MYSORE AND COORG
FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS
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By
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Containing numerous Facsimiles, and the Original Text of all the Inscriptions, in the Vernacular Characters, with Transliteration into Roman Characters, and English Translations.

An Index volume to the whole is in preparation.

Published by the Mysore Archaeological Department, and printed at the Mysore Government Press, Bangalore, except Volumes V and X, printed at the Basel Mission Press, Mangalore.

On sale by the Curator, Mysore Government Central Book Depot, Bangalore.

¹ Including 46 belonging to Coorg.
² Including 2 belonging to Coorg.
PREFACE

The present volume is the outcome of researches extending over a number of years. All who have had to do with Mysore and Coorg know the attraction of their grand and varied natural features, their agreeable climate, and their interesting racial characteristics. Indeed, a Kannada poet describes the Hoysala country, that is Mysore, especially the west, as a hand-mirror (or reflection) of Kashmir. Regions so inviting could never have been entirely secluded from the general current of public affairs, but stirring events of recent times had brought them more prominently to notice. Curiosity was thus awakened as to their past. For though their chronicles could perhaps be fairly retraced for about five centuries, earlier periods were more or less a blank. To supply this want it was recognised that an examination was imperative of the inscriptions to be met with in all parts, which furnish almost the only contemporary records for the various periods to which they relate.

These inscriptions are mostly on either stone or metal. Their primary object is, in general, to record the erection of temples or other public structures, the endowment of gods or Brāhmans with lands and gifts, or to commemorate acts of heroism or self-sacrifice. But occasion is taken to give at the same time details as to the ruling powers of the day, their
ancestry and past achievements, and other information invaluable for historical purposes. Those on stone are engraved on natural rocks, on prepared pillars or slabs set up at the spots dedicated, and on the walls of temples and the gateways of forts and other buildings. Those on metal are generally on copper plates of a convenient size, strung together on a metal ring, which is secured with an impression in metal of the royal seal. Being portable, these can be secreted, and thus have often survived when inscriptions on stone have been destroyed.

To arrive at a just conception of the past annals of the countries, therefore, no better or indeed other way existed than to collect copies of all the inscriptions wherever they could be discovered, and to combine their historical contents into a consecutive narrative. Such has been the task accomplished in the volumes of the Epigraphia Carnatica (see list above, p. v), of which the present volume forms a compendium—a convenience for consultation.

As regards previous efforts in this direction, it is related that the Mysore king, Chikka-Déva-Rájá, who ruled from 1672 to 1704, had lists and copies made of the inscriptions throughout his country, but this was for the purpose of checking the endowments. The register so compiled was unfortunately one of those in the royal library which, during the usurpation of the throne in the latter part of the eighteenth century, was ordered by Tipu Sultán to be taken for boiling the gram or kultí for the horses. On the restoration of the Hindú Ráj in 1799, during the Survey operations conducted at the beginning of the nineteenth century by Colonel Collin Mackenzie, copies were taken of inscriptions to the number of several thousands. But neither would the former of these collections, had it survived, nor the latter, the examination of which would be but labour lost on account of its unreliable
character, satisfy the critical demands of the present day. Numberless errors have been unwittingly propagated in past times by copies that were not trustworthy of inscriptions and other records.

The means of obtaining mechanical facsimiles, and the use of the photographic lens, together with a juster appreciation of the absolute necessity of exact and veracious counterparts, have raised the processes of epigraphy to those of a fine art. Scholars seated in their own libraries are thus now placed in possession of the texts in a form that cannot be surpassed for exactitude, and even easier to study than the originals.

It was in 1865, when Mr. L. Bowring, C.S.I., was Chief Commissioner of Mysore and Coorg, that the services of Major Dixon, an officer skilled in the new art of photography, were engaged to obtain copies by that process of inscriptions in various places easily accessible, where they were known to be numerous, such as Chitaldroog, Harhar, Belgami, and the north-west. These, numbering 150, were, in the then imperfect state of the art, taken on a scale so reduced that they could only be read with a magnifying glass, and even so, owing to insufficient cleansing and preparation of the originals, with difficulty. The photographs, however, were eventually, after other efforts to deal with them, placed in my hands for decipherment of the ancient characters and for translation in such leisure time as could be found from my regular duties. My only qualifications for the work were a knowledge of the language and the country. Otherwise it was new to me, and the task was not an easy one, as I was already engaged on extra duty in compiling the first edition of the Gazetteers of Mysore and Coorg, published in 1877. But by 1879 I contrived to bring out, in a volume called Mysore Inscriptions, translations of all those photographed as above, and of some
other inscriptions collected by myself. Archaeology had now become a hobby.

After the Rendition of Mysore in 1881 to the Native Government, on return from serving as Secretary to the Education Commission under Sir W. W. Hunter in Calcutta, I was appointed in 1884, in addition to my office of Education Secretary to Government, as Director of Archaeological Researches, being relieved for that purpose of the Police Department, of which I also had charge. In 1886 was published the volume of *Coorg Inscriptions*, and in 1889 the volume of *Inscriptions in Sravana-Belgola*.

So much interest was excited by this work ¹ that in 1890, at the instance of the Dewan, Sir K. Sheshadri Iyér, a regular Archaeological Department was formed under me. The exploration and copying of all the inscriptions throughout the country on a regular system, District by District, were now entered upon. The work was much interrupted by the outbreak of plague in 1898, and I was otherwise also greatly occupied with bringing out a new edition of the *Gazetteer of Mysore*, published in 1897. But several months each year were spent in the arduous work in camp, and the results of the Archaeological Survey continued to appear in successive volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, according to the list on page v. The last (IX) bears date 1905, but was really issued in 1906. The total number of inscriptions and the magnitude of the whole undertaking far exceeded what had been anticipated either by myself or by the Government, and I am thankful to have been allowed to complete it.

Of the results obtained by the Survey, the details of which are contained in the volumes above referred to, the present volume is a summary. Their importance has been abundantly

¹ As it has long been out of print, a new edition is in preparation.
acknowledged by competent authorities. The history has been traced back, with scarcely a break, to the third century B.C., and former conceptions in regard to it have been considerably modified. A few of the principal items, before unknown, which have been brought to our knowledge may here be briefly mentioned. The earliest in order of time, and among the first in novelty and interest, are the account of the migration of Jains from the North under their great leader Bhadrabāhu, and the statement that he was accompanied by the celebrated Chandra Gupta as his disciple, and that both ended their lives at Sravana-Belgola in the Hassan District. These cannot be said to be proved as undeniably true, for they are perhaps now incapable alike of proof or disproof. But there are probabilities in favour of the occurrences as narrated, while they are not discredited by any anachronism. And the crowning discovery by me of Edicts of Aśoka, which placed beyond all doubt the fact that the north of Mysore in his time formed part of the Maurya empire, may also be held to lend support to the alleged connection with this country of Chandra Gupta, whose grandson Aśoka was. A local seat of the Maurya Government had evidently existed for some time at Isila, which is probably indicated by the Sidda of Siddapura in the Molakālmuru taluq, where the edicts were found.

The rule of the Āndhras or Śātavāhanas, in succession to the Mauryas, has moreover been established. So also that of the line of Mahāvali or Bāna kings, hitherto unknown, has been made clear, together with details of the origin and rise to power of the Kadambas, who sprang from the Mysore country. The Gangas, who ruled over Mysore and Coorg for several centuries down to the end of the first millennium of the Christian era, but whose very name had been lost in oblivion, have been restored to their place in history. The Pallavas, equally
unknown before, have now been recognised as a great ruling power in the South, whose dominion was perpetuated in Mysore by the Noṇāmbas or Noḷambas. The influence of the Chalukyas, especially their western branch, and the important part played by the Rāṣṭrākūṭas or Raṭṭas, who for two centuries supplanted them, have been amply elucidated. The first clue to the chronology of the Chōlas was obtained from Mysore, and the range of their conquests here has been made manifest. In regard to the indigenous royal dynasty of the Poysalas or Hoysalas, who made a name in the South, their place of origin has been identified, and the building up of their power shown in detail. Not to mention the Śāntaras and others, the Changāḷvas and Kongāḷvas, lines of kings quite unknown, have been brought to light, and a large blank in the history of Coorg thus filled up.

For the more modern period, from the establishment of the Vijayanagar empire in the fourteenth century, less ignorance prevailed, but abundance of material has been obtained for adding to our knowledge and correcting previous misconceptions. Most important information has also been acquired regarding Karnāṭaka literature and other matters which it is difficult to specify in a few words. The volumes of which this is a compendium can vouch for themselves, and I would bespeak for it as favourable a reception as has already been accorded to them.

HARROW-ON-THE-HILL,
Christmas 1908.
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<td>Tīrūmakṣīḍal-Nārsīpur</td>
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<td>Km</td>
<td>Kāṅkānḥallī</td>
<td>Bn</td>
<td>IX.</td>
<td>Yelāndūr</td>
<td>My</td>
<td>IV.</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. By mistake Kp has been used for this in a few places.

xvii
WORKS REFERRED TO

ASI. Archæological Survey of India.
ASWI. Archæological Survey of Western India.
EC. Epigraphia Carnatica.
EHD. Early History of the Deccan. By Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar.
EHI. Early History of India. By Vincent A. Smith.
EI. Epigraphia Indica.
GI. Gupta Inscriptions. By Dr. J. F. Fleet.
IA. Indian Antiquary.
JRAS. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
KD. Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency.
By Dr. Fleet.
SII. South Indian Inscriptions. By Dr. E. Hultsch.
VOJ. Vienna Oriental Journal.
ZDMG. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Volumes referred to without any name are those of the Epigraphia
Carnatica.
GUIDE TO PRONUNCIATION OF INDIAN WORDS AND NAMES

VOWELS

a i as the first and second a respectively in "afar."
e i as e in "pen" and "prey" respectively,
t i as e and ee respectively in "redeem."
ö å as the first and second o respectively in "morose."
u ö as u in "full" and "rule" respectively.
ax as a in "mine."
au as ou in "mouse."

CONSONANTS

z is always hard, as in "get"; never like j.
f j like f in "tut" and j in "dot" respectively.
f d like th in "thin" and th in "that" respectively.
ph like ph in "haphazard"; never like j.

For other under-dotted letters the English sounds may be used, as their correct pronunciation is not easy to explain.
Specimen of Chalukya Copper-plate Inscription.
MYSORE AND COORG
FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS

These eloquent records of bygone ages are not, as might be expected, altogether silent in regard to the epic period. As preliminary, therefore, to the authenticated history, a brief reference may be made to notices in our inscriptions of incidents in the Rāmāyana and the Māhābhārata.

Rāma, on his expedition to Ceylon for the recovery of his wife Sītā, who had been carried off by Rāvana, is generally admitted to have passed through the Mysore country. On the abduction of Sītā, as she was borne along by her captor in his air-car, her rescue was attempted by Jāṭāyu, king of the vultures, who was slain by Rāvana. According to an inscription at the place (Mk 27), it was on the Jātinga Rāmekāvara hill in the Molakālumru taluq that Jāṭāyu fell when mortally wounded. But before he died he was able to impart the information as to who the despoiler was. This led to the despatch of Hanumān, the monkey chief, as a spy to Lankā or Ceylon to obtain confirmation of the report. Meanwhile Rāma made an alliance with Sugriva, the king of Kīshkindha, on the Pampā or Tungabhadrā river (near the site of the mediaeval Vijayanagar), with the aid of whose forces he marched against Rāvana in Ceylon. On his way through the Mysore region Rāma seems to have crossed the Kāveri river at Rāmanāthpura in the Arkalgūḍ taluq (Ag 53, Vd 25, 26). The tributary Lakshmamārtītha river, close by, is named after his brother Lakshmana. The return journey,
after his triumph, seems to have been by way of Avani in the Mulbagal taluq—where there is a group of temples dedicated severally to Rama, Lakshmana, Bharata, Satrughna, Váli, and Sugriva—through Nandi in the Chik-Ballapur taluq (CB 29), and perhaps Mulukunte in the Tumkûr taluq (Tm 14).

With regard to the Māhābhārata stories, Kaivāra in the Chintāmanī taluq is said to be Ėkachakrapura (Ct 86, 87). Kunti-dēvi, the mother of the Pāṇḍava, is said to have rebuilt a temple in the Chik-Ballapur taluq (CB 29). An inscription at Belgāmi in the Shikarpur taluq (Sk t.26) says that, after the performance of the Rājasūya sacrifice, the Five Pāṇḍava brothers came there, and set up the Five Lingas of the Pancha Linga temple. King Virāta’s capital, Matsya, where the Pāṇḍavas spent the last year of their exile in disguise, is identified with Pānungal or Hāṅugal in Dharwar, just over the north-west border of Mysore.
I. RULING DYNASTIES

1. MAURYAS

The earliest undoubted inscriptions in Mysore are the Edicts of Aśoka in the Molakālmutru tāluq (Mk 21, 14, 34), discovered by me in 1892. They belong to the first half of the third century B.C., and are unquestionable evidence that the north of the Mysore State was included in the Maurya empire. But there are inscriptions relating to a period still farther back. For the Mauryas had as their predecessors the Nandas, and one inscription (Sk 225) states that Kuntala, a province which included the western Dekhan and the north of Mysore, was ruled by the Nandas. Another (Sk 236) derives the descent of the Kadambas, the early rulers of the north-west of the country, from Nanda. But these are of comparatively modern date, the twelfth century, and need not be further noticed.

Much more ancient and definite are the Jain inscriptions relating to Bhadrabāhu and Chandra Gupta. The first discovery of these at Śravana-Belgola was made by me in 1874. The oldest are incised on the natural and irregular horizontal surface of the rock on the summit of the lower hill, called Chandragiri. One (SB 17), of (?) about 600, which almost runs into the big one (SB 1), to be mentioned farther on, couples together "the pair (yugma), Bhadrabāhu along with Chandra Gupta munindra," and says that theirs was the safe (or auspicious) faith (dharmma). Two inscriptions on the north bank of the Kāvērī near Seringapatam (Sr 147, 148), of about 900, describe the summit of the Kalbappu hill, that is,
MAURYAS

Chandragiri, as marked by the footprints of Bhadrabahu and Chandra Gupta munipati. At Sravana-Belgoja, one of 1129 (SB 34) mentions Bhadrabahu—the srutakēvali—and Chandra Gupta, who by being his disciple acquired such merit that he was for a long time served by the forest deities. Another there, of 1163 (SB 40), speaks of Bhadrabahu, the last of the srutakēvalis, and his disciple Chandra Gupta, whose glory was such that his gana of munis was worshipped by the forest deities. A third in the same place, of 1432 (SB 108), after extolling the yatindra Bhadrabahu, the last of the srutakēvalis, says that his disciple was Chandra Gupta, the greatness of whose penance caused his exalted fame to be spread into other worlds (or lands).

In literature, the Byihatkathākāśa, a work by Harishēna, dated in 931, says that Bhadrabahu, the last of the srutakēvalis, had the king Chandra Gupta as his disciple. A similar account is contained in the Bhadrabahu-charita by Ratnanandi of about 1450; and is repeated in the Rājāvali-kathe by Dēvachandra, which is a modern compilation, of about 1800.

The tradition—thus ancient in origin, and referred to in subsequent ages down to the present as well known—is that Bhadrabahu died at Sravana-Belgoja, on the Katavapra or Kalbappu hill, that is Chandragiri, while leading a migration of Jains from the north, and that Chandra Gupta, who had accompanied him as his chief disciple, was the only attendant on him in his last moments. The latter survived his teacher for twelve years, which were spent in penance on the hill, and then died there himself.1

For further local testimony to the truth of this, we have Chandra-giri, the name of the hill, given to it after Chandra Gupta. On it is pointed out the cave in which Bhadrabahu expired (SB 71). In the centre of the group of temples there, and the most ancient among them, is the Chandra Gupta basti,

1 "The story would be very interesting if it could be believed," says Mr. Vincent A. Smith (EHIL, 137). Unfortunately he has been entirely misled as to its being a modern invention.
facing which, as being then the sole object of adoration on the
hill, must be read the semicircle of rock inscriptions (SB 1-35)
recording the death, by sallākhana or fasting, of various dis-
tinguished Jains. The façade of this basti is a perforated
stone screen containing ninety sculptured scenes of events in
the lives of Bhadrabāhu and Chandra Gupta. This, however,
from the name of the sculptor, may be a work of the twelfth
century, and made for its protection.

But of the rock inscriptions at Sravana-Belgola, which
mostly consist of only two or three lines, the longest and
most important is SB 1, in Sanskrit, not dated, but, from the
characters, belonging to not later than the fifth century.1 For
they closely correspond with those of the Kavaḍī stone
(Sb 523), recording the death of the Kadamba king Ravi-
varmma and his queen; and phrases are grouped in a similar
way in both, leaving a space between. Comparison may also
be made with the characters of the Siragunda stone (Cm 50),
which is of the time of the Ganga king Nirvvinita or Durv-
vinita, who came to the throne in 482.

After verses in praise of Vardhamāna or Mahāvīra, whose
doctrine (it says) is even to-day in favour in Viśāla (? Vaiśāli),
a line of holy men is named who succeeded him. They were:
Gautama ganadhara, his personal disciple Lōhārya, Jambu,2
Vishnudēva, Aparājita, Gōvardhana, Bhadrabāhu,3 Viśākha,
Prōshthila, Kṛittikārya, Jayanāma, Siddhārtha, Dhritisheṇa,
Buddhila,4 and others. Bhadrabāhu-svami, of this illustrious
succession of regularly descended great men, by his power
of knowing the past, present, and future, having foretold in
Ujjayini a period of twelve years of dire calamity (or famine),
the whole of the sangha (or Jaina community) went forth from
the North to the South. By degrees they had arrived at a
populous and prosperous country, when the Āchārya, Prabhā-

1 The seventh, in the opinion of Drs. Leumann (VōJ. vii. 382) and Fleet
(EL. iv. 25).
2 These were the three Kēvalis. The second is generally called Sudhārjna.
3 These were four of the five Śrṅtakēvalis.
4 These seven were Dasāpūrvis, out of eleven.
chandra by name (or (?) with Prabhāchandra also), on this mountain named Kāṭavapra, perceiving that but little time remained for him to live, in order that he might perform the penance before death, bidding farewell to them, sent away the entire sangha, and with one single disciple, worshipping on the cold rocks covered with grass, gained emancipation from his body.

Now here we have the prediction by Bhadrabāhu of twelve years of famine in the North, and the migration in consequence of the Jains to the South. As Dr. Lenmann says, the migration to the South is "the initial fact of the Digambara tradition." After a critical examination of Jain paṭṭāvalis or succession lists of gurus, Dr. Hoernle says: "Before Bhadrabāhu the Jain community was undivided; with him the Digambaras separated from the Śvētāmbaras... The question is who this Bhadrabāhu was. The Śvētāmbara paṭṭāvalis know only one Bhadrabāhu, who, from the dates assigned to him by the Śvētāmbaras and Digambaras alike, must be identical with the Bhadrabāhu I of the Digambaras. Considering the varying and contradictory character of the Digambara traditions, the probability is that the inception of the great separation took place under Bhadrabāhu I, who died 162 A.V. according to the Digambaras, or 170 A.V. according to the Śvētāmbaras." Dr. Jacobi says: "The date of Bhadrabāhu's death is placed identically by all Jain authors, from Hēmāchandra down to the most modern scholiast, in the year 170 A.V." This is 397 B.C.

The inscription records the death of a certain Achārya, who was evidently a leader of the migration to the South, for he bade farewell to the entire sangha—that is, the sangha previously mentioned as migrating with him to the South—and sent them on their way, in order that he might remain on the hill and perform the penance before death. During this final period he was ministered to by one single disciple (out of those who had accompanied him). The name of the

1 loc. cit.  
2 IA. xxi. 59, 60.  
3 Kāṭāparāma, Introd. 13.
ACHARYA is apparently given as Prabhachandra, but if the other reading above noted, proposed by Jains on the spot, might stand, Prabhachandra would indicate the disciple, and is explained as the clerical name adopted by Chandra Gupta. The Acharya would therefore be Bhadrabahu. That this was the name of the last of the shrutakévalis there is no doubt whatever. And that the first Maurya emperor, Chandra Gupta, the Sandrakoptos of the Greek historians, who reigned from 321 to 297 B.C., was contemporary with him, and disappeared from public life in the same year that Bhadrabahu, as above shown, died, is equally clear. The question then naturally arises, What evidence is there that they were in any way connected?

As to this, Mr. Thomas says: "That Chandra Gupta was a member of the Jaina community is taken by their writers as a matter of course and treated as a known fact, which needed neither argument nor demonstration..." The testimony of Megasthenes would likewise seem to imply that

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2 He is described as pārtha-chāndra in SB 10.4.—It has been attempted by Dr. Fleet (EL. iv. 24) to make out that the Bhadrabahu of the inscription was a later one of that name, who is said to have lived in the first century B.C., and that Chandra Gupta means his disciple Guptagupta. But no necessity appears for assuming that a long period intervened between the Bhadrabahu in the opening portion and the one with whom the narrative begins, and that they were different persons. For even in the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Bhadrabahu, the section headed Ācarināmi extends to many generations beyond him, which is accounted for as being for the sake of auspiciousness (see Intro. 23). Guptagupta, again, is nowhere mentioned in any inscription. The solitary instance in which the name was supposed to occur has been shown by Dr. Lübke (EL. iv. 339) to have no such meaning. Moreover, this Guptagupta is said to have had other names, one of which, it is significant to note, was Viśākha, the name of the successor of Bhadrabahu I. To imagine also, with Dr. Leumann (in his kindly criticisms), that Prabhachandra belonged to some still more distant period, farther removed from both, is in direct contradiction to the inscription, which unhesitatingly shows that he accompanied the image on its migration. The name Prabhachandra is not an uncommon one among the Jain gurus, and occurs at all periods. But the one honoured with this unique memorial was no ordinary man. In the effort to discover some one of the name of sufficient distinction to whom it can be fitted, a certain Digambara teacher is suggested, who cannot be shown to have lived till a later time than that of the inscription, and of course he would in no way be connected with the migration. To justify this proposed piecemeal and disjointed treatment of the inscription, it is represented that the first portion was a customary introduction to Jain inscriptions. But plausible as this may appear in theory, it is opposed to fact, for not a single inscription has been found with this introduction.

*Jainism, or the Early Faith of India,* 23.
Chandra Gupta submitted to the devotional teaching of the Sermanas as opposed to the doctrines of the Brahmans. In treating of the Hindu religious sects, Professor Wilson says: 1 "It has been supposed that we have notices of the Jaina sect as far back as the period at which Megasthenes was sent ambassador to Sandracoptus, and that these notices are recorded by Strabo and Arrian." Colebrooke, who examined the passages referred to, says: 2 "The followers of Buddha are clearly distinguished from the Brachmanes and Sarmanes. The latter, called Germanes by Strabo and Samanaeans by Porphyrius, are the ascetics of a different religion, and may have belonged to the sect of Jina or to another." Megasthenes, in his Indika, says 3 of the Sarmanes who live in the woods: "They communicate with the kings, who consult them by messengers regarding the causes of things, and who through them worship and supplicate the deity." The story of Chandra Gupta's accession to the throne of the Nandas is dramatised in the Sanskrit play named Mudrā Rākshasa, by Viśākhadatta, which has been translated by Professor Wilson. 4 In this we see that Jains held a prominent position at the time, and Chānaka—the also called Vishnugupta and Kautilya—who was the prime agent in the revolution, employs a Jain as one of his chief envoys.

We are therefore not without warrant for assuming that Chandra Gupta was a Jain by creed. At the period when he becomes associated with Bhadrabāhu, he was much troubled in mind on account of sixteen dreams with which he had been visited. These are mentioned in many narratives relating to him. Bhadrabāhu in the course of his travels having come to Pataliputra, the capital, the king consulted him as to their

1 Works, i. 324.
2 Essays, ii. 293.
3 McCrindle's Indica of Megasthenes (I.A., vi. 244).
4 Theatre of the Hindus, i. 125. The work is no doubt much older than he thought, owing to his erroneous opinion that the Jains were later than the Buddhists. It is now well established that they were more ancient. Professor Speyer (in his recent Studies about the Kathāvratā) also says: "Viśākhadatta and his admirable dramas are to be placed many centuries earlier than is generally done" (J.R.A.S., 1908, p. 910).
interpretation, and was dismayed at the coming troubles which
they portended, including the twelve years of famine. He
seems consequently, impressed by Bhadrabāhu's exhortations,
to have resolved to retire from the throne, and to place him-
self under the guidance of this the most distinguished Jain
teacher then living, for the right performance of penitential
acts in view of the impending calamities. He was, as Mr. V.
A. Smith has pointed out,¹ not fifty years of age at the time.
He is not expressly stated to have died, and no special reason
appears for his death at this early age. Had he fallen in
battle, or his life been cut short by accident or disease, the
circumstance could not fail to have been mentioned. But if
he retired from the throne in order to devote himself, in accord-
ance with the dictates of the Jain religion, to an ascetic life in
the last stage of his existence,² and accompanied Bhadrabāhu
to the South, this affords a reasonable explanation of his early
disappearance from public notice and of the silence regarding
his further career, for absolute renunciation of all earthly ties
was of the essence of the vow he had taken. On the other
hand, the southern accounts represent him as living an ascetic
life at Śrāvaṇa-Belgoja for twelve years after the decease of
Bhadrabāhu.³ His death then occurred when he was about
sixty-two years of age, which seems more natural and so far
entitled to credence.

That the north of Mysore may even at that period have
been a part of the Maurya empire is not beyond probability.
For the Edicts of Aśoka are evidence that it was so two
generations later; and as the only conquest Aśoka is said to
have made was that of Kalinga or Orissa, it follows that the
rest of his empire was inherited from his predecessors. If it
be true, moreover, as above stated, that the Nandas ruled over
Kuntala, then the Mauryas naturally acquired it in succession

¹ EHI, 128.
² Aśoka, who was his grandson, did the same, as will be seen below.
³ Twelve years of penance were always thought essential for obtaining perfection,
and for every ascetic who endeavours to quit this life with the best claims to enter
one of the highest heavens or even Nirvāṇa (Jacobi, SBE. xxii. Introd. 18).
to them. One inscription, indeed (SB 263), says that Nāgakhandā (the Shikarpur tāluq) “was protected by the wise Chandra Gupta, an abode of the usages of eminent Kshattriyas”; but this is of the fourteenth century and too much cannot be built upon it. Of special interest, however, is the statement in the work by Harishenā before referred to, that when, as described in the Sravana-Belgoja inscription, the saṅgha were sent on their way, “they went by the guru’s direction to the Punnāta country, situated in the South.”

This was a province in the south-west of the Mysore State. It is mentioned in the second century by Ptolemy as Punnāta, “where is beryli.” It is also named in the fifth century in connection with the Ganga king Avinita (Cg 1), whose son Durvvinīta married the Punnād king’s daughter, and united it to the Ganga territory. An inscription of the Punnād Rājas gives Kitthipura as their capital, which is identified (Hg 56) with Kittūr on the Kabbani river in the Heggadādevankōte tāluq. One of the ancient rock inscriptions on Chandragiri (SB 7) records the death of a Jain guru from Kittūr.

To turn now to the Edicts of Asōka. They are also engraved on the natural horizontal surface of the rock, in three places near to one another in the Molakālmuru tāluq. The most perfect is on a big boulder at the north-west foot of Brahmagiri (Mk 21). The other two, which are much effaced, are one to the north of Siddapura, which is about a mile to the west (Mk 14), and the remaining one on the Jātinga Rāmeśvara hill, about three miles to the north (Mk 34). They are all three virtually alike, but differ from three somewhat similar ones in the north of India,—those at Bairat in Rājputāna, Rānpāth in the Central Provinces, and Sahasrām in Bengal,—in containing two edicts and not one, of which the second is a brief summary of the precepts of dhamma or the moral law. Another peculiarity is that, although they are

1 Saṅgho'pi samanā gurum-ahetūtāv daksinā iṣhūtā iṣhūtā Punnaśa-vihasā payau.
2 Ia, xi. 137, xvii. 366.
inscribed in the Brāhmī characters, written from left to right, common to these edicts in other parts, the last word, in which the scribe states his profession, is in the Kharoṣṭhī characters, written from right to left, which are found only in the extreme north-west of the Punjab. The date of these edicts is believed to be expressed in the figures 230 which occur at the end of the first edict, and which are understood as referring to the number of years from the death of Buddha, though they have been also interpreted in many various and quite irreconcilable ways. The edicts themselves would thus belong to the year 231 B.C. This was the last year of Ashoka's life, and thirty-eight years after his coronation-anointing. Dr. Fleet professes to have discovered that "particular interest attaches to the Mysore versions, because the Brahmagiri text discloses the fact that it was framed on the anniversary of Ashoka's abdication, and when he was living in religious retirement on the hill Suvarnagiri, still known as Songir, which was one of the hills surrounding the ancient city of Girivraja in Magadha." Whether all this be so or not is by no means determined.

The language of the edicts is what is known as Magadhi, with some local peculiarities. All three in Mysore begin in the same way, with greeting from the Ayaputa (Aryaputra or Prince) and the Mahāmātas (high officials) of Suvarnagiri (identified as above) to the Mahāmātas of Isila (possibly Sidda in Siddapura). The edicts are introduced with the formula "Devānam Piye commands" or "Thus says Devānam Piye."
This name (Devânâm priyah), meaning "Beloved of the gods," was a royal title borne by the Maurya kings. It is sometimes used alone, but more often in conjunction with the king's name. It thus occurs as an epithet of Piyadasi (Priyadarśi) and of Dasaratha his grandson. The main object of the present edicts is to exhort all classes to greater effort in pious duties. In doing this the king adduces his own example, how while he was a lay disciple he did not exert himself strenuously, but after he entered the sacred Order he did so, and as the result the men who were (regarded as) true in Jambu-dvipa (were shown to be) false, together with the gods. This was the fruit of effort or exertion, and in the same way the lowly, as well as the great, could by exertion attain to svarga (or heavenly bliss). A precept to this effect is quoted, said to have been delivered by the Vyûtha (or the Departed, that is Buddha) 256 (? years ago).

With regard to the various circumstances referred to in the above summary. The king, in the thirteenth Rock Edict, had proclaimed that remorse on account of the slaughter and devastation that attended his conquest of Kalinga, which was effected in the ninth year of his reign, had made him resolve for the future to maintain peace and devote himself to religion. At length he became a Buddhist—and he here says that during the time when he was an upasaka (or lay disciple) he did not put forth much effort. But more than six years before our present inscriptions, he entered the sangha (or sacred order) and vigorously exerted himself. What ensued from these special efforts has been stated above, but the sentence is elliptic and not over clear. It is generally agreed, however, and there can be no question, that the reference is to the Brâhmans, who are designated throughout Hindu literature by several terms which mean "gods on earth." As M. Senart says: "After his conversion the king proceeded to deprive the Brâhmans of the almost divine prestige they enjoyed throughout the whole of India." Their authority being rejected, their gods were also deposed. That it was to Buddhism the king was converted there can be no doubt. Previous to this change of faith he
was apparently a Jain. Akbar's minister Abul Fazl says in the *Ain-i-Akbari* that Aśoka introduced Jainism into Kashmir, and this is confirmed by the *Rāja-tarangini*, the Brahmanical history of Kashmir. That he was a Jain has also been deduced from his edicts. But some are of opinion that he followed the Brahmān creed. His conversion at length to Buddhism was not signalised by persecution of his former co-religionists, but by inducing a revolution throughout India in the public estimation of them. In short, the members of the Order no doubt took advantage of the king's presence and adhesion to influence him to depose their rivals, whether Brāhmans or Jains, from their former pre-eminence. This action of his does not invalidate the express injunctions to toleration contained in so many of his edicts, wherein he inculcates more than once the duty of reverence to and the bestowal of alms upon both Brāhmans and Śramanas. Tolerance was denied only to their false claims. On the other hand, it would be strange if no trace whatever could be discovered of the resentment which would naturally be evoked by so powerful though silent and peaceful a revolution in time-honoured beliefs. And we may perhaps find a trace in the fact that Devānāṃpriyaḥ, as one word, is explained by Katyāyana in the *Vārttikas* to Pāṇini as synonymous with *mūrkha*, a fool! This was a very characteristic retaliation, if so meant, and the use of the word thus authorised has come down even to the present time, and is common, I am told, at all events among the Brāhmans.

The second edict in our inscriptions is as follows: "Thus says the Beloved of the gods:—Obedience should be rendered to mother and father. So also regard for living creatures should be enforced. Truth should be spoken. These virtues

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1 Thomas, *Jainism, or the Early Faith of Aśoka*; also by Professors Kern (I.A. v. 273), Fischel, Minayeff, etc. Reasons have been given above for the belief that Chandra Gupta, the grandfather of Aśoka, was a Jain. His grandson Sampadi or Sampati was also a devoted Jain.

2 See also the satirical verses on Aśoka quoted in vol. v., Introd. 30, 31, from the *Bhūja Prabhāndha*. 
of the sacred law should be practised. So also the teacher should be honoured by the pupil, and towards relations due respect indeed should be shown. This is the ancient standard (of piety)—this conduces to long life, and this should thus be done.” There is a striking resemblance here to the fifth commandment of the Mosaic code. The whole tone indeed of the Edicts of Asoka is both higher than and quite different from that of any other inscriptions found in India. Solicitude for the welfare here and hereafter of all his subjects, high and low, is manifest throughout, and it extended even to peoples beyond his boundaries in an all-embracing humanity. His concern for the latter was shown practically by the despatch of missionaries to bordering lands. Among other places, it is of special interest to note that he sent a thera named Mahadeva to Mahisa-mandala, the country round Mysore—which must therefore have been a place of importance even at that period—and a thera named Rakkhita to Vanavasi, known as Banavasi, on the north-west of the State.

2. SATAVAHANAS

Next to our Edicts of Asoka, whose discovery formed—as has been said by the eminent French authority—an epoch in Indian archaeology, the oldest inscriptions that have been found in Mysore are those in Prakrit on a pillar at Malavalli in Shikarpur taluk. The first of these (Sk 263) is a grant by Haritiputta-Satakanni, of the Manavya-gotra and Vindhukidchutu family, king of Vaijayanti, that is Banavasi, engraved in what are called Cave characters. He commands the mahavalabham rajjukam⁵ that the village Sahalatavi has been given

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³ Mysore, properly Mahisuru, derives its name from mahisha, Sanskrit for buffalo, reduced in Prakrit to mahisa and in Kannada to mansa, and now, Kannada for town or country; which commemorates the destruction of Mahishasura, a minotaur or buffalo-headed monster, by Chamaudi or Mahishasura-mardini, the form under which the consort of Siva is worshipped as the tutelary goddess of the reigning family. Mahisa-mandala appears in the Tamil form Aum-uda in Mahalanai’s Aganan, which is of the second century.

⁵ The rajukas were first appointed in the time of Asoka, but perhaps for other purposes. They were, however, properly Revenue and Settlement officers. For, as
SĀTAKARŚNI

for the enjoyment of the Mattapatti (that is Malavalli) god, as a Brāhmaṇ endowment, to Kondamāna, a Haritiputta of the Koṭilinya-gōtra. It is dated in the second fortnight of the hot season, the first day of the first year. In Banavasi is also an inscription (IA. xiv. 333) of apparently the same king, dated in the twelfth regnal year, in the seventh fortnight of the winter, the first day. In this the Mahārāja’s daughter, the Mahābhōji Sivakhaḍa-Nāgasiri (Sivaskanda-Nāgasīri) makes the grant of a nāga (the cobra in the middle of the slab on the margin of which the inscription is engraved), a tank, and a vihāra. Moreover, in the Tālgunda pillar inscription (Sk. t76) Sātakarśni is named as one of the great kings who had worshipped at the temple there. Again, to the west of Chitaldroog, on the site of an ancient city whose name is said to have been Chandravali, were found1 in 1888 a number of leaden coins, among which were some bearing the legend “Sadakana-Kalalāya-Mahārathisa,—that is, Sātakarśni-Kalalāya-Mahāraṭhi—surrounding a humped bull, and having on the reverse the Buddhist symbols of a bōdhi tree and a chaitya.

These are all evidence that the north-west of Mysore was at that period in possession of the kings who bore the general name of Sātakarśni. They are often spoken of as the Āndhras, and identified with the Andarā described by Ptolemy as a powerful nation, and also mentioned by Pliny. The Purāṇas, however, seem to call them Āndhirabhṛtyas, or servants of the Āndhras. But from inscriptions in the western caves it appears more correct to call them Sātavāhanas,2 a name from which has arisen the form Śālivāhana. The Indian era named after Śālivāhana, reckoned from A.D. 78, is in general use. For many centuries it was called the Saka-kāla

Dr. Bahlke has pointed out (ZDMG. clxvii. 466), the name literally means “holder of the rope,” that is, their duty was concerned with the survey of the land. In name they are represented by the modern sketatulār, a corruption of the Persian nastirīshatulīr, he who holds the end of the rope.

1 See El. vii. 31. Others have since been found there of the same series, together with Roman coins of Augustus; and a clay seal, bearing the figures of an elephant and what looks like a sentry standing facing it. Some letters at top, said to be Brāhmī, have not been deciphered.

2 Bhāundākhar’s EHD. 24.
or Śaka-nripa-kāla—the time of the Śakas or of the Śaka kings. But eventually the word saka came to be misunderstood as itself meaning era, and to distinguish it, was then called the Śālivāhana-saka. A reminiscence of its origin is, however, contained in Sk 281, of 1368, which is dated in the Śatavāhana-saka instead of the Śālivāhana-saka. So far as I have observed, the decided use of the latter term came in with the foundation of the Vijayanagar empire in the fourteenth century. The Mysore State is spoken of in 1717 as in the Śālivāhana country (Cm 109).

The territory of the Śatavāhanas extended over the whole of the Dekhan, and Śatakarnī is called the lord of Dakshināpatha in the Kshatrapa Rudradāman's inscription. Their chief capital appears to have been at Dhanakataka in the east (Dhāranikotṭa on the Krishnā), but their chief city in the west was Paithan on the Gōdāvari. The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela in Kalinga tells us of a Sātakani in the second century B.C., but the Śatakarnī of our inscriptions may be referred to the first or second century A.D. A peculiarity of these kings is that the name of his mother always appears with that of the king. Thus we have Gautamiputra Sātakarnī, Vasishṭhiputra Pulumāyi, and here, Hāritiputra Sātakarnī. This is a Rajput custom due to polygamy. The actual names of the mothers are not given, but they are called after the gōtra of their family priest. The two branches of the Gōdāvari which form the Delta are still named after the two great queens—the northern is the Gautami, and the southern the Vasishṭhi. With regard to the Kaḷalāya of the coins, he was doubtless a viceroy under Śatakarnī.

In the early centuries of the Christian era we find the Mahāvalis or Bāṇas occupying the east of Mysore, the Kadambas the north-west (where they succeeded the Śatavāhanas), and the Gangas the centre and south. To take these up in order.

1 See Dr. Bühler, in Cunningham's Stūpas of Bharhat, 129.
3. MAHĀVALIS OR BĀNAS

The Mahāvalis held the country east from the Pālār river and north into the Madras districts. According to one inscription (IR. xiii. 6) their territory lay to the west of the Āndhra or Telugu country, and Mb 157 describes them as ruling a Seven-and-a-half Lakh country, having twelve thousand villages, in the Āndhra-mandala. This seems to have been known as the Vadugavali Twelve Thousand (SII. iii. 90), in Sanskrit the Āndhrat-pathah (EI. iii. 76). They claim descent from Mahāvali or Mahā Bali (Bali the Great) and his son Bāna, whence they are also called Bānas. They may have been connected with Mahābalipura, known as the Seven Pagodas, on the coast south of Madras. Their flag displayed a black buck, and their crest was a bull (Mb 126).

Bali was a Daitya or Dānava (or, as we should say, Titan) king, who by the power of his penance defeated Indra, humbled the gods, and dominated the three worlds. The gods appealed for help to Vishnu, who assumed the Vāmana or Dwarf incarnation, and appearing before Bali as a Brāhmaṇ dwarf, begged for only three paces of ground. This being granted, he assumed his godlike dimensions, and with two strides having covered heaven and earth, there being no place for the third, planted his foot on Bali's head, and forced him down to Pātāla (the nether world and abode of the Nāgas or serpents), which on account of certain virtues was left in his possession. The germ of this legend is found in the Rigveda, where Vishnu is represented as taking three strides over heaven, earth, and the lower regions—typifying perhaps the rising, culmination, and setting of the sun.

Bāna was Bali's eldest son, a giant with a thousand arms. He propitiated Śiva, who agreed to live in his capital,1 and Bāna appointed him guardian of the gates, or doorkeeper, as the inscriptions put it. Bāna's daughter Ushā became

1 According to the Vishnu Purāṇa (Bk. V. chap. xxxiii.) this was Sōnjatapura, said to be Dēvikota, near the mouth of the Coleroon, on the Madras coast.
enamoured of a prince she saw in a dream, whom, on being shown a number of portraits, she identified with Krishna's grandson Aniruddha. Him her female friend Chitralêkhâ then contrived to introduce clandestinely into the princess's apartments. When discovered, he was seized and imprisoned by Bâna, and a war ensued. Krishna came in person from Dvâraka to besiege the capital. Śiva guarded the gates and fought for Bâna, who worshipped him with his thousand hands. But Krishna found means to overthrow Śiva, and having taken the city, cut off Bâna's thousand hands, except two, with which he obliged him to do homage.

This line of kings was first brought to notice by my discovery of the two big stone inscriptions, Sp 5 and 6 (vol. x), originally published by me in 1881 (I.A. x. 36). The plates published in 1884 by the Rev. T. Foulkes (I.A. xiii. 6)¹ added to the information regarding them. Many inscriptions were later found in the Kolar District (vol. x), and some further details were contributed by inscriptions at Tiruvallam, north of Vellore in North Arcot (SII. iii. 88), a place described as Vânapuram (Bânapuram), situated in Perum-Bânappâdi, the great Bâna country, or country of the Great Bâna (see Brihad Bâna, farther on). The records in Mysore supply only three dates—338,² 909, and 961. Those at Tiruvallam add one—888—but do not specify the name of the Bâna king whose time it was.

A table of the Mahâvali or Bâna kings so far as known is appended, with dates where given:

¹ Published again by Dr. Kielhorn in 1894 (I.E. iii. 74).
² This date has been examined by Dr. Kielhorn (I.E. xxiv. 10) and Dr. Fleet (xvii. 239), who find only the week day disagrees.
BRIHAD BĀNA

Bali, Mahāball, lord of the Dānavas, regent of the Asuras.

Bāna, who made Paramēśvara (worshipped by all the three worlds, the lord of gods and demons) his doorkeeper.

In his line was born Bāṇḍādērāja.

After many Bāna kings had passed away, there were Nandīvarmmanāma

Vijayāditya

Vaidhīvallabha Malladeva Nandīvarmmanāma, 338

Jaya-Nandīvarmmanāma

Vijayāditya

Malladeva Jagadekamalla

Bāna Vidyādhara, Vikramāditya Jayamēru, married Kundavai, daughter of Pratipati (Prathuvipati I), the son of Kongunivarmmana-dharmma-mahārāja Sivamahārāja-Perumānadi (the Ganga king Sivamāra II).

Prabhunēru

Vikramāditya, (?) 888

Vijayāditya, Bejayittha, Pugalvīppavvar-ganeda, 909

Vijayābāhu Vikramāditya, the friend of Krishna Raja (?) Rāshaṇkūṭa king, 884-913

Sambhaya, 961

ruling under the Pallava king Iriva-Nalamba or Dillipa (943-966).

The first Ganga king, Kongunivarmmanā, who is assigned to the second century, is said (SII. ii. 187) to have been consecrated to conquer the Bāna country, and in DB 67 to be a wild-fire in consuming the stubble of the forest Bāna, Mayūraśarmma, the progenitor of the Kadambas, at about the same time is said (Sk 176), when an outlaw in the forests of Śripurva (Karnāl District), to have levied tribute from Brihad Bāna (the great Bāna) and other kings. The Chōla king Killi-Valavan, who reigned about 105 to 120, married the princess Sithathakai, claiming descent from Mahāballī. She was probably the daughter of a king in the Mysore country (no doubt a Bāna). The Kolar volume gives an account of such details as the various inscriptions there supply regarding

1 If this indicates the first Bāna, it furnishes a clue to his period.
2 Kānakāmētra's The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago, 77.
the Bānas. The first Nandivarmma is said to have promoted the fortunes of his family, and obtained the crown and the throne amid the blessings of Brāhmans. He was possessed of mighty elephant and other forces, which secured him against conquest by the most powerful kings. Malladēva Nandivarmma is said to have been like a sun in waking up the lotus lake of the Bāna family, and in compassion for all living things in the three worlds was like Bōdhisattva or Buddha.

For other references—the Chalukya king Vikramāditya (655-680) is said (IA. vi. 75; Seven Pagodas, 127) to have conquered Rājamalla of the Mahāmailla family, that is the kings of Māmallapura, the common name for Mahāballipura—in other words the Mahāvalis. Under the Gangas in 776 the Nirguna Yuvarāja, Dundu, is said (Ng 85) to have put the Bāna family to confusion. The Ganga king Nītimārga, in about 850, is said (Mb 228) to have captured Bānarasa's Mahārajara-nād, which was chiefly in the Kedapa District. The Chōla king Vira-Nārāyaṇa or Parāntaka in 921 claims (S/I. ii. 387) to have uprooted by force two Bāna kings, and conferred the title of Bānādhirāja on the Ganga prince Prithuvipati II., great-grandson of Śivamāra I. The Bānas, therefore, though claiming friendship with Krishna Rāja, no doubt a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king and an enemy of the Chōlas, seem to have lost their independence in the first half of the tenth century. Hence we find (Mb 126) Sambayya in 961 ruling a district under the Pallava king Iriva-Nolamba or Dilipa.

But they by no means disappear from history. The Bāna kingdom is mentioned along with others in southern India of the twelfth century in Vaidyanātha's Pratāpa-Rudriya. Trivikrama-dēva, the author of the Prākrit grammar Trivikrama-sr̥tti, of probably the fifteenth century, claims to be a descendant of the Bāna family (IA. xiii. 13). Moreover, inscriptions at Śrivilliputtūr in the Tinnivelly District show that two kings, named Sundara Tol and Muttarasa Tirumala, who obtained possession of the Pāndya throne in 1453 and 1476, call themselves Mahāvali Vānādhirāja (ib. xv. 173).
The Kadambas were independent rulers of the west of Mysore from the third to the sixth century, together with Haiga (North Kanara) and Tuluva (South Kanara). They were of Mysorean origin, and are identified with Banaväsi as their capital, which is on the west frontier of the Sorab taluq, an ancient city mentioned as one of the places to which Asoka sent a mission in the third century B.C., and also by Ptolemy in the second century A.D. Its Brahmanical name was Jayanti or Vaijayanti. In later times Banaväsi, or Banavase, as it is often spelt, was a Twelve Thousand province, corresponding more or less with the Shimoga District.

