilhana's *Vik. Charita*,

(67) *Ind. Ant.*, V, 342.

Dásas (68) at Balligáve. A Shikarpur inscription(69) notes that two sculptors set up an image of a god in order to clear some aspersion on their guild. Fifty cultivators headed by the *méharis* are said to have given one ladeful of oil on the oil mills for the worship of some god(70). There is a reference to the guild of the *mummuri*. These instances lead us to infer that in those days there were such trade-guilds as those of sculptors, corn-dealers, oil-mongers, weavers, etc. During the days of Ráshtrakúta supremacy in the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries mention is made of a guild of weavers of the Múrumkéri of Puligere.(71) Prior still, Dr. Bhandarkar(72) has shown that very early in the Christian era during the age of the *Sátaváhanas* or *A'ndhrabrityas* there were such guilds in existence. These facts seem to point to a continuity of these institutions and to testify to the circumstance that India developed more or less on lines similar to the countries of Europe and that she was at one time of her history far ahead in commerce of even the most commercial countries of Europe of the same age. The foreman of a guild was in very many cases a *setti* (*sréshtin* = senior merchant).(73) Besides the guilds which were merely commercial corporations we hear also of corporate bodies for administrative purposes—*nagaramahájanas* with a *pattana-sávi* as their mayor. We hear of a grant by the five hundred *mahájanas* of Ayyavóla.(74) In another instance one Jnánasakti is said to have allotted into the hands of the four-hundred and twenty some lands the annual yield of which was to be utilised by the body for some religious purpose.(75) Though details of their organisation are unfortunately not fully forthcoming at this distance of time yet this much seems certain that both guilds and administrative bodies received permanent deposits of money or land from private persons, paid interest on them from generation to generation and acted faithfully as their custodians and agents. The very fact that persons like Jnánasakti allotted money into their hands makes us infer that their organisation was complete and efficient and that their honesty and appropriation of the interest on the capital for the purposes for which the grant was made by the donor must have been above

(68) *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, 84 Balagámve inscription.

(69) *Epi. Car.*, VII, Sk. 112.

(70) *Ind. Ant.*, V, 343.

(71) *Epi. Ind.*, V, 165.

(72) *Early His. of Dekkan*, p. 34.

(73) *Ind. Ant.*, X, pp. 185—190.

(74) *Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 96.

(75) *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, pp. 91—94.

doubt or question. The guilds and town corporations seem to have enjoyed a large measure of autonomy or self-government in the internal administration of their own affairs without any vexatious interference on the part of the central government, for we hear of their calling upon the various sections of the people and commanding them to give on specified occasions certain specified dues on some specified articles.(76) The mutual relations between the guilds and the town corporations are not very clear. The guilds were commercial in their aims and attended merely to the granting of fairs and markets, fixing the price of articles and examining their quality, whereas the town corporations were more concerned with the general administration of the locality. Though their functions seem separate and distinct yet there was no hard and fast distinction between the two. We hear of settis (merchants) constituting the large assembly of the town (77) and there is a reference(78) to the guild of town citizens. We may surmise therefore that in most cases the functions of the two overlapped each other and that the same persons sat in both bodies to perform the different duties of administration and the direction of commerce, as was the case in Europe. 'Self-government by means of such bodies always formed an important factor of the political administration of the country.'

Their autonomy.

Relations between the guilds and the corporations.

Persons engaged in trade seem to have acquired large fortunes. It is the Settis that built temples and constructed images. Their gifts were very costly. The wife of Hampasetti constructed an image of Tárābhagavatī.(79) Setti Sangamvayya of Lökkigunde built another *vihāra* of Tārādēvi,(80) The ten settis of Dāmbal carved out a *vihāra* of Buddha.(81) The *vadda byavahāri* Mārosetti made another grant.

Opulence of the trading class.

Only one inscription at Dāvanagere dated 1060 A. D. (82) gives us a clue as to the general rate of interest that was prevalent in the 11th century. Therein four *gadyanas* are said to have yielded an interest of a *hāga per mensem*. By a look at the old mathe-

Rate of interest and its import.

(76) *Epi. Car.*, VII, Sk. 118. *Ind. Ant.* V, 342.

(77) *Ind. Ant.*, X, No. 116.

(78) *Ibid.* IV, 203.

(79) *Epi. Car.*, VII, Sk. 169.

(80) *Ind. Ant.*, X.

(81) *Epi. Car.*, VII, Sk. 118.

(82) *Epi. Car.*, XI, Dg. 140.

matical tablêś(83) and after a slight calculation(84) the rate of interest *per annum* is found to be nearly 8 per cent. Apparently the rate of interest does not seem to have been so high as in modern times. 'If the rate of interest depends on the degree of security and bears an inverse ratio to the efficiency of government it would appear that the country was well-governed notwithstanding political revolutions. To this result the efficient local organisation spoken of above (the Village Twelve and the guilds and town corporations) which no changes of dynasties ever affected, must no doubt have contributed in a large measure.' (85)

(83) Colebrooke's *Essays*, Vol. II,

(84) 4 *gadyanas* yield *per mensem* 1 *hāga*.

∴ 100 *gadyanas* yield *per annum* $12 \times 25 = 300$ *hāgas*

$$= \frac{300 \times 20}{768} \text{ gadyanas. i.e., } 7\frac{1}{8} \text{ or nearly 8 \% .}$$

1 *nishka* = 4 *suvarnas*

= 64 *māshas*

= 320 *gunjas*

1 *gadyana* = 48 *gunjas*

∴ 1 *nishka* = $\frac{320}{48} = 6\frac{2}{3}$ *gadyanas*.

1 *hāga* = $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *pana*

= $\frac{1}{4}$ of $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *dramma*

= $\frac{1}{4}$ of $\frac{1}{4}$ of $\frac{1}{16}$ of a *nishka*

= $\frac{1}{256}$ *nishka*

= $\frac{1}{256} \times \frac{20}{3}$ *gadyanas*

= $\frac{5}{64}$ *gadyanas*

(85) Bhandarkar's *Early His. of Dekkan*, p. 34.

APPENDIX.

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