The origin of the Kadamba family is mixed up with various legendary stories (see my Mysore Gazetteer, i. 295) centering in a Mukkanna or Trinëtra and a Mayûravarmma. The former, also called Jayanta Trilochana, is described as their progenitor, and as a son of Siva and Pârvati. The country being at the time without a king, he is said to have obtained the throne on being spontaneously wreathed by the State elephant, an indication of his royal destiny. Mayûravarmma, apparently of the fourth generation after him, seems to have established the family in power, and is hence also at times regarded as their founder. According to Sb 179, he had seventy-seven successors on the throne.

A fine pillar inscription at Tâlgunda (Sk 176) gives a realistic account of the family, beginning with him. But here he is named Mayûrasarmma, the latter affix indicating a Brâhman. According to this record he was of a devout Brâhman family of Sthânakundûr (Tâlgunda), an agrahâra founded by Mukkanna (see Sk 186) for Brâhmans whom he had induced to come from Ahichchhatra in the North and settle here (see also Nj 269), there being none at that time in the South. The family had growing near their house a kadamba tree, of which they took special care, and thus became

1 Some Orientalists write this affix as varman, the only objection to which is that it is never met with in that form. And so with similar cases.
known as the Kadambas. Along with his teacher, Mayūra-
śarmma went to the Pallava capital (Kāñchi—Conjeeveram,
near Madras) in order to complete his vedic studies. There
he had a fierce quarrel with the Pallava horse or stables,
by which he was so enraged at Kshattriyas lording it over
Brāhmans that, in order to revenge himself, he resolved to
adopt the life of a Kshattriya. Practising himself in the use
of arms, he overcame the Pallava frontier guards, and escaped
to the inaccessible forests near Śṛiparvata (Karnūl District),
where he became so powerful that he levied tribute from
Bṛhad Bāna (the great Bāna) and other kings around. The
Pallavas having led an army against him, he fell upon them
like a hawk unawares in night attacks, and inflicted such loss
upon them that they saw it was hopeless to put him down.
Thus driven to take him as an ally, they recognised him as
king of a territory stretching from the Western Ocean to
Premāra. He was succeeded by his son Kangavarmma,
whose son was Bhagiratha, whose son was Rāghu, whose
brother was Bhāgirathī or Kākustha. The latter was a
powerful ruler, and his daughters were given in marriage to
the Gupta and other kings. He had a reservoir made for the
temple (of Pranaveśvara at Tālgunda, now in ruins) at which
Śātakarni and other great kings had worshipped. His son
was Śāntivarmma, who wore three crowns; in whose time the
inscription was composed and engraved.

This valuable and interesting record states that Mayūra-
śarmma was anointed to the throne by Shaḍānana, after
meditating on Senāpati and the Mothers. In like manner
other early grants describe the Kadambas as purified by
meditation on Śvāmi-Mahāsēna and the group of Mothers. They are also said to be lords of Vajayanti (Banavāsī), of the
Mānavya-gōtra, Hāritiputras, and pratikrita-svādhyāya-church-

1 All that the inscription says about this is: tattra Pallandēvō-captēma kalakēna
śūrēna dūhitah.
2 Shaḍānana, Senāpati, and Śvāmi-Mahāsēna all refer to the god of war, Kārttikeya,
son of Śiva. The Seven Mothers, Sapta Māṭikā, were his nurses, and are identified
with the Pleiades.
KĀKUSTHA

chāpārās. As the grants are dated only by the ancient system of the seasons, or in regnal years (running from 2 to 11), they furnish no definite dates for the kings. But one (A.D. vi. 23), issued when Kākusthavarmma was Yuvarāja, is ascribed to the eightieth year of his victory (sva-vaijayika), for which there is at present no explanation.

Certain allusions, however, occur which serve as a guide to the Kadamba period. It is known, for instance, from inscriptions that the Chalukya king Kīrttivarmma, who reigned from 566 to 597, subdued the Kadambas. Their independence must therefore have been before this. On the Malavalli pillar (Sk 264) a Kadamba grant immediately follows one by Sātakarnī, who, when he made his, was in possession of Banavāsi. The Tālgunda pillar (Sk 176), again, names Sātakarnī as one of the great kings who worshipped at the temple there. Between the time of the fall of the Śātavāhanas, the beginning of the third century, and that of the reign of the Chalukya king Kīrttivarmma, the latter part of the sixth century, seems thus marked out as the period of Kadamba independence; during which also they claim to have performed many horse-sacrifices—evidence of supreme power.

This estimate is confirmed by other considerations. For the statement that Kākustha gave his daughters in marriage to the Gupta and other kings most probably refers first to Samudra Gupta, the only one who is known to have made an expedition to the South, as recorded on the pillar at Allaha-

1 This difficult phrase is rendered by Dr. Kielhorn (EI. vi. 17), "studying the requital (of good or evil) as their sacred text," and he adds: "If this interpretation be correct, I cannot help thinking that the epithet alludes to the history of the Kadambas as told in the Tālgund inscription. So long as the Kadambas were private Brāhmans it was one of their chief duties to study the sacred texts; in other words, they were nāḍāḍyāya-charvāpārās. When they had become kings, it was an equally sacred duty for them to require good and evil; to do so was what the study of the Veda had been to them before; and thus, having been nāḍāḍyāya-charvāpārās, they then were punarīṣvā-nāḍāḍyāya-charvāpārās." Another translation proposed in EI. vii. 148 is: "well versed in repeating the sacred writings one by one."

2 Virugumam aurishīḥ pāthu-Kadambha-kadambha-kadambhaṃsi (EI. vi. 3).

3 The translation should be: ... Śiva-khadaṃvarma, having heard that they were formerly given by the Hārītīputra, of the Mānasvya-gotra, the lord of Vaijayanti, with great pleasure made the grant a second time to ... (as pointed out by Dr. Fleet).
bad, and this took place in the latter half of the fourth century. Then the Ganga king Tadangāla Mādhava, for whom we have (Sk 52) the date 357, is said to have married a sister of the Kadamba king Krishnavarmma. She was thus a daughter of Kākustha, and the Gangas are another royal family to which one was given. But her son was an infant on his mother's lap when he was crowned in 430, and so here again we get the end of the fourth century for the time of Kākustha. The rare metre, too, which is employed in the main part of the Tālgunda inscription is one that has been found only in a few documents of the fourth or fifth century. The victory in the eightieth year of which Kākustha was Yuvarāja might (if it is correct) perhaps refer to the events by which Mayūravarmma (to give his name in the form of that of a king) gained his throne, which would thus be at the beginning of the fourth century. But if he had predecessors going back four or five generations, the rise of the Kadambas may safely be placed early in the third century, the time at which the Śatavāhana power came to an end.

Our attention may now be directed to the old Anaji inscription (Dg 161). This informs us that Krishnavarmma-Rāja's army was totally defeated in a battle with Nanakkāsā-Pallāva-Rāja, and that the prince Sivanandavarmma, whose country was thereby ruined, retired in consequence from the world and gave himself up to a life of penance. That Krishnavarmma was a Kadamba king there can be little doubt, and Sivanandavarmma was probably his son. The latter was perhaps responsible for the disaster, and may have been the governor of a province in the east of the Kadamba dominions. But he is described as devoted to the feet of his mother and father, and to be born also in the family of the Kēkayas, who made intermarriages with the Ikshvākus (perhaps the Gangas, who claim to be descended from Ikshvāku). Now the Kadamba king Krishnavarmma is said (Bl 121) to have

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1 Gt. No. 1.
2 The latest date assigned to the Śatavāhanas is about 218 A.D. (see Bhandarkar, KB. 45).
married a daughter of Kaikeya, and this identifies him with Śivanandavarmanma's father. Vishnuvarma was the eldest son born of the union, and Śivanandavarmanma would thus appear to have been a younger brother of his. That bitter hostility existed at this period between the Kadambas and the Pallavas we have evidence in the statements (IA, vi. 24) that Mrigēṣavarma was a destroying fire to the Pallavas, and that Ravivarmanma uprooted Chandadaṇḍa, the lord of Kāṇchi, and therefore a Pallava.

By collocating the various items regarding them the following table may be constructed of the Kadambas:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mukkunja, Trinētra, Trilokāhāna</th>
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<tr>
<td>Madhinākāvara</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mallinātha</td>
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<td>Chandravarmanma I</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chandravarmanma II</td>
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<td>Parandara</td>
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<td>Mayūraśarmma, Mayūravarmanma</td>
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<td>Kangavarmanma</td>
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<td>Bhāgiratha</td>
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<td>Bhāgirathī, Kākastha, Kākunthavarmanma (end of fourth century)</td>
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<td>Śāṇivarmanma, Śāṇīvaravarmanma</td>
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<td>Krishnavarmanma I,</td>
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<td>su. the daughter of Kaikeya</td>
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<td>Mrigēṣavarma, Māṇḍhāṭiyavarma</td>
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<td>Ravivarmanma, Bhānuvarmanma Sivathā</td>
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<td>Harivarmanma</td>
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<td>Śivanandavarmanma, Vishnavarmanma, Vishnuḷāsa, was also of the Kākaya family</td>
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<td>Simhavarmanma</td>
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<td>Krishnagarvarmanma II</td>
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<td>Dēvaivarmanma</td>
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1 The one in vol. viii. Introd. p. 2, contains obvious mistakes, for which I am unable to account. In the above, the exact position and relationship of Māṇḍhāṭiyavarmanma are not known, but in 486 (Ml 110) the Ganga king Durvāṇītā is, by a singular mistake, called the Māṇḍhāṭiyavarma of the age, instead of the Māṇḍhāṭi, and the substitution may be intended as a flattering allusion to this king. Śivanandavarmanma and Dēvaivarmanma have been placed conjecturally, but the latter it is known was the son of a Krishnavarmanma.
Of the predecessors of Mayūravarmma we have no inscriptions, unless Śivakhadavarmma (Śivaskandavarmma) of the Malavalli pillar represents one. But Mukkanna is often mentioned, and seems to be an historical person. In Sk 186 he is said to have founded the Sthānakundūr agrahāra, the existence of which before the time of Mayūravarmma is clear from the Tālgunda inscription. In fact, the Brāhmans settled there from the north are said to have made an effort later to leave the province. But they were brought back again, and in order to prevent a repetition of the attempt, were compelled to leave unshorn a lock of hair on the forehead, as a distinguishing mark. From these are descended the present Haiga or Havika Brāhmans of the north-west of Mysore, who wear their hair in that fashion. Ethnologically, their colour and features support the tradition of a northern origin. Of the other kings, the first Chandravarmma appears to be the Chandrahāsa who is the hero of a popular romantic tale; the second one is perhaps the progenitor of the Coorg race.

The Kadamba dominions seem to have been at times divided, and ruled by more than one king, while at others they embraced an extensive united empire. Hence the statements that Bhagiratha was the sole ruler, and that Śāntivarmma had three crowns. The latter is said to have been master of the entire Karnāta region, while Krishnavarmma I is described as the sovereign of Dakshināpatha or the South. Though the proper capital was always Banavāsi, there were other royal seats,—at Palāśikā (Halsi in Belgaum District), at Uchchāśringi (which I am inclined to think may have been Uchchangidurg, near Molakālμuru, and not the well-known one south of Bellary), and at Triparvata (not identified). The royal insignia, either at this period or later, were the lion crest and the monkey flag, and a musical instrument called permattī. The kings are styled dharmma-mahārājādhirāja, and their family god was Jayanti Madhukēśvara of Banavāsi.

For some time from the seventh century the Kadambas are not prominent, though names occasionally appear, which,
owing to the absence of dates, are not easy to place. Such are those of Madhuvarmma (Sk 66), who must belong to the earlier period, Kundavarmma (Kp 38), and Mādivarmma (Cm 128). On the other hand we know from Mb 38 and 50 that the Kadamba princess Divāmbikā or Divalabbarasi was married to the Pallava Nolamba king Vira-Mahēndra, who reigned from about 878 to 890.

But from the end of the tenth century the Kadambas emerge as rulers of various provinces. This was a period of general subversion of old dynasties in the South. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas were brought to an end, and the Western Chāluakyas regained ascendancy. The Pallavas and Eastern Chāluakyas were subdued by the Chōlas, who also overthrew the Ganga sovereignty in Mysore. The Hoysalas were there rising to power, and the Nolambas, who were Pallavas, having subjected the Mahāvalis or Bāṇas, whom the Chōlas finally absorbed, were forming the Nolambavāḍī province of Mysore. Following upon this period of general commotion and transition, we find Kadambas ruling Bayal-nāḍ (the Wynaad) from the tenth to the twelfth century, Manjarābād in the eleventh century, Hāṅgal (in Dharwar) and Goa from the tenth to the thirteenth century, Lunke (near Molkālsurm) in the eleventh and twelfth century, Nāgarakhanḍa (the Shikārpur tāluq) in the twelfth century, and the Banavāsī Twelve Thousand (the Shimoga District) from the tenth to the fourteenth century.

Inscriptions of the twelfth century give us different versions of their origin and genealogy. Sk 117, at Belgāmi, derives them from a person named Kadamba, who had four arms and an eye in his forehead, and who was born from a drop of sweat that fell from the forehead of Hara or Śiva. From him were descended Mayūravarmma, Rāvivarman, Nṛgavarmma, and Kṛttivarman, in whose line arose Vikrama Tālapa, or Tālāma, whose son was Kāma-Dēva, whose son was Malla, whose son was Sōna, ruling the Banavāsī country in 1118.¹

¹ An inscription of 1108 at Kargudari in the Hāṅgal tāluq gives much more detail (I.A. x. 249).
KADAMBAS

Dg 35, at Harihar, derives the family from Mayūravarma, also called Mukkanna, who was born to Rudra or Śiva under a kadamba tree. On account of the eye in his forehead, the crown could not be bound there, as it would cover up the eye. The crown or diadem was therefore bound near his knee, where it would show well. Growing up in the shade of the kadamba tree, his family became known as the Kadambas. In course of time Barma-Dēva was born in the line, whose son was Boppa-Dēva, whose son was Sōyi-Dēva or Sōma, ruling in the Nāgarakhandha. Seventy in about 1160, Sk 236, at Bandalikke, says that a king Sōma, when Paraśurāma destroyed all the Kshattriyas, was saved by his guru Aśvatthāma or Iśvarāmśa. They went to the Kailāsa mountain to worship Pārvati, and there saw the king Nanda, who had been supplicating Śiva for a long time for a son without result. Suddenly some kadamba flowers fell there, and on offering these the god appeared, granting Nanda the boon that he should have two sons called Kadambas, at the same time introducing him to Iśvarāmśa. The two sons thus born were Kirttivarmma and Maylavarmma. To the latter was born Tayla, whose son was Śānta, whose son was Mailla. After many others, there was born in his line Boppa, whose son was Sōma or Nigalanka-malla, ruling in Nāgarakhandha in 1174. Of these three accounts, which add little to our knowledge of the Kadambas, the first may be of some value. The other two were evidently invented for the purpose of glorifying Sōma-Dēva, and the last one to flatter the Kalachurya king Rāyamurīśi-Sōma as well. But in the later stages they probably give the correct names of the kings who preceded.

The Kadambas do not disappear from history till the rise of Vijayanagar in the fourteenth century, and the founders of that empire may have been connected with them. Actually the last Kadamba inscription is Sa 32, the date of which is 1307. The royal line sprung from the simple Brāhman student whose outraged feelings in so singular a manner transformed him into a Kshattriya thus held the field for a thousand years.
5. GANGAS

The Gangas ruled over the greater part of Mysore from the second to the eleventh century. Their grants have been found in all parts, from Coorg in the west to North Arcot and Tanjore in the east, and from the extreme south of the Mysore State in the south to the Belgaum District of Bombay in the north. To the time of Śivamāra I (680) these are mostly on copper plates, though a few, such as Mb 263 and Cm 50, are on stone. From his time stone inscriptions are the most numerous. The Ganga territory was known as Gangavāḍi, a Ninety-six Thousand province, and the existing Gangadikāras, who form the largest section of the agricultural population of Mysore, represent its former subjects, their name being a contraction from Gangavāḍikāra. At the time of the foundation of the Ganga kingdom its chief city was Kuvalāla (Kolar), but the capital was removed in the third century to Talakāḍ on the Kāvēri, in the south-east of the Mysore District. This remained the permanent capital, although the royal residence was fixed at Mankunda (west of Channapatna) in the seventh century, and at Mānya-pura (Manne, north of Nelamangala) in the eighth century.

The name, Ganga, of the dynasty is not an ordinary one, and the only other occurrence of such a name in history is in the Greek and Roman accounts relating to the times of Alexander the Great and Seleucus. Chandra Gupta, and the Nandas before him, are described as ruling over the Prasīi and the Gangaridæ. The latter, the people of the Ganges valley, are mentioned by Ptolemy; and the Latin authors Virgil, Valerius Flaccus, and Curtius also make reference to them. Pliny writes of the Gangaridæ Calingæ, or Gangas of Kalinga,
who, as he terms them *gens novissima*, were not so ancient. We know from inscriptions that there was an important line of Ganga kings in Kalinga in the seventh and eighth centuries, and Ganga kings continued there down to as late a period as the sixteenth century. But the Gangas in Mysore were the main line, as the Kalinga Gangas admit. Both branches trace their name to the river Gangā or Ganges.

Although Ganga inscriptions professing to be of the third century have been found, the earliest which contain a detailed account of the origin of the family are stone inscriptions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the Nagar and Shimoga tāluqs (the chief being Nr 35, Sh 10, 4, 64). If any such of older date existed, which is not improbable, they have been lost or destroyed. According to the above records—which were inscribed in the time of the great Chalukya king Vikramāditya or Vikramānka, the son of a Ganga princess—the Gangas were of the Ikshvāku and therefore Solar race. They were descended from Dhananjaya, whose son was Hariśchandra, of whom the first two say Daḍiga and Mādhava were the sons. The other two make them the sons of Padmanābha descended from Hariśchandra, and interpose a number of steps. Thus Hariśchandra's son was Bharata, whose wife was Vijayamaññēvi. At the time of conception she bathed in the Gangā or Ganges to remove her languor, and the son born in consequence was named Gangādatta, whence his descendants were called the Gangas.1 After a time there was Vishnugupta, who, by performing a certain sacrifice, pleased the god Indra and received from him an elephant. Vishnugupta had two sons, Bhagadatta and Śrīdatta, between whom he divided his dominions. To Bhagadatta was given Kalinga, and he ruled as Kalinga Ganga. Śrīdatta had the ancestral kingdom, together with the elephant, which thus became the Ganga crest. Later on there was Priyabandhu, to whom the god Indra gave

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1 The Kalinga account (24, xii. 275) is that Turvsa, the son of Vayāti, being without sons, practised self-restraint and propitiated the river Gangā, the bestower of boons, by which means he obtained a son, the unquotable Gāngēya, whose descendants were victorious in the world as the Ganga line.
five tokens, with a warning that they would disappear if the kings adopted any other faith. At length arose Padmanābha, who by his penance obtained two sons. When, some time after, Mahipāla, the ruler of Ujjayini, suddenly attacked him, demanding the five tokens, Padmanābha refused to surrender them and prepared for war. But first sent them away, along with his two sons, to the South, accompanied by their sister and attendant Brāhmans. At the time of their departure he gave his sons the names Daulīga and Madhava, and the history continues only in connection with them. Their line was the Ganga line—tad anvayaḥ Ganganavayaḥ (Nr 35).

When they arrived at Perūr, which is still distinguished from other Perūrs as Ganga-Perūr (in Kadapa District), they met there the Jain āchārya Simhanandi. He was interested in the story of these Ganga princes, and taking them by the hand, gave them instruction and training, and eventually procured for them a kingdom.¹

This was obtained as a boon from the goddess Padmāvatī, who confirmed it with the gift of a sword. Madhava, who is said to have been but a boy at the time,² seizing the sword with a shout, struck with it a stone pillar, which broke in two. So favourable as an omen, this feat is mentioned in nearly all the inscriptions that refer to him. What the pillar was it is difficult to say, but one account describes it as an obstacle in the way of his gaining the throne (SB 54). The kingdom thus founded was named Gangavādi, a Ninety-six Thousand country. Its boundaries were—north, Marandale (not identified); east, Tondanāḍ (the Madras country east from Mysore); west, the ocean in the direction of Chēra (Cochin and Travancore); south, Kongu (Coimbatore and Salem

¹ He is named as a great poet by Indrabhūti, in his Sāmayābhāsavana, along with Elāchārya (Padmanandi, the guru of Śākapīyana) and Pā少爷 (Ja. sī. 20). In SB 54 he is mentioned next to Sanatubhadra, who belongs to the second century; and the Bāṣa plates (SIH. i. 387) say the Ganga dynasty obtained increase from the great Simhanandi (pas Simhanandi-mahimā-pustikāvahā-vyuddhir Ganganuvaj). In Nr 35 and 36 he is described as Ganga-sāppamukhā sūfrīda Simhanandī-āchāryya—the āchāryya Simhanandi who made the Ganga kingdom.

² A little boy playing at big boys' games (prabhula-hūva-hūna ḫinnā).
GANGAS

Districts). Its chief city was Kuvalāla (Kolar), and its stronghold Nandagiri (Nandidroog).

The first king was Mādhava, who was called Kongunivarman, a title used for all the subsequent kings of the line, and they are styled dharmma-mahādhirājah or dharmma-mahārājādhirājah. They are said to be of the Kānyāyana-gōtra, and some records trace them back to Kanva. A line of Kanva kings ruled immediately before the Sātavāhanas, Kongunivarman would naturally be brought into conflict with the Bānas, who were in power to the east and north of Kolar. He is accordingly said to have been consecrated to conquer the Bāna-mandala, and to be a wild-fire in consuming the stubble of the forest called Bāna. Towards the west, Dadiga and Mādhava are said to have erected a chaityālāaya at Mandali near Shimoga, when on their way to subdue Konkana. The date 103 is given for Kongunivarman in Nj 110, in which he is called the first Ganga, and is said to have made a grant then of Kudiyāla (in the Nanjangūd taluq). If reliable, the date must have been very early in his reign. The Tamil chronicle called Kongudēśa-rajākkal gives 189 as a date in the first king's reign, and he is said to have reigned for fifty-one years. In either case the rise of the Gangas falls in the second century.

He was succeeded by Kiriya Mādhava, the son of Dadiga, born in Kōlāla, who seems to have been not at all eager to fill a throne, as he is said to have assumed the honours of the kingdom only for the sake of the good government of his subjects. He was of a literary turn of mind, a touchstone for (testing) gold—the learned and poets, was proficient in the niti-śāstra or science of politics, and wrote a treatise on the dattaka-śūtra or law of adoption.

Harivarman, his son, next came to the throne, and he removed the capital to Tajekkād or Talakād (Talavana-pura in Sanskrit), situated on the river Kāverī in the south-east of the Mysore District. He is commonly described as having

1 This name appears later as Kuvalāla, and then Kōlāla.
2 A common form is Konganivarman, and in rare cases Kongulivarman, Kongoivarman and Kongoivarman.
employed elephants in war, and having gained great wealth by the use of the bow. Two grants of his time have been found. The first (LA. viii. 212), obtained in Tanjore, gives his name in the Tamil form Arivarma. It records a gift by him, in 247, of the Orekkodu village in the Maisu-nad Seventy (now Varakodu in the east of Mysore taluk) under somewhat interesting circumstances. A Baudhga disputant named Vadimadagajendra (a rutting elephant as an orator) in the pride of his learning affixed to the main door of the palace at Talavana-pura a patra (as a challenge) in which he asserted the claim that he was the foremost scholar in logic, grammar, and all other branches of knowledge. Whereupon a Brähman named Madhava-bhatta put his pretensions to the proof (before the Court), and when the opponent speaker denied the existence of the soul, established its existence, and with the elephant-goad his speech forced him to crouch down (like a vanquished elephant). The king being pleased, gave the Brähman the title Vadibhasimha (a lion to the elephant disputant) and with it the Orekkodu village. Whatever objection may be taken to this inscription on palaeographical or other grounds, it must be confessed that the details related in it are singularly in keeping with its professed period. The other grant of this king is in the Tagaḍur plates (Nj 122) of the date 266. In this, a Gavunda or farmer who had made important captures in a battle at Henjeru (now Hemāvati, on the northern border of Sira taluk) received as a reward the Appogal village. Yet another record may be mentioned. This is Mb 157, the Mudiyar Bana plates of 338. On the back of the first plate is an erased Ganga grant, which, as far as it is legible, goes down to the time of Harivarma, but no fresh information regarding him is to be obtained from it.

1. Hancha, one of the boundary villages, still exists. The inscriptions at Varakodu appear in My 46 to 49, one of which is in Tamil. Near to Varakodu is the ancient village of Varuna (for inscriptions there see My 34-45 and 35) connected with a Chalukyan family of the name of Goggi.

2. The palm leaf commonly used for writing upon.

3. One is reminded of Martin Luther affixing his theses to the door of the church at Wittenberg.
His son Vishnugopa next became king. He is said to have been devoted to the worship of gurus, cows, and Brāhmans, and seems to have set aside the Jain faith for that of Nārāyaṇa (Vishnu), for the five tokens before mentioned now vanished. In one place (DB 67) his mental energy is said to have been unimpaired to the end of life, implying that he lived to a great age. In kingly policy he was the equal of Bṛhaspati, and in valour equal to Śakra (Indra).

His son, or grandson, Tadangāla Mādhava, followed.1 Of him it is said (DB 68) that his two arms were grown stout and hard with athletic exercises, and that he had purchased his kingdom by his personal strength and valour. He favoured the worship of Tryambaka (Śiva), and revived the donations for long-ceased festivals of the gods and Brāhman endowments, being daily eager to extricate the ox of merit from the thick mire of the Kali-yuga in which it had sunk. He married the sister of the Kadamba king Krishnavarmma, and she, as above shown, must have been a daughter of the famous Kākustha. There are two grants of this reign. One (Sh 52; IA. vii. 172), of apparently the date 357, is on plates engraved in a curious jumble of alphabets;2 and records a grant of land to a Gavudā or farmer who forced his way into Henjeru (see above) and rescued Rājamalla’s wife and guards. The other is Mr 73, of his 13th year, about 370. In this he makes a grant, on the advice of the āchārya Vira-dēva, for the Arhad temple in the Perbbolal village of the Mudukottūr district. The fragmentary stone inscription Mb 263 also stops at this reign.

The son born to Mādhava by the Kadamba princess is known as Avinīta. Several inscriptions state that he was crowned when an infant on his mother’s lap. He may therefore have been a posthumous son, and his father evidently had a very long reign. Avinīta was brought up

1 According to Sh 4 he was the son of Pṛthivī-Ganga, who was the son of Vishnugopa, and his father cannot have come to the throne.

2 Other instances of plates engraved in a similar mixed fashion are the Kalinga Ganga inscriptions in IA. xiv. 10 and EI. iii. 220.
as a Jain, the learned Vijayakirtti being his preceptor (Mr 72). The king himself is described as being the first among the learned, of unstinted liberality, and devoted to protecting the South in the maintenance of castes and religious orders (DB 68). The grant of his first year (Mr 72), which from DB 67 we can assign to 430, was made to two Arhad or Jain temples, one at Uranür and the other at Perūr. In the latter case the grant consisted of a fourth part of the karshāpana¹ levied as outside customs. In DB 67, which is of his 29th year, 459, a Brähman of Tippūr (in Dod-ballāpur tāluq) was given a village called Mēḻūr (perhaps the one in Sidlaghatṭa tāluq), with freedom from all the eighteen castes. This is an interesting allusion, as evidence of the antiquity of these panaś, composed of the agricultural, artisan, and trading classes, who form the Right-hand and Left-hand factions. The king, it says, at this time held Brāhmins as supreme, and was devoted to the worship of Hara (Śiva). Still, in 466 he made a grant to a Jain, as recorded in the Mercara plates (Cg I). From DB 68 we arrive at 482 for the termination of his reign, and seeing that he was crowned at or soon after his birth, this is not allowing an unreasonable time for him.

Durvvinīta, his son, thus succeeded him in 482. His tutor is described (Tm 23) as "the divine who was the author of the Sabdāvatāra," that is, the celebrated Jain grammarian Pūjyapāda, and he is said (Mi 110) to have walked according to the example of his guru. He thereby acquired a taste for literature, and wrote a commentary on fifteen sargas of the Kirātārjuniya, a Sanskrit poem by Bhāravi. He is also no doubt the Durvvinīta named in Nripatunga's Kuvirājamārgga as one of the distinguished early Kannāda authors. He married the daughter of Skandavarma, the Rāja of Punnāḍ, who, as a royal princess, claimed the privilege of svayamvara by choosing.

¹ Copper coins of 80 ratīs weight, belonging to the earliest native coinage (Rapson, Indian Coins).
him for herself, though from her birth she had been intended by her father, on the advice of his own guru, for the son of another (DB 68). Punnāḍ is of course the Punnāṭa in the south-west of Mysore to which reference has been made before, in connection with the Jain migration under Bhadrabāhu. Many inscriptions state that Durvvinīta waged sanguinary wars for the possession of Andari, Ālattūr (in Coimbatore District), Porulare (ʔ in Chingleput District), Pennagaram (in Salem District), and other places. He thus considerably extended the limits of the kingdom to the east and south. He seems also to have annexed the whole of Pānnāḍ and Punnāḍ (Tm 23). Another inscription (Nr. 35) says that he captured Kāduveṭṭi on the field of battle, and placed his own daughter’s son on the throne in Jayasimha’s hereditary kingdom (that of the Pallavas). And this is confirmed by the interesting old Siragunda stone inscription (Cm 50), in which he is called Nirvvinīta. Nr. 35 indulges in puns on the Vinita names, and says that these kings were like a-viniṭar (riders on the ram, that is, Agni or fire) to the forest the army of avinita (wicked) hostile kings, and a-vinitar ( unbending) in successful and severe battles,—such being their reputation in avani (the world). The Vinitesvara temple mentioned in Ch 63 may have been a memorial of them. The first grant we have of this king’s time is Bn 141, of his 3rd year, 485, recording a donation to a Brähman named Vasaśarma, but the details are missing. Then, after those relating to him above referred to, we have DB 68, of his 35th year, 517, making a grant at Bempūr (Bögür in the Bangalore tāluq) to a Brähman named Dēvasarma, who was called Mahadēva. This inscription attributes to the king, as in the case of his father, the maintenance of the castes and religious orders which prevailed in the South. He appears to have favoured the religion of Vishnu. How much longer he ruled we do not know.

But he was followed by his son Mushkara or Mokkara, of whom little is known. Savage kings are said to have rubbed
against one another in paying homage at his feet. From the inscription published in *IA*. xiv. 229, we learn that he married the daughter of the Sindhu Rāja. The Mokkara-vasati mentioned in the Lakshmīśvara inscription in Dharwar (*IA*. vii. 101) must be a memorial of him, and points to an extension of the Ganga kingdom in that direction. From this time the State seems to have adhered to the Jān religion.

Of Śrīvikrama, son by the Sindhu princess, who came next, no particulars are recorded, except that he was the abode of fourteen branches of learning, and well versed in the science of politics in all its branches.

He had two sons, who in turn succeeded to the throne. The elder, Bhūvikrama, was a great warrior, whose chest was marked with the scars of wounds inflicted in battle by the tusks of elephants. He defeated the Pallava king (Narasimha-pūtavarmma) in a great battle at Vilanda, and is said to have captured the whole of the Pallava dominions. Some other details are given in *Md* 113 and *Tm* 23. On account of his successes in war he received the title Śrivallabha, and in *Sr* 160 is called Dugga. He made Mankunda (Chamapaṭha tāluq) the royal residence. From *Md* 113 we obtain the date 670 for the end of his reign.

His younger brother Śivamāra followed, and ruled to at least 713. The Ereganga of *IA*. xiv. 229, who was governing the Tore-nād Five Hundred, the Kongal-nād Two Thousand, and the Male Thousand, and who made a grant to Vinadi and Kesadi, the chief temple priests of Panekodupādi, may have been his son (though not so stated) who is unnamed in the genealogical lists. Śivamāra was also known as Nava Kāma, and as Śishta-priyāḥ (beloved by the good), the name by which he describes and signs himself (*Md* 113). He is moreover styled Prithivi-Kongani. He had two Pallava princes in his charge (*Md* 113), perhaps as hostages, or as their guardian, which goes to confirm the account of his elder brother’s conquests. They were the sons of the Pallava yuvarāja, who is not named, and are called Pallavādhirājas. Beginning with
Ng 26 of this reign, which records a grant in the Punnād Six Thousand, stone inscriptions become the general rule.

It was during the sixth and seventh centuries, while the Gangas were thus engaged in conquests to the east and south, that we hear of attacks on them in the north-west. The Kadamba king Mrigēsavarma claims (J.A. vi. 24) to have overthrown (ūtsādī) the lofty (tunga) Gangas, which apparently indicates no more than some encroachment on their territory, as they were certainly not overthrown in the usual sense of that word. The more powerful Chalukyas, who were invading the South and subdued the Kadambas in the sixth century, naturally came into contact with the Gangas. Thus Kirttivarman, who reigned from 566 to 597, is said (J.A. xix. 17) to have inflicted damage (avumardda) on them as well as on a number of other kings. And in about 608 the Ganga and Ālupa kings (the latter belonging to South Kanara) are said (EI. vi. 10) to have felt the highest pleasure in attending on Pulikēsi. In 694 they are said (Dg 66) to have been, along with the other principal kings of the South, brought into his service by Vinayāditya. But in this passage the Ālupas and Gangas are distinguished by the epithet maula, which means ancient, of long standing, of original unmixed descent,—unimpeachable testimony to their having been long established in their kingdoms, and that their ancestry could be traced back for a considerable period. It also seems to show that they were entitled to special consideration.

The Gangas may be said to have reached the height of prosperity during the long reign of Śrīpurusha, who came next, and in whose time the kingdom was called the Śrī-nijya or fortunate kingdom. He was the grandson of Śivamāra, whose son is not named and had therefore probably died before his father. This son may have been the prince Ereganga above noted, as the heir-apparent seems often to have been a governor of Kongal-nad, along with other western provinces. Śrīpurusha's personal name was Muttārasa, and he is also called Pṛthīvi-Kongani. His date is fixed by Mg 36 of 750,
his 25th year, Gd 47 of 762, and Ng 85 of 776, his 50th year. TN 1 is of his 1st year, Kl 78 of his 26th year, Mb 80 of his 42nd year. There are numerous other records of his time without dates. One has recently been found of his 7th year.

Bannûr seems to be called his town in TN 115, and his house was apparently situated there. Perhaps to the time before he came to the throne belong Ht 86, in which he appears as ruling the Kerekunda Three Hundred, and Bp 13, in which he is ruling the Elenagar-nâd Seventy, the Āvanya-nâd Thirty, and the Ponkunda Twelve. The latter calls him Mādhava Muttarasa, and speaks of the army marching against Mahāvali Bānarasa. Mi 99 says that while Śripurusha was ruling, the Raṭtas rose up against Gangavādī. But the chief military exploit of his reign was a crushing defeat of the Pallavas in a battle at Vilarde. Nr 35 says that he slew the valiant Kāduvelî of Kānchi, captured the Pallava state umbrella, and took away from him the title Perimmāṇaḍī, which is always afterwards assumed by the Gangas, and is often used alone to designate them. He is said to have written a work on elephants, called Gaja-tāstra. He removed the royal residence to Mānya-pura (Manne, Nelamangala tâluq), and this was before 733.

The details of the grant in Mg 36, of his 25th year, point to the east of the Bellary District as being within the limits of his kingdom northwards. Ng 85, of his 50th year, shows him making a grant for a Jain temple erected by Kandāchhi, granddaughter of Pallavādhirāja and wife of Parama Gula, the Nirggunda Rāja, whose father Duṇḍu is described as a confounder of the Bāna family. In Kl 6, of Śripurusha's 28th year, we have (his son) Śivamāra ruling Kadambûr. In Kd 145 we have his son Vijayāditya ruling Āsandi-nâd. In Sp 65 we have his son Duggamāra Ereyappa ruling Kovalâla-nâd; in Mb 80, of the king's 42nd year, the same prince was ruling the Kuvalâla-nâd Three Hundred and the Ganga Six Thousand, while his
queen was ruling Ägali; in Mb 255 he was ruling the same provinces, and the army was sent against Kampili (on the Tungabhadrā in the north of the Bellary District); in Sp 57, besides the above two provinces, he was ruling Panne- nāḍ, Belattur-ṇāḍ, the Pulvaki-ṇāḍ Thousand, the Mu-ṇāḍ Sixty, and one or two others whose names are not clear.

Śripurusha's son Śivamāra Saigotta came to the throne in the latter part of the eighth century.1 In his reign the prosperity of the Gangas underwent a reverse, and they became subject to calamities which threatened the extinction of the Ganga power altogether. These arose from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who had recently, under their king Krishna I, ousted the Western Chālukyas and established their own supremacy. Krishna's son Dhōra, also called Dhruva, Nirupama, and Dhārāvarsha, who had superseded his elder brother (owing to the latter's addiction to pleasure and indifference to his royal duties, EI. iv. 287), seized and imprisoned the king of the Gangas, who are expressly said (NI 61; EI. vi. 248) never to have been conquered by others. The motive for this harsh step may possibly have been that Dhārāvarsha, having determined to set aside his elder son Kambha or Stambha in favour of a younger son Gōvinda,—whom he appointed yuvārāja or heir-apparent, and to ensure whose succession to the throne he even offered to abdicate,—had it in his mind to compensate the former by giving him the Ganga kingdom. But another account (EI. iii. 104) states that Ganga was one of the hostile kings whom Gōvinda brought into the country as an aid to himself. Hence the resentment against Ganga. In any case, we find Kambharasa in Hg 93 governing the Ninety-six Thousand (a common designation of the Ganga territory) under his father. In SB 24, where he is called Rañāvalōka Kambaiya, he is said to be ruling the kingdom of the world; and in 802 was still in power (NI 61). After him, in 812, when his

1 From CI 8 it appears that Duggamāra attempted to dispute the succession, but was opposed by Singapota, the Nolamba king.
SIVAMĀRA

younger brother Gōvinda Prabhūtavarsha was on the throne, we find (Gb 61) Chāki Rāja was chief ruler (adhirāja) of the entire (aśēsha) Ganga-mandala. This is the latest date we have for the Rāśṭrakūṭa occupation.

Gōvinda, either, as seems likely, on the death of his elder brother, or moved by reasons of compassion or policy, released Ganga from his “long and painful confinement,” but owing to his hostility had again to confine him (EI. vi. 249). During this period of release may have occurred the victorious attack he made at Mudugundūr (Maṇḍya tāluq) on the Vallabha (or Rāśṭrakūṭa) army encamped there, which may have been the cause of his being again consigned to prison. Eventually, however, Gōvinda not only reinstated him in his kingdom, but took part in his coronation, he and the Pallava (or Ganga-Pallava) king Nandivarma binding the diadem on his brow with their own hands (Yd 60, NI 60). The actual ceremony may perhaps not have been performed before Kl 231 and Gd 54 show that Śivamāra was ruling. According to IA. xviii. 309, his reign extended into that of the Rāśṭrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha, who came to the throne in 814. Śivamāra Saigotta is there presented as his feudatory (the solitary instance in which the Gangas acknowledge an overlord); the crowning is mentioned; and Śivamāra is said to be ruling the Gangavādī Ninety-six Thousand up to Marandale as his boundary (see above, p. 31). He erected a Jain temple in Kummadavāda (now Kalbhāvi, in Belgaum District).

Of Śivamāra himself, besides what is said in other places, a lengthy account is given in Ni 60. He is said, here and in Kl 90, to have been brought into a world of mingled troubles, or placed in a world of endless calamities, like matted pairs of top-knots or twisted top-knots. But he seems to have been a learned and accomplished man, supporter of the fine arts, builder of an ornamental bridge (see Md. 113), esteemed as a poet, proficient in logic and philosophy, skilled

1 It was no doubt Nandivarmma's claim to Ganga descent which led to his being invited to join in the performance of this important act of State.
in all matters connected with the stage and drama, and a special authority on the treatment of elephants and horses. He wrote an important work on elephants, called Gajāśṭakam, expounding his system (Nr 35).

During his detention as a prisoner, his son Mārasimha claims to represent the Ganga rule. Sr 160 shows him as the Yuvarāja, under the name Mārasing-Ereyappa and with the title Lōka Trinētra. Two Pallava princes, father and son, obtained permission from him to make a grant. The father's name was Kolliyarasa, and from Sb 10 it would seem that the Rāshṭrakūta king Gōvinda Prabhūtavarsa took Koll into his service. Nl 60, dated in 797, describes Mārasimha, though only Yuvarāja, as ruling the entire (akhaṇḍa) Ganga-mandala, and decorating all the feudatories. But he must have died while his father was still in captivity. For Nl 269 contains the important statement that Śivamāra gave charge of his kingdom to his own younger brother Vijayaśāya, who, like Bharata, knowing the earth (or land) to be his elder brother's wife, refrained from enjoying her (as his own).

Śivamāra had a second son, who is called Prithivipati (or Pilduvipati). He gave shelter to refugees from Amōghavarsha, and defeated the Pāndya king Varaguna at Śri-Purambiyam (near Kumbhakōnām). But no more is heard of him, so both he and Vijayaśāya probably died before Śivamāra. For the latter was succeeded on the throne by Vijayaśāya's son, called Rājamalla (or Rāchamalla) Satyavākya, which are titles borne by all the Ganga kings who came after. Rājamalla is said (Yd 60) to have rescued from the Rāshṭrakūtas his country, which they had held too long, as Vishnu in the form of a Boar rescued the Earth from the infernal regions. He thus established his independence. He also married Singapōta's granddaughter, Pallavādhirāja's daughter, the younger sister of Nolambādhirāja. But he was not suffered to remain unmolested. For the inscription at Ef. vi. 25 informs us that a chief named Bankēsa was ordered by Amōghavarsha to uproot

Salem Manual, ii. 387.
Bas-relief of the Death of Nimitārāga.
(On Stone at Buda Hills.)
the lofty forest of fig trees—Gangavāḍi, difficult to be cut down. He accordingly captured Kedala (Kaidala near Tumkur), which was strongly fortified and defended. Having occupied that part of the country, he drove away the hostile lord of Talavana-pura (the Ganga king of Talakād). He then sprang like a lion across the Kāvēri, and shook the dominion of him who was even able to shake the world (meaning the Ganga). But at this point he was recalled by Amogha varsha on account of some rebellion at home, which looks like an excuse for his having been forced to retire. But that he took Kaidala may be true, as Tm 9 and NI 84 show us a line of chiefs established there and at Sivaganga who claimed to be lords of Mānyakhēta, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital.

Rājamalla was succeeded by his son styled Nitimārgga, a title also used by the subsequent kings of this line. His real name was Ereyanga, but he is mentioned as Rāṇa Vikramayya in Yd 60. He gained a great victory (Kl 90, Nj 269) over the Vallabha army at Rājāramudū, which is to the north of the Kolar District. Besides this, he captured Bānarasa's Mahārājara-nāḍ (Mb 228). This is called in Ct 30 the Mārājavāḍi Seven Thousand, with Vallūr as its capital. It was chiefly in the Kadapa District. Kl 79 shows that under Nitimārgga the Pallava king Nolambādhirāja was ruling the Ganga Six Thousand, and sent against Bānarasa a chief named Pompalla, who was killed in a battle at Murggepāḍi. At the head of the Duddahundī stone (TN 91) is a rude but interesting bas-relief depicting Nitimārgga's death, the exact date of which event is not known, but his eldest son Satyavākya was present. One of the king's followers evinced his fidelity by being buried under him. Nitimārgga's younger sister Jāyabbe was married to the Pallava king Nolambādhirāja (Si 24, 38), who was Pōlachōra Nolamba.

Rājamalla Satyavākya (II), the eldest son of Nitimārgga, was his successor on the throne, and distinguished himself in a battle at Rēmiya (Nj 269). An inscription of his occurs in North Arcot District (EL iv. 140). His younger brother
named Būtugendra or Būtarasa was Yuvarāja in 870 (Nj 75), and governing Kongal-nāḍ and Pūnāḍ. Būtarasa is said (Nj 269) to have defeated Rājarāja (which is a Chōla name), and in Hiriyūr (Chitaldroog District) and other places was victorious over Mahēndra, the Pallava Nolamba king. Five times he overcame in fight the Kongas ('Tamil people of Coimbatore and Salem), who resisted his tying up elephants, and he captured many herds according to old custom. He married the daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūta king Amōghavarsha I.

He must have died before his elder brother the king, as Ereganga, his son by the Rāṣṭrakūta princess, became Yuvarāja (Sr 147). This prince his uncle Rājamalla Satyavākya associated with himself in the government, and crowned under the name of Ereyappa (Nj 269). The date of which act must have been about 886, as Ag 70 makes Satyavākya's 37th year correspond with Ereyappa's 21st year, and the former's 18th year was 887 (Cg 2). In Hg 103 Ereyappa appears governing Nugu-nāḍ and Navale-nāḍ. In Hs 92 he is ruling the Kongal-nāḍ Eight Thousand, and Būtuga's queen ruling Kūrgal. In Nj 130 we have Permmādi (the supreme king), the Queen, and Ereyappa acting together. In other cases we have Permmādi and Ereyappa acting together, as in Nj 139, which is of Satyavākya's 22nd year. Perhaps the queen was now dead. In Satyavākya's 29th year we have mention of Ereyappa's son (Kn 48).

Sh 96 shows Ereyappa reigning as supreme, and Būtuga under him governing the Māndali-nāḍ. Bn 83 and Kn 52 are also of his reign; Cp 48 may be, and Cp 161, which is dated in 913. Ereyappa is often distinguished by a special set of epithets not used of any other kings of the Ganga line, as in Sr 134, Kr 38, Bn 83. He is called in some cases Nitimārgga (II), as in Ag 26, 61, and in others Satyavākya, as in Cn 251. But being engaged in hostilities with Mahēndra, whom he eventually slew in battle, perhaps at Penjeru, he obtained the distinctive title Mahēndrāntaka. From Md 13 of 895, Mi 52 of 897, Md 14 of 907, and Kd 6 it would
appear as if Mahëndra and his son Ayyapa, both styled Nolambadhiräja, exercised some authority in the Ganga kingdom. But Cm 129 describes an attack upon the latter. At about this period the Chölas having suddenly uprooted the Bänäs, the Chöla king Parántaka claims in 921 (SII. ii. 387) to have conferred the Bänä sovereignty on the Ganga prince Prithivipati, grandson of the Prithivipati before mentioned, giving him the name Hastimalla (see also EL. iv. 225).

Ag 5 and 27 record the death of a king who in the former is called Rächamalla Permmänägli, and in the latter Nitimärgga Permmänägli, but they seem to refer to the same person. The second says that his death was caused by hiccupp, owing to phlegm sticking in his throat; and the first says that it occurred at Kombäle. Both relate how certain men committed themselves to death in the fire through sorrow for his decease. The wording makes the identification difficult, but it seems probable that the king Satyaväkyä Rächamalla II is intended in both, unless only the first refers to him and the second to Erevyappa, who is mentioned in the other in such a way as to exclude him.

Erevyappa left two sons, Rächamalla and Bütuga. The former appears in Ag 61 making a grant in 920. HN 14 may possibly refer to his queen and Tp 10 of Kachcheya Ganga's 3rd year may also be of his time. But his reign must have been a short one. Hg 116 apparently refers to a proposed division of the kingdom between the brothers. But Md 41 informs us that Bütuga slew Rächamalla and took possession of the whole. He was a close friend of the Räshtraküta king Baddega or Amögghavarska II, who gave him his daughter Rëvaka to wife (EL. iv. 350), with a dowry of the Beligere Three Hundred, the Belvola Three Hundred, the Kisukäd Seventy, and the Bagenäd Seventy (provinces in the Dharwar, Belgaum, and Bijäpur Districts). On the death of Baddega, Bütuga assisted his son Krishna or Kannara III in securing the throne from an usurper named Lalliyä. And when Kannara was at war with the Chöla king Räjäditya,
Būtuga rendered him a great service by slaying the Chōla king at Takkolam (near Arkōnam), and was rewarded with the Banavase Twelve Thousand province (Md 41). This was in 949 (EI. vii. 194). He may have been assisted in gaining his own throne by Kannara, who (EI. iv. 249) claims to have planted in Gangapāti, as in a garden, the pure tree Bhūtārya, having uprooted the poisonous tree Rāchyamalla. Būtuga has the distinctive titles Nanniya Ganga and Ganga Gāngēya. Among other exploits, he is said (Nr 35) to have taken Chitrakūta by assault, and conquered the Seven Mālavas, the boundaries of which he marked out with stones, and gave the country the name Mālava Ganga.

His son by the Rāshtrakūta princess was Marula Dēva, and a daughter, married to the son of Krishna III, became the mother of Indra Rāja, the last of the Rāshtrakūtas. Mj 67 may be a memorial of her. If so, her name was Kundana-Sōmidēvi. But Būtuga was succeeded on the Ganga throne by Mārasimha, his son by another wife. Of him a long account is contained in SB 38 of 973. He led an expedition against Gurjjara or Gujarat on behalf of Kannara or Akālavarsha III (who had made extensive conquests in the South as far as Tanjore, EI. iv. 280), fought against the Western Chālukya prince Rājāditya, put down a dangerous chief named Naraga (in the Chitaldroog District), and brought the Nolamba family to an end. On account of this last he has the special title Nolambakulāntaka. He is also styled Guttīya Ganga and Pallava-malla. He made grants in the Dharwar District in 968 (L.A. vii. 101, 112). He appears to have promoted the coronation of Indra Rāja in an attempt to maintain the Rāshtrakūta power. But this was shattered by the Chālukyas beyond recovery in 973, and Indra Rāja starved himself to death by the Jaina rite of sālīkhanā at Śravana-Belgoḷa in 982 (SB 57). Mārasimha had retired to Bankāpura in 973 to end his days in religious exercises at the feet of Ajītāsena, and died in 974. The kingdom in his reign extended as far as the great river, the
Inscriptions at foot, to the right and left.
RAKKASA-GANGA

Krishnā, and included the Nolambavāḍi Thirty-two Thousand, the Gangavāḍi Ninety-six Thousand, the Banavase Twelve Thousand, the Sāntalīge Thousand, and other provinces whose names are gone (EL, iv. 352).

His son Rāchamalla Satyavākya (IV) then came to the throne. There is an inscription of his time in Cg 4, dated in 977. In this his younger brother Rakkasa appears as governing a province on the bank of the Beddore, here the Lakshmantirtha, which is still called the Dodda-hole in Coorg. For some time past there seem to have been efforts to revive the influence of the Jain religion, of which the expiring Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Ganga dynasties were the principal mainstay. And under Rāchamalla was erected at Śravana-Belgola, by his minister and general Chāmunda Rāya,—who is said in TN 69 to have performed many works of merit in the land he governed,—that remarkable Jain monument and object of worship, the colossal statue of Gomāta. The date of its execution was about 983, and in daring conception and gigantic dimensions it is without a rival in India.

Rakkasa-Ganga Rāchamalla succeeded his elder brother, and we have a record of his reign in Śp 59. In this a chief subordinate to him is ruling the Nolambavāḍi Thirty-two Thousand. From Nr 35 it would appear that Rakkasa adopted his younger brother's daughters and son. The latter was named Rāja Vidyādharā, but may have died, as the king is represented as taking special interest in the daughters.

The only later Ganga king of whom we have certain knowledge is the Nītimārgga of Ch 10, dated in 999, in which he makes a grant along with a Pallava princess, the

1 A certain Panchala-Dēva, with the Ganga titles, set himself up as independent in 975, but was killed in battle by the Chāḷukya king Taila (EL, v. 372). In Hr 1 he is called a muddhātmanalabhīpati or great feudal chief. An attempt was also made by a Ganga named Mudda-Rāchārya, who took the titles Chaladunaka-Ganga and Gangara-bapta, to seize the Ganga throne, but he was slain by Chāmunda-Rāya (SB 109), who thus avenged the death of his younger brother Nāgavarmana. Before the battle, the prince Rakkasa's guardian, Bāyiga of the Kakka (or Rāṣṭrakūṭa) family, sent the prince away to a place of safety and rushed in to meet his own death (SB 60, 61).
elder sister of Nolamba. It is possible that Cm 3, which is of the 6th year of a Nittimārgga Rāchamalla, is of his time, as the date with a slight correction will work out, according to Dr. Kielhorn, as either 989 or 992. Then we have Md 78, in which a king called only Ganga Permnānadi is described as ruling Karnāṭa. There are discrepancies in the date, which probably corresponds with 996. He may be the Ganga Rāja under whom Talakāḍ was lost, as SB 45, which relates how the Hoysala general Ganga Rāja in 1116 recovered Talakāḍ from the Chōlas, says he was a hundred times more fortunate than that former Ganga Rāya.

The Chōlas, who had been victorious over all the east of the peninsula, taking possession of Kānchi, the capital of the Pallavas, and reducing to submission the Eastern Chālukyas, with whom were allied the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Gangas, now penetrated to Mysore. Ht 111 shows the Chōla king Rājarāja-Dēva ruling in the east of the State in 997. His son Rājēndra-Chōla captured Talakāḍ by 1004, and the Ganga power, which had ruled Mysore for nine centuries, was brought to an end.

But the Gangas do not disappear from history. A Ganga princess was married to the Western Chālukya king Sōmēśvara I (reigned 1042-1068), and became the mother of the kings Sōmēśvara II (reigned 1068-1076) and his celebrated brother Vikramānka (reigned 1076-1126). Gangas were in authority in the Kolar District during the Chōla occupation, and were also trusted officers of the Hoysalas. It was a descendant of the Gangas, the Hoysala general Ganga Rāja, that recovered Talakāḍ from the Chōlas (MI 31) in 1116 under Viahnuvardhana, who then drove the Chōlas out of Mysore. The last Ganga representative was the Ganga Rāja of Ummattur, who fortified himself on the island of

3 It is curious that a Kānṣāgara dynasty was set up even in distant Nepal, apparently in 1097, which was presumably of Ganga origin. The founder, Nānaya-Dēva (perhaps Nānīya-Dēva), came from the South. He was succeeded by Ganga-Dēva and four others, the last of whom removed the capital to Khāṭmāndū, where the line came to an end (Inst. from Nepal, by Dr. G. Bühler).
GANGAS

Sivasamudram at the Kāvēri Falls, and assumed independence in the beginning of the sixteenth century. He was put down by the Vijayanagar king, Krishna Rāya, in 1511 (EI. viii. 18).

The Kalinga Ganga kings of Orissa, another branch of the Gangas, have a separate history, of which a summary may be seen in the Bangalore volume. They date by an era called the years of the Gāngēya family (Gāngēya-vamśa-samvatsara), the exact period of which has not been determined. They are also called the Gajapati or elephant kings. They ruled from the sixth century to the middle of the sixteenth, when the country fell a prey to the Muhammadans. One inscription of theirs, of about 700, has been obtained in Mysore (Bn 140).

The following is a table of the Ganga kings of Mysore, with dates so far as known, taken entirely from inscriptions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Of the Ikshvakus or Salar race, was</th>
<th>Dhananjaya</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harishandra, king of Ayodhya</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pushmanadhya</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
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- Dadiga

2. Mādhava II, Kirīya Mādhava

3. Harivarman, 247-266

4. Vishnagopa

Prabhīvi-Gāgangā

5. Mādhava III, 337-370, Tadangāla Mādhava, m. Kālamba princess

6. Avinīta, 439-482

7. Durvindita, 482-517, m. Punnadī princess

8. Muhkara, Mokkara, m. Sīndhu princess

1 This name is applied to all the kings to the end. The Tamil chronicle says that he was ruling in 189 and reigned for fifty-one years.
9. Śrīvikrama

10. Bhūvikrama, Srivallabha
   -670,

11. Śrīnāma I, 670-713
    Nava Kāma,
    Sishta-piṣṭhā, Prithvi-Kongaṇī I,
    Ṛgengas

12. Śrīparasara, 726-776
    Muttarasa,
    Prithvi-Kongaṇī II, Perunāmali

13. Śivamāra II, Saigotra
   -815

14. Rājamalla Satyavakya I, m. Pallava princess
    Prithvipati I, ? 815
    Márasimha

15. Nūṭimārgga I, m. Ereyanga, Raṣṭrakūṭa prince
    Prithvipati II, Hastimala, c. 910

16. Rājamalla Satyavakya II, 870-907
    Būtengendra, 870
    Būtarasa, Guṇḍuttaranga,
    m. Raṣṭrakūṭa princess

17. Ereyappa, 886-913
    Ereyanga,
    Nūṭimārgga II, Satyavākya,
    Mahēndrāntaka

18. Rārachamalla Satyavakya III, 920,
    Kachcheya Ganga

    Bātayya,
    Nanniya Ganga,
    Ganga Gāṅgeya,
    m. Raṣṭrakūṭa prince

20. Márasimha, 961-974
    Gūṭtiya Ganga,
    Notambalakāntaka

21. Rārachamalla Satyavakya IV, 977
    Rārachamalla

22. Rakkasa Ganga, 984

23. Nūṭimārgga III, Rārachamalla, (? 989 or 992, 999
    Rāja Vidyādharas

1 This title is used of all the subsequent kings, often alone, without any name.
2 These names are used as titles by all the kings that come after.
3 This name is used as a title by the kings that follow.
GANGAS

These annals of the Ganga kings of Mysore present a consistent and circumstantial account that goes far to disarm criticism, and they fill up what is otherwise a blank in an interesting and important period in the history of the south. Comments casting doubt upon them have been directed mainly against minor details, that hardly affect the credibility of the chronicles as a whole. Records of so remote and lengthy a period could scarcely be expected to be free from all difficulties. But though they have been discovered in so many different parts of the country, and of such various dates, covering several centuries, they agree in giving us a generally uniform narrative, the incidents of which are corroborated by testimony from other sources, while the dates tally, and they are not discredited by anachronisms. This is the best answer to all detraction.

From one source, entitled to the highest respect, an objection has been raised that the reigns of the earlier kings work out to an impossible average length for a direct succession. But it is easy to imagine that some unimportant steps may have been omitted, as occurs in other known annals. That this was actually the case appears from Sh 4, which inserts a Prithivi-Ganga between Nos. 4 and 5. That the Gangas were long-lived is clear from the statement that the first king reigned for 51 years, and regarding Vishnugopa, that his mental energy was unimpaired to the end of life, evidently meaning that he lived to a very advanced age, while Avinīta certainly reigned for 52 years. To take the particular reigns referred to by our critic:—From Harivarmma in 247 to Avinīta in 430 gives 183 years up to the fifth generation; from Avinīta in 482 to Śivamāra in 670 similarly gives 188 years up to the fifth generation. And if the first five centuries of the Ganga history were occupied by even only eleven generations, this gives an average of 45 years to each, which is about the same as the above, and though high, seems by no means impossible. At any rate, apart from all theory, there they are.

1 A scholar whose recent death cannot be sufficiently deplored.
The principal opposition, however, from another source, is based upon the sweeping dictum that all the Ganga inscriptions on copper plates are spurious, and only those on stone genuine. Merely to state this is to expose the credulous nature of this paradoxical hypothesis. And it is disproved by the fact that the ancient Āvani stone fragment (Mb 263) and Sirigunda stone (Cm 50) are contemporary with and contain records similar to those on the early copper plates. At the same time they render it probable that others on stone of like nature formerly existed, as even the Lakshmīśvara stone (I.A. vii. 101) may bear witness. Those have been lost or destroyed, while the metal plates have survived because they were portable and indestructible and could be hidden. In view of the general consistency and veracity of the records, errors that may be detected here and there in style or orthography are of trifling importance. And the serious allegation that they are condemned by the misuse of a more modern form of a certain letter in plates professing to be ancient has been proved to have no foundation. The persistent opponent of the Gangas here referred to has lately expressed (EI. viii. 55) his willingness, when he feels justified, to abandon his present views and cancel anything wrong that he has written against them, but not yet. The sooner the better is the only comment one can make. The truth is bound to prevail.

6. PALLAVAS.

To revert to the earlier history.—The Kadambas, as previously stated, succeeded the Śatavāhanas in the west of Mysore, but the Pallavas were their successors throughout the Telugu countries in the east of the Dekhan, and Pallava inscriptions are found as far south as Trichinopoly. These kings are first met with as the Pahlavas, who, with the Sakas and Yavanas, are said to have been destroyed (early in the second century) by Gōtamiputra Śatakarni (ASWL. iv. 108).
A little later a Pallava named Suvisākha, the son of Kulaipa, was minister to the Kshatrapa Rudradāman (EI. viii. 49). Pallava is a Prākrit form of Parthava, meaning Parthian, here especially the Arsacidan Parthians.

According to tradition, their progenitūr, descended from Sālivāhana who ruled at Pratishtāna (Paiithan on the Gōdāvari), was a Mukuntī Pallava, who introduced Brāhmans into the South in the third century. A principal seat of the Pallavas was Vengi (between the Krishnā and Gōdāvari in the east), but Kāṇchī (Conjeeveram, near Madras) was their chief capital. It was so in the third century when Mayūrasārmma, the Kadamba student, went there (Sk 176), and both are mentioned in the Samudra Gupta inscription of the fourth century. The Pallavas may have ousted the Mahāvallis or Bānas from the coast regions, and driven them eastwards inland. The ancient inscriptions now at Mahābalipur are Pallava.

But the chief enemies of the Pallavas, to the eighth century, were the Chalukyas, who describe them as by nature hostile, as if there were some radical cause of animosity between them. If the Chalukyas, as their name suggests, were by origin Seleukian, this would account for the enmity of Arsacidans. A series of continual wars ensued. In the sixth century the Chalukyas, after defeating the powers in the west, wrested Vātāpi (Bādāmi, in the Bijāpur District) from the Pallavas, and made it their capital. Early in the seventh they captured Vengi, and established there the separate Eastern Chālukya1 dynasty. The Pallavas now destroyed Vātāpi, but the Western Chālukyas, who had held it, before long recovered their power, and in the eighth century, inflicting a severe defeat on the Pallavas, entered Kāṇchī in triumph, the city, however, being spared (Kl 63). The Gangas of Mysore had also been attacking the Pallavas. They took some of their possessions in the sixth century, and completely conquered them in the seventh and eighth.

1 After the separation the name appears with the long ā.
But the Western Chālukyas, shortly after they had triumphed over the Pallavas in the middle of the eighth century, were themselves overcome by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who retained the supremacy for two hundred years. They made the Pallava king pay tribute, and imprisoned the Ganga king. Early in the ninth century, however, they released and reinstated the latter, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Pallava (or Ganga-Pallava) kings united performing his coronation.

The earliest mention of the Pallavas in the inscriptions of Mysore is in Sk 176, which relates how the Kadamba Mayūrasamma went to their capital to study, felt himself insulted, became an outlaw for the purpose of revenge, and was eventually recognised by them as king over a Kadamba kingdom in the west. This was in the third century. The Pallavas next appear in Dg 161, in which their king Nanakkāsa is said to have totally defeated the army of Krishnavarman, evidently the Kadamba king, probably in the fifth century. At the end of the same century the Ganga king Durvvinītā captured Kāḍuvēṭṭi on the field of battle. Nārāsimhapōtavarman must have been the Pallava defeated by the Ganga king Bhūvikrama in the seventh century, and Pallava princes were in the custody of his successor Śivamāra I (Md 113). In Kl 63 Narasimhapōtavarman is named as having erected certain of the temples in Kāṇchi, and Nandipōtavarman as the Pallava who suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya Satyāśraya in about 733. The Pallava from whom the Ganga king Śripurusha in the eighth century took away the title of Permpāṇadi is called, as usual, Kāḍuvēṭṭi. Then we have (Yd 60, Nl 60), in about 813, the Pallava king Nandivarman, who took part (perhaps as being a Ganga-Pallava) in the coronation of the Ganga king Śivamāra II.

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1 This is the common designation in Ganga inscriptions for the Pallava king. It survives in the name of Kāḍuvēṭṭi-nagara in North Arcot District. The Pallavas are also called Kāḍuvēṭṭi.
7. NONAMBAS OR NOŁAMBAS

With him the old main line of the Pallavas perhaps ended. But the succession was maintained by the Nonambas or Nołambas, who claim to be Pallavas,¹ and gave their name to the Nołambavāḍi or Nonambavāḍi Thirty-two Thousand province, corresponding generally with the Chitaldroog District and adjacent parts north and east of it. The existing Nonabas, a numerous and important section of agriculturists in Mysore, represent its former subjects.

The genealogy of the Nołambas is given in the Hēmāvatī pillar (Si 28). They are stated to be of the Isvara-vamśa, and descended from Trinayana, through Pallava, the king of Kānci. The first king named is Mangala or Nołambādhirāja, praised (nudo) by the Kārnāṭas. His son was Simhapōta, whose son was Chāruponnera, whose son was Pōlalchōra Nołamba, whose son was Mahēndra, whose son was Nanniga or Ayyapa-Dēva, whose sons were Anniga (or Bira Nołamba) and Dilipa or Iriya Nołamba.

Singapōta was subordinate to the Ganga king Śivamāra Saigottā, and was sent by him against his younger brother Duggamāra, who strove to set himself up as independent (Cl 8). The Rāśhtrakūṭas having imprisoned Śivamāra and assumed the government of the Ganga territory, we find (Cl 33, 34) Singapōta’s son and grandson under their orders ruling the Nołambalige Thousand and other provinces. This may have been the nucleus of the Nołambavāḍi province. On the restoration of the Ganges, their king Rājamalla Satyavākya I married Singapōta’s grand-daughter, Pallavādhirāja’s daughter, the younger sister of Nołambādhirāja, and gave his own daughter Jāyabbe in marriage to Nołambādhirāja Pōlalchōra (Si 38). The latter appears in KI 79 as ruling the Ganga Six Thousand under the Ganga king Nitimārgga. His son by the Ganga princess was Mahēndra or Bira Mahēndra, who in Bp 64 is ruling the same province, under

¹ A princess named in Ch 10 is said to be of the Nołamba-vamśa and Pallava-kula.
the Gangas. In Sp 30 he appears as ruling in conjunction with two others over a territory up to the Kiru-tore or little river as its boundary. But Si 38 represents him as assuming independence in 878, while DB 3 says he was ruling as king, and fighting with the Ganga king. He was opposed by Bûtuga, the Ganga Yuvarâja, and finally slain by Bûtuga’s son Ereyappa, who thence obtained the title Mahêndrântaka. Mahêndra’s queen was a Kadamba princess, named Divalabbarasi or Divâmike (Mb 38), and he is called Nolambâdhirâja and the Nolamba Nârâyana. CB 26 of about 880 and Md 13 of 895 may refer to him, and show that the Nolambas had gained considerable power.

Mahêndra’s son was Ayyapa, and it is in connection with him that the Nolambavâdi province is first mentioned. In Jl 29 of 920 he is said to be ruling the Nolambavâdi Thirty-two Thousand, with Annayya (his son) as a governor under him. But as a rule all the Pallava Nolamba inscriptions, from Mahêndra in Pg 45 of about 880 to Nanni Nolamba in Mb 122 of 969, represent the kings as ruling the kingdom of the world, that is as independent. Nolambavâdi must have been the main portion of their kingdom, which seems from the inscriptions to have extended eastwards as far as the Srinivâspur tâluq. Sb 474 of 954 speaks of the time in the (near) past when the Thirty-two Thousand was under one king.

For Ayyapa, who has the names Nanniga, Nannîgâsraya, Nolipayya, and Nolambâdhirâja, we have the dates 897 in Mi 52, 918 in DB 9, 920 in Si 39, and 929 in Kd 6. His eldest son Anniga or Bira Nolamba, also called Annayya and Ankayya, succeeded him. For the latter we have the date 931 in Ct 43 and 44, in which he is described as being at peace, in the enjoyment of all the rights of sovereignty. Gd 4 states that Anni, a son of the Ganga prince Pîlduviipati (Prithuviipati II), was killed in battle when fighting in his army. Anniga was defeated by the Râshrâkûta king Krishna or Kannara III in 940 (El. iv. 289; v. 191). His younger brother Dilipa or Iriva Nolamba next came to the throne.
He had also the name Nolapayya. Bp 4 and Kl 198 show that he had the Vaidumbas under him, and Mb 126 that he had subjected the Mahāvalis. For him there are the dates 943 in Si 28, 948 in Si 35, 951 in Ct 49, 961 in Mb 126, and 966 in Kl 245.

In Mb 122 of 969 we are informed that Nanni Nolamba had assumed the crown. He was Iriva Nolamba's son (Hr 1). But the Ganga king Mārasimha, who ruled till 974, boasts of having destroyed the Nolamba family, whence he had the name Nolambakulāntaka, and he was ruling, among other provinces, over the Nolambavādi Thirty-two Thousand (El. iv. 352). In Mb 84 of 974 we have a record of three Nolamba princes, who had escaped and were perhaps hiding, hearing with relief the news of his death. But the Nolambavādi Thirty-two Thousand continued in possession of the Ganges, as testified by Rakkasa Ganga's inscription (Sp 59) of about 985.

The Pallava Nolamba line, however, was not extinguished, for the kings continue to appear for a long time after, under the Chōlas and Western Chālukyas. Ht 47 informs us that when Nolambādhirāja was ruling, Chōla fought with his army stationed at Bijayitamangala (Bētmangala, Bowringpet tāluq), and Nolambarasa was killed. But when he died, his son (?) succeeded him. Ht 111 shows that in 977 the Chōla king Rājarāja had gained a footing in that part of Mysore, and Ayyapa's son Gannarasa was acting as governor under him. But a Nolambādhirāja Chörayya continues as a Pallava king under the Chōla king Rājarāja to 1010 (Mb 208, Ct 118). He may be the one so named in Mb 84 as having escaped the general massacre of his family, and it may be his father who is there mentioned, and who is perhaps to be identified with the Nolambarasa above stated to have been killed in battle, leaving his son to continue the line.

But the Nolambas seem to have gone over after this to the protection of the Western Chālukyas, who were at enmity with the Chōlas. For Mk 10 shows us a Jagadēkamalla-

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1 This indicates the direction in which they retired when driven from Nolambavādi.
Noḷamba-Pallava ruling the kingdom in 1022, with the seat of his government at Kampili (on the Tungabhadra in the west of the Bellary District). Then Dg 71 shows us Udayāditya, called the Noḷamba-Pallava-Permmāṇadi,1 ruling in 1035 under the same Chālukya king Jayasingha Jagadēkamalla. In Dg 126 is Jagadēkamalla-Immaḍi-Noḷamba-Pallava-Permmāṇadi, ruling the Kadambaṅge Thousand and other provinces under the same king in 1037. Dg 124 shows a Trailōkya-malla-Nanni-Noḷamba-Pallava-Permmāṇadi ruling Kadambaṅge in (?) 1042. The introductory part is effaced, or it might have supplied some important details. He appears again in Dg 20 with extended authority in 1045. Jl 10 shows a Narasinda ruling the Kadambaṅge Thousand and other provinces under the same king in 1034, with his son Chōrayya as a governor under him at Uchehangi. The Chālukya king Trailōkya-malla was Sōmeśvara I or Āhavamalla, who ruled 1040 to 1069. He married as one of his wives a Pallava princess, by whom he had his son Jayasimha, who takes the titles Vira-Noḷamba (or Noḷamba)-Pallava-Permmāṇadi. Under his father he was governor of various provinces in 1048 and 1054 (Hl 107, 119). The next king, Sōmeśvara II, his elder half-brother by a Ganga mother, made him governor of the Noḷamba-Sindavādi province in 1068 (Sk 136). Mk 28 is a record of him in 1072, and Cd 82 of 1074. His other elder half-brother Vikramārka, also by the Ganga mother, on coming to the throne in 1076, made him Yuvarāja, and he won important conquests for the kingdom. In 1080 he was ruling Banavas and other large provinces for his brother (Sk 293). But eventually he rebelled against him, and was defeated and imprisoned.2 We know that another half-brother of his, named Vishnuvardhana Vijayāditya (see Ci 18), the son of an Eastern Chālukya princess,

1 The title Permmāṇadi was taken by the Ganges from the Pallavas on their subjection of them in the eighth century. The Ganga power being now overthrown, the Pallavas resume the use of it.

2 A curious inscription of his (Hn 142) is antedated in 444, and is the model on which the professed Janamati Jaya grants (Sk 45, Sh 183, etc.) were framed.
was ruling the Nolambavādi Thirty-two Thousand in 1064 and 1066, with his seat of government at Kampili. He is described as about to sink into the ocean of the Chōlas, but this was averted by Rājarāja and Chōla-Ganga of the Kalinga Gangas. Then Si 9 shows us another Udayāditya ruling in 1072 over the Nolambavādi Thirty-two Thousand, and said to be extending the Pencheru kingdom on all sides. He was evidently under the Chōlas, as he has the sub-title Vira-Rājendra, as well as Vira-Nolamba-Pallava-Permmānadi. Pencheru is Penjeru (or Henjeru), now called Hēmāvatī, situated on the northern border of Sira tāluq. Apparently it was at this time the capital of Nolambavādi. The same Udayāditya appears in Gd 57 in (? 1109, and in place of bearing a Chōla title he is there styled binder of Chōla-mārāja. But meanwhile the Pāṇḍyas of Uchchangi come into view as governors of the Nolambavādi province. Ci 33 shows Tribhuvanamalla-Pāṇḍya ruling it in (? 1083, and he is described as defeater of the designs of Rājiga-Chōla.

Dg 155 says he was the younger brother of Tribhuvanamalla-Nolamba-Pallava-Permmānadi (Jayasimha above). Dg 3 shows that the seat of government had been moved to Belṭūr (Bettūr near Dāvangere). In 1124 Rāya-Pāṇḍya was ruling the province from the same place (Dg 2). But next year the capital was again at Uchchangi (Ci 61), where it remained, and he had a Pallava as a feudatory under him. Dg 4, Ci 38 and 39, show Vira-Pāṇḍya ruling the province in 1143 and 1149. Hk 56 says that at the rise of Bījjana, the Kalachurya king (in 1156), Palatta-Pāṇḍya was ruling Nolambavādi. Dg 113 mentions a Pallava king in about 1160, without giving any name. Cd 13 shows Vijaya-Pāṇḍya ruling Nolambavādi in 1184. But in Cd 23 we have a Pallava prince named Māchi-Dēva in 1205 as feudatory to the Hoysala king Ballāla II. His descent is given for three generations, and he was ruling in the Holalkere-nād (Chitadal-droog District) and adjacent parts.
8. GANGA-PALLAVAS

But while the Noṇambas or Noḻambas thus continued to represent the old Pallava dynasty, there was another branch of the Pallavas which had its origin in perhaps the eighth century. This branch has been designated the Ganga-Pallavas. For Nandivarmma from whom they descended, a contemporary of the Chalukya king Vikramādiṭiya (reigned 733-746), though a Pallava in name, was a Ganga by descent (EI. iv. 182). They would seem later to call themselves the Nripatunga-kula, from their Rāṣṭrakūṭa connection. Nripatungavarmma was a Pallava, the grandson of Dantivarmma and the son of Nandivarmma, but his mother was Śankhā, daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Nripatunga-Amōghavarsa, after whom he was probably named. At the same time he also claims to be descended from Kōngani, the ancestor of the Gangas. The territory of these Ganga-Pallavas lay in the east of Mysore, in the North Arcot, Tanjore, and Trichinopoly districts. Their inscriptions are in Vatteluttu and archaic Tamil characters, and their names generally have the prefix Vijaya, or, in Tamil, Ko-visaiya.

The kings of this line of whom records have been obtained are Narasimhavarmma (about 800), his son Nandivarmma (about 820), and the latter's sons Nripatungavarmma or Nripatungavikramavarmma and Kampavarmma. Also Aparājiṭavikramavarmma. In Mysore we have two inscriptions of the time of these kings in the Mulbāgal tāluq (Mb 227, 241). One is of the 24th year of Narasimhavikramavarmma, and the other of the 12th year of Iśvaravarmma. As these contain references to Bāharasa and Mahendra, they belong to about 880. Five centuries later we have representatives of perhaps the same family in the Chik-Ballāpur tāluq (CB 41, 14), who describe themselves as of the Nripatunga-kula and have the Ganga title Lord of Nandagiri (or Nandigiri). Vembi-Dēva was ruling in 1267 and 1270 (Dv 79, CB 14). In 1283 he has the second name Nandi-Dēva (Dv 28).
9. CHALUKYAS

The Chalukyas next claim our attention. They were in the ascendant throughout the north-west of Mysore, and the Bombay and Haidarabad Districts beyond, from the fifth to the eighth century, and from the latter part of the tenth to that of the twelfth. Their first appearance south of the Narmada (Nerbudda) was in the fourth century, previous to which they profess to have had fifty-nine predecessors on the throne of Ayodhya, but of these nothing is known, not even their names. On their entering the Dekhan they overcame the Rashtra-kutas, but the Pallavas effectually opposed them, and the invader, Jayasimha or Vijayaditya, was slain. His queen, being at the time pregnant, took refuge with a Brahman, and gave birth to a son named Rajasimha, who eventually defeated the Pallavas, and then formed an alliance with them, confirmed by his marriage with a Pallava princess. In the sixth century, Pulikesi, whose chief city was apparently Indukanta (supposed to be Ajanta or some neighbouring place), wrested Vatapi (Badami in the Bijapur District) from the Pallavas and made it his capital. His son Kirttivarman subdued the Mauryas (descendants of the ancient Mauryas of Pataliputra) ruling in the Konkan, and the Kadambas of Banavasi. Another son, Mangalesha, conquered the Kalachurias. The Alupas or Aluvas, ruling in Tuluva or South Kanara, were also at the same time overcome, and the next king, Pulikesi II, came into contact with the Gangas. In about 617 the Chalukyas separated into two branches, of which the Eastern Chalukyas made Vengi (near Ellore in the Godavari District), taken from the Pallavas, and subsequently Raja-mahendri (Rajamundry), their capital, while the Western Chalukyas, with whom Mysore is chiefly concerned, continued to rule from Vatapi, and eventually from Kalyana (in the Nizam's Dominions, about 100 miles west by north of Haidarabad).

The Chalukyas were of the Soma-vamsa or Lunar race.

1 See note, p. 53 above.
They profess to be of the Mānavya-gōtra and Hāritiputras, nourished by the Seven Mothers (as were the Kadambas). The Varāha or Boar was the emblem on their signet. The Western Chālukyas are styled the Satyāśraya-kula, from the name of the first king of that branch. The titles on their inscriptions are nearly invariably—Samastabhuvanāśraya, Śrīprithvi-vallabha, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Paramabhāṭṭāraka, Satyāśraya-kula-tilaka, Chālukyābharana.

Though these details appear very circumstantial, the origin of the Chalukyas is far from clear. ¹ The name Chalukya, as I have pointed out, bears a suggestive resemblance to Seleukia, and the Pallavas being of Parthian connection, as their name implies, we have a plausible explanation of the inveterate hatred between the two, and their prolonged struggles were thus but a sequel of the contests between Seleucidae and Arsacidae on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates.

The following is a table of the early Chalukyas down to the rise to power of the Rāshrakūtas. A full account of the Chalukyas down to 1123, including their rise, their eclipse by the Rāshrakūtas, and their revival, is given in Dg 1.

¹ They are said to have miraculously sprung from the moisture or water in the hollowed palm (cholaka, chalaka) of Hāriti's hand (see Dg 41); or, according to another account, from the libation to the gods poured from his gublets (cholaka, cholaka, chalaka) by Hāriti. Dr. Hoernle (J.R.A.S. for 1905, p. 12) says: "Despite the attempted Sanskrit derivation of the genealogists, I would suggest that the name (Chalukya) is not a Sanskrit word at all, but of foreign (Gurjara or Hunic) origin." He adds that it may be from a Turki root, čap, gallop, čapūtul, a plundering raid, a charge of cavalry (?)—Mr. V. A. Smith (E.H. 383) states: "There is some reason for believing that the Chalukyas or Solankis were connected with the Chāpas, and so with the foreign Gurjara tribe of which the Chāpas were a branch."
Jayasimha is said to have defeated and destroyed Indra, the son of Krishna, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa or Raṭṭa king. He himself, however, was slain in an encounter with Trilochana Pallava. His queen, then pregnant, fled and took refuge with a Brāhmaṇa named Vishnu Sōmayāji, in whose house she gave birth to Rājasimha. On growing up to man's estate he renewed the contest with the Pallavas, in which he was successful, and married a princess of that race. Pulikēsi was the most powerful of the early kings, and performed the horse sacrifice. Kirttivarmma subdued the Nalas, of whom we know no more, the Mauryas and the Kadambas. Mangalēśa conquered the island called Rēvati-dvipa, and the Mātanges; also the Kalachurya king Buddha, son of Śāŋkaragana, the spoils taken from whom he gave to the temple of Makuṭēśvara near Bādāmi. He attempted to establish his own son in the succession, but Pulikēsi, the elder son of Kirttivarmma, obtained the throne. Pulikēsi's younger brother Vishnuvarddhana, surnamed Kubja, on the capture of Vengi from the Pallavas,
there founded the separate line of the Eastern Chālukyas, who remained in power in the Vengi and Rājamahendri country till the eleventh century, when they were absorbed into the Chōla family.

The earliest Chālukya inscriptions in Mysore are of the time of Pulikēsi II or Satyāśraya, the first of the Western Chālukya line, of about 640. Sh 10 is a fragment, containing only his name. But Gd 48 is on copper plates, recording a grant by him to Brāhmans in the Konikal-vishaya. It begins with the mention of Polikēsi I, surnamed Rānavikrama, who performed the horse sacrifice. It then passes to Satyāśraya (Pulikēsi II), the conqueror of Harshavarddhana. The grant was made when the king was at the Sangama-tīrtha, and on the application of his beloved daughter, called in his or her own language (sva-bhāshaya) Amberā. Sa 79 is of the time of Vikramāditya, about 680. Then we have Sh 154, of about 685, when Vinayāditya Rājāśraya was ruling, and Pogilli-Sendraka-mahārāja was a governor under him over Nayarkhanda (the Shikārprur tāluq). Dg 66, the Harihara plates, are of 694, the 14th year of Vinayāditya, and so far contain information similar to that in Kl 63, but with fewer details. A grant was made in the Vanavāsi country to a Brāhman while the king was in camp near Harishapura (Harihara). Then comes Sk 278, of about 700, in the reign of Vijayāditya Satyāśraya.

But the most important of all is Kl 63, the Vokkalēri plates, dated in 757. They contain a variety of historical information of the highest value, and their publication by me in 1879 first opened the eyes of scholars to the true significance of the Pallavas, then scarcely known even by name. The plates begin with an account of the Chalukyas, and mention first Polekēsi, who performed the horse sacrifice. His son was Kṛttivarman, who overcame the kings of Vanavāsi (the Kadambas) and others. His son Satyāśraya defeated Harshavarddhana (king of Kanyākubja or Kanōj), the wārlike

1 It is not clear what language is meant.
lord of all the north, and thus acquired the title of Paramēśvara. His son Vikramāditya Satyāśraya subdued the Pāndya Chōla Kērala Kalabhra1 and other kings, and forced the king of Kānchi (the Pallava), who had bowed to no other, to kiss his feet with his crown. His son Vinayāditya Satyāśraya quelled the power of the three kingdoms of the South—Chōla, Pāndya, and Chera—and of the king of Kānchi, and levied tribute from the rulers of Kavēra, Pārasika, Simhala (Ceylon), and other islands. He also, by churning all the kings of the north, acquired the pāli-dhvaja and all other signs of supreme power. His son Vijayāditya Satyāśraya uprooted the enemies still left in the south, and fought for his father in the north, gaining, besides the pāli-dhvaja, the emblems of the Gangā and Yamunā. He was by some means taken prisoner, but escaped, and thus averted the danger of anarchy in his own country. His son was Vikramāditya Satyāśraya, who resolved to uproot the Pallavas, by nature the enemies of his family. Marching with great speed into the Tundāka-vishaya (Tōnda-mandala), he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pallava king Nandipōtavarmma, who fled, leaving to the conqueror his special trumpet, drum, flag, and other trophies. Vikramāditya then entered Kānchi in triumph, but spared the city, relieved the destitute, and presented heaps of gold to the Rājasimhēśvara and other temples which Narasimhapōtavarmma had formerly erected.2 He then burnt up Pāndya-Chōla Kērala Kalabhra and other kings, and set up a pillar of victory on the shore of the southern ocean. His son Kirttivarmma Satyāśraya, when only Yuvarāja, obtained permission to again attack the king of Kānchi, and forced him to take refuge in a hill fort, capturing his elephants, rubies and gold, which he delivered to his father. On succeeding to the throne he

1 The Kalabhras are mentioned (in the Velvikkudi plates) as having gained possession of the Pāndya country in about the seventh century. They appear to have been Karnājas (Mod. Arch. Rep. 1908).

2 A pillar with an old inscription in front of the Rājasimhēśvara temple at Kānchi bears witness to his having visited it. And his queen, Lōkamahālēvi, of the Halehaya family, had a temple built at Patpalkal in commemoration of his having three times defeated the Pallavas.
made a grant to Brāhmans in the Pānungan-vishaya (Hāngal in Dharwar).

But while thus triumphant in the south-east, the Chālukyas were overcome in the north-west by the original enemies whom they had subdued on first entering the Dekhan in the fourth century. These were the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who retained the supremacy for 200 years, after which the Chālukyas once more recovered their power.

10. RĀṢṬRAKŪṬAS OR RAṬṬAS

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas or Raṭṭas may have existed in the Dekhan from very early times. They were perhaps connected with the Rājput Raṭhōrs, and are supposed to be represented by the modern Reḍdis. Their territory is called Raṭṭavāḍi, or, in Tamil, Raṭṭapāḍi, and was a Seven-and-a-half Lakh country. Their capital, at first Mayūrakhaṇḍi (Mōrkhaṇḍ in the Nāsik District), was early in the ninth century established at Mānyakheṭa (Mālkheḍ in the Nizām's Dominions, about ninety miles west by south of Haidarābād). The earliest decided mention of them describes Indra, the son of Krishna, as overcome by the early Chalukya king Jayasimha. Then we have a Gōvinda repulsed by Pulikēśi I. But the connected table of kings is as follows:

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa family was in all likelihood the main branch of the race of Kṣatriyas named Raṭṭhu who gave their name to the country of Māharāṣṭra, and were found in it even in the times of Āśoka the Maurya. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas were the real native rulers of the country, and were sometimes eclipsed by enterprising princes of foreign origin, such as the Sātavāhanas and the Chalukyas who established themselves in the Dekhan and exercised supreme sovereignty, but were never extirpated (Bhandarkar, E.H.D. 62).
These kings very commonly had the title Vallabha, taken from the Chalukyas. In its Präkrit form of Ballaha, which is
often used in their inscriptions in Mysore, without any name, it furnishes the key by which to identify the powerful dynasty called Balharas by Arab travellers of the tenth century, and described by them as ruling from Mankir (Manyakheṭa).

Indra II is said to have married a Chalukya princess, but Dantidurga, who left no heir, and Krishna I, his uncle, who therefore came to the throne after him, were successful in overcoming the Chalukyas and establishing the supremacy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The beautiful Kailāsa temple of Elurā (Ellora) was probably erected by Krishna (see Gb 61).

The earliest Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions in Mysore are Cl 33 and 34. They are of the time of Jagattunga Prabhūtavarsha Pratāpāvalōka Śrīvallabha, which titles denote a Gōvinda. And the fact that he is called Akālavarsha’s son shows that it was Gōvinda II. The Jain Harivamśa, composed in 783, says that Vallabha, the son of Krishna (Akālavarsha), was then ruling over the South, and this was the same person. In the above inscriptions he has the Pallava Nolamba king Singapōta’s son and daughters as rulers under him. Singapōta, we know from Cl 8, was contemporary with the Ganga king Śivamāra Saigotta. The latter, having assisted Gōvinda, was seized and imprisoned by Gōvinda’s younger brother Dhruva Nirupama, who had ousted his elder brother. The reason of this supersession is said in certain later grants to have been that Gōvinda was addicted to sensual pleasures, and so let the kingdom slip out of his hands. But the Paithan grant of 794 (EJ. iii. 104), nearer to his own time, says that he brought in even the hostile Mālava and other kings to help him, who were joined by the Kānchi, Ganga, and Vengi kings. Nevertheless Dhruva defeated him, and drove these enemies away on the east and north. He then took possession of the whole kingdom, “leaping over” his elder brother.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion of Mysore at the close of the

Their inscriptions are often on cruciform stones, very artistic in appearance, and quite different from any others. The upper arm is deeply bevelled, and from one end to the other of the cross tree is engraved a large plough, a characteristic symbol of rāṣṭra-kūṭas or rural headmen.
Rāṣṭrapāla Stone at Māvall,
eighth century by Dhruva Nirupama profoundly disturbed the
even tenor of the Ganga sovereignty, which had been
maintained on the whole unimpaired for 600 years. The
Gangas, it is expressly said, had never been conquered before.
But now they suffered the ignominy of seeing their king
(Sivamāra) led away into captivity, and their country placed
under the rule of a foreign hostile prince. A motive for this
procedure on the part of the Rāshtrakūta king has been
suggested above, but resentment at the Ganga having sided
with his rival elder brother must have been a primary cause.

We thus come to Hg 93, in which we have Dhārāvarsha
Śrivallabha as the supreme ruler, and Kambharasa ruling the
Ninety-six Thousand, that is, Gangavādi, under him. This
was Dhārāvarsha’s eldest son, and the first Rāshtrakūta viceroy
of Gangavādi, his claim to the Rāshtrakūta throne having
been set aside by his father in favour of a younger son
Gōvinda. Kambhaiya appears again in SB 24, with the title
Ranāvalōka. Pl 61 shows him as Šaucha-Kambha-Dēva and
Ranāvalōka still in power, but now reconciled to his younger
brother, who had assumed the crown of the whole kingdom.

The Mappe plates (Pl 61) of 802 give an interesting
account of the Rāştrakūtas from Krishna I to Gōvinda III.
Dhōra or Nirupama, besides imprisoning Ganga, hemmed in
and levied a tribute of elephants from Pallava, drove Vatsa-
Rāja, who had seized the Gauda kingdom, into the impassable
desert of Mārwār, and took away from him the state umbrellas
which had belonged to Gauḍa. He resolved to appoint his
younger son Gōvinda as his successor, on account of his
splendid form and superior abilities, thus depriving the elder
son of his birthright. But when the father died and Gōvinda
claimed the throne, the latter had to contend with a con-
federacy of twelve kings, headed, it would appear from other
records, by Stambha, the Kambha above mentioned, his elder
brother who had been superseded. Kambha, however, eventu-
ally submitted, and continued to rule the Ganga kingdom
under his younger brother. His death may have been the
occasion that led Gòvinda to release the Ganga king from "the burden of his cruel chains and restore him to his own submissive country." But Ganga in his pride having shown a return of hostility, was swiftly seized and again confined. Eventually Gòvinda replaced him on the throne, binding the diadem on his brow with his own hands, in conjunction with the Pallava (or Ganga-Pallava) king Nandivarman.

Gòvinda's exploits are recounted — his driving away Gurjjara, and receiving the submission of Mārasarvva in the Vindhyā mountains. After passing the rainy season at Śrībhavana, he came to the south and encamped on the Tungabhadrā, when Pallava paid up in full the tribute due from him. The site of the camp, as we know from IA. xi. 126, was at the Rāmēśvara tirtha. This is an island in the Tungabhadrā, a few miles north of the junction of the Tungā and Bhadrā in the Shimoga District. Here the king had some sport with boars and confirmed a grant originally made by (the Western Chālukya king) Kirttivarman.

Of the same king's reign are the Kadab plates (Gb 61) of 812. In these the genealogy begins with Kakka, whose son was Inda, whose son was Vairamēgha. This unusual name for Dantidurga seems to be supported by an inscription in North Arcot. His paternal uncle Akālavarsha, his successor on the throne, is next mentioned, and the splendid temple he erected (the Kailāsa at Ellore), dedicated after his own name to Kannēśvara. Next follow his sons Prabhūtavarsa and Dhārāvarsha, and the latter's son Prabhūtavarsa, who makes the grant from Mayūrakhanda for a temple at Mānyapura. It is in this inscription that we meet with Chāki Rāja as viceroy (the last) of the Ganga territory.

Rājamalla Satyavākya I, the Ganga king who succeeded Śivamāra II on the throne, made himself independent of the Rāshtrakūṭas, rescuing from them his country "which they had held too long" (Yd 60). But, as we have seen above, Amōghavarsha attempted to recover it by sending a chief named

1 *ASI*, Annual Report 1903-4, see article by V. Venkayya on *Irrigation in South India.*
Bankēśa to uproot Ganganātha. This project failed, and the Ganga king is described as able even to shake the world. Amōghavārsha also fought against the Ganga king Prithivipati I. The Ganga king Nītimārgga I next signally defeated the Vallabha (or Rāshtrakūṭa) army at Rājārāmaṇḍū (in the north of the Kolar District). But the Rāshtrakūṭas continued to hold the Banavase province, which they had taken over from the Western Chālukyas. Its boundaries, however, did not extend eastwards beyond the Tungabhadrā.

Amōghavārsha seems now to have adopted a different policy, and gave up his animosity in favour of alliances. For we find that his daughter Chandrobbalabbe was bestowed in marriage on Būtuga the Ganga Yuvarāja, while another daughter named Śankhā was given to the Ganga-Pallava king Nandivaramma. We also know from the statements in the Kavirājamārgga that Amōghavārsha Nṛipatunga, who had a very prolonged reign of more than sixty years, from 815 to 877, came to entertain the highest admiration for the Kannada people and country, their language and literature. But later on, in 930 (Dg 119), the Rāshtrakūṭas in the reign of Suvarṇavārsha (Gōvinda IV) were in possession of a province called the Kadambalige Thousand, which was to the east of the Tungabhadrā and extended down to Holalkere (Hk 23). As it was in 920 that we find the Nolambavādi province first mentioned as such (Jl 19), Kadambalige may have been intended as a barrier between it and Banavase. Somewhat later, in the reign of Akālavārsha Kannara III, we find the Rāshtrakūṭas established near Devanhalli (Dv 43) and Māgadi (Ma 75). These parts cannot have been gained by conquest, unless perhaps they were connected with Bankēśa's expedition (see above), or in some way with Kannara's defeat of the Nolamba Pallava king Anniga in 944. For there is no acknowledgment either now or at any time that the Gangas were subordinate to the Rāshtrakūṭas.\(^1\) Still less were they

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\(^1\) The single exception is the Kalabāvi inscription (see above), but the circumstances of Śivamāra's captivity and restoration to the throne sufficiently account for this.
so at this period. On the contrary, they were in intimate alliance, and rendering each other mutual assistance. The Ganga king aided Kannara III in gaining his throne, married his sister Rēvaka or Rēvakanimmadi, and slew the Chōla king who was at war with him,—while, on his part, Kannara helped Būtuga to usurp the Ganga throne from Rāchamalla, and ceded to him the Banavase province, which was in addition to the districts north of it that formed the dowry of his bride. The tracts above in question may therefore have been occupied as points of communication with the cast, for the Rāshtrakūṭa dominion under Kannara III extended into North Arcot and other parts in the South even to Tanjore.

But the Rāshtrakūṭa power was waning to its close, and feeble rulers in rapid succession occupied the throne. The Ganga king Mārasimha strove to prop it up and appears to have crowned Indra, who was his nephew, in the attempt to do so. But Kakka or Kakkala was defeated in 973, and probably slain, by the Western Chālukya king Taila, who married his daughter Jakabbe. Mārasimha died at Bankāpur in 974 at the feet of his Jain guru, and Indra, after vain efforts to recover his throne, took the Jain vow of sallēkkhaṇa and starved himself to death at Śravanā-Belgoḷa in 982 (SB 57), the last of his race. The Rāshtrakūṭa rule had already been brought to an end by the Western Chālukyas, and the Gangas before long succumbed to the Chōlas. Thus fell, nearly together, the two principal Jain states of the South.

II. WESTERN CHĀLUKYAS

The Western Chālukyas, after an eclipse of 200 years by the Rāshtrakūṭas or Raṭṭas, regained their ascendancy, as above stated, in 973. Of Taila, who restored their power, Sk 125 says: "The earth and the crown having fallen into the hands of the Raṭṭas, he drove the kings of the Raṭṭa
kingdom before him, put them down and overwhelmed them, this millstone (gharatta) to the Rattas, and took possession of the crown of the Chālukya kingdom." But Cd 25 of 971, if it can be relied on, represents Taila's father Vikramāditya as already an independent ruler. The inscriptions of the revived Western Chālukyas are mostly confined to the Shimoga District, where they continued to hold the Banavase and Kadambalige provinces. A complete account of the whole line, from its origin down to Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla in 1123, is given in Dg 1. But the following is the table of the later Western Chālukyas:

| 1. Tailapa, Nūrmaddi Taila, Āhavamalla, 973-997, m. Jakabbe, dr. of the Kāśītrakūṭa king Kakkala |
| 2. Satyāśraya, Iriva-bedeenga, 997-1009, m. Ambilkk-Dēvi |
| 3. Vikrama, Vikramāditya, Tribhuvanamalla, 1009-1018 |
| 4. Jayasimha, Jagadēkamalla, 1018-1042 |
| 5. Sūmeśvara (I), Trailokyamalla, Āhavanamalla, 1042-1068 |
| 6. Sūmeśvara (II), Bhuvanakamallā, 1068-1076 |
| 7. Vikramāditya, Jayasimha, Tribhuvanamalla, 1076-1126 |
| 8. Sūmeśvara (III), Sarvajna, Bālākamalla, 1126-1138 |
| 9. Jagadēkamalla, Perumma, 1138-1150 |
| 10. Tailapa, Nūrmaddi Taila, Trailokyamalla, 1150-1182 |
| 11. Sūmeśvara (IV), Tribhuvanamalla, 1182-1189 |

Tailapa is described in Sk 125 as eager for war with Chōla and a terror to him. In Hs 50 is an inscription of 997 ascribed to the beginning of the reign of Pampā-Dēvi, daughter of the Chālukya Permmānadi. But there is no further information about her. Possibly she was the daughter of Satyāśraya, said to have been married to the Pallava king
Iriva-Nolambādhirāja. Satyāśraya also had a son, Kunda-
marasa or Kundaka-Rāja, who was viceroy and governor of
Banavase in 1012 (Sk 287), with the seat of his government
at Ballipura or Belgāmi (Sk 125). He was still in the same
position in 1025 (Sa 7). Jayasimha Jagadēkamalla, Satyā-
śraya's younger brother, next came to the throne. He caused
the lotus king Bhōja to shut up, and was a lion to the elephant
Rājendra Chōla. In 1032 he was enjoying sports at Etāgiri
(Yatagiri in the Nizam's Dominions). In 1036 he was at
Pottalakere (Sk 126), and made a grant to Vādi-Rudragūna or
Lakulīśvara-pandita for repairs to the temple of the Pancha
Lingga at Balligāve, which had been set up by the Pāndavas
when they came there after performing the Rājasūya sacrifice.
This Lakulīśvara has been supposed to be the same as the
founder of the Pāsupata sect, whose career it had appeared
began at Mēlpādi in North Arcot in 1020 (SIH, iii. 27). But
Lakulīśa, according to Si 28, must have lived at an earlier
period than 943. And it is now discovered that the original
Lakulīśa (whose name means Śiva with the club) belongs to
the first century.¹ The king in 1039 was at Ghaṭṭadakere
(Sk 153). In 1042 an agrahāra was established at
Andhāsura, the place still so called near Anantapur, but first
mentioned in connection with Jīnadatta-Rāya, who belongs
to the eighth century. A glowing description is given in
Sa 109 bis of the Sāntalige-nāḍ, of which Andhāsura was
apparently the capital at that time. Such was its fertility
that hunger was unknown there. Meanwhile, in 1042 we
have notices (Si 40, 37, 25) of certain Chōla chiefs connected
with Irungōla-Dēva ruling under this king in the north of
Sira tāluq.

Jayasimha's son Sōmēśvara I next came to the throne,
and is styled Traiḷōkyamalla and Āhavamalla. His governor
of Banavase in 1046, among other titles, is called "guardian
of Kollipāke, the door of the South." This place, which is
frequently referred to as a chief seat of the Lingāyit faith,

¹ See JBaRAS. xxii, 153; JRAS. for 1907, p. 419.
has unfortunately not been identified. In 1046 Chāmuṇḍa-Rāyvarasa was governor of Banavase (Sk 160), and in the following year of other provinces as well, as far as the western ocean (Sk 151). He erected the elegant monolith gāṅḍa-bhūrunda pillar at Belgāmi, surmounted by the image of Bhūrundēśvara in human form with double eagle's head. He himself is called gāṅḍa-bhūrunda, and a bhūrunda pole, perhaps the length of the pillar, was established as a measure for land. In Sk 152 is the record of a man who thirteen years afterwards climbed to the top of the pillar and committed suicide by throwing himself down on to a row of spear-headed stakes. The king's son by his Pallava wife appears as governor under him in 1048 and 1054 (Hi 107, 119). An inscription of the latter year (Sk 118) says that the Chōla king valiantly fell in a battle with him, a reference to the death of Rājādhīrāja. Sb 325 says that Āhavamalla slew the warlike Chōla. In 1051 the king visited Bandanikke (Hk 63). In 1058 his son Vikramāditya, who is given all the Ganga titles, was ruling in Balligāve as viceroy over the Banavase, Sāntalige, and Nolambavādi provinces (Sk 83). Two years later he was ruling Gangavādi (Sk 152, Dg 140). In 1063 and 1065 the king's son Vishnuvarddhana Vijayāditya was ruling the Nolambavādi kingdom (Si 18, Dg 111), with the seat of his government at Kampili (Mk 29). Meanwhile, in 1062, the Sāntara kings were ruling in Pomburchcha. The king also had a notable master of the robes in Laksha or Lakshmana, to whom he gave rank next to the royal princes, and entrusted him with the government of the Banavase province (Sk 136). In 1068 the king came to a tragic end by drowning himself, when smitten with deadly fever, in the Tungabhadrā at Kuruvaṭṭi (Sk 136).

His eldest son Sōmēśvara II Bhuvanaikamalla succeeded to the throne. He was a Ganga on his mother's side, and had as minister the powerful Ganga prince Udayāditya. The latter was governor of the Gangavādi, Banavase, and Sāntalige provinces from 1070 (Sk 109) to 1075, and had the seat of
his government at Balligāve (Sk. 130). The king himself made his chief residence at Bankāpura (Sk. 129, 128). He was attacked at the beginning of his reign by the Chōla king Vira Chōla, who was put to flight. He then formed three provinces, extending from coast to coast, to protect himself against Chōla invasions. These were Banavase, Nolamba-Sindavādi, and a territory beginning (it says) at Alampura. This last may be a place to the south of the mouth of the Pālār river. The three were placed respectively in charge of the viceroys Lakshmana, Vikrama-Nolamba, and the Ganga mandalika, perhaps Udayāditya (Sk. 136).

His younger brother, the distinguished Vikramāditya or Vikramānka, also a Ganga on the mother's side, next came to the throne. He set aside the Śaka era and established a new one, called the Chālukya Vikrama era, from the beginning of his rule. It is in this reign that we have the inscriptions giving an account of the origin and genealogy of the Gangas (Nṛ. 35, Sh. 64, 4, etc.). The king appointed as Yuvarāja his half-brother Jayasingha, the son of a Pallava mother, and called Vira-Nolamba-Pallava (Sk. 297). In 1074 the latter has the epithet ama-niśīsam (Cd. 82), which may mean either that his elder brother placed no restraint upon him, or that he had unbounded confidence in him. In 1080 he was on the most affectionate terms with his brother (Sk. 297). He was ruling the Banavase and other provinces, all the lands as far as the southern ocean, in 1079 and 1080 (Sk. 109, 293, 297). The last two contain a record of his exploits. The king was residing at Etagiri in 1077 and 1078 (Sk. 124, 135), and his valour is extolled, especially in victory over Chōla and Lāla. From 1106 the Pändyas of Uchchangi became the rulers under him of the Nolambavādi and other provinces (Dg. 139, Hl. 68). Tribhuvanamalla Pändya is said in Dg. 155 of 1124 to be Vira-Nolamba's younger brother. He may have been related by marriage. He had the seat of his government at Beltür (Bettür near Dāvangere), and he claims (Dg. 139) to be the emperor's right hand, and
(Pg 3) to have made important conquests for him. The Hoysalas were in power in Gangavadi, but in SB 45 and 59 a spirited account is given of a night attack made on Vikrama's army by the Hoysala general Ganga Raja, at Kannegala, and the Hoysalas soon assumed independence. Santalige was being governed by the Santaras, and feudatory Chola chiefs ruled the territory on the north-east (Cl 43).

Vikrama's son Someshvara III Bhulokamalla was the next ruler, and was called Sarvajna, or all-wise, by other kings. In 1129 he came on an expedition to the South and encamped at Hulluni-tirtha. Banavase in his time was ruled by Kadambas (SB 141), while the Pandyas continued to govern Nolambavadi, and Chola kings—Irungola and others—the parts in the north-east.

Jagadekamalla is said (Cl 277) to have slain the generals of the hostile Chola and Gurjjara kings, and captured their wealth and troops of horse. Of the same reign is Pg 43, in which we have Irungola's son ruling in the Henjeru city. The latter (in SI 23) makes a grant there in the Nonambesvara temple, which, it is interesting to note, is called the great ghatika-sthana of the city. The exact signification of this term is not known, but here it seems to indicate the chief place of assembly for Brahmanas. The word occurs in the Talgunda inscription (Sk 176), as well as in Cn 178 and Sk 197.1

Under Nurmadi Taila or Trailokyaamalla, the Chalukya dynasty, which had reached its zenith with Vikramanka, began rapidly to decline. A powerful noble named Bijjala, of the Kalachurya family, had been appointed as general and minister, and the influence thereby obtained he turned against his sovereign and expelled him from the throne. This event occurred in 1156. The Chalukya king retired south and maintained himself in the Banavase country. The religious feuds which raged at Kalyana in connection with the establish-

1 See Dr. Kielhorn's article on the subject (Göttingen Nachrichten fur 1900, Heft 3), and foot-note to p. 8 of Introd. EC, vol. vii,
ment of the new Lingāyit creed kept the hands of the Kalachuryas fully occupied. The Chālukya influence, therefore, was not extinguished, and Sōmēśvara, the last of his race, succeeded to the fallen fortunes of his house in 1162. He seems to have had his residence at Annigeri in Dharwar, and on the extinction of the Kalachuryas in 1183 an attempt was made to recover the Chālukya power, but in vain. What ultimately became of him does not appear. The latest record of him is Hl 46, dated in 1189. The Hoysalas of Dōrasamudra from the south, and the Śēmas or Yādavas of Dēvagiri from the north, had now closed in upon the disputed dominions, and the great and powerful Chālukya name disappears from history as that of a dominant race. But certain descendants of the line appear to have ruled in some parts of the Konkan till the middle of the thirteenth century.

12. KALACHURYAS

The Kalachuryas or Kalabhuryas were one of the lines of kings subdued by the Chalukyas on their first arrival in the south. They were apparently connected with the Haihayas in descent. The founder of the line was named Krishna, said to have been born of a Brāhmani girl by Śiva. In the guise of a barber, he slew in Kālanjara an evil spirit of a king who was a cannibal, and took possession of the Nine-lakh country of Dāhala (Chēdi or Bandelkhand). A Chēdi or Kalachuri era, dating from a.d. 248, is used in their inscriptions in the north, and is evidence of the antiquity of the family. Their inscriptions in Mysore, some seventy in number, are principally confined to Belgāmi in Shikarpur tāluq, Harihar in Dāvangere tāluq, and some places in Sorab tāluq. Among their titles are: Lord of the city of Kālanjara (in Bandelkhand), having the flag of a golden bull, Śānivāra-siddhi, Giridurgamalla.  

1 As determined by Dr. Kiellhorn (EL, ix. 129).  
2 The last two were adopted by Vira Ballāla of the Hoysala line.
The genealogy of the family is given as follows in Dg 42. After many kings had ruled in succession to Krishna, the founder, there arose the celebrated Kannama-Dēva. He had two sons, Bijjala and Rāja, of whom the former came to the throne. On the other hand, Rāja had four sons—Ammugi, Śankhavarmma, Kannara, and Jōgama. The first and last of these occupied the throne in succession. Then followed Jōgama's son Permāḍi, whose son was Bijjala-Dēva. He made the whole earth his own, even as Agastya swallowed up the ocean. Another account (Sk 236) says the Kalachurya line gave light to the world through Sōma; through Pemma it became spotless; through Gorvappa it was distinguished for enjoyment; through Vajra it acquired might of arm; king Yōga gave it stability; and through king Bijjala it gained power.

Bijjala was a Jain by religion. Though he had usurped the throne, he did not assume the royal titles till six years afterwards, in 1162. A minister named Rēcha claims (Sk 197) to have obtained the empire for him and his successors. He then marched to the south, whither the Chālukya prince had retired, and proclaimed himself supreme. During his reign Basava, the son of an Ārādhya, came to settle in Kalyāna, where he became the son-in-law of the chief minister. He had a very beautiful sister named Padmāvatī, whom Bijjala, having seen, became enamoured of and married. Basava was thus in course of time appointed chief minister and general. The Rāja gave himself up to the charms of his beautiful bride and left all power in the hands of Basava, who employed the opportunity thus afforded him to strengthen his own influence, displacing the old officers of State and putting in adherents of his own, while at the same time he sedulously cultivated the favour of the king. By these means, and the promulgation of the new Lingāyit faith, he increased rapidly in power. At length Bijjala's fears were aroused, and he made an attempt to seize Basava; but the latter escaped, and afterwards dispersed the party sent in
pursuit. His adherents flocked to him, and Bijjala, advancing in person to quell the insurrection, was defeated and compelled to reinstate the minister in all his dignities. Basava not only resumed his former power and authority, but formed a plot against the life of the king, probably in the hope of becoming supreme in the State as regent during the minority of his nephew, the son of Bijjala and Padmāvati. Accounts differ as to the mode in which the king was killed. According to the Jain version, he was poisoned on the banks of the Bhima when returning from a successful expedition against the Silāhāra chief of Kolhapur; while the Lingāyīts state that he was assassinated by three of Basava’s followers.

Kāyamurārī Sōvi, the son of Bijjala, resolved to avenge his father’s death, and Basava fled to Ulive or Vrishabhapura on the Malabar coast. Thither the king pursued him and laid siege to the place. It was reduced to extremities, and Basava in despair threw himself into a well and was drowned. But according to the Lingāyīts he disappeared into the linga at Sangameśvara, at the junction of the Malprabhā and Krishnā.

The remaining three kings of this line were brothers of Sōvi, and during this period the last Chālukya regained a certain portion of his kingdom. But the territories of both towards the south were absorbed into the dominions of the Hoysalas, who had by this time risen to power in Mysore.

The following is a table of this short-lived but eventful Kalachurya dynasty:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bijjala, Bijjana, Nissankamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, 1156-1167</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rāyamurārī Sōvi, Śēnēsvara, Nissankamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, 1167-1170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sankama, Nissankamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, 1176-1181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Āhavamalla, Apratimalla, 1181-1183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Siṅghana, 1183</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first appearance of Bijjala in our inscriptions is in 1156 (Sk 104, 108). In these, which acknowledge the

1 The name also appears in the form Kalatsurya (Śb 131, 207).
Chālukya supremacy, Bijjala is styled a maha-mandalēśvara, but in the first he is significantly said to be ruling all the countries. From 1158, described as his 2nd year (Sb 255), he is entitled bhujabala-chakravartti⁴ or mighty emperor, and invested with a number of epithets (Sk 18). In the next year, 1159, the dominion appears as his (own) victorious kingdom (Sk 123). On the other hand, Sb 328 of the same year begins with a genealogy of the Chālukyas down to Nūrmādī Taila, and merely adds “at that time” was Bijjala king (kshōnipāla). Sk 102 of 1162 relates how he came to subdue the southern region and encamped at Ballīgāve. The next year he is said (Sk 242) to have extended his territory to the shore of the ocean, while Sk 123 says he subdued from the ocean in the south to the Chālukya capital in the north. In 1164 and 1165 raids by the Hoysalas are mentioned (Dg 42, Sb 372). In 1168 Bijjala has all the Chālukya supreme titles (Sk 92). Sk 197 says that the king of Simhala carried his tray, the Nepāla king was his perfumer, Kērala was his betel-bearer, Gurjjara was his artificer, Turushka was his groom, Lāla was his valet, Pāṇḍya was his crutch, and Kalinga the attendant on his elephant.⁵

He was succeeded by his son Sōmēśvara or Rāyamurāri Sōvi-Dēva, who is said (Sb 389) to have exacted tribute from Lāla, Chōla, and Gurjjara. Kadamba kings had for some time at this period been governors of the Banavase province, and of interest is the statement in Sb 345 of 1171 that Sōvi-Dēva, the Kadamba governor in that year, had put the Changālva king⁶ into chains, as he had vowed. Sb 139 of 1173 shows how the despatch of a military force was needed to collect the fixed land rent.

Sankama-Dēva, a younger brother, next came to the

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¹ This title was also taken by the Hoysalas.
² Certain inscriptions (HI 59, Sk 197, 119) introduce Bijjala’s younger brother Maitulī-Dēva and his son Kali-Dēva or Kandara, and a Maitulī-Dēva, younger brother (probably cousin) of Rāyamurāri Sōvi-Dēva, as if they had sat on the throne. They may perhaps have been associated in the government.
³ For the Changālva kings, see section under that head below.
CHÓLAS

throne. Of him it is said (Sk 96) that twice five heralds were continually heard proclaiming in his court how Gaula had sent (as tribute) elephants; Turushka, horses; the Simhala king, pearls; Chōla, white cloths; Magadha, musk; the Malaya king, sandal; and the Lāla king, young girls. In this year, 1179, Sankama paid a visit to Balligrâme, accompanied by the chief officers of his court, and being greatly impressed with the munificence and charities of the Kēdârēśvara temple, and with the erudition of its high priest, the râja-guru Vâmasakti, made a grant for it.

Āhavamalla, another brother, succeeded, but may have been associated in the government with Sankama for some time before. Sk 119 says he was a lion to the elephant Gaula, a net for the shoal of fish the Chōlika army, a south wind to the rain-cloud the Āndhra king, and a continual thunderbolt to the royal swan the Mâlava king. The latest date we have for him, 1183, is described as his 4th year or his 8th year (Sk 245, 159). With him the Kalachuryas came to an end, though there is no record of how this happened. But a chief named Brahma or Bomma is credited (IA. ii. 299) with destroying the Kalachuryas and restoring the Châlukyas. He was eventually defeated by the Hoysala king Ballâla.

13. CHÓLAS

While, after the overthrow of the Râshtrakûtas in 973, the Western Châlukyas and the Kalachuryas in succession dominated the north-west of the Mysore country for 210 years to 1183,—after the overthrow of the Gangas by 1004, the Chólas dominated the south and east of the country for 112 years to 1116. The Chólas were one of the oldest royal lines known in the south of India, being mentioned in

1 The exact date of the event is not known, but the earliest mention I have met with of the conquest of Gangavadi is in the 19th year of Râjarâja (Mb 123).
2 The name as written in Tamil is Šōla or Šōja; in Kannada it is Chōla; and in Telugu appears as Chōja (for the Eastern Châlukya kings).
the edicts of Asoka in the third century B.C. They were Tamil, and their original capital was at Oreiyur (now known as Warriore), near Trichinopoly. But the later capital, which is the one principally identified with them, was Tanjore.

Of their early history little or nothing has been recovered, but a few details for the first and second centuries appear in a recent publication. It is not till the tenth century that anything definite is known about them, and even then their practice of dating inscriptions only in the regnal year of the king afforded no basis for framing the chronology of the line; while the names adopted by many of the kings were themselves misleading, being mere royal titles. The first actual date which gave a clue was in a Ganga inscription of 950 in Mysore (Md 41). This contained the statement that the Ganga king Bütuga, who was aiding the Rāshtrakūta king Kannara or Krishna III in his war against the Chōlas, slew the Chōla king Rājaditya at Takkolam (near Arkanam), thus bringing the war to a close. Chōla inscriptions dated in the Śaka era were also found in other parts of Mysore, and eventually in the Madras country too. A chronology of the Chōlas from the tenth century, when they first came into prominence, has thus been constructed, the calculations being made by Dr. Kielhorn (see EI. viii. App. ii. 21), and it would seem that contact with the Gangas and other powers to the north first led them to adopt the Śaka era in dating their inscriptions. After the twelfth century the Chōlas ceased to be formidable.

The following is a table of the Chōla kings thus deduced. They had the titles Parakēsarivarman and Rājakēsarivarman alternately, beginning with the first:

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1 See note 2, p. 19 above.

2 Unlike those of other royal lines, the Chōla inscriptions, instead of being on separate slabs of stone set up at the site of a grant, are mostly inscribed on the basement and outer walls of temples, in long single lines that go right round the building. The earlier ones in Mysore are generally in Kannada, but the majority are in Tamil, and there are even some in the Tamil language but in Kannada characters.
The first event which brought the Cholas into contact with Mysore was in 921. At that time they had uprooted the Bānas, and the Chōla king Parāntaka conferred the Bāna sovereignty on the Ganga prince Prithivipati, giving him the name Hastimalla (SII. ii. 387). The next event was the death of the Chōla king Rājaditya in 949 by the hand of the Ganga king Būtuga. This, according to Md 41, may have been effected by an act of treachery, but the large Leyden plates give a different version (ASI. iv. 297). The occasion was war between the Chōlas and the Rāṣṭrakūtas, in which Krishna or Kannara III, the Rāṣṭrakūta king, was aided by Būtuga, who was his brother-in-law. The scene of the tragedy was at Takkolam (near Arkonam), and it brought the war to an abrupt termination. Krishna-Rāja, thus victorious, assumes in Tamil inscriptions the title Kachchiyun-Tanjaiyun-kōuda (capturer of Kāndhi and Tanjore), and seems to have established his power for a time over the Chōla territories. He also rewarded Būtuga by giving him the Banavase Twelve-Thousand province, the north-west of Mysore, which, added to the provinces north of it that formed the dowry of his bride, carried the Ganga territories once more far up towards the Krishna river.

But the tide turned in the time of Rājarāja. The Chōlas had, by that time carried their arms up to Kalinga on the east coast, and made Vengi, the Eastern Chāluksya territory, an appanage of the Chōla empire, Rājarāja's daughter being married to the Eastern Chāluksya king Vimalāditya. The wave of conquest was then directed to the west, against the Western Chāluksyas, in the course of which the Ganga territory in Mysore was invaded. We accordingly find Rājarāja established near Hoskôte in 997 (Ht 111). But by 1004 his son Rājendra-Chōla, who was in command of the Chōla army, succeeded in capturing Talakād, the Ganga capital, and brought the Ganga power to an end. The conquest of the south and east of Mysore, in an arc extending from Arkalgud in the west, through Seringapatam, north by Nelamangala to Nidugal, was speedily effected, and Rājendra-Chōla gained
the title Gangaikonda-Chōla. The Changālvas, whose kingdom was in the Hunsūr taluq and Coorg, were at the same time brought under Chōla subjection, and the Chōla general Panchava-mahārāya, who had overcome the Changālvas in the battle of Panasoge, was rewarded by Rājarāja with the Arkalgūd and Yelusāvira country, together with the title Kṣhattriya-sikhāmanī Kongālva. In the extreme north-east, connected with Niḻugal, was Henjeru (now Hēmāvati, on the northern border of Sira taluq), a subordinate Chōla kingdom. These were the outposts of the new conquest.

There is little doubt that the Chōlas contemplated the entire subjugation of Mysore. But in this they were foiled to the westward by the Hoysalas, who were now rising to power. Thus, Rājarāja's general Apramēya is said, in 1006, to have encountered Poysala's minister Nāgaṇṇa (TN 44), and to have won a battle over other Hoysala leaders at Kalavūr (Kaleyūr near Mālingi, opposite to Talakāḍ, on the other side of the river). Then, Panchava-mahārāya, another of Rājarāja's leaders, who had distinguished himself in the battle of Panasoge (Cg 46), and been invested with the title of Kongālva, conducted victorious expeditions along the west coast (Sr 140). But in Mysore the Kongālavas were opposed by the Hoysala king Nripa-Kāma in 1022 and 1026 (Mj 43, Ag 46), and made no way in extending the Chōla conquests in this country.

The territory actually acquired by the Chōlas in Mysore was parcelled into provinces, which, according to their usual policy, were named after Chōla kings. The south of Ganga-vāḍi, or that part of Mysore District, thus received the name Mudikondachōla-mandala; the north of Bangalore District was the Vikramachōla-mandala; Kolār District was the Nikarili-chōla-mandala. The sub-divisions of these large provinces were termed valanāḍ. Thus, the southern portion of the first above named was the Gangaikondachōla-valanāḍ, while that of the third was the Jayangondachōla-valanāḍ. Towns were treated in the same way, so that Talakāḍ became Rājarājapura;
Manalūr (Malūrpatna, near Channapatna) became Nikarilli-chōlapura; Kuningil (Kunigal) became Rājendrachōlapura. But Kolār retained its original name of Kuvalāla.

The conquests of Rājarāja’s reign, as detailed in various inscriptions, are thus described in Cp 128, of his 23rd year. He destroyed the ships at the Kāndalūr Śāla (on the west coast), and with his victorious army conquered Vengai-nāḍ (the Eastern Chālukya territory on the east coast, between the Krishnā and Gōdāvari rivers), Gangapāḍi (the Ganga territory in the south and east of Mysore), Nulambapāḍi (the Nolamba Pallava territory in the north of Mysore), Tadigaivali (the west of Bangalore District), Kūḍa-malaināḍ (the Coorg hill country), Kollam (Quilon), Kalingam (the Kalinga Ganga territory on the east coast, up to Orissa), Ilā-mandalam (Ceylon), the Iraṭṭapāḍī Seven-and-a-half Lakh country (the Raṭṭa or Rāṣṭrakūṭa territory in the Dekhan), twelve thousand ancient islands of the sea (perhaps the Laccadives and Maldives), and deprived the Śēliyar (or Pāṇḍyas) of their glory at the very time when it was at the highest. In Mysore both he and his son specially patronised the temple of Pidāriyār in Kolār, now known as the Kolāramma, and repeatedly endowed it, while Rājendra-Chōla had the brick parts rebuilt in stone (KI 109).

Many of these conquests were really effected by Rājarāja’s son Rājendra-Chōla, who was in command of his father’s army. But the conquests made by Rājendra-Chōla and the trophies acquired by him in his own reign are thus described (among other records) in Nj 134 of 1021, his 9th year. They were—Yedatore-nāḍ (the north of Mysore District); Vanavāsi (Bana-vāsi, on the north-west frontier of the Mysore country); Kolli-pāke (a celebrated Saiva place, not identified); Manne (in Nelamangala tāluq, the Ganga royal residence); the crown of the king of Ilā (Ceylon), and the more beautiful crown of its queen; also the crown of Sundara and the necklace of Indra which the king of the South (Pāṇḍya) had given up to the kings of Ilā; the whole of Ilā-maṇḍala (Ceylon); the famous crown and the ruby necklace which were heirlooms worn by
the Chēralas or Kēralas (kings of Malabār); many ancient islands; the superb crown of pure gold which Paraśurāma, when he uprooted the race of kings twenty-one times, had deposited in the inaccessible Chandimāt island. He moreover defeated Jayasēṅga (the Western Chālukya king), who turned his back at Mūṣangi or Muyangi and fled. To these achievements are added in Kī 44 of 1023, his 12th year,—the Iraṭṭapādi Seven-and-a-half Lakh country (the Raṭṭa territory in the Dekhan); great mountains filled with the nine treasures; Śakkarāgoṭṭam (Chakrakoṭṭa in Central India); Maduramāndala (the Pāṇḍya territory of Madura); Nāmamagakkōṇai, Panjappalli, and other places whose names are gone. But the information is supplied in Cī 82 of 1034, his 23rd year, or Nī 7 of 1038, his 27th. The above list of conquests is there extended as follows. He took Maśuni-dēsam; defeated Indiraviratan of the Lunar race in a great battle at Ādinagaravai, capturing his relations and family treasures; Oṭṭa-vishaṅyam (Orissa); Kōsalai-nād (in the Central Provinces); Taṇḍabuttī (Dāndabhukti), after destroying Danmapāla (its king Dharmapāla) in a fierce battle; Dakkana-Lāḍam (southern Lāṭa), after a vigorous attack on Irānaśīram; Vangāla-dēsam (Bengal) from which Gōvindaśandana (Gōvindachandra), dismounting from his horse, fled; terrified Mayi-pāla of Sangottal in battle, capturing his elephants, women and treasures; and took Utirā-Lāḍam (northern Lāṭa), and even Gangai (the Ganges). He also sent many ships over the billowy ocean and captured Śangirāma-Viśaṅyōttungapanman (Changirāma-Vijayōttungavarmma), the king of Kiḍāram (near Prome in Burma), seizing his fine elephants and the jewelled archway of his fort and palace gates; gained Śrīvijairyam, Panmai, Malayūr, Māyirudingam, Illagāsōbam, Mā-Pappālam (in the Andaman islands), Meviliṅgam, Vālappandār, Kulaṅktakolam, Mādamlingam, Ilāmurti-dēsam, Mā-Nakkaṁāram (the Nicobar islands), and Kiḍāram (in Burma). A good many of these names of persons and places are not identified, but the enumeration suffices to show the wide range of Rājendra-Chōla's victorious
expeditions. His son boasts (NI 25) that his father had conquered from Gangai (the Ganga territory) in the north to Ilangai (Ceylon) in the south, and from Mahodai (Cochin) in the west to Kadaram (Burma) in the east. Few of the parts, however, thus attacked were retained. The invasions were evidently mere raids on a large scale, whose object was booty, especially crowns, crown jewels, and jewelled trophies of all kinds.

Rajadhiraja-Dēva had been associated with his father in the government for more than a quarter of a century, or (as NI 25 and CB 21 say) had planted his own umbrella under the white umbrella of his father, and had shared in his career of conquest. He next succeeded to the throne, and the events of his reign are recounted in Dv 75. He bestowed crowns and the kingdoms subdued in the last two reigns on his uncles, brothers and sons. His treatment of captive kings was blood-thirsty and cruel, while he was as eager as his father to amass crowns and jewels. He beheaded the Pāṇḍya king Mānabarana on the field of battle, taking his golden crown set with large gems; had the Kérala king trampled to death by his elephant; sent Sundara-Pāṇdiyan flying, and seized his state umbrella, his big fans made from the tail of the yak, and his throne. He slew the king of Vēnād, destroyed the three kings of Irāmakum, and wrecked the ships of Villavan (the Chēra king) at Kāndalūr Śālai. He routed the army of Āhavamalla (the Western Chālukya king) and forced him to retreat, burnt Kollipākkai, and openly seized the jewelled crown of Vikramabāhu, the king of Ilangai (Lanka). When Vira-Sālamēgan invaded the country from Īlam (Ceylon), he drove him off, took his sister and wife prisoners, and cut off the nose of his mother. And on his returning to revenge them, he slew him on the battlefield, and seized his golden crown set with large jewels. He also took the crown of Śrivallavan Madanarāja, a king of Īlam descended from Kannara (? Rāṣṭrakūṭa

1 This might perhaps be taken to mean the Ganges, but Rajendra-Chōla is commonly described as the conqueror of Gangai and the East country, in which the former is unquestionably the Ganga territory, from the conquest of which he had the title Gangakopida-Chōla.
king; and leading the army a second time to the north, chased away Gandan, Dinakara-Naranan, Ganavati and Madiśūdanan, and burnt the palace of the Śālikkīyar (Chālukya) at Kampilī (on the Tungabhadrā, north of Bellary). Dv 76 adds a few more details. The tribute paid by the Villavar (Chēras), Minavar (Pāṇḍyas), Śālikkīyar (Chālukya), Vallaivar (Pallavas), Kōsalar, Vanganar, Konganar, Śintukar, Ayyanar, Śingalar (Singalese), Pangalar, and Antarar (Āndhras), together with the revenue he obtained from one-sixth share of the produce of the land, he distributed among the Brāhmans, and performing the horse-sacrifice, seated himself on the throne with the name Jayangonda-Chōla. But he died in fighting against the Chālukya king Ahavamalla in the battle of Koppam (perhaps Kopana in the south-west of the Nizam’s Dominions) in 1052. An inscription at Annigere in Dharwar says that the wicked Chōla (Rājādhīrāja), who had abandoned the religious observances of his family, penetrated into the Belvola country and burnt the Jain temples erected there by (the Ganga king) Ganga-Permādi, but that he eventually yielded his head to (the Chālukya king) Sōmeśvara (Ahavamalla) in battle and forfeited his life. On the other hand, a Chālukya inscription in Mysore (Sk 118) says the Chōlika (or Chōla king) valiantly died on the battlefield.

Rājendra-Dēva, his younger brother, backed by the elder brother’s army, had invaded the Iraṭtapādi Seven-and-a-half Lakh-country and erected a pillar of victory at Kollāpuram (Mb 107, Kl 107). It was in revenge for this that Ahavamalla attacked the Chōlas at Koppam. Rājendra-Dēva was present at the battle, and when his brother died took command of the army and secured the throne. Notwithstanding that his brother the king had fallen, and that he himself was severely wounded and had lost many of his principal leaders, he contrived to slay the Chālukya king’s younger brother Jayasinga, Pulakēśi, Daśavarmma, Nanni-Nulamba, and other princes.

1 See note, p. 16, Introd. to vol. ix. 3 AD. 441.
without number, so that Āhavamalla fled in terror (Bn 108). Rājendra followed the example of his brother in bestowing royal titles on his uncle, his brothers, his sons and grandsons (Bn 108).

Of the time of Rājamahendrā, probably his son, perhaps the one to whom he gave the title Uttama-Chōla, there is only one inscription (Ht 36), of his 2nd year. It contains no historical information, and the reign was a very short one.

We then come to Virarājendra, of whom a long account is given in Cp 85, of his 4th year. He was a younger brother of Rājendra-Dēva. He routed the army which had been sent against him into Vengai-nāḍ (the Eastern Chālukya territory); beheaded the great chief Śāmundarājan and cut off the nose of the beautiful Nāgalai; when Vikkalan and Singalan (the Western Chālukyas Vikrama and Jayasimha) engaged him in battle at Kūdal-Sangamam (the junction of the Tungabhadrā and Krishnā), hoping to wipe out the disgrace of their former defeat, he gained the victory. He overcame Sinan of Kōsalai, Kētaraiyan, Māraiyan, Irašaiyan, and others; and when Maduvanan fled, along with the other chiefs who had dismounted from their elephants, Āhavamalla also fled, leaving his wives, treasure, elephants, and other valuable spoils to the victor. He beheaded on the battlefield the king of Pottappi, Vāran, Kēralan, and Jānanāṭa's brother; had the king of the South (Pāndya), Śripallava's son Siruvan, and Virakēsari trampled to death by elephants, seizing all their crowns and jewelled decorations; drove the family of the Śengiraiyas and Śeralas into the western ocean; subdued the Iraṭtas and captured their elephants; in a fresh battle cut off the heads of the chiefs Val... Vanji-payyan, Pira-madēva, Bandāra-Toraiyan, Śattiyannan, Pattiyannan, Vimanayan, and Vangāran; also of the Ganga, Nulamba, Kāḍava, and Vādumba kings; and returned to his great city Gangai (perhaps Gangaikondasōlapuram), near the great river.

The next inscriptions are those of Rājendra-Chōla II, Eastern Chālukya king on his father's side, but through his
mother a grandson of the Chōla king Rājēndra-Chōla, and by his wife a son-in-law of Rājēndra-Dēva, who was also his uncle. He is better known as Kulōttunga-Chōla, the title he afterwards assumed in his 7th year. He is the Rājīga-Chōla whose designs are said to have been frustrated by the Chālukya prince Vikramāditya and the Pāṇḍyas of Uchchāngi. Kl 108 of his 2nd year, and Cp 77 of his 17th, say that when still Yuvarāja he wedded the goddess of Victory by his heroic deeds at Chakrakotta, where he took tribute from the king of Dhārā, and captured troops of elephants at Vayirāgaram. He also routed the army of the kings of Kuntala (the Western Chālukyas), and put on the garland of victory over the North, while he inherited at the same time the crown of the South and of the country adorned with the Ponni (or Kāvēri). His white umbrella shone like moonlight all over the earth, and his tiger banner fluttered on mount Mēru. Many rows of elephants stood before him, sent as tribute by kings of remote islands, while outside his splendid capital lay the head of the runaway Pāṇḍya king, pecked by kites. He inflicted a total defeat on Vikkalan (the Chālukya), forcing him to retire in disorder to the west, his retreat being marked by dying elephants all the way from Nangili (in the east of Mulbāgal tāluq) to Manalūr and the Tungabhadrā. By this victory the Chōla acquired the two countries Ganga-māndalam and Śīnganam, a statement which, together with the line of the Chālukya retreat, indicates that the Chōlas had temporarily lost the Ganga country. He then resolved to take the Pāṇdi-māndalam, and when his armies marched forth for this purpose, it was as if the northern ocean was about to overflow the southern ocean. The five Panjavas (Pāṇḍyas) fled in terror to the forests. These he destroyed, planted pillars of victory in all directions, took possession of the pearl fisheries, the Podiyil mountain, where the three forms of Tamil (prose, poetry, and the drama) flourished, the central Śayyam (the Sahya mountains) where elephants are captured, the (river) Kanni and Gangai. He established colonies in all parts of the
conquered country as far as Kottāru. He then seated himself on the throne solely for the receipt of tribute. Later inscriptions, down to Kn 12 of his 49th year, say that he caused the wheel of his authority to roll over all regions, so that the Mīnavar (Pāṇḍyas) lost their position, the Villavar (Chēras) became disconcerted, and the other kings retreated in disguise.

By 1116, near the close of his reign, Talakād, the old Ganga capital, had been retaken¹ by the Hoysalas, and Chōla dominion in the Mysore country brought to an end. This important capture was effected by Ganga-Rāja, a general of the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana, and probably a descendant of the old Ganga Rājas, being (as SB 45 says) a hundred times more fortunate than that former Rāja of the Gangas (under whom Talakād and the kingdom were lost). Farther point is given to the event by his original name Rājendra-Chōla being used for the Chōla king in Bl 58. A spirited account is contained in SB 90 and MI 31 of how Ganga-Rāja summoned the fort to surrender, and how the Chōla governor Adiyama returned a defiant answer, saying, Fight and take it (if you can). This Ganga-Rāja did, driving out the Chōla chiefs who were present, and followed up his success by bringing under one umbrella all the districts which had become Chōla nāḍs. Putting to flight the Tigulas (the Tamil people) of Gangavāḍi, he caused Vira-Ganga (the Hoysala king) to stand erect (or assert his independence).

Some relics of Chōla dominion lingered on in the northeast of the Kolar District, where we have inscriptions of Vikrama-Chōla down to his 12th year (Ct 70). They are chiefly in the Chintāmani and Śrīnivāspur tāluqs. In Ct 160 of his 5th year, he is credited with the destruction of Kalinga and the conquest of Kadalmalai.

At a still later period Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān made some

¹ The date is determined by VI 6, the first to give Vishnuvardhana the title Talakādu-gopu, dated Saka 1038 (expired), Durmukhi, and Cb 83, which describes him as in the same year ruling in Talakādu and Kōlāḷa over the whole of Gangavāḍi as far as Kōngu. Moreover, a village which Ganga-Rāja received as a reward for his exploit he made over to a Jain priest in 1117 (MI 31).
arrangements connected with the Marudur (Maddur) agrahara, through his agent there (Md 3, 7). But the Chōla authority in Mysore had long ceased, and the tables were now turned, for the Hoysalas became protectors of the Chōlas. One of the titles of Nārasimha II, the Hoysala king who came to the throne in 1220, was Chōla-rāja-pratishthāchārya (setter up of the Chōla kingdom). This was justified by the aid given to the Chōla king Rājarāja III, who in 1232 had been taken captive by the Kāda (Pallava) king Perunjinga at Śendamangalam in South Arcot. Nārasimha, on hearing of it, sent an army and set him free (EI. vii. 160; Gb 45). The next Hoysala king, Sōmēśvara, had also by 1237 entered into the Chōla country, defeated Pāndya, and restored Chōla to his hereditary kingdom (Md 122). According to Ak 123 this was a Rājendra-Chōla. But two years later he had himself taken possession of the Chōla country and was ruling from there (TN 103), his residence being at Kannanūr (Nj 36) or Vikramapura (to the north of Śrīrangam in Trichinopoly), which, it is said (Bn 6), he had created for his pleasure in the Chōla-manḍala conquered by the might of his own arm, and there, with an interval in 1252, he was till 1254. Kp 9 of 1257 describes him as the talisman (rakshāmani) or protector of Chōla.

14. POYSALAS OR HOYSALAS

On the subversion of the Gangas by the Chōlas in 1004, the Poysalas or Hoysalas rose to power in the west of Mysore, and eventually, in 1116, expelled the Chōlas and became rulers of the whole country, which they held till the middle of the fourteenth century. They were of indigenous origin, and Sosevūr or Sosayūr—the Śaśakapura of Sanskrit writers—named as their birthplace, has been identified with Angadi in the Western Ghats, in Mudgere tāluq (see Mg 9, 15, 16, 18). They claim to be Yādavas and of the Lunar race, and bear the
Sala and the Tiger.
Size of original life-size.
title Lord of Dvārāvati-pura (which represents both Dvāraka in Kathiāwār, the reputed capital of Krishna, the hero of the Yādavas, and their own capital Dōrasamudra). They were Jains, and the progenitor of the family was Sala. On a certain occasion when he went to worship at the temple of his family goddess Vāsanīkā-dēvi at Sosevūr (still represented by that of Vasantamma) and was receiving instruction from the yati there, a tiger bounded out of the forest, glaring with rage. The yati hastily snatched up his rod and handed it to the chief, saying pēy Sala (strike, Sala!). Whereupon Sala hit it and killed the tiger, finishing it off perhaps with his dagger (see Bl 171). Moreover, from the rescued yati’s exclamation, he assumed the name Poysala, of which Hoysala is the more modern form. This story is repeated in all the accounts of the origin of the dynasty, and their crest on temples exhibits a free standing group of Sala stabbing the tiger (see frontispiece, vol. v.), while the seal of copper-plate grants shows a dead tiger and the rod (as in Bu 6).

Of the time of Sala no records have been found, but the name Poysala occurs in an inscription of 1006 at Kaliyūr, on the opposite side of the river to Talakād (TN 44). From that time onwards Hoysala inscriptions become more and more frequent until they mount up to bewildering numbers, down to the establishment in 1336 of the Vijayanagar empire, the founders of which were probably connected with the Hoysalas. The Hoysala inscriptions are found from Tanjore in the south to Sholapur in the north, and from Coorg in the west to the east coast in South Arcot. They are mostly on prepared slabs of black hornblende, and are remarkable for their beautiful and artistic execution, the whole being so skilfully engrossed that,

1 According to Sb 28 his name was Sudatta, and Nj 39, 38 state that he had been brought by the king from some other place and established there. Nr 46 calls him Vardhamāna-muniṣṭhāna.

2 Though described as a cane (bēṭṭa) and in other ways (see vol. v. Introd. 10), it was no doubt really the usual stout rod of an ascetic, made of the solid or male bamboo.

3 The name also appears as Poysana and Hoysana. In Tamil it is written as Poyinchala or Pochala.
notwithstanding ornamental flourishes and pictorial initials, no space is left for the insertion of a single additional letter.

The Hoysalas at first acknowledged the supremacy of the Western Chālukyas, the chosen enemies of the Chōlas, but the bond was a loose and friendly one, and in the time of Vishnuvardhana they became independent. Their capital was Dōrasamudra (now Halebid in Bēlūr tāluq), which appears in Sanskrit as Dvārasamudra and Dvārāvatipura. But while this was under preparation and being adorned with splendid buildings by Vinayāditya (see SB 53), the capital was at first at Sosevūr and then at Beluhūr, Bēlāpura or Vēlāpura (Bēlūr). Among the usual titles of the Hoysalas were (besides the one mentioned above),—Yādava-kulāmbara-dīnāmanī (sun in the sky the Yādava family), sanyaktva-chudāmanī (crest-jewel of perfect devotion), Maleparol-gānda (champion among the Malepas or hill chiefs), bhujabalā-pratōpa-chakravartti (strong-armed illustrious emperor), and frequently, from the time of Ballāla II, dakshina-chakravartti or teñkana-chakravartti (emperor of the South). But the special titles and conquests of any one king are often carried on and attributed to his successors.

The following is a table of the Poysalas or Hoysalas as derived from their inscriptions:—
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title/Position</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Sala, Poysala, Hoysala, 1066</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Nripa-Kāma, Kāma-Poysala, 1022-1027</td>
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<td>? Rāchamalla-Permmādi</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>Vinayāditya, Tribhuvanamalla-Poysala, 1047-1100</td>
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<td>Ereyanga (Versūna from 1063 to 1095)</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Ballāla I, 1100-1106</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tribhuvanamalla-Ballāla-Poysala</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Bīti-Dēva, Bitiga, 1111-1141</td>
<td>Udayāditya</td>
<td>Died: 1123</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Vishuvardhamana</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Vira-Ganga, Vikrama-Ganga, Tribhuvanamalla, Talakādu-gopu</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>Ballāla II, Vira-Ballāla, 1173-1220</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Śanivāra-siddhi, Girilurgamalla, Vādava-Nārāya</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Nārāsimha II, Vira-Nārāsimha, 1220-1235</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Magura-rājya-nirmulanana, Pāṇḍya-disāpatī, Chōla-rājya-pratishthāchārya</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>Sōmēvara, Vira-Sōmēvara, Soi-Dēva, 1233-1254</td>
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</table>

Nripa-Kāma or Kāma-Poysala is not included in the Hoysala genealogy as usually given in their numerous inscriptions, which proceeds from Sala to Vinayāditya. The reason of this omission is not evident, as Ak 157 and 141 say that he was Vinayāditya’s father. He cannot have been Sala himself, or this would have leaked out in some of the numberless inscriptions which contain the pedigree. On the contrary, he is said to have been known as Rāchamalla-Permmādi, which connects him with the Gangas, due perhaps to intermarriage. That he ruled there can be no doubt, for, among others, Mg 19 is of his 7th year, and in Mj 43, dated in 1022, and Ag 76, dated in 1026, we find him opposing the Kongālva king, and next year aiding Banavase (Mj 44). Moreover, SB 44 describes him as the patron of Ėcham or
Echiga, the father of Ganga-Rāja, the Hoysala general who captured Talakāḍ in 1116. How he was related to Sala does not appear, but if the Poysala of 1006 was Sala, there was very little distance between them.

Vinayāditya was the first notable king of the line. He was born in Sosavūr (SB 56) and ruled from there. He is styled Tribhuvanamalla-Poysala-Dēva, from the Western Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya (reigned 1076-1126) being his overlord, but HI 1 shows that before this Hoysala-Dēvi was the queen in 1035 of Trailōkyamalla, Vikramāditya's father. Vinayāditya also had the six letters Ra-kka-sa Po-ysa-la inscribed on his flag, a possible reference to connection with the Ganga king Rakkasa. In what year Vinayāditya came to the throne we do not know. The earliest date we have for him is 1047 (Ng 32, Cm 160). The boundaries of the kingdom in his time are given in the former as—Konkana (North Kanara), Ālvakhēḍa (South Kanara), Bayalnāḍ (Waināḍ), Talekāḍ (in the south-east of the Mysore District), and Sāvimale (somewhere to the north), and he is said (Bl 200, etc.) to be ruling the Gangavādi Ninety-six Thousand. The latest date we have for him is 1100 (Bl 141). His wife was Keleyabbarasi, and they had a son Ereyanga.

Whether the latter ever occupied the throne seems doubtful, and he probably died before his father. Kd 142 shows him to be only Yuvarāja or heir-apparent up to 1095. At the same time, Kd 33, without date, and Cn 148 of 1093 represent him as ruling (also SB 144), which must have been in conjunction with his father. He was a general under the Western Chālukyas, and is described as a powerful right arm to the Chālukya king. He trampled down the Mālava army, burnt Dhārā and laid it in ruins, dragged down Chōla and plundered his camp, broke and ruined Kalinga (Sh 64, etc.). By his wife Ėchala-Dēvi he had three sons—Ballāla, Biṭṭi-Dēva, and Udayāditya.

Of these, Ballāla I succeeded his grandfather on the throne in 1100 (Bl 199), and his reign was a short one, but there are
inscriptions of his up to 1106 (Cn 169). He is styled Tribhuvanamalla-Ballāla-Poysala, and visited Sosavūr in 1100 (Bl 199), but made Beluhūr (Bēlūr) his capital (Ng 32, Cm 160). The inscriptions tell us of his marrying in one day in 1103 the three beautiful and accomplished daughters of Mariyāne-dānḍanāyaka. In 1104 he led an expedition against the Changālva king (Hn 161, 162), and together with his brothers repulsed an attack made by Jagaddēva (Śāntara king) on Dōrasamudra, capturing his treasury and the central ornament of his necklace (Bl 58, Ng 30).

Bīṭṭī-Dēva, Ballāla's brother, next came to the throne, and is celebrated as the rescuer of his country from the Chōlas and the establisher of the independence of the Hoysalas, whose kingdom he greatly extended. In what year his reign began has not been discovered. DB ii might have decided the question, being of his 12th year, but unfortunately no year is named. The earliest actual date that can be cited for him is 1111 in Sh 89, but Kg 164 represents him as ruling in 1100: this must have been in association with Ballāla, his elder brother. An important event in his career was his exchanging the Jain faith for that of Vishnu, which took place (before 1116) under the influence of the reformer Rāmānuja, who had fled from persecution by the Chōla king, a rigid Śaiva, and taken refuge in the Hoysala country. This change was signalised by Bīṭṭī-Dēva calling himself thenceforward Vishnuvarddhana, the name by which he is best known. He now entered upon an extensive range of conquests. Talekād was captured by his general Ganga-Rāja in 1116, and this was immediately followed up by the expulsion of the Chōlas from Mysore and the recovery of all the provinces there which they had previously taken. These Ganga-Rāja loyally made over to his king. He also in a night attack drove off the Chālukya army encamped at Kannegāla (near Hassan). By these operations he caused Vishnuvarddhana, who now took the title Vira-Ganga, to stand erect, that is, enabled him to assume independence (SB 90, etc.). Thus in
Hoysalas

1117 Ch 83 says that he was ruling in peace in Talakâd and Köšâla, having under his sole umbrella the kingdom of the Gangavâdi Ninety-six Thousand, including Kongu (Salem and Coimbatore). The conquest of the Nilagiris and Malabâr, according to the same inscription, was effected by the general Punisa, who, among other exploits, is said to have frightened the Todavar, the earliest mention that has been found of the Todas as the settled tribe inhabiting the Nilagiri mountains. While these expeditions were being carried out in the south and west, the king’s attention was directed to the north, and in the same year as the capture of Talakâd, 1116, the Pândyas of Uchchangi were attacked and defeated in a battle at Dumme, which is on the border of Shimoga and Chitaldroog Districts (Cm 99). According to Ck 29 and 30, the conquest of Uchchangi was effected for him by Châma-Dèva, a son of the Orissa king Chôla-Ganga, and born in the Mysore country. Pages might be filled with the details of Vishnuvarddhana’s conquests as given in various inscriptions. Suffice it to say that the boundaries of the kingdom in his reign extended (Mg 22, Kd 102, etc.) on the east to Nangili (the eastern portion of Kolar District); south to Kongu, Chêram, and Ānemale (Salem, Coimbatore, and Travancore); west to Bârakanûr (in South Kanara); north to Sàvimale (somewhere towards the Krishnâ). The southern boundary is given in Ak 30 as Râmëśvara (on the east coast in the Madura District). Hn 119 says: east, south and west three oceans being the boundaries of the land he ruled, on the north he made the Peródore (or Krishnâ) his boundary. The course of his victories is thus graphically put in Kd 69: the lion the Hoysala king’s valour, having sported in plunder at Talakâd, attacked the lofty elephant Uchchangi, calmly marched by Banavase, daringly seized on Belvala, and sprang forward with joy to the Peródore (or Krishnâ), planting his feet on Hânungal. Bl 58 describes his conquests in general, and Ng 70 gives a list of important forts which he captured. The provinces over which he ruled were (Cm 160, Kd 80, etc.)—Kongu,
Nārasimha

Nangali, Talakāḍa, Gangavāḍi, Nolambavāḍi, Banavase, Hāunugal, Huligere, Halasige, and Belvala. Gold coins of his have been found, on the reverse of which appear the titles Talakāḍu-gonda or Nolambavāḍi-gonda. His own country (says Hn 119) he gave to Brāhmans and the gods, and himself ruled over the foreign countries won by his sword. Dōrasamudra was the recognised capital (Bl 147, Md 29, etc.), but he made his residence at various places. In 1128 he was at Vādavapura or Tonnūr (My 16). In 1137 Bankāpura on that side (the north) and Talavana-pura (Talakāḍ) on this side (the south) are stated (Ak 144) to be his capitals (rajadheīni).

He took up his abode in the former in 1139 (Cm 199, 200), and there he died in 1141 (Cm 96), his body being conveyed to Sosavūr. His first wife was Śāntala-Dēvi, a strenuous upholder of the Jain faith, but she died in 1131 (SB 53), and by a subsequent marriage with Lakkumā or Lakshmi-Dēvi he had the son who succeeded him, born in 1133 (Bl 124), and crowned from the day of his birth (Bl 93).

This was Nārasimha I, who must have been a boy when he came to the throne. His reign was on the whole uneventful, but the boundaries of the kingdom were maintained. He is said in 1145 to have slain Changālva in battle, and seized his elephants, horses, gold and new jewels (Ng 76). He is also said to have been a terror to most of the kings of the South (Sr 74, Kd 51, Hs 137), and in 1161 to have defeated a Kadamba force that threatened Bankāpura (Bl 193). But his power was sustained mainly by his father's reputation and the devotion of his father's generals. Of these, Chokimayya (Hn 69) calls himself king Vishnu's Garuḍa, and in Bp 9 of 1155 appears as if ruling at Nangali over part of Gangavāḍi. Then there were Hulla (SB 137, 138), who was one of the foremost upholders of the Jain faith, and Bīṭṭa (Hs 137). The Chāluṅya king Jagadekamalla attacked Hoysala in 1143 (Dg 85), and seems to have asserted his supremacy by 1149 (Ck 29, 30). Thus Nārasimha has the prefix Jagadekamalla in 1153 and 1155 (Kl 100, 169), but immediately after this
the Chalukya throne was usurped by Bijjala and the Kala-
churyas. The Hoysala king eventually lapsed into a volup-
tuary. For Bl 193 informs us that he had three hundred and
eighty-four well-born women in his female apartments, and
Bl 114 contains statements that bear this out. He died in
1173, being, it would seem, only forty years of age. His chief
queen was Echala-Dévi, and they had a son Ballâla.

The reign of Ballâla II or Vira-Ballâla died in glory with
that of his grandfather Vishnudhâna, and the whole
dynasty is in consequence sometimes called the Ballâlas after
him. He was crowned on the 22nd of July 1173 (Kd 4, 136,
129) in the capital Dora-samudra. In Bl 86 an account is
given of a royal progress made by him in his father's lifetime
through the hill countries in the west. On this occasion
Tantrapâla-Hemmâdi claims to have induced Kongâlva,
Changâlva, and the other chiefs of Male to do homage, and
eventually to have gained the crown for Ballâla, himself being
made minister. But Hs 20 shows that in 1174 Ballâla had
to send an expedition under his general Bettarasa against the
Changâlva king Mahadéva, who had retired to Palpura, a fort
in Kiggañâd in south Coorg. Bettarasa destroyed him and
made Palpura the seat of his own government. But the
Changâlva Pemma-Virappa later on attacked him, aided by
the Kodagas (or Coorgs) of all the nãds, and was near gaining
the victory, when Bettarasa eventually triumphed. This is
the earliest specific mention that has been found of the
Kodagas or people of Coorg. But Ballâla's great victories
were to the north. An early conquest was that of Uchchangi,
the Pândya fortress. This had been besieged by the Chôlas
for twelve years and abandoned as hopeless; but Ballâla easily
overcame it, and when Kâma-Déva, the Pândya king, threw
himself on his mercy, restored him to his kingdom. This was
before 1177 (Ck 36), and he, in consequence, assumed the
title Giridurgamalla and Sânivâra-siddhi. A battle with
Sankâma-Déva (the Kalachurya king) is mentioned in 1179
(Mg 33). But his great decisive victory was one gained at
Soraṭūr (near Gaḍag) over the formidable Sēuna army. Though he came with as many as 200,000 infantry (says Dg. 25), armed with thunderbolts, and 12,000 cavalry, conspicuous with high saddles and jewelled breastplates, Ballāla-Rāya on his one elephant charged the Sēuna king’s army, put them to flight, and slaughtered them all the way from Soraṭūr to the bank of the Krishnavēni river. According to Bl. 77 he moistened his sword with the blood of the Pāṇḍya king, whetted it on the grindstone the head of Bhillama, and sheathed it in the mouth of Jaitugi (Sēuna kings). He followed up this great victory by the capture of a number of forts north of the Mysore country, all these successes being accomplished before 1190 (Cn. 179). By 1193 he had taken up his residence at Lokkigondi or Lakkundi in Dārwār (Sk. 105). His northern boundary was advanced to the Bhimarathi (Tp. 43). He was now sole ruler of the Seven-and-a-half Lakh country (Ci. 64), and styled emperor of the South (Sb. 140). During this period he lived at various places, but eventually established the royal residence (rājadhāni) at Hallavūr, also called Vijayasamudram (Hn. 139, Cn. 172) and Vijayapura (Cn. 244). This place was the modern Hulloor, on the Tungabhadrā in the Rāṇi-Bennūr tāluq of Dārwār. He was there in 1180 (Ci. 73), but from 1200 (Hn. 139) seems to have been living there almost continuously till 1211 (Ak. 137). His senior queen Umā-Dēvi, mentioned in 1209 (Ak. 40), appears in many records for a long time. His son Nārasimha was apparently associated with him in the government in 1205 (Cd. 23). He was Yuvarāja in 1210, and had a sister named Sōvala-Dēvi, celebrated for her beauty and virtues (Cn. 243). At the same date the king, his crowned queen Padmala-mahādēvi, and their son Nārasimha are represented as all ruling together (Hk. 13, 14). In 1218 the king was encamped at Nidugal-durga (Hn. 61). At length,

1 She established the agraḥāra of Śōmanāthapura, which was equal to Valabhi, at Hāravamahalli (Hārmhalli in Arākere tāluq), where there is a fine temple of Śūmēśvara (Ak. 123).
being of full age, Ballāla established Nārasimha in the kingdom and went to heaven (Cn 211⁴). This was in 1220, as Nārasimha was crowned in that year (Cn 172⁴). Thus closed an energetic and distinguished reign of forty-seven years, during which the Western Chālukyas and the Kalachuryas came to an end, the Sēnas were driven back, and the Hoysalas remained as a dominant power in the South. Coincident with the king's death was the self-sacrifice of the prince Lakshma, recorded on a pillar by the side of the Hoysalēśvara temple at Halebūḍ (Bl 112). He was of royal blood, and perhaps a half-brother. He and a thousand warriors had vowed themselves, as Garūḍas, to live and die with the king, and at his death took their own lives as a sign of undying devotion to him.

Nārasimha II was crowned on the 16th of April 1220 (Cn 172⁴). His distinctive titles are—uprooter of the Magara kingdom, displacer of Pāṇḍya, establisher of the Chōla kingdom (Cn 197). Saying, "Why am I called master of elephants when there are no troops of elephants of which I am master?"—he marched, without stopping, for a hundred gāvudas to the east, and uprooting the Magara king, captured the hundreds of elephants he had brought against him (Ci 72). By this expedition he became possessed of a wealth of elephants, horses, jewels, and other valuables, such as had never been acquired before (Cn 197). In connection with this an incident related in Cn 203 of 1223 deserves notice. When marching against Magara, the king encamped at Chūḍāvāḍi and gave a feast to celebrate the adding to his necklace of an emerald received from Munivarāditya. This must have been a stone of unusual size and value. Chūḍāvāḍi is no doubt the Chūḍa-grāma (Mudiyanūr in Mulbāgal tāluq) mentioned in 338 (Mb 157). Munivarāditya was an old title belonging apparently to a landed chief in Mēlai (or western) Mārayapādi (Ci 162), and the Magara kingdom may have been identical with the Mahārājāvāḍi of which the Bānas were in possession in the ninth century (see above, p. 43; also
below, p. 164). The boundaries of the Hoysala kingdom are
given in 1228 as Nangali on the east, Kongu on the south,
Ālvakhēda on the west, and the Hedde on the north (Cn
204). But the next year Nārasimha is said to be ruling from
Kānchhi, with the surrounding ocean as his boundary (Tp 42).
The Sēunas had again attempted to press to the south, but their
multitudinous army was routed (Md 121), and their leaders
Vikramapāla, Pāvusa, and others were slain (Dg 25). In
South Arcot the Kāḷava (or Pallava) king Perunjinga had
meanwhile taken the Chōla king prisoner. On hearing of it,
Nārasimha vowed that the trumpet should not sound until he
had released him. He accordingly sent an army, which forced
the Kāḷava king to surrender, and set free Chōla, to whom
Nārasimha restored his crown, thus justifying his title of setter
up of the Chōla kingdom (El. vii. 160 ; Gb 43). A pillar of
victory was also erected at Sētu (Dg 25), as far as which he
brought the land under his control (Cn 203). By his wife
Kāḷale-Dēvi he had the son Sōyi-Dēva or Sōmēśvara (Cn
203), who was tended like a mother by the king's sister
Sōvala-Dēvi (Ak 123).

Sōmēśvara came to the throne in 1233, as 1254 is given
as his 21st year (Sr 110). Of him it is said (Kp 12) that
when he first began to walk, Chēra went before him, calling
out, "Bravo! mind your steps, Dēva!" while the Chōla king
and Pāṇḍya, one on each side, held his hand. The boundaries
of his kingdom are given (Md 122) as Kānchhi on the east,
Vēḷāvura (Bēḷūr) on the west, the Peddore (or Krishnā) on the
north, and Bayalnāḍ (Wainnāḍ) on the south. He is repre-
sented as first fighting against Krishna-Kandhara (the Sēuna
king), but he was principally engaged in conquests to the
south, while the Sēunas continued to make incursions in the
north-west.1 In 1236 he is said (Kp 63) to be living in the
Pāṇḍya-mandāla, which he had acquired by his strength and

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1 An inscription at Pāṇḍharpur (near Shōḷāpur) states that the Hoysala king
Sōmēśvara made a gift to the god there in Saka 1159, or A.D. 1236 (Ba. Archi.
Rep. 1897-8).
valour. JI 33. says he marched into the Chōla-Pāndya kingdom, and Ak 123 that he had uprooted Rājendra-Chōla on the field of battle, but when he threw himself on his mercy, gave him his protection. He now took up his residence permanently at Kannanūr or Vikramapura (north of Śrīrangam in Trichinopoly), which he had created for his pleasure in the Chōla-mandala acquired by his own arm. Here, with a short interval in 1252, he remained till 1254 (Ak 108), being styled Sārvavāhama or universal emperor. In 1252 he revisited Dōrasamudra, and the two Changālva kings then ruling conducted him to Rāmanāthpura (Ag 53).

On his death in 1254 a division was made of the Hoysala territories. The ancestral Kannada kingdom, with its capital at Dōrasamudra, was given to Nārasimha III, his son by his wife Bījala-Rāni, while the Tamil districts in the south and Kolar fell to the share of Rāmanātha, another son by his wife Dēvala-Dēvi. Nārasimha was born perhaps on the 12th of August 1240 (Kd 100), and his upanayana was performed on the 25th of February 1255 (Bl 126). He now paid a visit to the Vijaya-Pārśva Jain temple at Halebid and read the genealogy of his line as recorded in the inscription there (Bl 124). He signs himself Malaparol-gauda in Md 79 and TN 100. In 1271 the Sēuna king Mahādeva came forth to battle, but fled in a single night (Ng 39). In 1276 a more formidable invasion took place by the Sēunas under Sāluva-Tikkama, the general of Rāma-Dēva. Assisted by Irungola and other powerful local chiefs, he advanced against Dōra-

samudra. But in a great battle fought at Belavādi on the 25th of April the Sēuna army was utterly routed and driven beyond Dummi with great slaughter (Bl 164, 165). The rival king Rāmanātha continued to rule throughout the reign of Nārasimha, and collisions occasionally took place between their followers. But he mostly remained in his own territory, and

1 As stated in an inscription lately discovered at Kondajji agrahāra in Gokha tīlaq.

2 Inscriptions of the Hoysala kings Sūmējvīra and Rāmanātha are found as far south as Tanjore, at Sendalai and Mamārgudi (Mad. Archl. Rep. 1896-7).
probably had his capital at Kannanūr in Trichinopoly, as Ballāla (his successor) is represented as marching from Kannanūr (Ck 4). In the Mysore country he seems to have had a residence at Kundana, perhaps the place of that name near Devanhalli. The southern boundary of his kingdom in Mysore extended from about Honnaudike in Tumkur ṭaluq to Lakkūr in Mālūr ṭaluq, the western being east of the range of hills north from Dēvarāyadurga. He survived Nārasimha and was succeeded for a short time by his son Viśvanātha, but the Hoysala dominions were again united under Nārasimha's son Ballāla III.

The latter was crowned on the 31st of January 1292 (Cn 36). In 1301 he appears issuing his orders to the temple priests throughout the districts in Kolar resumed from Rāmanātha's kingdom (Bn 51, etc.). In 1305 we find him marching against the Sēuna king, who was desirous of capturing him (Sa 156). In this reign began the Musalmān invasions from Delhi which brought the Hoysala empire to an end. The earliest notice of these is in 1310, when the Turukas are said to have marched against Dōrasamudra (Hn 51, 52). This was the first invasion, under Kāfūr, the general of Alā-ud-din of the Khilji or second Pathān dynasty. The king was defeated and taken prisoner; Dōrasamudra was sacked, and the enemy returned to Delhi literally laden with gold. The king's son, carried off as a hostage, was restored in 1313 (Sh 68). By 1316 the capital was rebuilt (Md 100). But a later expedition in 1326, sent by Muhammad III, of the house of Tughlak, completely demolished the city. The king seems to have retired to Tondanūr (Tonnūr near Seringapatam), but eventually went to live at Unnāmale (Tiruvannāmalai or Trinomalee in South Arcot). He was there in 1328 (DB 14) and frequently afterwards up to 1342 (Bn 21). But in 1329 he had a residence in Mysore, called by various names—Virūpākshapura (Ht 43), Hosavīḍu, Hosanāḍ, Hosadurga, and so on. It is uncertain what place this was. But in 1340 he performed an anointing to the
kingdom (Bn 111), which must have been that of his son, who is called (Cm 105) Vira-Virūpāksha-Ballāla-Dēva. The ceremony therefore probably took place at Virūpākshapura. In 1341 he is said to have erected a pillar of victory at Sētu (Mr 82). At length he fell fighting against the Turukas in a battle at Beribi on the 8th of September 1342 (Kd 75). His son was wearing the crown in 1343 (Cm 105), but the Hoysala power was at an end. The latest date that has been found in inscriptions for Ballāla is 1346 (Bn 120).

15. SĒUNAS

The Sēunas (also called Yādagas of Dēvagiri), who were the great rivals of the Hoysalas in contending for the possession of the Western Chālukya and Kalachurya dominions, claim descent from Krishna through Subāhu, a universal monarch, who divided his empire between his four sons. The second son, Driḍhapaṇḍa, obtained the south, and his descendants ruled over the Sēuna country, in Central India, probably corresponding in great part with the modern Khāndēsh. He was succeeded by twenty-two kings of his line down to Bhillama, who was the contemporary of the Hoysala king Ballāla II, and from whose time alone the history of Mysore is concerned with the dynasty. Their inscriptions are confined to the north of the Shimoga District and the Dāvangere tāluq, and range in date from 1212 to 1300. They had titles such as Yādava-Nārāyana, bhujabala-pratāpa-chakravarti, etc., which were appropriated by the Hoysalas on the latter defeating them. Their standard bore the device of a golden garuda. Having overcome the Kalachuryas, they became masters of all the western Dekhan, with their capital at Dēvagiri, now known as Daulatabad. Their destruction was due to the same Musalmān invasions from Delhi that brought the Hoysala power to an end. The following is a table of the kings:—
The immense army of Bhillama was totally routed by Ballāla II at Soraṭūr, as previously related, and slaughtered all the way to the Krishnā river. Jaitugi is also mentioned as defeated by him. Singhana took advantage of Ballāla's death to seize some part of Mysore in the extreme north-west. According to Sb 319 an army of 30,000 horse sent by him captured the hill fort of Guttī (that is, Chandragutti) in 1239. His attempts to collect the local revenue, however, seem to have been resisted by force (Sb 425, 217), and about the same time battles were fought against his army by the Sindas at Nēmattī (Hl 54, 55). The Śeuna kings, among other epithets, are generally described as destroyers of Mālava-Rāya, terrifiers of the Gurjjāra Rāya, and establishers of Telunga-Rāya. The Hoysala king Sōmēśvara, as we have seen above, is said to have fought against Krishna-Kandhara. But in Mahadēva's time the Śeuna general Sāluva-Tikkama claims to have won important victories over the Hoysalas, in connection with which, apparently, he made some additions to the temple of Harīhara, which the king had himself visited, and where he remitted all the taxes of the agrahāra (Dg 59). But Hg 39 says, on the other hand, that Mahadēva fled in a single night. In the time of Rāma-Dēva the seat of the Śeuna government in Mysore was fixed at Bettūr, close to Dāvangere on the east. But in 1276 an invasion of Dōrasamudra by Sāluva-Tikkama was entirely defeated at the battle of Belavāḍi, as related in Bl 164, 165. The
Musalmān invasions from Delhi began in the reign of Rāma-Dēva and before long extinguished the Sēuna power. Finally, in 1338, Muhammad Tughlak removed the capital of his empire from Delhi to Dēvagiri, giving it the name of Daulatābād.

16. VIJAYANAGAR

The Vijayanagar empire was founded in 1336, immediately on the disappearance of the Hoysalas from the stage of history. The founders were two princes named Hakkā and Bukka, sons of Sangama. The former became the first king, taking the name of Harihara, and his brother succeeded him. They were probably subordinates of or connected with the Hoysalas,¹ and were aided in their enterprise by the head of the matha at Śrīngērī (in the Kaḷūr District) founded by the reformer Śankarāchārīya in the eighth century. The name of this guru was Mādhava, and he is known as Vidyārānya. He became the first minister of the new State.

The Vijayanagar inscriptions in Mysore are nearly as numerous as those of the Hoysalas. There is one (Bg 70) which actually professes to be of the date 1336, and relates a story as to how the site of Vijayanagar was selected. But it cannot be relied on, no original being forthcoming. Then, Mg 25 contains some statement, which, owing to gaps in the inscription, cannot be fully made out, that Bukka-Rāya's chief councillor was unwilling to give up Sosavūr. This was the birthplace of the Hoysalas. By 1539 its name had been changed to the present Angadi (Bl 197).

But Sg 1 of 1346 is genuine and undoubted, and one

¹ A Bāllapa-damāyaka, described as a son of the Hoysala king Ballāla III, appears in several inscriptions at the close of the Hoysala period, down to Mr 16 of 1343. And in Sg 1 of 1346 we find Bāllapa-damāyaka as a son-in-law of the first Vijayanagar king, Hari-buṛa I. Moreover, in Yd 29 appears a son of Ballāla, called Hampe-Vodeyar. Now Hampe (the ancient Pampa) is still the name for the site of Vijayanagar.
of the earliest known inscriptions of the Vijayanagar kings. After obeisance to Vidyātīrtha, the guru of Vidyārānya above mentioned, it states that Harihara, having conquered the earth from the eastern to the western ocean, resolved to make a grant to celebrate the festival of his victory. Accordingly, he, with his four brothers, his son-in-law and other relatives, made grants to Bhāratītīrtha-śrīpāda and his disciples, as well as to forty Brāhmans living in the holy place Śrīnēri, for the maintenance of the rites and services. Another interesting inscription is Sk 281 of 1368, which contains particulars regarding Mādhava, then minister to Bukka-Rāya, and he is described as the guru who cleared and made plain the ruined path of the upanishads. It is unique in being dated by the Śatāvāhana-śaka, for the Śālivāhana-śaka, a reminiscence of the origin of the latter. And it is of interest to note that the grant made in it consists of a village which was the object of the grant in the Kadamba Prākrit inscription of about the third century on the Malavalli pillar (Sk 264), and connected with a preceding inscription on the same pillar (Sk 263) recording a grant in about the second century by the (Śatāvāhana) king Śatakarni.

The first or Sangama dynasty of Vijayanagar, who were Yādavas, held the throne from 1336 to 1478, and consisted of nine kings. The throne was then usurped by a Sāluva chief, who was succeeded by his son. There were thus only two kings of the Sāluva dynasty, also Yādavas, and they occupied the throne from 1476 to 1496. Then followed the Narasīṅga dynasty from Tuluva, which ruled from 1496 to 1567, and had six kings. The fourth and last dynasty was the Rāma-Rāja or Karnāṭa. It was in power from 1567 to 1644, and numbered six kings.

The following is a table of the Sangama dynasty:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>King</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1336</td>
<td>First Yādava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1478</td>
<td>Last Yādava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1476</td>
<td>First Sāluva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1496</td>
<td>Last Sāluva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1567</td>
<td>First Narasīṅga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1644</td>
<td>Last Karnāṭa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of Sangama’s five sons, the eldest, called according to tradition Hakka, assumed the name Harihara, and was the first king of the new empire. Kampa or Kampannya became ruler of a kingdom in the east, in the direction of Nellore, and had Sāyana, the commentator on the Vedic, brother of Mādhava, as his minister. Bukka succeeded Harihara on the throne, and was the most distinguished of the brothers. Mārapa obtained a kingdom in the west (Sb 375), with the seat of his government at Gomantaśaila or Chandragupti (Chandragutti). He subdued the Kadambas.

The Vijayanagar kings had Virūpāksha for their family.
BUKKA-RĀYA

god, and their grants are usually signed in his name. Their
crest was the Varāha or Boar, which had been that of the
Chālukyas. Their capital was situated on the Tungabhadrā,
in the west of the present Bellary District, near the Pampā
lake, on a remarkable site covered with immense boulders,
and their stronghold was the hill Hēmakūṭa. In Mysore,
the king’s eldest son was as a rule a viceroy in Muluvāyi
(Mulbāgal) in the east, while another son was viceroy in Āragā
in the Male-rājya or hill kingdom in the west. Another son
was at times governor of the Terakanāmbi kingdom in the
south. But from the end of the fifteenth century the chief
representative of the empire in the south was a viceroy called
the Śrī-Ranga-Rāyal, whose seat of government was at
Seringapatam.

Of Harihara I not much is known beyond what has been
stated above. But Bukka-Rāya, whom he appointed as his
Yuvarāja (Cn 256), was famous. With the assistance of
Vidyātīrtha-muni he became very great, and having freed from
enemies a hundred royal cities, counting from Dōrasamudra,
ruled over an empire perfect in its seven parts (Yd 46).
Though the establishment of the capital is attributed to
Harihara, and his naming it Vidyānagarī after Vidyāranyā-
sripāda (Cd 46), the building of the city and the transforma-
tion of its name to Vijayanagarī, or city of victory, are said
to have been the work of Bukka-Rāya (Cn 256). The latter
has the special titles ari-rāya-vibhāda (destroyer of hostile
kings), bhūshege-tappava-rāyara-ganda (champion over kings
who break their word), Hindu-rāya-Suratrāna (Sultān over
the Hindu kings), pūrva-paśchina-dakshīṇa-samudrādhistāvra
(master of the eastern, western, and southern oceans). He
was a terror to the Turushkas, the Konkana (king) Sanka-
pārya, the Āndhras, Gurjaras, and Kāmbhōjas, and defeated
the Kalingas. An interesting event of his reign, showing his
liberal-mindedness, was his reconciliation of the Jainas and
the Vaishnavas in 1368. The latter had been persecuting the
former, who in a general body appealed to the king for
protection. He summoned the leaders of both sects before him, and declared that no difference could be made between them. Then (as graphically described in Sb 136), taking the hand of the Jainas and placing it in the hand of the Vaishnavas, he ordained that they should each pursue their own religious practices with equal freedom. Copies of this decree were to be set up in various places, and besides the one at Sravana-Belgoja (SB 136), there is still one at Kalya in Magadi taluq (Ma 18), the Kallehada-pattana mentioned in them.

In 1355 Bukka-Raya is said (Cd 2) to be ruling from Hosapattana in the Hoysana country, and Hosapattana is mentioned in connection with the Jainas who appealed to him as above mentioned, who are said to have come from districts included within Aneyagondi, Hosapattana, Penugonda, and Kallehada-pattana. It may be the place called Hosavidu, Hosadurga, and by other names, which was a residence of the last of the Hoysala kings. I have thought it might be Hosur in Goribidnur taluq, or Hosadurga in Chitaldroog District. But this is uncertain, and its identification would be of interest. It is described as having been the capital of Nijagali-Kataka-Raya, but unfortunately this does not help us. It was apparently the same place as Virupakshapura (see vol. x. Introd. 32).

Harihara II, Bukka-Raya's son by Gaurambikā, succeeded him on the throne. But he also had other sons—Virupanna-Odeyar by Jommā-Dēvi, whose succession was apparently desired in the west (Kp 6); Mallinātha or Mallappa-Odeyar, who was ruling in the east of Mysore; and Kampanna-Odeyar or Chikka-Kampanna, ruling in the south of Mysore. Harihara II is principally praised for making the sixteen great gifts at various sacred places, localities which show that his territories extended from the Krishna at Kurnool to Kumbhakonā or even farther south. But severe struggles were going on with the Sultāns of the Bahmani kingdom of Gulbarga, which was founded in 1347, or only eleven years after Vijaya-
nagar. Thus, in 1380, when the Turushkas were swarming over the Ādavani (Adōni) hill-fort and kingdom, Mallappa-Odeyar’s son defeated them, took possession of the fort and kingdom, and handed them over to Harihara (Kg 43). In 1384 the Turukas are said to have come and attacked Kottakonda when the army had gone to the Orugal country (Ck 15). In 1397 we are informed of the exploits of the general Gunda (Bl 3), into the flames of whose valour the Yavanas, Turushkas, and Āndhras fell like moths. He conquered the Kēralas, Taulavas, Āndhras, and Kutakas, seized their wealth, and gave the spoils to the king. Dragging the elephant-like Saipa, Patheya, and other proud Turushkas along by their hair in battle, he tied them up in his stables like monkeys; and besides them, seized by the throat the two great tigers known as Jyēśṭha and Kanishṭha. He set up pillars of victory in all the fifty-six countries, and restored the tower at the gateway of the Belūr temple, which Ganga Sālār, the Turushka from Gulgarga, had come and burnt. Harihara was a cultivator of Kāṇṭaka learning¹ (Kp 34). He died on the 30th of August 1404 (Tl 129, SB 126), and his virtues, it is said (Si 95), are sung in pleasant stories by the Nāga maidens in Pāṭāla, listening to which the serpents there are filled with delight.

He had a son by Pampā-Devi, who appears to have reigned next, under the name of Immaḍi-Bukka-Rāya or Bukka-Rāya II. But the reign was a very short one, of little more than a year. Dēva-Rāya or Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya then succeeded, Harihara’s son by Mēla-Dēvi or Malla-Dēvi, of the family of Rāma-Dēva, probably the Sēuna king. He also had the sons Chikka-Rāya-Odeyar, ruling in Āraga in the hill country to the west; and Virūpana or Virūpāksha, who conquered the eastern countries down to and including Ceylon (ΕL. iii. 225), and in 1404 appears as if ruling in Vijayanagar (Tl 13). Perhaps he was a candidate for the throne on the death of his father. But Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya gained it, and was crowned on the 7th

¹ Kāṇṭaka-vidyā-vilāta.
of November 1406 (Hn 133). Some inscriptions seem to represent him as the founder of a Pratāpa dynasty. An interesting account is given in Dg 23 and 29 of the construction of a dam at Harihara in 1410 across the Haridrā. The struggles with the Musalmāns to the north continued unabated, and the pages of Firishta are filled with details relating to them. According to him, Dēva-Rāya, whom he calls Dewul-Roy, was forced to give his daughter in marriage to the Bahmani Sultān Firōz Shāh. At the end of his reign Dēva-Rāya inflicted a severe defeat upon the Sultān. A great slaughter of the Muhammadans followed, and the Bijāpur country was laid waste with all the treasured resentment of many years. These reverses killed Firōz Shāh. But his successor, Ahmed Shāh, drove back the Hindus, and desolated the possessions of Vijayanagar, massacring women and children without mercy. Whenever the number came to 20,000, he halted for three days and made a feast. The Hindus, in desperation, formed a plot against him, from which he escaped by a hair’s breadth. Terms were then agreed to, and he retired to his own country, the capital of which he shortly removed from Gulbarga to Bidjar, a hundred miles to the north. Of these affairs there is little indication in our inscriptions, which generally represent the king as ruling a peaceful kingdom.

Dēva-Rāya was succeeded by Vijaya-Rāya, his son by Dēmāmbikā, but the history is not very clear at this period, and Vijaya-Rāya’s reign was a short one. He was followed by his son Dēva-Rāya II, also called Praudha-Dēva-Rāya, who had the special title Gaja-bēṃtekāra or elephant hunter. His mother was Nāriyāvanāmbikā, and one inscription (Ml 121) describes him as having received the throne from his elder sister (nījāgraṭa), which may perhaps refer to the princess married into the Bahmani family. The kings of Anga, Kannōja, Kāmbōja, Vanga, and Nēpāla are said (Tl 200) to have

1 The Bahmani empire was finally dismembered in about 1489, and broken up into the five States of Bijāpur, Ahmednagar, Golconda, Berūr, and Bidjar.
acted as his servants, carrying his umbrella, his chāmara, his stick, or his goblet. He also had 10,000 Turushka horsemen in his service (Sr 15). He died on the 24th of May 1446 (SB 125, 127). He had a brother Pārvvati-Rāya-Odeyar, who in 1425 ruled the Terakanāmbi kingdom, in the south of Mysore District (Ch 195, 105), and is no doubt the Śrigirī, who was ruling in North Arcot in 1424 (El. viii. 308).

Dēva-Rāya’s son by Ponnalā-Dēvi, Mallikārjuna, also called Immaḍi-Dēva-Rāya, next came to the throne, and he was followed by Virūpāksha, the son of Dēva-Rāya by Simhalā-Dēvi. These were reigns wanting in vigour. Mallikārjuna is said (Md 12, 59) to be in Penugonda in 1459, along with his minister, engaged in affairs connected with Narasinga’s kingdom. This was the chief next to be mentioned.

Sāluva-Nṛsimha, also called Narasinga-Rāya-Odeyar, the most powerful noble in Karnāṭa and Telingāna. He was general of the armies of Vijayanagar, and successfully defended it against the Muhammadans. But the influence he thus gained enabled him in 1478, in the reign of Virūpāksha, to usurp the throne. When he was thus king, the Bahmani Sultān again invaded the Vijayanagar territories, and was over-running the whole country, having advanced so far as to lay siege to the strong fort of Mālūr (Kolar District). Nṛsimha took to flight, but afterwards came to terms with the Sultān, who nevertheless marched on to Kānchī (Conjeeveram), “situated in the centre of the dominions of that malignant one,” and plundered the town and temples, which were “the wonder of the age.” Nṛsimha’s distinctive titles were—mēdēni-misara-ganda (champion over the mustaches of the world), kāṭhāri-sāluva (dagger falcon). He was succeeded by his son Immaḍi-Nṛsimha or Immaḍi-Narasinga-Odeyar, for whom the earliest date seems to be 1493.

This king, however, was murdered in 1496 by their general Narasa or Narasinga. He was of Tuluva descent,

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1 He was the tenth king of Vijayanagar, and his son the eleventh.
and became the founder of the Narasinga dynasty of Vijayanagar. The following is a table of this dynasty:—

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<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Tippäjä,</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Bhuja-balä-Râya,</td>
<td>1504-1509</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Vira-Narasimha or Nrisimha,</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Tirumâlamba,</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Nâgâlå-Dëvi,</td>
<td>1509-1539</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>Achyuta-Râya,</td>
<td>1539-1542</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Ranga,</td>
<td>1542</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Obâmâkâ,</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>Bakkanna,</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>Kârâja-Râja,</td>
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<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Dëva-Râya,</td>
<td>1543-1597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Narasa, Narasinga, Nrisimha, 1496-1503</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Narasa is said in several inscriptions (Sk 234, etc.) to have quickly dammed the Kâvëri when in full flood, crossed over and seized his enemy alive in battle. Then, taking possession of Srirangapatana (Seringapatam), he made it his own abode. Having conquered Chëra, Chôla, and Pândya, as well as the proud lord of Madhura, the fierce Turushka, the Gajapati king and others; from the banks of the Ganges to Lânkâ (Ceylon), and from the eastern to the western mountains, he imposed his commands upon all kings. In Râmësvara and other sacred places he from time to time bestowed the sixteen great gifts. He died in 1503 (Kr 64).

He was succeeded in turn by three sons, born to him by different mothers. The first of these, Vira - Narasimha or Nrisimha, also called in a few cases Bhuja-balä-Râya,1 drew to himself, it is said, the hearts of all from Sëtu to Sumëru, and from the eastern to the western mountains, and made all manner of gifts in all the sacred places. The Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, and other kings addressed him with such words as, "Look on us, great king! Victory! Long life!" His half-brother Krishna-Râya next came to the throne, and was one of the most powerful and distinguished of the Vijayanagar monarchs. About 1520 he inflicted a severe defeat upon the Muhammadans, in consequence of which a good

1 The Bushalrao of the Portuguese historian Nuni.
understanding prevailed between the courts of Vijayanagar and Bijāpur for a considerable time. One of the earliest expeditions of the reign was against Ganga-Rāja, the chief of Ummattūr (in Mysore District), who had rebelled and claimed Penugonda, perhaps as being a Ganga. His main stronghold was on the island of Śivasamudram, at the Falls of the Kāvēri, and parts of the Bangalore District were known as the Śivasamudram country. Krishna-Rāya captured his fort at the Falls, and also took Seringapatam. He extended the limits of the empire until they reached to Cuttack on the east and to Salsette on the west. In capturing Konḍavīdu in 1516, he took prisoner Virabhadra, son of the Gajapati king Pratāpa-Rudra, and Dg 107 relates that he granted him the Maleya-Bennūr country (in the west of Mysore) as an estate. Krishna-Rāya was a great patron of Sanskrit and Telugu literature, and had at his court eight celebrated poets, distinguished as the asliṭadiggaṭa. On his death, Acyuta-Rāya, his half-brother, succeeded to the throne. He was profuse in gifts to the Brāhmans, the records of which are commonly surmounted by a figure of the Vāmana or dwarf incarnation. He established in 1539 a sort of bank for the benefit of Brāhmans, called the Ananda-nidhi. Two verses celebrating this event are repeated in Dg 24 and Hk 123, as well as in eight other places in Hampi and Kamalāpura.

Acyuta-Rāya's son, perhaps an infant, was next crowned as king, but died in a short time. Sadāśiva-Rāya, the son of Ranga, a deceased brother of Acyuta by the same mother, was then raised to the throne by the great minister Rāma-Rāja (who was his brother-in-law) and the councillors. He is said to have subdued all his enemies in Suragiri (Penugonda), and brought the whole land into submission to his commands, while the Kāmbōja, Bhōja, Kalinga, Karahāṭa and other kings acted as servants for his female apartments.

But Rāma-Rāja himself wielded the chief power in the State, and is called the ruler of the great Karnaṭa kingdom.
(Ng 58). Though possessed of commanding abilities, so great was his arrogance that the Musalmān States of Bijāpur, Golkonda, Ahmednagar, and Bīdar were provoked to combine in an attack on Vijayanagar as their common enemy. In the battle of Tallkota, near Raichūr, on the 23rd of January 1565, Rāma-Rāja was slain, on which the Hindu army fled panic-stricken, and the royal family escaped to Penugonda. The victorious Muhammadans marched to Vijayanagar, which they utterly sacked and destroyed. Thus fell this once great and populous capital, the ruins of which are still a source of admiration to visitors.

From Rāma-Rāja was descended the last Vijayanagar dynasty, styling themselves kings of Karnāṭa. Their capital was at first at Penugonda, which was attacked in 1577 by the Muhammadans, but successfully defended by Jagadēva-Rāya, whose daughter was married to the king, and who became chief of Channapaṭṭa. In 1585 the capital was again removed to Chandragiri, and later still to Chingalpat (Chingleput). These were, however, captured by the forces of Golkonda, and the king fled to the protection of Śivappa-Nāyak, the chief of Bednūr in the west of Mysore.

The following is a table of the Karnāṭa or Rāma-Rāja dynasty:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Srī-Ranga</th>
<th>Vēkaṭāḍri</th>
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| Rāma-Rāja, m. Lakkāmbākā | Araviṭṭi-
| Sri-Ranga, m. Tīrūmala-Dēvi | Rangapa-Rāja |
| Rāma-Rāja, killed 1565, m. Tīrūmala-Lamba, dr. of Krishna-Rāya (No. 14) | Gōpāla-Rāja |
| 18. Tīrūmala-Rāya, 1567-1571, m. Vēngalāmbā | (adopted) |
| 19. Srī-Ranga-Rāya I, 1573-1584 | Srī-Ranga |
The descent of this dynasty, who call themselves kings of Karnāṭa or Karnāṭaka, is elaborately traced back (as in Tm 1) to the Lunar line, through Yayāti and Puru. In that race was Bharata, in whose line was Santanu, fourth from whom was Vijaya, whose son was Abhimanyu, whose son was Parikshit. Eighth from him was Nanda, ninth from whom was Chālikka, seventh from whom was Rāja-Nārendra. Tenth from him was Bijjalendra, third in whose line was Vira-Hemmāḍi-Rāya, who prostrated himself before Murāri (Vishnu), and was lord of Māyāpuri. Fourth from him was Tātmā-Pinnama, whose son Sōma-Dēva took from the enemy seven hill-forts in one day. His son was Rāghava-Dēvārāṭ, whose son was Pinnama. He was lord of Araviti-nagari and had a son Bukka, who assisted in firmly establishing even the kingdom of Sāluva-Nṛṣimha. Bukka's wife was Ballāmbikā, and their son was Rāma-Rāja. He gained a victory over Sapāda's army of 70,000 horse, took the hill-fort of Ādavani (Adoni), and driving away Kāsappudaya, captured Kandana-vāll-durgā (Kurnool), and owing to his faith drank with impunity the water from the feet of Hari there, although his kinsmen had put poison into it. His son, by Lakshmyāmbikā, was Śrī-Ranga-Rāya, whose wife Tirumalāmbikā bore to him three sons—Rāma-Rāja, Tirumala-Rāya, and Vēṅkaṭapati.

Aliya1-Rāma-Rājayā-Dēva having (in 1565) suddenly set (or died) owing to acts of State by the kings of the Turukas, the city, throne, and countries of the realm were destroyed and in ruins (Hk 6, Hl 7). On the death of Sadāsīva-Rāya, the brother of Rāma-Rāja, named Tirumala-Rāya, was anointed to the throne, and ruled from Penugonda (Anantapur District), which now became the capital. He subdued all his enemies and made all the great gifts in the various sacred places. He captured the eighty-four hill-forts (the Mahratta country), put down the pride of Avahala-Rāya, subdued the Utkala (Orissa) king, and styled himself the Tribhuvanamalla of Vengi, and

1 Son-in-law, that is of Krishna-Rāya.
the Suratrâna (or Sultân) of Urigôla (Orangal). He reduced to submission the Raṭṭas, and called himself lord of Kalyânapura, Châlîkka emperor, victor over Gongâ of Komarânîkôta, and displacer of the Râya of Rodda. The Kâmbbôja, Bhôja, Kâlinga, Karâhâta and other kings were his doorkeepers.

He was succeeded in order by his sons Śri-Ranga-Râya I and Vênkatapati-Râya I. The former, halting in Uddagiri (Udayagiri), captured the hill-forts of Kôndavîdu and Vînikonda (both in the Krishna District), and took up his residence in Penugonda. Vênkatapati-Râya, his brother, was next anointed to the throne in Suragiri (Penugonda) by Tâtâchârya, the family guru, but removed the capital to Chandragiri (North Arcot). Immediately after his accession he dispersed the hosts of Yavana fiends. His army also plundered Malik Ibrâhim's son Muhammad Shâh (both kings of Golkônda) of horses, elephants, and white umbrella, so that he returned home in disgrace. Among other titles, Vênkatapati has those of Mannîyân and Sâmûla, and displacer of Oddiya-Râya (the Orissa king). It was during his reign, and apparently with his consent, that the Râjas of Mysore gained Seringapatam, and thus became independent.

Vênkatapati's grandson Râma-Dêva or Râmachandra-Râya next came to the throne, and was followed by Vênkatapati II, grandson of the original Râmâ-Râja, and called Peda-Vênikaṭha. His younger brother Pina-Vênikaṭha's son, Śri-Ranga-Râya, adopted by Gôpâla-Râja, grandson of the original Râmâ-Râja's brother Vênikaṭâdri, was next placed on the throne as Śri-Ranga-Râya II. In 1644 his capitals Chandragiri and Chingalpat being taken by the forces of Golkônda, he fled to the protection of Sivappa-Nâyak of Bednîr, in the west of Mysore, who installed him at Bêlûr and neighbouring parts, and even laid siege to Seringapatam on the plea of restoring his sovereignty. But in this he was defeated. Śri-Rânga-Râya's inscriptions continue to 1664, and with him ended the Vijayanagar empire. According to Kg. 46 he had a son
Dēvadēva who was ruling in that year, and in Gu 64 and 65 we have a still later Vēnkaṭapati ruling in 1668, who may have been the same. The line eventually merged in that of the chiefs of Ānegundi, who were subdued by Tipū Sultān. Some members of the family, however, still continue there.

17. BIJĀPUR SULTĀNS

But it was in 1644 also that, as the result of the Bijāpur conquests in the late Vijayanagar possessions in Mysore and adjacent countries, the Carnatic Bijāpur Balāghāt and Pāyānghāt provinces were formed under the governorship of Shāhjī, father of the celebrated Mahratta leader Śivaji. The latter, after his father's death, overran all these jāghir provinces to enforce his claim to a half-share. Records of this Mahratta domination are found in inscriptions of Śivaji's son Sambhājī or Sambhājī, dated 1663 and 1680 (Kl 219, CB 32), of Sambhājī's wife (Kl 227, 224, 254), and Sambhājī's sons (Mb 154, Ct 54), down to 1693. The most interesting is the one on the wall of a temple on the summit of Nandidroog (CB 32), which gives a brief but graphic description of this great stronghold.

Meanwhile we have records of the Ādil Shāhī kings of Bijāpur themselves. They were of high birth, being descended from a prince said to be the son of the Ottoman Sultān Amurāth or Murād, and brother of Muhammad the Great, the conqueror of Constantinople. He escaped to Persia and was transported to the Bahmani court in India, where he rose to power, and ended by establishing this line of kings, the constant rivals of Vijayanagar.

A fine Arabic and Persian inscription of 1632 (Sk 324) is of the reign of Muhammad-Ādil-Shāh, son of Ibrāhīm-Ādil-Shāh, and records the erection of a fort on the hill at the Māsur-Madag tank on the northern frontier of Mysore in the Shikarpur tāluq, as a memorial of victory to that point over
the wicked infidels. Other inscriptions of the same reign are Ci 43 and 44 of 1653, relating to the formation of a tank by the local governor under circumstances of special interest. In 1648 was built by the local chief the fort at Channarāyaṇapattana in the Hassan District, apparently in pursuance of a treaty with Bijāpur (Cn 158, 160, 165), no doubt to mark the limits of the two territories. At Sira is an inscription on the tomb of Malik Rihān, Subahdār of Sira, who died in 1651 (Si 66h). In 1703 and 1712 are records of the governor Gulām Ali Khān, in the former of which he decided a dispute between two Hindu gurus as to their respective disciples (Mb 98, Kl 74).

18. MUGHALS

Of the Mughal period there are a few inscriptions. The most interesting is one of the time of Aurangzeb relating to the grant of Dod-Ballāpur in 1691 (DB 31). In 1696 was erected the big mosque at Sira (Si 66e). There are also records of the Navāb Durga-Kūli-Khān in 1720 (Si 112), and of the Navāb Dilāvar-Khān in 1742 and 1745 (Si 13, Ht 19).

19. MYSORE RĀJAS

It was their acquisition of Seringapatam in 1610, and the retirement from it then of the Vijayanagar viceroy, that brought the Rājas of Mysore into prominence as independent rulers. But the family traces its origin to the beginning of the fifteenth century, and after the catastrophe which befell the Vijayanagar empire at the battle of Talikota in 1565, the Rājas of Mysore, in common with its other feudatories, had been preparing to cast off the Vijayanagar yoke.

They are of the Lunar race, and their origin is thus related in Ch 92 and other inscriptions. Certain Yādava princes from Dwāraka (the capital of the hero Krishna in
Kathiāwār) came to the Karnāṭa country, either led by fancy, according to some accounts, which seems natural, or, according to others, in order to visit their family god Nārāyana on the peak of Yadugiri (Mēlukōte). Seeing the beauty of the land, and being pleased with it, they took up their abode in Mahisha-pura (Mysore), and became the progenitors of the existing royal family. Tradition alleges that there were two princes, named Vijaya and Krishna. Espousing the cause of a distressed maiden, the daughter of the Woḍeyar or chief of Hadana (now Hādinād, to the south-east of Mysore), they saved her from a forced marriage with the chief of Kārugahalli, who was of inferior caste, by secreting themselves at the wedding banquet and slaying him. She then became the willing bride of Vijaya, who assumed the government of Hadana and Kārugahalli, adopting the title of Oḍeyar or Woḍeyar, along with a profession of the Jangama or Lingāyit creed. From them was descended Hire-Betṭada-Chāma-Rāja (the third of those named Chāma-Rāja), to whom are assigned the dates 1513 to 1552, previous to which no annals have been preserved. He, during his lifetime, made a partition of his dominions between his three sons. To Timma-Rāja he gave Hemmanhalli, to Krishna-Rāja he gave Kembala, and to Chāma-Rāja, surnamed Bōl (the Bald), he gave Mysore. No male heir surviving to either of the elder brothers, the succession was continued in the junior or Mysore branch. The following is a table of the kings:

1 A title of all the Rājas of Mysore. It was also a title of the early Vijayanagar kings, and of various lines of chiefs in the South. It signifies lord or master (being the honorific plural of Oḍey), and appears in Tamil as Udaiy. As eōōr it is the term applied to Jangama or Lingāyit priests.
Timma-Rāja (1552-1571)  Krishna-Rāja  1. Bāl Chāma-Rāja IV, 1571-1576  
12. Immaḍi-Krishna-Rāja, 1734-1766  
(adopted)  17. Chāma-Rājendra X, 1868-1894  
18. Krishna-Rāja IV, 1894- 

Timma-Rāja is said (Sr. 14) to have gained the title Antembara-ganda, distinctive of the Mysore Rājas. Chāma-Rāja IV defeated in battle Rēmaṭi-Vēṅkaṭa, the general of Rāma-Rāja. He also, as we know from history, withheld the tribute due to Vijayānagar, and set at defiance the viceroy at Seringapatam, who in vain attempted to arrest him. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Bēttda-Chāma-Rāja, who, though conspicuously brave, had no capacity for government. His younger brother, Rāja-Wodeyar, was therefore raised to the

1 Immaḍi means second; Mūmmanḍi, third.
2 His elder brother, as the senior, was originally called Dodḍa-Dēva-Rāja, but as he did not come to the throne, the designation is applied to the junior who actually ruled.
3 "Champion over those who say they are such and such." A more intelligible form is Bīrāṭ-ant-embara-ganda, "champion over those who say they have such and such titles."
throne by the elders. He, it is said (Sr 14, 64, TN 63), according to his vow, thrashed the proud lord of Kārugahalli on the field of battle with his riding-whip. But, far more important, he overcame Tirumala-Rāya (the Vijayanagar viceroy) and seated himself on the jewelled throne in Seringapatam. Whatever were the means by which this was accomplished, it is undoubted that the aged viceroy retired to Talakād in 1610, where he shortly after died, and that Rāja-Wodeyar took possession of Seringapatam and made it his capital in place of Mysore. From this time dates the independence of the Mysore Rājas, though it is curious that some of their inscriptions still acknowledge the Vijayanagar supremacy down to as late a period as 1668 (Gu 65), and Narasa-Rāja of Māsur is said (Yd 5) to be the right hand of the Vijayanagar sovereign in 1642. But, at the same time, they make numerous grants by their own independent authority, one of the earliest that can be cited being of the date 1612 (Ch 200).

All the sons being dead, Rāja-Wodeyar was succeeded by a grandson, Chāma-Rāja VI, in whose time (1630) we know that Channapatna and its possessions were added to Mysore. A posthumous son born to Rāja-Wodeyar was next placed on the throne as Immāḍi-Rāja-Wodeyar (Yd 17), but he was shortly poisoned, at the instigation, it appears, of the Dalavāyi.

Kanṭhirava-Narasā-Rāja I, son of the gallant Beṭṭada-Chāma-Rāja, then obtained the crown, and had a distinguished reign. He successfully repelled the Bijāpur invasions, and extended the kingdom on all sides, gaining great booty, some of which he applied to strengthening the fortifications of

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1 This seems to have been countenanced by the Vijayanagar sovereign Veṇkaṭapati-Rāya, who is said (TN 62) to have confirmed Rāja-Wodeyar in 1612 in the possession of 'Ummattur and Seringapatam; and Nj 198 implies that he considered the Mysore kings to have a right to the throne of Kanjāja.

2 The title of the chief officer of the State, who was at the head of the army but was also a minister. The office was mostly hereditary, the Mysore and Kalāre families having entered into an alliance according to which the former provided the Karta (Curtar in the English records) or ruler of the State, and the latter the Dalavāyi or commander-in-chief.
Seringapatam. He was the first to establish a mint, at which were coined the Kanthirāya (Canteroy) juns and fanams named after him (Ag 64), which continued to be the current national money until the Muhammadan usurpation. According to Sr 103 he was Krishna himself, born to give peace to the world when it was troubled by the Turushkas and resounded with the noise of horse hoofs. While he ruled, all the land was prosperous. When he went forth to war, the Vangas, Hūnas, and Konkanas were terrified, the Saurāshtras lost their kingdom, the Gurjara horse bolted, the Mānchhas fell down in a swoon. He established many agrahāras, bestowed numerous gifts, and revived the observance of the ēkādaśī-vrata, or eleventh day vow in honour of Lakṣmī-Nṛśimha (Vishnu), like Ambarisha and other kings of old (Ag 64).

He died without issue, and Doḍḍa-Dēva-Rāja, a grandson of Chāma-Rāja IV, was selected to succeed him, a rival claimant, afterwards Chikka-Dēva-Rāja, being sent, with his father, into confinement at Hangala (Gundalpet tālūq). This reign was occupied in repulsing invasions from Bednūr by Śivappa-Nāyak, who attempted to restore the authority of the Vijayanagar king, a fugitive at his court. Doḍḍa-Dēva-Rāja extended the Mysore territories to the south and northwest. All those who were persecuted by the Mānchhas, who had seized upon the land, flocked (says Yād 54) to him for protection. The Pāṇḍyas lost their kingdom, the Chōlas sailed away with all their forces to the islands, the Kēralas took poison, the Haivas were smitten by the gods, the Konkanas lost heart, the Hūnas sought only to save their lives, the Habbusikas were pierced all over with wounds, the Lātas were driven to wander in the forests, the Gurjaras were paralysed, the Rānas obtained nirvāṇa, while the Kurus, Maravas, Mudgalas and Jangālas, the Angas, Vangas, Kalingas, the Magadha king, with the king of Madhura and others, threw themselves at his feet. Several uncouth Mahratti and Hindu-stāni words are given as specimens of the exclamations heard on all sides from those who fell in his wars. He made all the
gifts described in the *Hema dri* and other sacred books, and established in every village inns (*chatra*) for the distribution of food. Dividing his kingdom into four parts, he gave the first to the Brāhmans, the second to the gods, the third to charity, and reserved the fourth for his own use. Details of his conquests are also thus given (Sr 14). He defeated the army of the lord of Madhura in Īrōdu (Coimbatore District), slew Damaralayappēndra, and put to flight Anantōji. He captured the elephant named Kulašēkhara, and took by assault Sāmbali (in Bhavāni tāluq, Coimbatore), Ōmalūr (near Salem), and Dhārāpuram (in south of Coimbatore District). He defeated the army of the Keladi kings (Shimoga District), captured the elephant called Gangādhara, and seized Hāsana (Hassan) and Sakkarepatṭana. The territories thus acquired extended from Sakkarepatṭana (near Chikmugalūr) in the west to Sēleyapura (Salem) in the east, and from Chikkkanāyākapura (Chiknāyakanhalli) in the north to Dhārāpuram in the south, between all which places he established an inn for travellers at every *yōjana* (about nine miles) along every road. He died at Chiknāyakanhalli.

Chikka-Dēva-Rāja, great-grandson of Chāma-Rāja IV, previously passed over and sent into confinement, was now elevated to the throne, and is one of the most celebrated of the Mysore Rājas. Many important administrative changes were made by him, some of which created serious discontent. This was suppressed by a treacherous massacre of Jangama priests, who had fomented it. But at his death in 1704, notwithstanding the troublous times, he had built up a secure and prosperous kingdom, stretching from Palni and Ānemale (Madura District) in the south to Midagēsi (north of Tumkur District) in the north, and from Carnatic Garh in the Bāramahāl (Salem District) in the east to the borders of Coorg and Balam (Manjarābād) in the west.

The inscriptions are chiefly concerned with his successes in war. One of the earliest (Ch 92 of 1675) describes him as seated on the throne of the Karnāṭa dominion like the great Indra. In the east, defeating the Pândya king Chokka
(Nāyak of Madura), he seized Tripura and Anantapuri; in
the west, smiting the Keladi kings, with the Yavanas, he took
Sakalēśapura and Arakalgūḍu (both in Hassan District); in
the north, defeating Ranadulha-Khān (the Bijāpur general),
he captured Kētasamudra, with Kandikere, Handalakere,
Gūlūr, Tumukūr, and Honnavalli (all in Tumkur District).
Defeating in battle Mushtika, who was aided by the Morasas
(people of Kolar District) and Kirātas, he captured Jādagana-
durga and changed its name to Chikkadēvarāyadurgā (now
Dēvarāyadurgā).

The Varāha (or Boar) which was lost in
the Yavana invasion, he brought from Śrīmushna (South
Arcot) and set it up with devotion in Śrīrāmagopātana
(Seringapatam—it is now in Mysore, where it was removed
in the time of Pūrnayya).

He also (Sr 151) conquered
Timmappa-Gaūḍa and Rāmappa-Gaūḍa and took Maddagirī,
Midagēśi, Bijjavara and Channarāyadurgā. Then he is said
(in Sr 14 of 1686) to have defeated the Mahrattas from
Panchavaṭi (Nāsik, in the north of the Bombay Presidency),
and of their leaders he slew Dādōji and cut off the limbs and
noses of Jaitaji and Jasavanta. He also reduced to abject terror
Śambhu (Sambhōji, son and successor of the celebrated Sivajī),
Kutupu-Shāh (one of the Sultāns of Golkońda), Ikkēri Basava
(Basavappa-Nāyak, adopted son of Channammāji, widow and
successor on the throne of Sōmaśēkhara-Nāyak), and Ekōji
(or Venkōji, the half-brother of Sivajī, who seized Tanjore
and founded the line of Mahratta rulers there). We are also
informed (in Sr 64 of 1722) that he conquered the lord of Mad-
lura, and withstood Sivajī at the time when the rulers of the
countries around Āgra, Delhi, and Bhāgānagara (Haidarābād)
were falling down before him and presenting tribute.

\[1\]  

...The latter part of the phrase might possibly be rendered—"cut off the noses of all arms." This was a practice adopted by the Mysoreans in order to instill terror into the enemy. See Manucci, *Storia del Mogor* (Irvine's translation and additional notes, vol. iv.). But may it not have been the survival of an old Indian custom? For Professor Macdonell, in writing of early Sanskrit medical works (*Imp. Gaz. Ind.*, vol. ii.), says—"Probably the only valuable contribution to surgery to which India can lay claim is the art of forming artificial noses. This operation has been borrowed in modern times from India, where Englishmen became acquainted with it in the 18th century.
thus acquired the title Apratima-vīra (unrivalled hero), which is one of the distinctive epithets of the Mysore Rājas. He is moreover said to have defeated attacks from every point of the compass, made by Turukas (or Muhammadans), Morasas (Telugu people of the Kolar District and north-east), Āreyas (or Mahrattas), Tigulas (Tamil people), Kodagas (Coorgs), and Malegas (hill tribes in the west). In addition to Kutupu-Shāh (of Golkonda), he is said to have driven off Edulu-Shāh (Ādil-Shāh of Bijapur).

Kanthirava-Narasarāja II, the son of Chikka-Dēva-Rāja, was born deaf and dumb, and thence called Mūk-arasu. But through the influence of the eminent minister Tirumalārya he succeeded to the throne. There are no inscriptions of his time.

His son, Doddā-Krishna-Rāja, followed, during whose reign frequent invasions took place by the Muhammadans and the Mahrattas, who had to be bought off. The king being immersed in his own pleasures, all power began to fall into the hands of the ministers.

With him the direct descent ended. Ag 62 gives a list of the kings down to 1811, but (to complete the chronicle from history) Chāma-Rāja VII, a member of the Hemmanhalli family, was next elected. He was eventually deposed by the dalavāyi Dēvarāj and the minister Nanjarāj, and died a prisoner at Kabbāldurga in 1734. Immal-Krishna-Rāja of Kenchangōd, a younger and distant branch, was put on the throne in that year, and died in 1766. His eldest son Nanja-Rāja was directed by Haidar-Ali to be installed, but finding him not sufficiently subservient, Haidar turned him out of the palace in 1767. He was strangled in 1770, being nominally succeeded by his brother Chāma-Rāja VIII, who died childless in 1775. An inscription of the previous year (Bl 65) truthfully represents Chāma-Rāja as the king, but the excellent Haidar-Ali as the ruler. Chāma-Rāja IX, a member of the Kārugahalli family, was next selected by Haidar in a dramatic manner. He died in 1796 and Tipū-Sultān appointed no successor. On the capture of Serinagapatam by the British in 1799 and the death at the same
time of Tipū-Sultān, the Muhammadan usurpation of Haidar-
Ali (1761-1782) and Tipū-Sultān (1782-1799) being
brought to an end, the British Government restored the
Hindu dynasty, and placed on the throne Mummadi-Krishna-
Rāja, son of the last-named Chāma-Rāja. His inscriptions
run from 1800 (Sr 8) down to near the end of his life in
1868. One in the Lakshmīramana temple at Mysore com-
memorates his installation there on the throne of his ancestors
on the 30th of June 1799. Another, of 1829, in the Krishnas-
vāmi temple, ascribes to him nine modes of service, called
the nine jewels, for the pleasure of the goddess Chāmundēśvari.
These were—the jewel of adornment, in presenting crowns for
the gods at Mēlukōṭe and other places; the jewel of love of
country, in founding Chāmarājūnagar and other towns; the
jewel of devotion, in building temples; the jewel of their con-
secration, in completing their towers; the jewel of public good,
in erecting dams and bathing-places; the jewel of charity, in
establishing inns for feeding pilgrims at various sacred places;
the jewel of fame, in issuing gold and silver coins; and the
jewel of language, in publishing commentaries on the sacred
books. Ch 86 of 1828 and Nj 8 of 1845 contain a list of the
titles and emblems of the Rājas of Mysore. Krishna-Rāja was
deposed in 1831 for continued misrule, and during the next
fifty years Mysore was administered by British Commissioners.
In 1881 it was again restored to the Mysore family in the
person of Krishna-Rāja's adopted son Chāma-Rājēndra, and
he was succeeded in 1894 by the present Mahārāja, Krishna-
Rāja IV, at first under the Regency of the Mahārāni his mother.
On attaining majority in 1902 he was installed in power.

20. COORG RĀJAS

The Kongālvas, who had been installed by the Chōlas in
1004 or 1005 (Cg 46) as rulers of Kongal-nād—the Yelusā-
vira country in Coorg and the Arkalgūḍ tāluq in Mysore—

1 Examples of Haidar-Ali's inscriptions are Cp 146, 18, and 114; of Tipū-Sultān's, for the most part characteristically bombastic, Sr 23, 159, Bn 7, and My 54.
and of whom there are a dozen or more inscriptions in Coorg (see Cg 30–50), disappeared on the expulsion in 1116 of the Chōlas from Mysore by the Hoysalas, their latest inscription being dated in 1115 (Cg 33). But the Changālvas, who ruled over the other parts of Coorg and Changa-nāḍ—the Hunsūr tālūq in Mysore—continued in power, in subordination to the Hoysalas, and subsequently, as the Rājas of Nanjarāyapaṭṭana or Nanjarājapaṭṭana, to Vijayanagar, till nearly the middle of the seventeenth century (Hs 36). The earliest express mention of the Kodagas or Coorgs in the inscriptions is in 1174 (Hs 20), when Bādaganda Nandi-Dēva, Udeyāditya-Dēva of Kuruche, and others, the Kodagas of all the nāḍs, are said to have assisted the Changālva prince Pemma-Virappa in his attack on the Hoysala army at Pālpare, an enterprise that was not successful. The Changālva line became extinct in 1644 by the death of the last king at the capture of Piriyapatna or Periapatam by the army of the Mysore Rāja. The latter did not, however, follow up the victory into Coorg, owing to the forces of Bednūr having entered the country under Sivappa-Nāyaka, who was engaged in invading Malayāla. The Kodagas later on may have attempted to recover Piriyapatna, as they are mentioned (Sr 64) among the assailants from all quarters who were overcome by Chikka-Dēva-Rāja of Mysore.

The throne of Coorg left vacant by the overthrow of the Changālvas did not remain long unoccupied. A prince of the Bednūr family, who may have been related to the Changālvas in some way, having settled at Hālēri (called Kshīranagara in Sanskrit), to the north of Mercāra, in the garb of a Jangama or Lingāyit priest, gradually brought the whole country under his authority. His descendants continued as Rājas of Coorg till 1834, when the country was annexed by the British.

The following is a table of the Coorg Rājas, whose history is contained in the Rājendranāme, compiled by order of Vira-Rājendra, and translated into English by Lieut. Abercromby at Mangalore in 1808:—
The first Muddu-Rāja removed the capital from Hālēri to Madikēri (Mercāra), where he built a fort and palace in 1681. The second Muddu-Rāja and his cousin Muddaya ruled together at the same time, and died in the same year. The succession was then disputed. Dēvappa-Rāja at first secured the throne, but Linga-Rāja, the rival candidate, gained possession by seeking the support of Haidar Ali, who had usurped the throne of Mysore. Linga-Rāja died in 1780, and his tomb was erected in Mahādevapura, the northern quarter of Mercāra (Cg 12). Haidar then took possession of Coorg under the pretext of being guardian to the sons until they should come of age. But the princes were confined at Gōrūr (in Hassan tāluq) and then at Piriyapatna (Periapatam). In 1782 the Coorgs rose in rebellion, and Haidar Ali died. But Tipū-Sultān, his son, re-established his power, and when the Coorgs again rebelled, deported them wholesale to Seringapatam, and parcelled out the country among Musalmān landlords, who were enjoined to exterminate all the Coorgs that might remain. In 1738 Vīra-Rājendra, with his wife and brothers, made his escape from Piriyapatna, and before long was able to regain a measure of power. Through the support of the British, who were now at war with Tipū-Sultān, he was at

1 Joint rulers.
length securely seated on the throne, and a large body of Coorgs escaped to their own country during the siege of Seringapatam by Lord Cornwallis in 1792. Vira-Rājendrā had a romantic career and was the most distinguished of the Coorg Rājas. Cg 13 and 14 are grants made by him in 1796 for Śivāchāra maṭhas, and they direct that at the time of Śiva-pūjā blessings may be invoked with the following hymn of benediction:

jāti-smarāvatām prithvi-patītvā saubhāgya-lāvannyaṃ atīva-rūpam |
tvad bhakti vidyā paramāyur īśāyām tvam daś cha mē Śāṅkara jāmna janmani ||

(Recollection of former births, dominion of the world, the glory of good fortune, surpassing beauty, Faith in thee, knowledge, long life, (objects of) desire,—(of these) be thou giver to me, Śāṅkara, from age to age.)

And the witnesses are thus described:

āditya chandrā anilō nalaś cha dyaur bhūmir āpō hṛdayam Yamaś cha ahaś cha rātrē cha ubhayaś cha sandhi dharmaśya janati marasya vṛtah,

(Sun and moon, wind and fire, sky, earth and water, heart (or conscience) and Yama, day and night, morning and evening; these know the deeds of a righteous man.)

In Cg 17 are recorded the erection and endowment of the Śrīkālēśvara temple at Mercāra in 1820 by the first Linga-Rāja. The building was commenced, it is said, on the 1,796,362nd Kali day, and completed on the 1,797,421st. A curious account of an elephant hunt in the time of the last Vira-Rāja is given in Cg 25. Elephants having increased in numbers to such a degree that they were destroying fruit trees and crops, killing travellers, and damaging houses, the king considered it part of his duty as protector of his people to rid them of these troubles. He therefore, after invoking the aid of Śiva, entered into the forests in a chariot made and painted like a lion (according to Hindu belief the natural enemy of the elephant), and in the course of 2 years, 1 month and 25 days, between 1822 and 1824, disposed of 414 elephants. The actual days on which they were hunted were
38, and in those days he claims to have shot with his own hand 233, while his trained soldiers captured 181 alive, and "it was a marvel that men should catch stout and lofty rutting elephants as if they were mice."

But this king was a monster of sensuality and cruelty, and by wholesale murders had established a reign of terror in the country. In 1832 his sister and her husband escaped to the Resident at Mysore for British protection, and the Rāja's insolent and defiant conduct led to an expedition being sent against him. As the result, he was deposed in 1834, and at the request of the people the country was taken over by the British. The Rāja was deported to Vellore, but afterwards lived at Benāres. In 1852 he was allowed to go to England, where he sought to gain the favour of Queen Victoria by having his daughter baptized and brought up as a Christian. He then commenced a Chancery suit against the East India Company, which dragged on till the affairs of the Company passed over to the Crown. He died in England in 1862, and was buried in Kensal Green Cemetery in London.

Among later inscriptions is Cg 29 of 1857. This relates to the restoration of a temple of Mahādeva on the Kunda hill. The work, to which a number of prominent men contributed, including a Brāhman, Coorgs, and even a Muhammadan, was commenced, it is said, on the 1,810,660th Kali day.
II. RULERS OF MINOR STATES

1. ÁLUPAS OR ÁLUVAS

Of the rulers of the principal minor States, we may begin with the Álupas or Áluvas (also called Álu and Álva). They are mentioned in connection with the Chalukyas in the seventh century, who describe them along with the Gangas as an ancient family (Dg 66), and under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the eighth (Sb 10). Their original estate seems to have been Edevolal, to the north-east of Banavāśi. But their regular kingdom was called Álvakhēda or Áluvakhekēda, which was one of the boundaries of the Hoysala kingdom in the eleventh century (Mg 32). It was a Six Thousand province (Sb 10), situated chiefly in South Kanara, and it has been suggested that it corresponds with the Olokhoira mentioned by Ptolemy so far back as the second century. The inscriptions of the Áluvas have been found at Kīgga (Koppa tāluq) and at Udayāvara, near Udīplī (South Kanara), while it appears that Pomburcha (Humcha in Nagar tāluq) was at one time in their possession (Kp 37).

No connected genealogy of the line has been obtained, nor any account of their origin. But the names of certain kings occur. Thus we have Gunaśāgara as governor of the Kadamba-māndala in about 675 (Kp 38), and his son Chitravāha (Chitravāhana) in 692 in the time of Vinayāditya (Sb 571). Then in about 800 we have a later Chitravāhana, ruling the Áluvakhekēda Six Thousand under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa.
king Gōvinda III (Sb 10). The Udayāvara inscriptions (EI. ix. 15) supply Raṇāṣāgara and Śvētavāhana as the names of other kings; also Prithivisāgara and Vijayāditya or Mārāmmana.

2. ŚĀNTARAS

The earliest mention of these kings is in the time of (the Chalukya) Vinayāditya, the end of the seventh century.¹ With the approval of the brother’s son of the Chānta king Jayasan-graha, who was lord of the city of Madhura encircled by the Kālindī, and of the Ugra-vamsa but connected with the Yadu-vamsa by marriage, a grant was then made by the wife of the Pāṇḍi yuvarāja; and it is said to be under the protection of “the three hundred of the children of the house of the Chāntas.” That this was the original form of the name appears also from Sk 283 of about 830, where too the king is said to be a Chānta. According to Nr 35 and 48, the Śāntara kingdom was founded by Jinadatta-Rāya, lord of the northern Madhura (Muttra), who was of the Ugra-vamsa. The Śāntaras are identified with Paṭṭi-Pomburcha,² the modern Hombucha or Humcha in Nagar-tāluq, as their capital, which may previously have been in the possession of the Āluvas. The remote progenitor of the line was Rāha, from whom was descended Sahakāra, who became a cannibal. He was the father of Jinadatta, who escaped from him in disgust and came to the South, bringing an image of the Jain goddess Padmāvatī. She bestowed on him the power to transmute iron into gold, as exemplified in his horse’s bit being turned into a golden bit on touching it with her image. Thus aided, he subdued the local chiefs around, and established his capital at Pomburcha (supposed to mean golden bit) and took the name Śāntara. His descendants the Śāntaras ruled over the Śāntalige

² Paṭṭi was apparently the name of the country in which Pomburcha was situated. The Hoysala king Vīshnuvarādhana is said (Sr 49, III 58) to have set up Paṭṭi Perumāla.
Thousand, which corresponds generally with the present Tirthahalli taluq and neighbouring parts. Jindadatta conquered the country southwards as far as Kalasa (Mudgere taluq), and northwards fortified Gōvardhangiri (Sāgar taluq), which he named after the famous hill near Muttra in the north of India. At a later period the capital was removed to Kalasa and then to Kārakala (in South Kanara). The rulers eventually became Lingāyits and adopted the title of Bhairarasa-Wodeyers, but they probably had Jain wives. They continued beyond the fall of Vijayanagar in the sixteenth century, and were finally absorbed into the Keladi State.

Among the early Ṣāntara kings are mentioned the brothers Śrīkēśi and Jayakēśi, and the son of the former, Ranakēśi. We have the Chānṭa king Jagēśi in Sk 283 ruling the whole of Sāntalige under the Rāśtrakūṭa king Nripatunga Amōghaharavarsa. He may therefore be placed in about 830. But a connected genealogy begins with Vikrama-Ṣāntara, who had the titles Kandukāchārya and Dāna-vinōda. He is credited with forming the Sāntalige Thousand into a separate kingdom, of which the boundaries were the Sula river on the south, Tavanasi on the west, and Bandlige on the north. No eastern boundary is named (Nr 35). In about 920 a Sāntara king, whose name is not given, was defeated in a battle with the Nolambas, and slain and beheaded by the Ganga prince, the son of Pilduvipati or Prithuvipati (Gd 4). In 1062 and 1066 Vira-Ṣāntara and his son Bhujabala-Ṣāntara are said (Nr 47, 59) to have freed the kingdom from those who had no claim to it. The reference may be to certain Chālukya princes, Bijjarasa and his brother Gōna-Rāja, who are stated (in Sa 109 bis) to be in full enjoyment of the Sāntalige-nāḍ in 1042. A glowing description is given of the fertility of the province, which was such that hunger was unknown there, and grass, firewood, and water were so abundant that many learned Brāhmans were induced to make it their abode. The Sāntalige-nāḍ, it says, had been ruled by many, but among them none was more famous than Gōna-Rāja. He established
an agrahāra for the Brāhmans at Andhāsura (still so called, near Anantapur). Andhāsura is named among one of the first conquests of Jinaratāta.

After this the Śāntaras completely recovered their power and influence. For of Nanni-Śāntara, the brother of Bhuja-bala, it is said (Nr 36) that he gained much greater distinction than even Būtuga-Permmādi (the Ganga king) had obtained, as the emperor came to meet him half way, and, giving him half the seat on his metal throne, placed the valiant Śāntara, whom he had protected, at his side. In the third generation from this we have Jāgadēva, who must be the king that attacked the Hoysalas in Dōrāsamudra and was beaten off by Ballāla I and Biṭṭi-Dēva in 1104, as his nephew Jayakēsi is given the date 1159 (Sa 159).

The centre of the State was later removed southwards to Kalasa (Mudgere tāluq), and from 1209 (Mg 65) to 1516 (Mg 31) it is called the Kalasa kingdom. Inscriptions at Kalasa give us the names of its rulers, two of whom, from 1246 to 1281, were queens, Jākala and Kālala-mahādevi; then Vira-Pāṇḍya and Bhairarasā-Wodeyar alternately recur. In 1292, at the time of the coronation of the Hoysala king Ballāla III, Kālala's son Pāṇḍya-Dēva successfully defended his country from an attack (Cm 36). But for the fourteenth century there are no inscriptions; it was the time of the Musalmān invasions from Delhi. In 1432 was erected the gigantic image of Gōmaṭa at Kārakala by Vira-Pāṇḍya. From 1516 the State is called the Kalasa-Kārakala kingdom (Mg 41), and is described (Mg 62) as the kingdom below and above the Ghats. Kalasa is above the Ghats, in Mysore, and Kārakala below the Ghats, in South Kanara, both in about the same latitude. In 1530 the king is only said to be on the throne of Kārakala (Kp 47). The extension of the kingdom below the Ghats probably took place in the fifteenth century, when the kings had the title (Mg 42) ari-rāya-gaṇḍara-dāvani (cattle-rope to the champions over kings). The Vijayanagar king Krishna-Rāya soon after invaded the Tulu
country and encamped near Mangalur (Mg 41). Bhairaras was
fled, but made a vow that if the imperial army should retire
and he return in peace to his country, he would repair the
temple at Kalasa. What he wished for happened, and his
right to the territory which he had occupied may then have
been recognised. In 1542 and 1555 the crown is said
(Mg 40, 60) to be that of Keravase, which may have been
then the capital. It is near to Kārakala, on the east. The
latest grant we have by the Bhairaras-Wodeyars is dated
1598 (Kp 50). But another colossal image of Gōmaṭa was
erected at Yenūr (in South Kanara) by the brother of a king
named Pândya in 1603 (see SB, Introd. 31, 32; El. vii.
110, 112).

3. CHANGĀLVAS

The Changālvas or Changāluvas were a line of kings
ruling for a long period in the west of the Mysore District
and in Coorg. Their original territory was Changa-nāḍ
(Hs 97), corresponding chiefly with the Hunsūr tāluq. They
claim to be Yādavas (Hs 63, Yd 26) and of the Lunar race,
descended from a king named Changālva, who was in Dvarāvati,
and having defeated Bijjalendra, seized his titles. What these
were does not appear, but the kings are generally styled mahā-
manḍalika-manḍalēśvara. This Bijjala might perhaps be an
early king of that name among the Kalachuryas (see above,
p. 79), or one of the Śāntaras. The Changālvas became
devoted Śāivas, and had as their family god Annadāni-
Mallikārjuna on the Beṭṭadpur hill (in Hunsūr tāluq), which
they called Śrīgiri, perhaps with reference to the Śaiva sacred
place Śrīparvata or Śrīśālā in the Kurnool District. But they
are first met with in Jain inscriptions at Panasoge or Hanasoge,
to the south of the Kāvērī river in the Yedatore tāluq, where
there are many ruined basadis. These, according to Yd 26,
were sixty-four in number, and were set up by Rāma, the

1 The invasion is said to have been made by Bhujabala-Rāya. If this be taken
as a name and not a title, it may refer to Krishna-Rāya’s elder brother Narusimha,
who is called Bushalrao by Nunis (see Mys. Arch. Rep. of 1908).
son of Daśaratha, the elder brother of Lakshmana, and husband of Sītā. The Jain priests of the Hottage (or Pustaka) gachcha claim exclusive jurisdiction over basadis at Panasoge and at Tale-Kāvērī (in Coorg), which may perhaps have been the limits of the Changālva kingdom east and west.

One of the basadis or Jain temples at Panasoge set up by Rāma had been endowed by the Gangas, and was rebuilt by the king Nanni-Changālva. The Ganga gifts are ascribed in Yd 25 to Mārasimha-Dēva, and he ruled from 961 to 974. Nanni-Changālva, from his prenomen Rājendra-Chōla, belongs to the beginning of the eleventh century. He is the first Changālva of whom we have any certain knowledge. But as their kingdom was conquered by the Chōlas at the time when the Ganga power was overthrown in 1004, the Changālvas must have been an established line of kings prior to that. Their inscriptions are found mostly in the Hunsūr and Yedatore tāluqs and in Coorg, where they occur as far west as Yedava-nād and Beṭṭyet-nād.

The subjugation of the Changālvas by the Chōlas seems to have been effected by their defeat at Panasoge by the Chōla general Panchava-mahārāya (Cg 46). The subsequent Changālva kings all had Chōla prenomens for nearly two centuries. But on the expulsion of the Chōlas from Mysore by the Hoysalas in 1116, the Changālvas came into collision with the latter. Ballāla I had led an expedition against them in about 1104 (Hn 162). Vira-Ganga was applied to for a grant by their purānika in 1139 (Cn 199, 200). In 1145 Nārasimha is said (Ng 76) to have slain Changālva in battle, and seized his elephants, horses, gold, and new jewels. In 1155 Nārasimha's general Chokīmaya is said (Hn 69) to have brought the Changa king's territory into subjection to his king, and in 1171 Sōvi-dēva, the Kadamba ruler of Banavase, having vowed to do it, put the Changālva king into chains (Sb 545). Changālva is named as one of the kings who paid homage to Nārasimha's son Ballāla when as a prince he made a tour in the hill countries to the west (Bl 86). But
Ballāla, when on the throne, had to send an expedition in 1174 under his general Beṭṭarasa against the Changālva king Mahadēva, who had retired to Pālpare, a fort in Kīggaṭnad in south Coorg. Beṭṭarasa destroyed him, and made Pālpare the seat of his own government. But the Changālva Pemmavarappā afterwards attacked him, aided by the Koḍagas (or Coorgs) of all the nāḍs (the earliest express mention of the Coorgs). Beṭṭarasa was near being totally defeated, but contrived to gain the victory (Hs 20). After this the Changālvas appear to have submitted to the Hoysalas. In 1245 they had their capital at Śrīrangapattana, not Seringapatam, but the place in Coorg known as Kōduṭu-Śrīrangapattana, situated to the south of the Kāvēri, near Siddapur (Ag 53), and two kings, Sōma-Dēva and Boppa-Dēva, were ruling conjointly. In 1252 the Hoysala king Sōmēśvara was received by them on a visit (Ag 53) to Rāmanāthpurā (on the north bank of the Kāvēri in Arkalgūḍ tāluq). Changālvas named Mali-Dēva and Harihara-Dēva are mentioned in 1280 and 1297 (Bl 89, Cg 54, 45, 59), but during the fourteenth century none are met with.

At the end of the fifteenth century they again appear, and Nanja-Rāja, who ruled from 1502 to 1533, was the founder of their new capital Nanjarājapattana or Nanjarāyapattna. It is in Coorg, to the north of the Kāvēri, where it turns north and becomes the common boundary of Mysore and Coorg. The kings now called themselves kings of Nanjarāyapattna or Nanjarājapattana, and this place still continues to give its name to the northern tāluq of Coorg. Nanja-Rāja's younger brother Mahadēva is mentioned in Hs 63 and SB 103, but a genealogy of the Changālvas at this period is given in Hs 24 and 63. Mangarasa in his Jayanṛpa-kāvyā, written in about 1509, says that his father was descended from the minister of the Changālva kings, and that the latter derived their origin from Krishna, that is, were Yādavas. Śrikanṭha-Rāja, ruling in 1544 (Cg 26) seems to have been an important personage, and is distinguished by supreme titles (Hs 24). Piriya-Rāja,
surnamed Rudragana, who ruled from 1586 to 1607, rebuilt Singapaṭṭana and named it after himself Piṭiyapaṭṭana (Hs 15), the Periapatam in Hunsūr tāluq. In 1607 Tirumala-Rāja, the Vijayanagar viceroy at Seringapatam, made a grant of the Malalavāḍi country (Hunsur tāluq) to Rudragana "in order that the worship of the god Annadāni-Mallikārjuna should not fail as long as the Nanjarāyapaṭṭana kings of the Changālva family continued" (Hs 36). But Piṭiyapaṭṭana was taken by the Mysore king in 1644, Vira-Rājaiya, the ruling prince, falling in its defence, after putting to death his wives and children on seeing that his situation was desperate. This was the end of the Changālvas.

4 KONGĀLVAS

The Kongālvas ruled a kingdom consisting of the Arkalgūḍ tāluq in the south of the Hassan District of Mysore and the adjoining Vēlusāvira country in the north of Coorg. It was more or less the Kongal-nāḍ Eight Thousand, of which the Ganga prince Ereyappa had been governor in about 880 (Hs 92). But the Kongālva State now in question was a creation of the Chōlas in about 1004, as recorded in Cg 46. It is there said that the great Chōla king Rājakēśarivarmanma-Permmāṇadigal (Rājarāja), on hearing how Panchava-mahārāya had fought without ceasing in the battle of Panasoge (Yedatore tāluq) and annihilated the enemy (the Changālvas), resolved to bestow on him a crown and give him a nāḍ. Accordingly, when he appeared before the king, the latter bound on him a crown with the title Kshatriya-sikhāmāni Kongālva, and gave him Mālavvi (now Mālambi, in Coorg). Of this Panchava-mahārāya we have an inscription at Balmuri (Sr 140), dated in 1012, in which he is described as a bee at the lotus feet of Rājarāja, and is said to have been invested by him with the rank of mahā-dāṇḍanāyaka for Bengi-maṇḍala (the Eastern Chālukya territory) and Ganga-maṇḍala (the Ganga territory in Mysore). He then claims to have led an expedition
throughout the western coast region, in the course of which he seized Tuluva (South Kanara), and Konkana (North Kanara), held Malaya (Malabar), and put to flight Chēramma (the king of Cochin or Travancore), after which he pushed aside Teluga and Raṭṭiga (countries to the north of Mysore), and desired to have even the little Belvola country (in Dharwar and Belgaum Districts).

Kongālva kings with Chōla prenomens continue down to 1115 (Cg. 33), and disappear on the expulsion of the Chōlas by the Hoysalas at that time. They were Jains, and the titles ascribed (Ag 99) to Adaṭarāditya, who ruled from 1066 to 1100, are: entitled to the pancha-mahā-sabda, māhāmanḍalēśvara, chief lord of the city of Oreyūr (the early Chōla capital near Trichinopoly, now called Warriore), sun upon the eastern mountain—the Chōla-kula—with twisted top-knot, crest-jewel of the Sūryya-vamsa (or Solar race). Adaṭarāditya had a learned minister named Nakulārīyya, who boasts of being able to write in four languages (Ag 99). Which these were is unfortunately not mentioned.

Two occasions are referred to, in Mj 43 and Ag 76, on which the Kongālvas came into collision with the Hoysalas. In the former, the Kongālva king attacked Nripa-Kāma-Poysala in 1022, when the latter was apparently saved by his general Jōgayya. In the latter, Kongālva claims to have gained a victory at Manni over the base (mundha) Poysala in 1026. As no farther advance of the Chōla arms is recorded, it is evident that the Hoysalas checked the Chōla career of conquest in Mysore in this direction.

The Kongālva name survived till 1390 (Cg. 39), when some Jain priests repaired the basadis at Mullūr (in Coorg) and a Kongālva-Sugunī-Dēvi made grants for them, which are still continued.
5. PUNNĀḌ RĀJAS

Punnāḍ was a very ancient kingdom, situated in the south of Mysore. It is the Punnāṭa mentioned in connection with the Jain migration from the North in the third century B.C. led by Bhadrabahu, who at Sravana-Belgola (Hassan District), in anticipation of his death, directed the pilgrims to go on to Punnāṭa (as stated by Harishena in the Brihatkathakāśa, dated in 931¹). It is also mentioned in the second century by Ptolemy as Pounnata, where (he says) is beryl. Its name occurs again in the fifth century in connection with the Ganga king Avinīta (Cg 1). It was a Six Thousand province, and had as its capital Kitthipura, now identified (Hg 56) with Kittūr on the Kabbani river in the Heggadadēvankōte tāluq. Avinīta's son Durvvinīta, who reigned from 482 to 517, married the daughter of Skandavarmma, the Rāja of Punnāḍ, who chose him for herself, although from her birth she had been intended by her father, on the advice of his own guru, for the son of another (DB 68). Punnāḍ was after this annexed to the Ganga kingdom (Tm 23), but the name continues to appear for some time.

Only one inscription has been discovered of the Punnāṭa Rājas (IA. xii. 13; xviii. 366). Its date is not certain, but it gives the following succession of kings: Rāṣṭravarmma; his son Nāgadatta; his son Bhujaga, who married the daughter of Singavarmma; their son Skandavarmma; and his son the Punnāṭa-Rāja Ravidatta. The latter makes a grant of villages to Brāhmans, from his victorious camp at Kitthipura.

There was also a small district called the Punnāḍ Seventy in the Devanhalli tāluq in the tenth century (Dv 41, 43), but whether it had any connection with the other is not apparent.

¹ See above, p. 10.
6. SINDAS

The Sindas gave their name to the Sindavādi province, which extended over parts of the Shimoga, Chitaldroog, Bellary, Dharwar, and Bijāpur Districts. The account of their origin is first related in Dg 43, and repeated in HI 50 and 20. From the union of Śiva and Sindhu (the name of the river Indus) was born a son, to whom Bhava (Śiva) with affection gave the name Saindhava, and made the king of the serpents his guardian. Saying that unless his son drank tigress's milk he would not become brave, Śiva created a tigress, whose milk the child drank, and grew in the world. Moreover, Paramēśvara directed the goddess Mālati to aid his son in war, and gave him a second name of Nādudōl Sinda (the long-armed Sinda). Being told that Karahāta (in Satāra District) was his abode, he took possession of it, driving out the kings that were there. Among his titles are: mahā-mandalēśvara, lord of Karahāta-pura, obtainer of a boon from the goddess Mālati, distinguished by the blue flag (niśa-dvaja), of the Phanirāja-vamśa (the race of the king of serpents), having the tiger and deer crest. The Sindas also had (HI 98, 26) the titles Sinda-Gōvinda, and Pātāla-chakravarti.

The earliest reference to their country seems to be in the fifth century (Kd 162), under the name of the Sindh-uthayā-rāṣṭra, an outlying portion. But in 750 the Sinda-vishaya itself is mentioned (Mg 36). The Sinda inscriptions in Mysore are principally found in the Dāvangere and Honnāgli tāluqs. In 968 a Sinda appears under the Rāshtrakūta king Akālavara (Hk 23). In 992 the Sindas had come under the Western Chālukyas (Dg 114), in 1180 were under the Kalachuryas (HI 50), in 1189 again under the Western Chālukyas (HI 46), in 1198 under the Hoysalas (Sk 315), and in 1215 under the Sēnas (HI 44). Their chief city at this period was Bellagavartti or Belagavatti, now called Belagutti, in the Honnālli tāluq; but in 1164 the royal
residence was at Hallavūr (Dg 43), which is on the Tunga-
bhadra (Hulloor in the Rāni-Bennūr tāluq in Dharwar), the
city at which, soon after, the Hoysala king Ballāla II lived for
a considerable time. A list of the nādu's included in the Sinda
kingdom is given in HI 50, the principal being the Edavatte
Seventy, Bellave Seventy, Muduvalla Thirty, and Narivalige
Forty (HI 26, 28).

Īśvara-Dēva I, ruling from 1166 to 1180, seems to have
been of some importance. At his coronation, the sound of the
drums and conchs roused up Uragēndra (the king of the
serpents), who came there in haste, saying, "This is a
glorification of my line; Oho! I must see this." Śiva also
came, with Gangā and Pārvati, and Ganēśa, to bless the king.
With a signet-ring of the serpent jewel on his hand, with his
powerful arms and body, his sword and beard, this Sinda king
Īśvara appeared to his enemies like a terrible dragon ready to
swallow them up. In 1196 and 1197 the Sindas were
exposed to persistent attacks from the Hoysala forces of
Umā-Dēvi, the queen of Ballāla II, and in 1245 and 1247
fought severe battles at Kūdali and Nēmatti (Nyāmti) against
the Śēuna general Śrīdhara, whom they drove off in confusion.

7. SĒNAVĀRAS

The Sēnavāras were a Jain family of whom inscriptions
are found in the west of the Kadūr District. The first
mention of a Sēnavāra is in about 690, in the time of the
Āluva king Chitravāhana (Kp 37), and of the Western
Chālukya king Vinayāditya (Sk 278). In about 1010 a
Sēnavāra was ruling the Banavase province under Vikram-
āditya (Sb 381). But a connected account of the period
when they were independent appears in Cm 95, 61, 94 and
others, among which Cm 62 gives a date that seems to
correspond with 1058. We thus obtain the names of
Jīvitavāra, his son Jīmūtavāhana, and the latter's son Māra or
Mārasimha. They were of the Khachara-vamsa, had the
serpent flag (*phani-dhvaja*) and the lion crest, and were lords of Kādalār-pura. Māra received homage from all the kings of the Vidyādharā-loka, and was master of Hēmakūṭa-pura. Sūryya and Āditya, the sons of Sēnavāra, were special ministers of Vikramāditya's court in 1128 (Dg 90). The first was perhaps the father of the experienced general Sēnāpati, who claims (Dg 84) to have selected which of the Pāṇḍyas should sit on the throne, from Palatta downwards, and kept them in power, so that without him they were ciphers (*pūjya*).

8. PĀṇḍYAS

The Pāṇḍyas of Uchchangi were an interesting and important family. They were Vādavas, of the Lunar race, and ruled originally over Hayve, one of the Seven Konkanas, with their capital at Sisugali. The Pāṇḍya king in 1113 claims to be lord of Gōkarna-pura, and protector of the Konkaṇa-rāṣṭra (Sk 99). On the conquest of the Seven Konkanas by the Western Chālukya prince Jayasimha, the Pāṇḍyas became identified with Uchchangi (a celebrated hillfort on the northern border of Mysore, in the south-west of the Bellary District), which became the seat of government for the Nolambavāda Thirty-two Thousand (the Chitaldroog District). The origin of the family is traced in Dg 41 to Mangaya or Āditya-Dēva, from whom sprang Pāṇḍya, whose son was Chēdī-Rāja, so called from his subduing the Chēdī kings.\(^1\) Though king over the whole circle of the earth, he was permanently partial (says Dg 39) to the Pāṇḍya country, and so became famous by the name of Pāṇḍya. The blows from his bracelets had resounded on the conch-shell on the top of Paurandara's head, and his fish-crest was set up on great rocks on the chief mountains.\(^2\) His son was Palanta, who secured their kingdoms to both the Chālukya and Chōla kings. The general distinctive titles of the Pāṇḍyas are: mahā-

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1 Chēdī is Bandelkhand. The Kalachurivas were rulers of Chēdī.

2 The fish-crest was the emblem of the Pāṇḍyas of Madura in the south.
manḍałēśvara, lord of Kāṇchi-pura,1 champion in cutting on both sides (pariśchēdi-ganda2), defeater of the designs of Rājiga-Chōla.3

Tribhuvanamalla-Pāṇḍya, whose name seems to have been Irukkavēla (Dg 39), was ruling the Nolambavāḍi province under the Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla in (?) 1083 (Ci 53). In 1101 he was also in charge of the Ballakunde Three Hundred (Dg 151, 128). His residence was at Bēltūr (Bettūr, close to Dāvangere on the north-east). He is said (Dg 139, 90) to be the rod in Tribhuvanamalla’s right hand, and such was the emperor’s confidence in him (says Dg 3) that he was considered sufficient by himself to break the pride of Chōla, harass Āndhra, upset Kalinga, frighten and attack the Anga, Vanga, and Magadha kings, conquer Mālava, and trample on Gurjjara. By his valour he brought the whole earth encompassed by the four oceans into subjection to king Vikrama. Dg 155 shows him in 1124 ruling the Sāntalige Thousand and various agrahāras in Banavāsī-nad, as well as the Nolambavāḍi province, and controlling the nidhi-nidhān-nikshēpa (apparently mines or banks and underground treasures), the sahasra-dayda (the thousand force) and other affairs. He is here called Vira-Nolamba-Pallava-Permmāṇaḍi-Dēva’s younger brother. This was the Chālukya prince Jayasimha, who was the son of a Pallava mother. Whether Pāṇḍya was really related to him, or whether this is only a complimentary expression of their intimacy, is not clear. But it may be pointed out that his grandson is stated (Dg 41) to be ruling kumāra-vrīṭtyyinda,7 by his right as a prince. Both of them had married sisters of Vikramāditya (Dg 41).

With Dg 2 we come to Rāya-Pāṇḍya, who continued to rule Nolambavāḍi and Sāntalige from Bēltūr. Dg 77 describes him as a confounder of the Chōla king, destroyer of Nēpāla, a warrior to Kalinga, uprooter of the unsubmissive Sinīgala,

1 Apparently adopted in consequence of their defeat of the Chōlas.
2 Perhaps a covert allusion to the defeat of the Chēdi kings.
3 Rājendra-Chōla II, afterwards known as Kulottunga-Chōla I.
Chyendra, Singha, and Kaulīta kings. He had the sons Pandita-Pândya, Vira-Pândya, and Vijaya-Pândya or Kāma-Dēva. Pandita-Pândya had for his preceptor the learned Madhusūdana (composer of Dg 41), but seems not to have come to the throne.

Vira-Pândya ruled Nolambavādi from the Uchchangi fort. He it is who is said to be standing in the right of a prince, as remarked above. He subdued Male and gave it to the ornament of the Chālukyas (Dg 168). At the time of a solar eclipse in 1148 he made great gifts at the confluence of the Tungabhadrā and Haridrā (Dg 41). There is little doubt that the grants claiming to be issued by the emperor Janamejaya at this spot, in connection with the sarpa-yīga or serpent sacrifice, emanated either from this prince or perhaps from his brother Vijaya-Pândya who succeeded him, and that they were modelled on the similar grant by the Chālukya prince Vīra-Nonamba (Bn 142).

Vijaya-Pândya comes before us in Dg 115. Down to 1184 he seems free from any overlord. This was the period when the Chālukya power was declining and the Kalachurīyas were gaining the ascendancy. In token of his splendour, Dg 3 says that the points of his crown were formed of separate large sapphires, and his arms adorned with golden bracelets. He subdued in mere sport the Seven Konkanas, set up in the Kanaka mountain a pillar of victory with the fish-crest, had a treasury filled with pearls from the Tāmraparnī, and had a pleasure-house among the sandal trees on the slopes of the Malaya mountain. The Chōlas, it would appear, made desperate efforts to conquer Uchchangi, but after besieging it for twelve years abandoned the enterprise as hopeless. The Hoysala king Ballāla II, however, now made the attempt and easily captured it. Kāma-Dēva threw himself on the king’s mercy and was restored to his throne. In Hk 4 and 56 we accordingly find the Pândya-nāḍ under the Hoysalas, who it says had thrashed the Pândya kings on the field of battle.

1 See section on the Pândavas in vol. vii. Introd., p. 1.
9. SĀLUVAS

The Sāluvas (or Sālvas) were of the Lunar race and originally Jains, located at Sangitapura, the Sanskrit for Hāduvalī, situated in Taulava-dēsa or South Kanara (Sa 164). A Sāluva-Tikkama was the general of the Sēuna kings Mahādeva and Rāmachandra, who invaded the Hoysala kingdom in 1276 and 1280, and claims to have plundered Dōrasamudra.

The records supply us with the names Indra, his son Sāngi-Rāja, and his sons Sāluvēndra and Indagarasa or Immati-Sāluvēndra in 1488 and 1498 (Sa 164). Then we have the Sāluvas Malli-Rāya, Dēva-Rāya, and Krishna-Deva, down to about 1530 (Nr 46). In about 1560 the residence of the kings seems to have been at Kshēmapura (Gerasoppe, after which the celebrated Gersoppa Falls are named). We have in Sa 55 the names Dēva-Rāya, Bhairava, Sālvamalla, and again Bhairava and Sālvamalla. They were ruling the Tulu, Konkana, Haive, and other countries.

In 1384 a Sāluva-Rāma-Dēva, who seems to have been governor of Talakād, was killed in battle against the Turukas at Kottakonda (Ck 15). Sāluva-Tippa-Rāja was married to Harimā, sister of the Vijayanagar king Dēva-Rāya II (Cd 29). And in 1431 we have Sāluva-Tippa-Rāja and his son Gōpa-Rāja, to whom Tēkal was given by order of that king (Mr 3). These Sāluvas are distinguished by the epithets mēdini-misara-gānda (champion over the mustaches of the world), kathāri-sāluva (dagger falcon). From this family (see My 33) sprang the short-lived dynasty, composed of Sāluva-Nrisimha or Narasinga and his son Immadī-Nrisimha or Narasinga, which held the Vijayanagar throne from 1478 to 1496.¹ The former was commander of the Vijayanagar forces under the kings Mallikārjuna and Virupāksha. But after successfully defending the empire against the Bahmani Sultān’s invasion, he took advantage of his position to usurp the crown. He is

¹ Immadī-Narasinga’s son Sālīva-Dēvappa-Nāyaka was governor of the Tippur district in 1493 (Db 42, 45), and made a grant at Channapatna in 1494 (Kg 26),
said to have been the most powerful chief in Karnaṭa and Telingāna, and a Muhammadan historian (see vol. x, Introd. 36) represents Kānchi as being in the centre of his dominions.

Notwithstanding the late usurpation, Śāluvas continued in favour. For Śāluva-Timmarasa was a minister under Krishna-Rāya (Nj 195). And in 1513 we have his younger brother Śāluva-Gōvinda-Rāja, to whom that king gave the Terakanāmbi country (Gu 3), which had been taken away from the Ummattūr chiefs. In 1519, 1521, and 1523 he is called Krishna-Rāya’s minister (TN 73, 42; Ch 99). From 1520 to 1527 we have kathāri-śāluva Krishna-Rāya-Nāyaka as the chief minister of Krishna-Rāya, and described as his right hand (Hs 48, Hg 78, 48); and in Nr 46 of about 1530 he is called a king—Śāluva-Krishna-Dēva-mripati, and said to be the sister’s son of Dēva-Rāya.

10. PADINĀLKUNĀD

When the Hoysala power was nearing its end, in the reign of Ballāla III, there was a great minister Perumāla-dannāyaka, who founded and endowed a college at Mālingi, on the Kāverī, opposite to Talakād (TN 27). His son Mādhava- dannāyaka was ruling Padinālkunād (the Fourteen nāds)¹ in the south of Mysore, with the seat of his government at Terakanāmbi (Gundalpet tāluq). He was in power to 1318, and (Gu 58) set up the god Gōpinātha in Gōvardhangiri (the Gopālswāmi hill in the south-west of Gundalpet tāluq). He was followed by his son Kētaya-dannāyaka, ruling in 1321 (Gu 69), and by Sīngeya-dannāyaka, ruling in 1338 (Hs 82). Among their titles are: death to the Kongas, subduer of Nilagiri, skilled in turning back Pándya, and lord of Svastipura.

Descendants from these were the Nava Dannāyaks of tradi-

¹ There is a Padinālkunād tāluq in Coorg, but that probably refers to four nāds (Nālknād) as in Yeđenālkunād. But Terakanāmbi-nāḍ is also said (Gu 11) to be called Kudugu-nāḍ, which is the name of Coorg.
tion, nine brothers, identified with Beṭṭadakōṭe, the fort on the Gopālswāmī hill, the chief of whom was Perumāl-dannāyak. Four of them, headed by Bhima-dannāyak, quarrelled with the other five, and gaining Nagarapura (Nanjangūḍ) and Ratnapuri (Heḍātale), set up a separate government. After a time they returned to attack Beṭṭadakōṭe, which after a siege of three years was taken by stratagem. Mancha-dannāyak, who conducted the defence, seeing the citadel taken, leaped from the hill on horseback and was killed. The site of this leap is still pointed out. The four victorious Dannāyaks, placing a junior member of the family in the government of Beṭṭadakōṭe, set forth on expeditions of conquest, in the course of which tradition says that they overran the country from Davasi-bēṭṭa (the southern point of Coorg) in the south, to Goa in the north, and from Satyamangala (on the Bhavāñi in Coimbatore) in the east, to the Bisale Ghat (in the north-west of Coorg) on the west.

The later rulers of Kōṭe or Beṭṭadakōṭe belong to from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, and the seat of their government was apparently at Hura, in the south-west of the Nanjangūḍ tāluq. Their distinctive titles were: mahā-mandā-
lūvara, Chēra-Chōla-Pāṇḍya-mūvara-nāyara ganda (champion over the three kings Chēra, Chōla, and Pāṇḍya), Nilagiri-
sādarak-odeyar, Nilagiri-nad-ikva, or Nilagiri-uddhārana (subduer, ruler, or protector of Nilagiri). But Mādhava-nāyaka (1530-
1548) is given supreme titles (Hs 41).

II. PADINĀD

There was also a principality called Padināḍ or Hadināḍ, the capital of which at the end of the sixteenth century was Yelandūr (Yl 1). A chief of Padināḍ is mentioned as early as 1058 (Ch 69). Hadināḍ is also named in 1196 (TN 31) as a province of the Hoysala kingdom. It is now represented by Hadināru in the Nanjangūḍ tāluq. The inscriptions place the modern rulers in the sixteenth and beginning of the seven-
teenth century. In 1586 the chiefs took the names of the Vijayanagar kings at Penugonda (Nj 141). Before 1650 the province had been annexed to Mysore by Kanthirava-Narasarāja (Ch 42). In 1807 Yelandūr was given as a jāgīr to the Dewān Pūrnayya in recognition of his eminent services, and is now held by his descendants.

12. UMMATTŪR WOĐEYARS

The Ummattūr Wođeyars were an important line of rulers in the south of Mysore, and the chief rivals in that quarter of the Mysore house. Ummattūr is in the Chāmrājnagar tāluq, but the principal fortress of the chiefs was on the island of Śivasamudram,1 at the Falls of the Kāvēri, where also was the temple of Sōmeśvara, their family god (Gu 11). Their distinctive titles were: mahā-mandalēśvara, javādi-kōlāhala (exulting in musk), pēsāli-Hanumā (Hanumān in artifice), arasanka-sīnegāra (slaughterer in war with kings), ghananku-chakrēśvara (emperor in fight with the dagger), gaja-bēntēkāra (hunter of elephants). They were of the Solar race, called themselves masters of the Hoysala-rāja, and ruled also over Terakanāmbi and the Nilagiris, where they had a fort at Mālekōṭa, near Kalhatti, in which they took shelter when in trouble.

They appear in inscriptions in the fifteenth century. In 1491 they take the royal titles, and seem independent (Nj 118). In 1505 they have the titles Čhikka-rāya, Penugonḍa-chakrēśvara, and lord over all rājas (Gu 67). But Ganga-rāja now openly rebelled, while parts of the Bangalore District were called the Śivasamudram country. The Vijayanagar monarch Krishna-rāya had therefore to march against him, and captured his fort at Śivasamudram in 1510, thus reducing him to submission. Ummattūr itself was finally taken by the Mysore rāja in 1613, and the line brought to an end. Śivasamudram fort was ruined and deserted under

1 See note, p. 119.
tragic circumstances arising out of struggles with local chiefs. In 1814 the island was given as a jāgīr to Rāmaswāmī Mudaliyār, who had been native secretary to the Resident in Mysore, and he erected between 1830 and 1832 the bridges over the Kāvērī which connect it with Mysore on the one side and Coimbatore on the other. His descendants now own the place. In 1902 the first electric power installation in India was set up there by the Mysore State at the Kāvērī Falls on the Mysore side.

13. KELADI KINGS

The Keladi, Ikkēri, or Bednūr kings ruled in the Shimoga District and along the west coast from the beginning of the sixteenth century to 1763. Their territory included Āraga and Guttī (Chandraguttī), both above the Ghats, in Mysore, and Bārakūr and Mangalūr, both below the Ghats, in South Kanara (Sg 11). Their capital was removed from Keladi (Sāgar tāluq) in about 1560 to Ikkēri (in the same tāluq), and in 1639 to Bednūr (now Nagar). Their State was the most considerable and wealthy of those conquered by Haidar Ali and annexed to Mysore. The kings were Lingāyits, and had the titles: Yeḍava-Murāri (said to be the names of two slaves belonging to the founder of the line, who, on condition that their memory was preserved, volunteered to be sacrificed for the establishment of his power, for which a human sacrifice was declared to be necessary), Kōṭe-kōlāhala (disturber of forts), viśuddha-vaidikādvaita-siddhānta-pratīṣṭhāpaka (establisher of the pure Vaidika Advaita doctrine), Śiva-guru-bhakti-parāyana (devoted to faith in Śiva and the guru). A genealogy of the line to 1667 is given in Tl 156 in Sanskrit. Most of their inscriptions record grants to Lingāyit mathas or remission of transit duties on articles carried on pack bullocks for the use of such mathas. The following is a table of the kings:—
VENKAṬAPPAC-ṆĀYAK

1. Chandappa-Ṇāyaka, son of Huvihail Basappa, 1499-1513

2. Sādāśiva-Ṇāyaka, 1513-33

3. SankaṇaṆāyaka I, 1545-58

4. SankaṇaṆāyaka II, 1558-70

5. Rāmatāja-Ṇāyaka, 1570-82

6. Venkaṭappa-Ṇāyaka I, 1582-1629

7. Bhadrappa-Ṇāyaka, 1629-45

8. Sivappa-Ṇāyaka, 1645-60

9. Venkaṭappa-Ṇāyaka II, 1660-61

10. Bhadrappa-Ṇāyaka, 1661-63

11. Śūmaśekhara-Ṇāyaka I, 1663-71

12. Chemammāji (widow of No. 11), 1671-97

(adopted)

13. Basappa-Ṇāyaka I, 1697-1714

14. Śūmaśekhara-Ṇāyaka II, 1714-39

15. Basappa-Ṇāyaka II, 1739-54

(adopted)

16. Chemma-Basappa-Ṇāyaka, 1754-57

17. Chemammāji (widow of No. 15), 1757-63

(adopted)

18. Śūmaśekhara-Ṇāyaka III

The first prominent king was Sādāśiva-Ṇāyaka, who received his name from the Vijayanagar sovereign Sādāśiva-Rāya, in reward for his services against rebellious chiefs in Tuluva or South Kanara, and he was invested with the government of the provinces above mentioned.

After the fall of Vijayanagar, Venkaṭappa-Ṇāyak I assumed independence. He drove back the invasion of the Bijāpur forces commanded by Randulha-Khān, and extended his dominions on the north and east to Māsūr, Shimoga, Kadūr, and Bhuvanagiri (Kavaledurga), and on the west and south to the sea at Honore (North Kanara), by victory over the queen of Gersoppa, the pepper queen of the Portuguese, who was a feudatory of Bijāpur. At the same time he
acquired territory down to the borders of Malabar, and established his power so firmly that he was able to add 50 per cent to the land assessment in great part of Kanara. His valour is said (Sh. 2) to be like adamantine armour to the Karnāṭa country, and he is described as an elephant-goad to the rutting elephants the bounding Taulava kings, a sun to the darkness the Kirātas, a boundary mountain to stop the great ocean of Mlechchas ever seeking to overflow the South in victorious expeditions. In 1621 he re-established the matha at Śrīnegeri (Sg 5), originally set up in the eighth century by Śankarāchārya (Sg 11), the abbot of which was instrumental in founding the Vijayanagar empire in 1336. By espousing the cause of the queen of Ola against the Bangār rāja, he came into collision with the Portuguese, who call him Venkapor, king of Canara. But their Viceroy at Goa, being anxious to secure the trade in pepper for Portugal against the English and Dutch, sent an embassy to him in 1623 to form an alliance.

Virabhadrā-Nāyak averted a formidable invasion threatened by Bijāpur, which was to be assisted by the rājas of Sunda and Bilige, and the chiefs of Tarikere and Bānāvar. But the capital was removed to Bednūr, and Śivappa-Nāyak, who was in command of the army, subdued Bhairarasa of Kārakala, invaded Malayāla, and entered Coorg. Virabhadrā is said (Sh 2) to be like a long right arm to the rājadhirāja Venkaṭādri (Venkaṭapati-Rāya II of Vijayanagar), and to have given protection to the southern kings alarmed by the great army of the Pātuśāha (the Ādil-Šāhī Sultān of Bijāpur).

Śivappa-Nāyak himself next ascended the throne, and was one of the most distinguished kings of the line. He greatly enlarged Bednūr and made it a central emporium of trade. He also introduced the land assessment called shiśt. His expeditions in Mysore extended over Balam or Manjarābād to Vastāra, Sakkarepatṭana and Hassan. Father Leonardo Paes, then travelling in Kanara, says that he had amassed enormous treasure, that his possessions extended
from the Tudry river to Kāsargōd or Nilēśvar, and that he had a standing army of from forty to fifty thousand men. There were more than thirty thousand Christians among his subjects, originally natives of Goa and Salsette. In 1646 Śri-Ranga-Rāya, the fugitive king of the Vijayanagar dynasty, fled to him for refuge, and Śivappa-Nāyak not only gave him the government of Bēlūr and Sakkarepaṭṭaṇa, but attacked Seringapatam on his behalf. In 1652 Śivappa rescued from the unlawful hands into which they had fallen the lands with which the Śrīṅgeri matha had formerly been endowed, and restored them to the matha (Śg 11, 13).

In the time of Bhadrappa-Nāyak the Bijāpur army is said to have taken Bednūr and besieged Bhuvanagiri, whither the king with his family had retired, but a peace was eventually concluded. In 1664 the Maharatta leader Śivāji made a sudden descent on the coast of Kanara, sacked Kundapūr and sailed back to Gōkarna, plundering all the adjacent tracts. Sōmaśēkhara-Nāyak was seized with sensual madness, which led to his assassination. But his widow succeeded in carrying on the government for a considerable time. Her army captured Basavāpaṭṭaṇa and other places to the east, where she fortified Harikere and named it Channagiri after herself. She also gave shelter to Rāma-Kāja, the son of Śivāji, when he was hiding from the Mughals, until he could escape to his own country. Peace was made between Mysore and Bednūr in 1694, the former retaining the Bēlūr country. Basappa-Nāyak I was devoted to works of charity and the care of ascetics, vagrants, and infant children. As an atonement for the murder of Sōmaśēkhara, he imposed a small extra assessment, to be spent in feeding pilgrims.

Sōmaśēkhara-Nāyak II is said to have attacked Sira and taken Ajjampur, Sante-Bennūr, and other places from the Mughals. In 1748 was fought the battle of Māyakonda against Chitaldroog, in which the enemy suffered a disastrous defeat, Medakēri-Nāyak, their chief, being slain. Besides this,
an incident of some importance was connected with the event. Chanda-Sâhib, nominated by the French as the Navâb of the Carnatic in opposition to the English candidate, Muhammad-Ali, had just been released from the Mahrattas at Sattâra. Being on his way south, he took part in the battle on the side of Chitaldroog. But his son was killed, and he himself was taken prisoner. While being led in triumph to Bednûr, he induced his Musalmân guards to march off with him to the French instead. He took Arcot in 1750, but in 1752, when the French surrendered to the English at Trichinopoly, fled to the protection of the Tanjore general. This man treacherously put him to death and sent his head to the rival Navâb, who made it over to Nanjarâj, the Mysore commander. The latter despatched it to Seringapatam, where it was exposed on one of the gates for three days. In 1751 a treaty was concluded between Bednûr and the English factory at Tellichery.

An adopted son next came to the throne, but on remonstrating with his adoptive mother on her amours, which had become a public scandal, he was strangled, and Virammâji reigned in her own name. She was the last of her line, Haidar Ali, after a career of conquest over the eastern parts of Mysore, met at Chitaldroog with a pretender who professed to be the Bednûr prince supposed to have been murdered. Haidar resolved to make use of him, and invaded Bednûr in 1763 ostensibly to restore him. Making a feigned attack at the barriers, he entered by a secret path and captured the city. The Râni, with her paramour and adopted son, fled to Ballâlrâyandurga (Kadûr District), having set fire to the palace. The inhabitants deserted the place en masse, and in panic took shelter in the surrounding woods. The triumphant Haidar, extinguishing the flames and sealing up the houses, acquired a booty estimated at twelve millions sterling. The Râni, her lover, and her adopted son were all seized and sent as prisoners to the hill-fort of Maddagiri (Tumkûr District), together with even the pretender. They were liberated by
the Mahrattas when these captured Maddagiri in 1767. Viramnáji died on the way to Poona, and Sómashékhará ended his life there unmarried.

14. BÉLÚR AND MANJARÁBÁD

The Bélúr family were descended from the Hadapa (or bearer of the betel-bag) to the king of Vijayanagar. Éra-Krishnappa-Náyaka, who is generally represented as the head, seems (Hk 112) at first to have received a grant of Bágúr (Hosdurga tálúq), but early in the sixteenth century was invested with the government of the Bélúr country. The principal titles of these chiefs were: lord of Mañínágá-púra, Sindhu-Góvinda, dhavalánka-Bhíma. In 1645 Bélúr and parts dependent on it were overrun by the Bednúr forces under Sivappa-Náyak, who bestowed them on the fugitive king of Vijayanagar, then arrived as a refugee at his court. By the treaty concluded between Mysore and Bednúr in 1694, six náds of Balam (Manjarábád) were ceded to the Bélúr chiefs, and the remaining Bélúr territory was annexed to Mysore. In 1792 Krishnappa-Náyak joined the Mahrattas in their advance with Lord Cornwallis against Seringapatam, but on peace being made with Tipu Sultán, fled to Coorg in fear. Tipu, however, induced him to return, and gave him the government of Aígúr, the south of Manjarábád. On the fall of Seringapatam in 1799, Venkaṭādri-Náyak attempted to gain independence and to recover the rest of Manjarábád. But he was captured after two years and executed.

15. CHITALDROOG

The Chitaldroog chieftains received their kingdom in Holalkere, Hiriýúr, and Chitaldroog, after the fall of Vijayanagar in 1565, from the representatives of that empire.
The chiefs were Bêdas by caste, of the Kâmagêti-vamsa, and claim to be of the Vâlmiki-gōtra. They were styled mahâ-nâyakâchâryya, and had the distinctive prefix Kâmagêti-kastû. They were mostly named Medakëri-Nâyak. In the latter part of the seventeenth century they were engaged in contests with the Sante-Bennûr and Harpanhalli chiefs, and extended their territory at the expense of the former. Frequent wars afterwards arose with Bednûr and with the Mahrattas, as well as with the Mughals. The alliance with Chanda-Sâhib, and the fate of the battle of Mâyakonda in 1748 have already been related above. Chitaldroog made a prolonged defence against Haidar Ali, who succeeded at last in capturing it in 1779 mainly through the treachery of some Musalmân officers. To break up the Bêda population, whose blind devotion had enabled the place to hold out so long, Haidar transported 20,000 of the inhabitants to people the island of Seringapatam, and of all the boys of proper age he formed regular battalions of captive converts or Chêlas.

16. SANTE-BENNûR

The Sante-Bennûr family appeared early in the seventeenth century. They were of the Puvvalânvaya, and adherents of Hamumanta, the servant of Râmachandra (Tk 22). Their founder seems to have gained possession of the Dhumi hill. His son built the fort of Basavâpatna, and acquired a territory extending from Anantapur to Mâyakonda, and from Harilar to Tarikere. Basavâpatna and Sante-Bennûr were taken by the Bijâpur forces in 1637, and the chiefs retired to Tarikere. But one is said (Tk 21) to have been a rod in the right hand of the Vijayanagar king Venkatapati-Dêva in 1649. Their territory was conquered by Haidar Ali in 1761. In the rebellion of 1830, the Tarikere chief suddenly left Mysore and joined the insurgents. His son continued to create disturbances till his capture two years after.
17. NIḌUGAL.

The Niḍugal territory had rulers in the eighth and down to the thirteenth century who are styled Chōla-mahārājas. Their capital was Penjeru or Henjeru, in Tamil called Pperuncheru, now Hēmāvati, on the northern border of Sīra tāluq. Irungōla I was ruling in 1128 (Si 7), and in connection with him the kings are described as of the Solar race and Innavamsa, descendants from Karikāla-Chōla. They were mahāmandalēśvaras, and had the titles—lord of Oreyūr (the ancient Chōla capital near Trichinopoly), Gōva (or guardian) of Rodda, champion who had taken the heads of sixty-four chieftains. Irungōla's kingdom was composed of the Rodda Three Hundred, the Sīre Three Hundred, the Harave Three Hundred, and the Sindavāṭī Thousand. The Hoysala king Vishnurvarddhana is said (Ng 70) to have captured the powerful Irungōla's fort, and Nārasimha I is described as breaker of the pride of Irungōla. In 1218 Ballāla II was encamped at Niḍugal (Hn 61). In 1269 another Irungōla made a raid into the Ānebiddasari-nāḍ in the Tumkūr country (Tm 49), and in 1276 joined the Sēuna army in its invasion of Dōrasamudra (Bl 164, 165). In 1285 Nārasimha III marched against Niḍugal (Ak 151) and reduced it.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there was a line of Nāyakas ruling in Niḍugal. Among their titles were included (Pg 54) kathāri-nāya, champion who took the head of Mēsa, bhadra-mulaka, subduer of the Hoysana army.

The Harati chiefs held the Niḍugal territory from 1640, when they were invested by the Vijayanagar king Venkatapati-Rāya II with the government of Dōddēri, Siroha, Tāvaregere, Hiriyūr, Ayamangala, and Niḍugal-durga. By tradition the founder is said to have come from the Bijāpur country. Hotṭenna-Nāyaka in 1559 is described (Cl 54) as brother of the Nāga virgins of Nāga-lōka, a Bēda without guile, of the 850 worthies of the 350 gōtras. They continued in power till the time of Tipu Sultān, who annexed the place to Mysore.
18. VAIDUMBAS

The Vaidumbas seem to have been connected with Tumba in North Arcot. In about 900 a Vaidumba-mahārāja, described as Ganda-Trinētra, was ruling (Bg 62, Sp 85), with the Kiru-dore or little river as his boundary. What river is meant is not clear. The Chōla king Parāntaka defeated the Vaidumbas, and they subsequently came under the protection of the Pallava-Nolambas. Subordinate to Diltpayya or Iriva-Nolamba was the Vaidumba king Vikramāditya Tiruvayya (Bp 4), for whom we have the date 951 (Ct 49). He restored the breached tank at Vijayādityamangala or Betmangala. His son was Chandrasēkhara (Mb 198). The Kalinga Ganga king Kāmānava VI had for his queen Vinaya-mahādevī, a Vaidumba princess, who became the mother of Vajrahasta V, crowned in 1038. The Chōla king Virarajendra claims now to have subdued the Vaidumbas. And after this we have (Ct 9) a succession of Vaidumba gāmundas, who received the title, and permission to use the insignia, together with the grant of a village in Mēlai-Mārājapādi or Western Mahārājavādi.

19. CHANNAPATNA

The Channapatna chiefs generally bore the name Rāna Jagadēva-Rāya, after the founder of the family in Mysore (Cp 182, Md 86). He was of the Telugu Banajiga caste and had possessions in Bāramahāl. His daughter was married to the Vijayanagar king. In 1577 he vigorously repelled an attack by the Musalmāns on Penugonda, and was rewarded with territory in Mysore yielding a revenue of nine lakhs of pagodas. He made Channapatna his capital, and his descendants held possession till 1630, when the place was taken by Mysore.
20. ÁVATI-NĀṆ PRABHUS

The Ávati-nāṆ Prabhus were Gauḍas or farmers of the Morasu-wokkal tribe, who came from the east in the fifteenth century and settled in the Ávati village, with the Nandi-mandala (CB 40) and the Dēvanapura (Dēvanhallī) kingdom (Dv 51) as their territory. Their immediate descendants became founders of the modern States in eastern Mysore which were subordinate to Vijayanagar. The leader of the Ávati Prabhus was named Baire-Gauḍa, and the inscriptions of the family date from 1428 (CB 40) to 1792 (Sd 95). In 1640 the Ávati Prabhu is said (Sd 31) to be a protector of the family of Venkatapati-Rāya II. In Dv 51 and later inscriptions the Prabhu describes himself as of the fourth gōtra, that is a Sudra.

The Yelahanka-nāṆ Prabhu is mentioned even in 1367 (Ht 117), but the inscriptions of this Ávati branch run from 1599 (Kg 12) to 1713 (Ma 3). They generally had the name Kempe-Gauḍa, after the most celebrated of the line. He founded Bangalore in 1537, and his son of the same name gained possession of the Māgadi country (Ma 1) and Sāvandurga. Though at first describing himself as of the fourth gōtra (Ma 1), he is afterwards said to be of the Sadāsiva-gōtra (Ma 2). Bangalore, which had been taken by the Bijāpur forces and included in the jāgīr of Shahji, the father of Sivaji, was eventually sold to the Mysore Rāja in 1687. Māgadi and Sāvandurga were captured by Mysore in 1728, the chief being sent as a prisoner to Seringapatam, where he died.

Of the Dēvanhallī and Dod-Ballāpur branches of the Ávati line there are no inscriptions. But of the Chik-Ballāpur chiefs there is one (CB 54). Of the Holavanahalli or Korampur branch, which founded Koratagere (Mi 31), there are a few, dating from 1627 (Mi 32) to 1726 (Mi 30). Baire-Gauḍa was the general name of the chiefs.

More prominent were the Sugaṭūr-nāṆ Prabhus, who usually had the name Tamme-Gauḍa. Their territory included
a great part of the Kolar District, and they founded Hoskôte (An 47). For his aid in defeating the Musalmān attack on Penugonda, the chief received the title of Chikka-Rāya, and his possessions were extended from Ānekal to Punganūr. The inscriptions of the Sugatūr Prabhus date from 1451 (Mb 241) to 1693 (Ht 105). When Kolar and Hoskôte were taken by the Bijāpur army, the chief retired to Ānekal, but was expelled when this place was taken by Haidar Ali.
III. FEATURES OF ADMINISTRATION

VARIOUS statements and references in our inscriptions afford some glimpse into the ideals and methods of administration in past times. Thus, an early Ganga king is said to have assumed the honours of the kingdom only for the sake of the good government of his subjects. In the twelfth century, a high official appointed to rule over the southern province is admonished to govern the country like a father, putting down the evil and upholding the good. This indeed was always recognised as the special function of sovereignty.¹ The Kadambas are uniformly represented (according to one version) as studying the requital of good and evil. In the case of the governor above referred to, it is said (Sk 119) that the happiness of his dependants he reckoned as his own happiness. And the results of his administration were general peace and contentment. "None were filled with conceit, none made themselves conspicuous by a display of splendour; none were in opposition, none calling out for more influence, none creating disturbances, none in suffering, no enraged enemies, none who received titles had their heads also turned by the eulogies of the bards." And as a tribute to such ability in exercising authority, it is added, that to apply the name master or king (dore) to men of straw (pul-mānasar) is like calling a stone a jewel. The invariable phrase used with regard to monarchs on the throne describes them as ruling sukha-sankathā-vinōdadin, in the enjoyment of peace and pleasant (or profitable) conversa-

¹ The usual phrase is: duskhā-nigraha śīkṣa-pratipālana.
tion, especially, it would appear, stories relating to benefactions for charity or religious merit.

The signs of prosperity in a country are thus enumerated in the seventeenth century: The lord of the gods sent good rains, the earth brought forth full fruit, all points of the compass were unclouded, the various orders were diligent in the performance of their respective rites, all the people were free from disease, the land was free from trouble, the women were devoted to their husbands, and all the world was prosperous (Sr 103). A thriving town is thus described in the thirteenth century: The Brâhmans were versed in the védas, the guards were brave, the traders wealthy, the fourth caste of unshaken speech, the women beautiful, the labourers submissive, the temples ornaments to the world, the tanks deep and wide, the woods full of fruit, the gardens full of flowers (Ak 77).

The advice of the priesthood was ever deemed of importance, and they often played a prominent part in political affairs. Megasthenes, in his account of India in the fourth century B.C., says of the Sarmanes (the Jain šramanas) who live in the woods, that they communicate with the kings, who consult them by messengers regarding the causes of things. Asoka's edicts, which belong to the third century B.C., are evidence of his solicitude for all classes of his subjects, induced in part by Buddhist precept. In the second century A.D. the Jain áchāryya Simhanandi made the Ganga kingdom, as it is expressed. In the eleventh century a Jain yati put the Poysalas or Hoysalas in possession of their kingdom. But Brâhmans had the foremost place in more modern times. In the twelfth century the policy of Vishnuvarddhana was radically affected by his conversion from Jainism to the Vaishnava faith through the reformer Râmânuja. He is thus said to have given his own country to the Brâhmans and the gods, while he himself ruled over the foreign countries won by his sword. Mâdhava or Vidyâranya, an abbot of the monastery at Śrînâgârī established in the eighth century by the
reformer Śankara, was instrumental in founding the Vijayanagar empire in the fourteenth century. In the seventeenth century the Mysore king Doḷḍa-Dēva-Rāja, it is said, divided his kingdom into four parts, of which he gave the first to the Brāhmans, the second to the gods, the third to charity, and reserved the fourth for his own use.

The heir to the throne was styled the Yuvarāja. But in order that they might gain acquaintance with the duties of administration, he and other princes of the royal house were often previously appointed as viceroys or governors of certain provinces. Thus Aśoka had been a viceroy at Ujjain in the time of his father. In his own time we have his edicts in Mysore issued by the Ayaputa (Āryaputra or prince) at Suvarnagiri. Among the Gangas, Śrīpurusha ruled over various provinces in the east before coming to the throne. In like manner Eryappa was a governor of Kongal-nāḍ and Pannāḍ in the west. The Chālukya prince Vikramāditya was a viceroy at Balgāmi, and when he came to the throne, his half-brother Jayasimha was put in charge of the Banavase province. Chōla princes were appointed to govern the Vengi kingdom. The Vijayanagar princes held the position of viceroys at Muluśvāyī (Mulbāgal) in the east, and at Āraga in the hill country in the west.

The king, in Hoysala times, and doubtless in others not specified, was attended by five ministers, the pancha-pradhānar (Cn 260, Ci 72). The prime minister was the sarvādhiḥkāra, sarvā-praḍhāna, or sīrah-praḍhāna. He (in one case at least) was the tongue in the council, the other councillors being like statues (Dg 25). The functions allotted to the several ministers cannot be determined from the inscriptions. But under the Chālukyas there is mention in the eighth century of the great minister for peace and war (Kl 63). In the eleventh century he appears as the great Lāla Kannadā minister for peace and war (Sk 106), and in the twelfth as the senior Kannadā minister for peace and war (Sk 267). He apparently combined in himself the offices of secretary of state for foreign affairs
and for war. Of the Hoysala kings, Vishnuvardhan in 1123 is said (Cn 149) to have acquired Angara’s sevenfold (ṣaptāṅga) kingdom, and Ballāla II in 1183 is said (Bl 137) to have acquired Pāṇḍya’s sevenfold (ṣaptāṅga) kingdom; while the Vijayanagar king Bukka-Rāya in 1377 is said (Yd 46) to have ruled an empire perfect in its seven parts (ṣaptāṅga). These are explained in the Chandraprabha Purāṇa as—the king, minister, ally, territory, fortress, treasury, and army. In Bl 128 the king is said to have acquired not only the ṣaptāṅga-rāja but also the chatur-upāya or four expedients against an enemy (explained in the Jaimini Bhārata to being sowing dissension, negotiation, bribery, and open attack), as well as the panchāṅga-sanmantra or fivefold wise counsels. These remind us of the panchatānta.

The policy of provincial governors in the twelfth century, under the Kalachuryas, was supervised by karanyas or imperial censors, appointed no doubt independently by the supreme government, to whom, it is said, they were like the five senses. They were dharmnāḍhyakshangal and rājāḥyakshangal (Sk 123), or scrutinizers of morality and of judicial or political affairs. They were five in number (Sk 102), and their office, as here described, was to see that the Lakshmi, or lady—the State—was free from adultery, which may be interpreted as meaning, that their duty was to check any disloyalty to the throne, and to maintain the purity of justice or morals and of charitable endowments.

The high officials generally bore the title dandāṇḍyaka, in more recent times shortened to dāndāya, denoting both military and civil rank. These were indeed frequently combined, as witness the designation of a general as mahā-pradhāna sarvaśāhikārī senādhipati hiriya-hadavala (Bp 9, Hn 69). They were also often styled sāmāntādhipati, implying control over feudatory chiefs. But the express military title was senādhipati, or, in modern times in Mysore, dalavāyi. The life guards, as we might term them, in the time of the Hoysalas called themselves Garudas. The general
Chokimayya claims to be Bitti-Dëva's or Vishnuvarddhana's Garuḍa (Hn 69, Bp 9). The prince Lakshma was Ballāla-Dëva's Garuḍa (Bl 112), and he and his force of a thousand men, who had vowed to live and die with the king, committed suicide when the latter died. In like manner, a family of Nāyakas, vowed in succession as Garuḍas to the kings Ballāla, Nārasimha, and Sōmēśvara (Kp 9, 10), gave up their lives along with their wives, and their servants, male and female. In battle, when victory hung in the balance, it was customary for the commander to call out some noted champion to lead a forlorn hope and devote his life to gain the day. To be chosen for such an enterprise was always represented as a great honour, and the charge was confirmed with the presentation of betel leaf to the champion from the hand of his chief (Sa 84, 86). A grant of land was made for the family of the fallen man, which in some early cases is styled bāl-galchu, but is mostly called kalaṇāḍ, though the term sivane is used in the west. Similar grants of rent-free land, called kodagi, were made to men who fell in battle. In the interesting case of Ballāla-Dëva's Chōla queen, who was distressed on account of a man killed in the force sent to punish a village for an insult to her name, the grant is called a rakta-kodagi (Cn 205). Such a grant was also called nettara-kodagi, meaning the same. The weapons of the foot-soldiers were mostly bows and arrows. But the infantry of the Śeuna army are said to have carried thunderbolts (aśāni-sannāha, Dg 25), which looks as if they had fire-arms of some sort. The cavalry in the same force wore breast-plates. The courage of warriors was stimulated by the belief that their deeds of valour were eagerly watched by the celestial nymphs, who, if they fell, would bear them immediately away from the battle-field in a triumphal procession to enjoy the delights of paradise. The verse usually quoted in this connection is to the following effect:—

1 The garuḍa is the bird of Vishnu, a kite of striking aspect, having a fine rufous-coloured body, with a pure white head and neck. A chief under the Pāṇḍyās in 1123 calls himself Nolamba's garuḍa (Cd 34).
By the victor is gained Lakshmi (or fortune), by the slain the celestial nympha; 
The body being destroyed in a moment, what fear of death in war?  

Another verse to the same effect says:— 

By only these two men in the world is the disk of the sun burst through; 
The sandhyā Baxter in jñāna, and he who is slain in the front of the battle.  

Of the secretariat there are a few notices. The private secretary (rāhasya-dhikrita) is mentioned so far back as the fifth century, under the Kadambas (Sk 29). But the most detailed account is in connection with the Chōlas, in the eleventh century (Kl 112, 113). Here is mentioned the royal secretary, who communicated the king’s orders to the chief secretary, and he, on approval, transmitted them to the revenue officers to be carried out. These then assembled the revenue accountants, who made entries accordingly in their revenue registers. The nature of these may be inferred from the mention under the Hoysalas, in the twelfth century, that among his conquests Vishnurardhana wrote down the Banavase Twelve Thousand in his kādita (Bl. 17). The kādita or kādata, which is still in use among native traders in the bazars, is made of cloth, folded in book form and covered with charcoal paste; it is written on like a slate, with a style or pencil of balapam or potstone, and though liable to erasure, forms a durable record. 

As to the form of official orders,—our Edicts of Aśoka, of the third century B.C., are prefaced, in the ancient mode, with a greeting wishing good health to the officials addressed (Mk 21), followed by—“the king thus commands.” In the second century A.D. and onwards for some time, the early

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1 The goddess of fortune and beauty.
2 In the original—
jitena labhyate Lakshmí myñenapé surangamí
kshana-vihvasamí kayé ká chintá matsuai rápé.
3 The original is—
dváv imau pramaha loké sañya-mandala-bhédinau
parvrau yóga-yuktá cha rače chalihinnikhe hatalab.
LAND REVENUE

grants are prefaced by the word siddham, (?) confirmed (Sk 263). In mediaeval times the inscriptions begin with invocations of deity, according to the creed of the donor. Then follow genealogies of the ruling sovereigns, with often long drawn out eulogies of their heroic deeds and conquests. The provincial governor is next introduced, with the phrase tat-pada-padamopajivi, dweller (like a bee) at his lotus feet, and the same phrase is used of each subordinate with reference to his superior. The royal signature, where it is given, comes at the end. The style in the seventeenth century, as illustrated by the practice under the Keladi queen Channammati (Sk 79), contains some up-to-date features. At the head are the words nirupa prati, copy of order, followed by the date and the royal signature. At the end are the words nirupa band, the order ends. The document was despatched by the hands of a court official, who was charged to see to its execution and that it was entered in the senabova's kautila.

In revenue matters the measurement and assessment of the land were naturally of the first importance. The Satakarni grant of the second century is addressed to the rajjukam (Sk 263), which, as previously stated (p. 15 above), literally means holder of the rope, that is, a survey officer. The rajjukas were originally appointed long before, by Asoka, but perhaps for other purposes. The praka-pramana or ancient measurement is referred to in 1513 (Nj 195). The instrument used for the purpose was generally a pole, of which different ones are mentioned. There was the bhurunda pole (Sk 120), taken perhaps from the Bhurundevara pillar; the daya pole of 18½ feet, the distance between the central pillars of the Aghorevara temple at Ikkiri; the pole of 18 spans, each of 12 fingers breadth (Mb 49); and so on. Poles of 36 steps and 48 steps are also referred to (Ak 12, 13), and an ottola pole (Ci 64). The assessment is said, under the Cholas in 1046 (Dv 75), to be one-sixth of the produce, and this was the recognised Hindu rate from the earliest times (see vol. ii, Introd. p. 4). But a quarter of a century later is described
in more detail (Mb 49) as a fifth of the produce of forest tracts and of lands on which dry (unirrigated) crops are raised, and a third of the produce of lands below a tank on which paddy is grown. Tipu Sultan, however, claimed three-fourths of the produce of irrigated land (My 54), at the same time asserting a title to the whole.

But from an early period all the great provinces and their subdivisions commonly had their revenue value attached to the name. Thus, while Kuntala and Raṭṭavādi were a Seven-and-a-half Lakh country, Gangavādi was a Ninety-six Thousand, Banavase a Twelve Thousand, Nojambavādi or Noṇambavādi a Thirty-two Thousand, Tondanād a Forty-eight Thousand. Haidar Ali's territory is called a Three Crore kingdom (Si 98). Of smaller districts, Kongainād was an Eight Thousand, Punnād a Six Thousand, Sāntalīgē a Thousand, Hānungal a Five Hundred, Belvola a Three Hundred, Bellave a Seventy, and so on. This system is still commemorated in the Yelusāvira or Seven Thousand country, the north of Coorg. The figures apparently indicated nīshkas (see Yd 53, 54), long obsolete, the value of which varied at different times and cannot now be precisely stated, but they are popularly supposed to be equivalent to sarahas or pagodas.

Some idea of the burden of taxation may be gathered from certain inscriptions. Towards the close of the Hoysala period, in 1290, we find (TN 27) the following imposts levied on lands, whether occupied by houses or cultivated: land rent, plough tax, house tax, forced labour, accountant's fee, provender, unexpected visitor, army, double payment, change of district, threshing floor, tribute, coming of age, festivity, subscription, boundary marks, birth of a son, fodder for elephants, fodder for horses, sale within the village, favour of the palace, alarm, seizure, destruction, or injustice caused by the nād or the magistrate, and whatever else may come. Under the Vijayanagar rule, in 1505, we have (Gu 67): land rent, fines, tribute, alms, gold, kumbali; tolls on corn and grain, tax on Jangamas, tax on ..., tax on meetings, duty on betel
leaves, tax on Mādīgas, duty on salt-pans, tax on Jiyars, customs dues, and all other taxes and imposts. See also Mi 95. Besides the revenue thus raised, taxes were imposed to provide for the festivals and offerings or other needs of temples (Gu 3, 8, 34, Sk 129). In 1491 a tax for this purpose was laid on looms, houses, oil-mills, grazing grounds, marriages, ..., eggs, customs, imports, exports, cotton, et cetera (Nj 118). While in one case the funds for providing marriage pandals, and mirrors for dancing girls, were given up (Sk 295). In 1775 the Eighteen castes agreed to pay an addition to their land and other taxes, owing to the palace having taken for itself the funds previously provided (Yl 4). Remissions of taxes were sometimes granted, either generally or in specified parts of the country. In the sixteenth century, under Vija-yanagar, the marriage tax was abolished, causing much rejoicing among all classes (Hk 111, Mi 64). Soon after, the tax on barbers, forced labour, birāda, customs, toll for watchmen, and other imposts were given up (Hk 110, Tp 126). Sometimes there was a vigorous protest against illegal taxation (see Sr 6, Mb 49).

The customs duties, or sunka, are spoken of as the perjunka or hejjunka, those on wholesale articles in bulk, and the kirukula, those on miscellaneous petty retail articles. There was also the vudda-rāvula. An elaborate system existed for the levy of the duties, especially in the west, where the transport of grain and other commodities had to be carried on by means of pack bullocks. A list of forty-two thānas or custom-houses is given in Sa 123. The nature of the goods carried may be gathered from the account of those which were allowed free, within certain limits, for specified Lingayit monasteries. For instance, Sh 28 was a permit for fifty bullocks to pass without paying toll. These might be laden with grain, areca-nut, pepper, fringed silk cloths, dried coco-nuts, grass, husked rice, rice in the husk, salt, tamarind, jaggory, oil, ghī, baskets, vidala, catechu, tobacco, cloths, et cetera; but silk, areca-nut, pepper, coco-nut kernels, and wood, were still liable
to duty (TI §3, 49). Another list will be found in TI 72. The colour and age of the bullocks to be exempted were to be registered at the various thinas concerned. The goods thus passed free were not to be sold outside, but to be stored in the monastery for the use of the priests and their disciples.

Of judicial procedure there is very little sign in the inscriptions. But a rough and ready justice was dispensed, and disputes were often decided by an ordeal. In 1020, under Chōla rule, a dog, which had run away on the death of its master, was appropriated by a local chief. As a penalty for this, the king's officer on the spot went into his residence, dragged out the dog, burnt the place, and seizing fifty golden images belonging to the offender, sent them to the king (Hs 10, 11). In 1057 a young chief who was a powerful wrestler had a bout with an opponent, who was thrown and died in the crush. The latter was apparently some connection of the king's. For his share in this affair, the survivor was marched off straight to Talakāḍ the capital, and there put to death (Hg 18). It may thence perhaps be inferred that death was the appointed penalty for murder. In 1417, when a Gauḍa, who had gone to visit the local governor, fell down dead in his presence, a sort of inquest was held on the body, and it was sent back to his home (Sk 37). This was under Vijayanagar rule. Under the Gangas, in 910, the destroyer of a tank or grove is said to incur the same guilt as one who has committed the five great sins (Sr 34). In 1450 we find the theft of gold and drunkenness classed with the most heinous crimes, such as the slaughter of cows, or the murder of guru, wife and Brāhmans (Cd 29). In 1654 a farmer having been put to death unjustly by a Muhammadan official, a rakta-kodagi, or grant of rent-free land, was given to his son as compensation (VI 29). In 1757 orders had been sent from the Bednūr court to arrest an offender who was defying the law, but the local official, on capturing him, beheaded him. For this he seems to have been deprived of some land he owned. He afterwards petitioned that the pagadi money for the time the
land was put out of season should be given to him. This was refused, with an order that petitions of this kind from the country for payment of money must not be made (Sk 209, 210).

The king himself was the judge, especially in deciding important cases. Such was the dispute between the Jainas and the Vaishnavas in 1368, in the time of the Vijayanagar king Bukka-Rāya, who, after hearing the evidence of the leaders on both sides, took the hand of the Jainas, and placing it in the hand of the Vaishnavas, delivered a decree reconciling the two (SB 136). Sometimes the mediation of a guru acceptable to both sides was invited (Ht 105). But trial by ordeal is mentioned in several cases. The earliest method consisted in the accused making oath in the presence of the god, holding at the same time the consecrated food. If guilty, it would choke him on partaking of it. Instances of this ordeal appear in 1241 and 1275 (Sb 387, Md 79). In the first the payment of some money was in question; the second was a boundary case. The ordeal of grasping a red-hot iron rod or bar in the presence of the god Hoysalēsvāra is recorded in 1309.1 A later form of ordeal was perhaps a severer test, and consisted of making oath as before, and then plunging the hand into boiling ghī (clarified butter). If no injury resulted, the defendant won his cause. Instances occur in 1580 and 1677 (Yl 2, Ag 2, 3). The first was a protest by the barbers and washermen against the potters paring the toenails and putting on an upper cloth (in wedding ceremonies). The other was regarding the rightful claimant for the office of syānabhāga or village accountant, and the decision was recognised and acted on by the court. But under the Mughal government we find in 1720 a regular magisterial process in the case of a Gauḍa whose village had been taken possession of by some one else during his absence abroad (Si 112).

The earliest reference to famine is in SB 1, where one of twelve years' duration is said to have been predicted by Bhadrabāhu. This was in the third century B.C., and in the

north. The ill effects of the calamity on that occasion were avoided by wholesale migration to other parts of India, but this was a sectarian movement, and though Chandra Gupta took part in it, the action was not in his capacity as a sovereign. Of a famine equally prolonged there is mention in Grant Duff's *History of the Maharattas* (i. 43). It began in 1396, and from its severity was specially distinguished by the name of Durgā Dēvi. But no steps taken by the State for the relief of famine are recorded in our inscriptions. On the other hand, Ch. 108 of 1540 says that at that time all grains sold at 7 maṇa (maunds) for 1 kaṇa (fanam), and that men ate men (maṇoṣa maṇoṣara tiṇḍaru). Things were apparently left to take their own course.

Crimes of violence are occasionally mentioned, such as carrying off a dancing girl by force (Sk 300), or a guru's bondman (Sk 139). But by far the most numerous were cattle raids, especially in border districts. Though sometimes the work of organised bands of robbers, many were hostile demonstrations against an enemy. The cows of a village belonging to another ruler were driven off from the grazing-grounds in the intervening woodlands as an act of defiance. The cowherds often gave up their lives in defence of their charge. Or some village hero, fired with indignation, would sally forth with a few followers and recover the stolen cows, only to die of his wounds on his return. Such an exploit was reckoned as patriotic, and the man's family were provided for with a grant of rent-free land. In more daring cases the villages themselves were pillaged and the women molested. Memorial stones, rudely sculptured to represent the incidents of cattle raids and to record the grants made in connection with them, are found in all parts.

Of measures designed for the public good, we are told (Ak 82) in 1234 that the towns in the Poysala country were surrounded with gardens, that many tanks filled with lotus were formed in their vicinity, and that groves were planted from yōjana to yōjana (about nine miles) for travellers to rest in.
The college founded and endowed in 1290 by the Hoysala minister Perumāla at Māilangi (TN 27) deserves mention, though it was a private rather than a State institution. Provision was made in it for masters to teach Nāgara, Kannada, Tīgula (Tamil), and Ārya (Mahratti). Then the Vijayanagar king Achyuta-Rāya established in 1539 a bank or fund, called Ānanda-nidhi, for the benefit of Brāhmans (Dg 24, Hk 123). It was apparently regarded as a great wonder, and the verses in praise of it have been found inscribed in no less than ten places. Perhaps this may be taken as a specimen of the old-time method of advertisement. Of the Mysore king (Doddā)-Dēva-Rāja, it is said (Kg 37) that he made wells, ponds, and tanks, with chatras or inns from road to road, while temples of the gods he had made, was making, and would continue to make. He is also said (Yd 54) to have established chatras in every village for the distribution of food, as well as (Sr 14) at every yojana on all the roads from Sakkarepattna (Kadūr District) in the west to Sēleya-pura (Salem) in the east, and from Chiknāyakanhallī (Tumkūr District) in the north to Dhārāpuram (Coimbatore District) in the south. In the Bednūr kingdom a veto was retained on the appointment of the heads of mathas or monasteries. To ensure the selection of qualified men, it was decreed that they must be in agreement with the court and the mahattu (the Lingāyit priesthood), not quarrelsome, hospitable, trustworthy, and having disciples (TI 81).

The vital importance of providing a good supply of water, whether for irrigation or for the use of towns, was always recognised. Accordingly, we find the erection of dams to rivers, from which channels were led off, and the construction of wells and tanks or reservoirs mentioned in every period. A few instances may suffice.

One of the earliest recorded in the inscriptions was the formation of the tank at Tālgunda in the fourth century by the Kadamba king Kākusthā (Sk 176). To the eighth century or before belongs the Vijayādityamangala or Bēt-
mangala tank on the Pālār river, named after the Mahāvali or Bāna king who caused it to be made. It breached more than once, as it was restored in about 950 by the Vaidumba king (Bp 4), and again in 1155 by the Hoysala general Chōkimayya (Bp 9). Of the tenth century were the tanks made by the priest who ruled at Āvani in the Mulhāgal tāluq (Mb 65), and of the twelfth century those in the Tumkūr tāluq made by the liberal-minded Kaydala chief who, it is said (Tm 9), supported all the four creeds—those of Jina and Buddha, Śiva and Vishnu. In 1358 we have the account (Ml 21, 22) of a number of tanks made by a Bhatta or bhāt, who also planted lines of trees on the four sides, and performed the upanayana ceremony to the pāpal trees planted at the four corners. In 1653 was made the tank in Channagiri tāluq called Vali Surūr, by the Bijapur governor Bari Mālik (Ci 43, 44). In connection with this is quoted the verse describing the merit acquired by all who assist in the formation of a tank. It runs thus: “The quail and the boar, the she-buffalo and the elephant, the teacher and the performer, these six went to svarga.” The explanation given is that a quail once scraped a hollow in the ground to nestle in; a boar came and made it larger; a buffalo and an elephant each in turn enlarged it still more; a holy man then pointed out that it could be made into a tank or pond, and the king to whom he gave this advice carried it out. For their shares in this work of merit they all went to svarga or paradise.1

A scheme for the water-supply of Penugonda, carried out in 1388, is described in Gd 6. The prince Bukka-Rāya, who was the governor, wanted all the subjects to be happy. For this purpose, water being the life of all living beings, he in open court directed the hydraulic engineer to bring the Henne river (the northern Pennār) to Penugonda. A channel was accordingly made from the river, at Kallūdi, to the Siruvera tank, ten miles to the north.

1 The merit of making a grant of land is thus expressed in Ck 42: “As many roots as the crops in the ground have, as many hairs as cover the cow, so many thousand years does the donor of land enjoy in paradise.” See also Si 95.
MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS

As regards dams, with their channels for irrigation, an interesting account is given (Dg 23) of one erected at Harihara in 1416 on the Haridrā, near where it flows into the Tunga-bhadrā. It soon breached, but was restored in 1424 (Dg 29). The river is addressed as if sentient and responding to the wishes of the restorer. "When you said Stop!—at your command she stood still. When you called, she at once came on, flowing through the channel." In 1416 was restored a dam on the Pālār which had been breached from time immemorial and ruined down to the level of the ground (Mb 7). In 1460 was made a new dam in the Kāvērī (Sr 139), by the chief of Nāgamangala, the channel from which was extended to Harahu. The conditions on which the contract for making a channel in 1397 was given are stated in Bg 10, and included the present of a horse and bracelets to the contractor. But it was stipulated that these, as well as the funds advanced, were to be returned if water did not flow between certain specified points.

As regards municipal matters, we find (Sk 123, 119, 100) that Belgāmi included five māthas, three puras, and seven Brahmapuris, together with apparently three medical dispensaries (Sh 277). So also (Mi 109) Talakāḍ-Rājarājapura contained seven puras and five māthas. Agara, again, comprised three cities and eighteen khampanas (Ti 133, 197). In all important trading places there was usually a pāṭṭana-svāmī or town mayor, generally a prominent merchant. Some of the regulations laid down (unfortunately partly effaced) on the foundation of a town in 1331 were the following: "No fine was to be levied from a mother; brothers, elder and younger, were to share alike in property; if a female servant died, the body was to be carried forth and (?) buried; if a wife died, the body was to be cremated" (Mi 114). On the rebuilding of Bāgūr in 1554, settlers were encouraged by freeing them from all taxation for one year from their arrival; after that they would be considered as permanent residents and be given full possession, all previous claims being cancelled (Hk 112).
Commerce on a large scale beyond the limits of the country was carried on by what may be styled merchant princes, who generally had the title maha-vaddha-bvavahari (Mi 56, Sk 247, Ak 108). In the last is an account of a family of Malavala merchants, experts in goods and conveyance. One of them was skilled in testing all manner of gems. "He was so liked both by the Hoysala emperor in the south and Ballaha himself in the north, that he was able to form an alliance between the two kings. The wants of the great Malava king, of the Kalinga, Chola, and Pandyu rulers, he at once supplied. No Setti was equal to him throughout the Hoysala kingdom—just, honoured, of kind speech, full of common sense, delighting in truth." But some great merchants were of Brahman descent, such as those in Ak 22. One of these imported horses, elephants, and pearls in ships by sea and sold them to the kings. Another transported goods from the east to the west, and those that were suitable from the west to the east; also products from the north to the south, and those of the south to the north. The mercantile and trading classes are mostly included in the term vira-Bananju-dharmma, at the head of which were the Five Hundred swamis of Aryavcele or Ayyavale (Alhole in Kaladgi District—Arasikere is called the southern Ayyavale in Ak 77). In inscriptions recording their agreements to pay certain dues on specified articles of merchandise, in order to provide for the support of local objects in which they were interested, they are described in long strings of somewhat amusing ironical or quasi-royal epithets (see Sk 118, Hg 17, Bl 117, DB 31, Hk 137). Their formal assembly was generally accompanied with setting up the diamond vaisanige or baysanige, as the symbol of their guild (Bl 75; Dg 59). A more sober account of them in 1181 (Sk 119) represents them as honoured residents of Ayyavale and many other chief gramas, nagaras, khedas, kharvadas, madambas, dronamukhas, puras, and pattanas of Lala, Gaula, Kamata, Bangala, Kasmira, and other countries (the con-
ventional number being fifty-six) at all points of the compass. With them are often associated, as here, the two sects of Nānā-Dēsīs. The Panchālas or five guilds of artisans also describe themselves in a similar strain of ironical epithets, which are not without interest (Gu 34).

The Twelve Āyagār are mentioned in Si 41, 112. They form the primitive village corporation, who are entitled to certain land rent-free, or to fixed fees or dues of grain and straw at harvest time. A reference to the Eighteen castes, which form the ancient Right and Left hand factions, appears so far back as in 459 (DB 67), which shows that they are much more ancient than generally supposed. In one case (Hk 104) they are spoken of as the seven-and-a-half and eleven-and-a-half. The sections included in them are called phanas, and comprise the agricultural, artisan, and trading communities. The Balagai or Right Hand¹ are headed by the Banajigas, with the Holeyas at the bottom; the Vedagai or Left Hand are headed by the Panchālas, with the Mādiga at the bottom.

Among the officials of rural districts, the nāl-gāvunda or nād-gaundā was one of the most important. There is an interesting account (Sk 219), dated 918, of the office being continued to the widow on the death of her husband. She was a Jain, and rejoicing in her beauty, was distinguished for the skill and ability of her management. Though a woman (it says), she well protected her charge, with pride in her own heroic bravery. But on being attacked by some bodily disease, she retired in favour of her daughter, and ended her life with the performance of the Jain vow of satikhanā.

A number of inscriptions record the sale of villages to various applicants, especially in the hundred years from about 1670. The general valuation seems to have been based on ten years' rental (Ti 57, 85, An 90, Ni 51, Tp 112, Ha 132). But in a case four centuries earlier (Sk 282) the value was taken

¹ The great army of the Right Hand are mentioned in 1072 (Mb 49).

at five times the annual rent, and a present of cloths was given besides to the headmen. Deductions were made in the purchase money for ruined condition (TI 67), and for lands damaged by floods, but if trees had grown up on such damaged portions they were not to be cut down (TI 71, 74).

An endless variety of details might be collected from the inscriptions to illustrate different features in administration, but the above may perhaps suffice to indicate some of the more salient points.
IV. MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

Among singular customs, those involving self-sacrifice of life may claim our notice. The Jain vow of sallëkhana (see E.C. vol. ii.) involved suicide by gradual starvation, in cases of incurable disease, hopeless calamity, or the inevitable approach of death. It was the orthodox Jain mode of emancipation from the body when life could no longer be endured, and the instances of its performance are numerous, especially at Sravana-Belgola, from the earliest times. A more expeditious and pleasanter way of meeting death was that adopted in 1068 by the Chalukya king Sōmēśvara I (Sk 136), who, being prostrated with mortal fever, after performing yōga ceremonies, walked into the river Tungabhadra up to his neck and drowned himself.

The practice of sātī, or the burning of a widow with the dead body of her husband, was a recognised institution at all periods and with all creeds, but seems to have been more actively revived in the fourteenth century under the Vijayanagar empire. The memorials of sātī, which was entered on with perfect readiness, as duty-bound in honour, are found in all parts. They are known as māstikal, that is mahā-sāti-kal, and are generally sculptured with a pointed pillar or post, from which projects a woman's arm, bent upwards at the elbow. The hand is raised, with fingers erect, and a lime-fruit is placed between the thumb and forefinger. This is what is alluded to in Sh. 61, 62, and Md 103, where women are said to have given arm and hand. No clear explanation has been obtained of the symbolism. Some of the stones are accom-
panied with elaborate inscriptions. Such is the stone of the
fifth century to the memory of the Kadamba king Ravi-
varmma’s wife (Sb 523). Another is the beautifully pathetic
Belatür stone of 1057 (Hg 18).

But other instances of self-sacrifice of life are fairly
numerous. The earliest are connected with the Ganga kings.
Thus, in about 865, we have (TN 91) Nitimargga’s death-bed
scene, and are told that his mane-magattin or major domo
became kil-gunšhe under him, which may be interpreted as
meaning—was buried under him, probably alive, in the same
grave. Another kil-gunšhe sacrifice is recorded in 930 (Dg
119), at the death of the Ganga chief Chandiyammarasa.
With the same object of attesting undying attachment and
fidelity to a master, others entered the fire and were burnt
to death. In about 912 we have (Ag 5, 27) two cases in
which men committed themselves to the flames on the death
of the Ganga king Rāchamalla. In 1130, a man who had
taken a vow to die with the Kadamba king Tailapa, fulfilled
his vow (HI 47), but in what manner is not stated.

At the same time, vows of self-destruction were not
confined to execution on the death of patrons. They were
also entered into for the purpose of securing the accomplish-
ment of some cherished desire. In these cases beheading
seems to have been the usual method of despatch. In about
991, we are told (Sb 479) that a man vowed to give his
head to a goddess at Hayve in order that the king Sānti-
varmma might have a son. His wish having been obtained,
his surrendered himself to the soldiers and was beheaded.
In 1050 a servant had his head cut off in order to die with
the king Pompala (Ct 31). But in 1123, a cowherd, when
Bopparsa and his wife paid a visit to a temple in the rice-
fields, perhaps with a view to offspring, vowed that he would
give his head to swing on the pole before the god at
Kondasabhāvi if the king should obtain a son (Sk 246). In
1180 a chief gave his head in order that the army to which
he belonged might be victorious in the war to which it was
marching (Gd 41). In 1185 a man who had taken a vow that he would die with the queen, at her decease was reminded of it by her husband, and instantly gave himself up to be beheaded (Sk 249), for, as the inscription says, a word spoken with full resolve must not be broken. In 1215 a woman gave her head to the hook on the death of her chief’s mother (Mk 12). From sculptured representations it appears that the process of these ghastly decapitations was as follows. The votary was seated close to an elastic rod or pole fixed in the ground behind. This was forcibly bent down over the head of the victim, and the hook at the end made fast to the top-knot of hair. On being severed from the body, the head flew up, carried with the rebound of the rod released from its tension.

In 1050 there was the curious case of the man who vowed to continually pull out the nail of his finger in order to prevent the giving of a fort to a particular person (Sk 152). But his vow was of no avail, and the grant was made. Whereupon he cut off the finger, and climbing to the top of the Bhêrunda pillar, threw himself down on a row of spear-shaped stakes and was killed.¹

The instances of the Garuda warriors under the Hoysala kings have already been mentioned above (p. 104). They were life guards, who took upon themselves a vow to live and die with the king, and at his decease committed suicide. This was done in a wholesale manner, the chiefs in Kp 9, 10 being joined in dispatching themselves by their wives and servants, male and female. With the prince Lakshma, too (Bl 112), his whole battalion of a thousand men slaughtered themselves. In the former case the act is described as embracing Garuda (the kite which is the bird of Vishnu) on

¹ A parallel to such cases may be found in the present day if the following newspaper cutting be true. A St. Louis negro has bet his life, as announced by him in the following manner: “To all whom it may concern. Take notice that I, A—P—, being sound in mind and body, do solemnly promise, with God for my witness, to put an end to my earthly existence by leaping into the Mississippi from the centre of Eads Bridge, within seven days after the Presidential election of 1904, if Theodore Roosevelt, the Republican candidate, be not elected.”
the head of an elephant. One chief is said thus to have embraced Garuḍa six times, and another, to have confronted Garuḍa, shaken and embraced him. What took place is not clear, but it may be conjectured that they killed themselves when seated in state on an elephant, and the bodies remained to be devoured (as on Parśi towers of silence) by kites and vultures, which would be immediately attracted to the spot. The final acts attributed to the chiefs no doubt refer to their death struggles. In the case of the prince Lakṣhma, he is said to have mounted, with his wife, on the pillar which was to be their monument, and thus become united with Garuḍa.

References to the healing art may next be noticed. The earliest mention is a droll account in 1087, given (Nr 40) in connection with the army of Vikrama-Sāntara. While hurrying to the seat of war, the men, in order to appease the fire in their bellies, fed on carcases, and as the result were driven mad with indigestion. On applying to the army doctors, these said elephant was the remedy. So they swallowed elephant and were cured, whereupon the doctors laughed. More to the point is the statement (Śb 277) that in 1158 there were three medical dispensaries in Balligāve. And in 1162 the Kōdiya matha there is described (Sk 102) as a place for the treatment of the diseases of destitute sick persons. In the thirteenth century there was a Vaidya named Dēvapīlleyanna, who was physician to the mother of the minister of the Hoysala king Nārasimha III (Ak 8). Like Dhanvantari (the physician of the gods) was this Dēvarāja, and celebrated for his new system of medicine (Ak 9). In the fifteenth century, in the time of the Vijayanagar king Dēva-Rāya II, there was the famous and learned head of a line of physicians, known as Sālagrāma, whose name was Kēśava, the son of Arunāchalēsa-pandita (Dv 81). In 1818, when an epidemic of small-pox and cholera had broken out and the people were dying around, it was stopped in the following supernatural manner (Kr 25). The goddess Mahākāli of Ujani became incarnate in a Śūdra virgin of the Gangaḍikāra tribe, named
Nanjamma, whose family descent is given. Wherever she went these diseases and other troubles, among Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras alike, were cured. And out of the gifts made to her a new temple of Mahākāli was erected at Kannambādi. Sixteen years afterwards she had a vanga-mantapa built for it (Kr 24).

The accounts of the decorations and titles conferred on men who had distinguished themselves are of interest. The most dignified seems to have been the paṭṭa or golden band to be worn on the forehead. It was a symbol of royalty, but was also bestowed as a mark of royal favour, or for other purposes of distinction. Thus the Chōla king in 1005 decorated Panchama-mahārāya with a paṭṭa bearing the title Kshattriya-sikhāmanī Kongāla (Cg. 46). The Chālukya king Tailapa-Dēva in 1006 bound a paṭṭa on the victorious general Ereyamma, with the title Rājya-samuddharanam inscribed in gold, and gave him also keysere (bracelets) for his children (Sa 80). The rāja-guru and other priests in 1254 bound the vibhūti-paṭṭa on the Gana-kumāri Chandavar (Ak 108). But a high distinction often mentioned in connection with prominent public men is the gaṇḍa-pendāra (see Dg 36, 44, etc.). This was a golden anklet, apparently worn on the right leg. From Bl 112 of 1220, relating to the prince Lakshma, it seems to have been set with clusters of pearls. He also had another decoration, called todar, which was a golden chain or ankle-ring, embossed with medallions, and was worn on the left leg. It seems to have been regarded specially as a pledge of unswerving fidelity, and hence, when the prince received it, his wife also bound a todar on her left leg to signify that she would never desert him for another.

A singular custom, which was universal, was the ceremony of washing the feet of the guru or priest on making over the grant to a temple or for other objects. The transfer of the land or whatever was the subject of the benefaction is invariably described as accompanied with the performance of this act by the donor. But in one case, in 968, the guru's
feet are said to have been not only washed but rubbed, dry
(Hk 23).

The oriental custom of touching and remitting offerings,
which is still practised in the case of *nazars* presented at
darbārs, is mentioned in 1300, in connection with the dues
payable by Brāhmins. According to the custom of the
country, it is said (TN 98), the palace will touch and remit to
the Brāhmins of Sōmanāthpura the former dues, whatever
they may be. This was in the time of the Hoysala king
Ballāla III.

Another incident mentioned in 1434 (Mr 1) was very
likely typical of a custom. On the completion of a fort which
the king had ordered to be built, he celebrated the occasion by
having tigers captured and brought before the principal
bastion, where he and his son hunted them, at the same time
giving to the bastion its name as Rāja-gambhira.

In Ci 64 is a reference to stichomancy, like the classical
*Sortes*. One of the donees is described as a *salākāchārya*, a
man who answers questions by putting a *salāka* or stick into
a book (a palm-leaf book) at random and so finding a suitable
passage. There are elaborate rules for the system, as for most
Hindu mysteries.

Every one knows or has heard of the extraordinary feats
of memory performed by certain natives of India. References
to such accomplishments occur in some of the inscriptions.
In 1103 is mentioned (Sk 98) Malli-dēva, known as the
Niṭalāksha (Īsvara) among āśu-kavi (fast or extempore poets).
Of him it is said that if two persons from different sides should
come towards him writing it down from the end (that is, back-
wards) and reading it out, he would arrange the poem so read
out, whatever the subject might be, as a new poem. He
would also repeat four stories from hearing them related
(simultaneously); and make calculations in any number of
given figures. All this he was able to do by mental effort
alone. In 1223 is mentioned (Cn 203) Viśvanātha, who
could write letters with both hands (at once), and go through
(at the same time) a hundred mnemonic feats (these are known as *sūtavadhiṇa*), so that the learned men who examined him nodded their heads (in approval). In 1079 there was the minister Nakulāryya, who was learned in writing four languages (Cn 99); but this is not exceptionally wonderful. In 1344 there was Sōma, who was a successful poet in eight languages (Mb 158, Gd 46).
V ART

Works of art are chiefly exemplified in engraving, sculpture, and architecture. The specimens of engraving are those to be found in inscriptions. The finest examples are the Kadamba inscription on the Tālgunda pillar, and the Ganga and Hoysala inscriptions on stone slabs and copper plates. Most of the Hoysala inscriptions, in particular, are beautifully incised on polished slabs of black hornblende, and the contents are so skilfully engrossed that no space is left where a single additional character could be introduced. Ornamental flourishes and elegant fancy letters are used where suitable, and the whole presents an attractive appearance. Under the Chālukyas in 1067 is mentioned (Cd 47) an artistic engraver (vīvārī) who could entwine the forms of elephants, lions, parrots, and other animals so as to make them appear from the letters. In 1159, under the Hoysalas, is mentioned (Ak 141) a sculptor who within the space of a single page (of a īle or palmyra leaf) wrote the whole of the Gō-grahana in the highest style so as to please every one.

Sculpture and carving in stone attained to an elaboration perfectly marvellous. The colossal Jain image of Gomata on a hill at Śravana-Belgoḷa, erected in about 983 during the Ganga period, is one of the most remarkable monuments in India. It is a monolith, nude, and stands 57½ feet high,1 with no support above the thighs. "Nothing grander or more imposing exists out of Egypt," says Fergusson, the great authority on architecture.

1 The sculptor has engraved his name at the foot of the statue, and, curiously enough, it corresponds with the French metre. The use of this in the tenth century would form an interesting subject for inquiry.
The Hoysala crest of Sala stabbing the tiger, set up in front of the vimāna of temples erected by them, is a fine example of free standing sculpture. There is also some in the ruined Jain temples at Angadi. But the most intricate and astonishing carving is that employed in the decoration of the outer walls of the Hoysala temples, and in the ceilings of the small domes or cupolas of their interior. It is executed in a potstone of creamy colour, which can be polished till it resembles marble; soft when quarried, but hardening rapidly on exposure to the air. The carving has evidently been done when the surface had thus weathered. Fergusson's opinion may here also be quoted. "There are many buildings in India (he says) which are unsurpassed for delicacy of detail by any in the world, but the temples at Bēlūr and Halebid surpass even these for freedom of handling and richness of fancy. . . . The amount of labour which each facet of this porch (Bēlūr) displays is such as I believe never was bestowed on any surface of equal extent in any building in the world." Of the minute elaboration of detail in the frieze of the Halebid temple, he says, "it may probably be considered as one of the most marvellous exhibitions of human labour to be found even in the patient East. . . . No two facets of the temple are the same; every convolution of every scroll is different. No two canopies in the whole building are alike, and every part exhibits a joyous exuberance of fancy scorning every mechanical restraint."

In architecture the palm must be given to the ornate temples erected by the Hoysalas, or during the period of their ascendancy, in the style which has been named Chalukyan. Regarding these the same authority remarks as follows: "The artistic combination of horizontal with vertical lines, and the play of outline and of light and shade far surpass anything in Gothic art. The effects are just what mediaeval architects were often aiming at, but which they never attained so perfectly as was done at Halebid." Of the temples there, he says: "The great temple (the Hoysalēśvara), had it been completed,
is one of the buildings on which the advocate of Hindu architecture would desire to take his stand. . . . And if carried out with the richness of detail exhibited in the Kēḍārēśvara, would have made up a whole which it would be difficult to rival anywhere. . . . If it were possible to illustrate this little temple (the Kēḍārēśvara) in anything like completeness, there is probably nothing in India which would convey a better idea of what its architects were capable of accomplishing: . . . By a curious coincidence it was contemporaneous with the English cathedrals of Lincoln, Salisbury, and Wells, or the great French churches at Amiens, Rheims, and Chartres, of course without any communication. But it is worthy of remark that the great architectural age in India should have been the thirteenth century, which witnessed such a wonderful development of a kindred style (meaning the Gothic) in Europe.

The following list of the principal temples of this style in Mysore, with the dates of their erection, may be useful for purposes of comparison:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>TEMPLE</th>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>REFERENCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1177</td>
<td>Chenna Kēśava</td>
<td>Belur</td>
<td>Bl. 38, 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1141</td>
<td>Hoysalēśvara</td>
<td>Halabidj</td>
<td>Bl. 239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1121</td>
<td>Brahmeśvara</td>
<td>Kākēri</td>
<td>Kr. 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1173</td>
<td>Būcheśvara</td>
<td>Kāravangala</td>
<td>H. 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1196</td>
<td>Amplēśvara</td>
<td>Amīrāpura</td>
<td>T. 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1219</td>
<td>Kēḍārēśvara</td>
<td>Halebid</td>
<td>Bl. 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1224</td>
<td>Harivārēśvara</td>
<td>Harihar</td>
<td>Dg. 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1234</td>
<td>Sōmeśvara</td>
<td>Hārmhalli</td>
<td>Ak. 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1235</td>
<td>Mallikārjuna</td>
<td>Bāsurālu</td>
<td>Md. 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1268</td>
<td>Kēśava</td>
<td>Sōmanāthpur</td>
<td>Dg. 36, TN 97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of course no single date can be given for the Hoysalēśvara, which was more like a national monument,—under construction for a long period, and never completed. It is a double temple, and Fergusson says was left unfinished, being interrupted by the Muhammadan conquest, after the works had been in progress for eighty-six years; but no authority is given for this statement. Of the positive dates obtained from inscriptions, the carving over the southern doorway is stated (Bl. 239) to have been executed for the sculptor of Pratāpa-Nārasimha or
Nārasimha I. This indicates that the fabric of the building was then complete, say in 1141 or somewhat later. Of the votive offerings inscribed on the inner walls, the earliest appears to be Bl 105, in which the double temple, dedicated to Hoysalēśvara and Panchikēśvara, is fully recognised, and grants are made for the two gods by the sīnabhīva of the senior queen Kētalā-Dēvi. Now, she was the queen of Ballāla II, and is mentioned in 1177 (Hn 54). The temple was thus begun after the one at Bēlūr, and the body of the building completed in the time of Nārasimha I. The sculpture of the exterior walls was no doubt carried on during the subsequent reign of Ballāla II, when decorative features were also added to the Bēlūr temple (Bl 72). There is a story, indeed, that the pierced medallions, like those at Bēlūr, which have evidently been removed from their brackets on the outer pillars, were taken away at the end of the eighteenth century by Count de Lally, the French ally of Haidar Ali, (or perhaps by the younger Lally), and that he sent a sum of money from France as compensation to the temple. The stoppage of work on the building was probably due to the Śeuma invasions in the reigns of Nārasimha II and Sōmeśvara, followed by the removal of the royal residence by the latter in about 1236 to Kannanūr, near Trichinopoly. But the beautiful and completed Sōma- nāthpur temple was built after this, in the reign of Nārasimha III. It is a triple temple, and has often furnished a model for silver or gold caskets.
VI. LITERATURE

Of the notices of authors in the inscriptions, some are of the first importance, especially for the history of Karnāṭa or Kannada literature. The earliest relate to Ganga kings, among whom Mādhava II is invariably mentioned as having written a treatise on the dattaka-sūtra or law of adoption (see Mr 73, DB 68, etc.). This work may be assigned to the third century. In what language it was composed does not appear, but probably in Kannada. Then Durvvinita, another Ganga king, who began to reign at the end of the fifth century; is said (Tm 23) to have had as his preceptor the divine who was the author of the Śabālavatāra, that is, the celebrated Jaina grammarian Pūjyapāda; and he is also said (Mi 110) to have walked according to the example of his guru. Moreover, Durvvinita, in most of the Ganga inscriptions (see Gd 47, etc.), is said to have written a commentary on fifteen sargas of the Kirātāryanīya, which is a Sanskrit poem by Bhāravi. This commentary was no doubt in Kannada, as we know that the Jains were the first cultivators of that language for literary purposes, and Nripatunga, in his Kavirajamārgga, names Durvvinita as one of the early distinguished Kannada authors.

In the works of the principal old Kannada poets, Samantabhadra, Kaviparimēṣthi, and Pūjyapāda, invariably in this order, are named at the beginning as the earliest and most illustrious trio among the authors who preceded them. From Jaina traditions it appears that Samantabhadra may be placed in the second century. Regarding him SB 54 supplies the following list of countries and places to which he travelled, and
where he beat the drum, as a challenge to any opponent who would meet him in public disputation. They were Pāthaśiputra (Pātna, on the Ganges, the capital of the Mauryas or Guptas), Mālava, Sindhu, the Thakka country (in the Punjāb), Kānchipuram (Conjeeveram, near Madras), Vaidīśa (Bhilā, in Central India), Karahātaka (Kolhāpur, in the South Mahārata country or Karnātaka Prāṇth). Nr 46 refers to the Bhāṣya composed by the great brāti, in allusion to Samantabhadrā's Gandāhasti-mahābhāṣya, a commentary on Umāsvāti's Tattvārtthā.

Of Pūjyapāda, SB 40 says that his name was Dēvanandi; that on account of his great learning he was called Jinēndrabuddhi; and that from his two feet being worshipped by the devotees he was known as Pūjyapāda. It adds that he was the author of the incomparable grammar—the Jainēdra; of the Sarvārthasiddhi, and of the Samādhī-satāka, and describes him as a critic in prosody. Nr 46 also mentions as works composed by him—Nyāyakumuda-chandrōdaya, a Nyāsa on Śākaṭāyana's sūtras, the Nyāsa known as Jainēdra, the Nyāsa called Śabdāvatāra on the sūtras of Pāṇini, Vaidya-sāstra, and a rika to the Tattvārthā. In Sk 124 Kāmasēna is said to be in grammar Pūjyapāda, in logic Akalanka, and in poetry Samantabhadra. In SB 47 Mēghachanda is said to be in logic Akalanka, and in all grammar Pūjyapāda. In SB 55 Jinachandara is said to be Pūjyapāda in the Jainēdra, in all logic Bhaṭṭākalanka, and in poetry Bhāravi. SB 105, again, compares Śrutamuni with Pūjyapāda in grammar, Dēva (Akalanka) in rhetoric and logic, Gautama and Kōṇḍakunda in the two siddhānta, and Varḍhamāna in spiritual philosophy.

To revert to SB 54. It mentions Vaksagṛiva as the author of Navaśabḍāvichya; Vajranandi of Navastōtra; Sumati of Sumati-satākam; Chintāmani of the Chintāmani; Śrīvarddhadeva of the Chudāmani; and Śripāla as having expounded the tattva. But the most valuable of its statements is in connection with Śrīvarddha, for in relation to him a couplet is

1 Fixed in a public part of the city for the purpose.
quoted in which Dandi highly praised him as a poet. And as Dandi belongs to the sixth century, this supplies us with a definite period for Śrivarddha, the author of the Chūdāmaṇi. Now, this work is mentioned in Bhaṭṭākalkanka’s great grammar, the Karnāṭaka-Śabdānusāsana, as if the finest work in the Kannada language, and it is described as a commentary on the Tatvārthda-mahāāstra, containing 96,000 verses. It is also mentioned in TN 105, where it is called a poem, and the author is said to have been named Chūdāmaṇi from his work, in which he had displayed all the ornaments of composition. In the Rājāvali-kathe he is styled the Tumbalūr-āčārya, and this place may be the Tumbalūr, now commonly known as Dommalūr or Domlūr, immediately to the east of Bangalore; or, more likely, the Tumbala of TN 106-9.

It is evident that a work of such extent could neither have been produced nor required had there not already existed a considerable literature in Kannada, together with a widespread cultivation of the language. And a eulogy by Dandi indicates that Śrivarddha flourished in or before the sixth century. But, both in SB 54 and TN 105, the mention of the Chūdāmaṇi is preceded by that of the Chintāmaṇi, the author of which has the same name as his work. It is described as a lucid exposition of merit, wealth, love, and salvation. That this was a Kannada work is evidently implied, and one older than the Chūdāmaṇi. But of neither, unfortunately, has any trace so far been found. On the other hand, there is a Chintāmaṇi in Tamil, which Dr. Caldwell describes as a Jain work by an unknown author, containing 15,000 lines, and little known on account of its difficult style. He adds, however, that it is without doubt the greatest epic poem in the Tamil language, and may be the oldest Tamil composition of any extent now extant.

Later Ganga kings are also credited with authorship. Thus,—Śripurusha, who reigned in the eighth century, is said (Nr 35) to have written a Gaja-āstra, or work on elephants.

1 Dharmam-ārthīhā-lāma, the three chief objects of human desire.
His son Śivamāra-Saigotta, who had already mastered the difficult Phanisuta-mata, the yōga of Patanjali (NI 60), next made a profound study of the system of elephant management as expounded by the great yati born from the mouth of the female elephant, that is, in the Pālakāpyam of Pālakāpya or Karēnubhu,—to which there is a commentary in Kannada,—and then wrote the Gajāshtaka, which, it is said (Nr 35), was so conspicuous for poetical genius that, if it could be imparted to a deaf mute, it would force him to speak. Bātugendra, the younger brother of Rājamalla II, is also said (Nj 269) to have been like the son of Karēnu in knowledge of the great science of elephants.

Additional information regarding Jaina authors is contained in the following inscriptions.—SB 40, 42, and 43 mention Umāśvāti, also known as Gridhrapinchhāchārya, who had no equal in his time in discerning the padāṛṭha or categories in logic. They also state that Gunanandi was skilled in logic and grammar, and lord of the learning of poetry. SB 40 says that Śrutakirtti wrote with great skill the Rāghava-Pāṇḍaviya, reading forwards or backwards. BI 17 informs us that Śripāla, with a second name Vādibhasimha, wrote commentaries without number in prose, verse, and precept. Ak 141 and Kd 69 likewise refer to him. Nr 35 says that Anantaviryya wrote a Vṛitti to the Akalanka-sūtras, and Dayāpāla a Prakriya to the Śabdāṅuktāsana. Of Lōkāchārya, Ak 55 says that in the science of language he was a Kaumāra incarnate, being conversant with the branches that follow (or are studied) after grammar; and that in astrology he was well versed in the Śrīkarava, Laghumānasu, and Karavaratna. In SB 42 we are told of Sampūrnachandra that he was proficient in solar and lunar astronomy, and of Śrīdhara that he was skilled in mantras and medicine. TN 105 says that Indranandi was the author of Pratisthā-kalpa and Jvālinī-kalpa.

Brāhmans come into view in Sk 92 and 96 in describing the attainments of Vāmaśakti, the learned head of the Kōdiya matha at Balligrāme. In grammar (they say) he was Pāṇini,
in drama and music Bharata, in poetry Subandhu or Māgha, in siddhānta Lākuliśvara or Nakuliśvara.

Going back to Jain authors.—SB 105 states that Samantabhadra’s disciple Sivakoti-sūri illustrated the Tattvārthṣa-sūtra, and that Śrūtamuni composed new poems, and excelled in all advanced learning, especially in grammar. Nr 46 says that Vidyānanda’s sayings were ever cherished in the mind like the great Bhāshya (of Samantabhadra), and his irreproachable reasoning was ever pleasing to the minds of poets, appearing like Bāna’s prose-expressed poem (the Kādambarī). It farther says that Umasvāti was author of the Tattvārthṣa-sūtra; Akālanka of a Bhāshya to Samantabhadra’s Devāgama-sūtra; Vidyānanda illustrated the Āpta-mimāmsa, and composed the Ślokāvārttikālankāra; Prabhāchandra wrote the Mārtanda; Nemicandra was the author of Trilokasūtra and other works; and Vidyānanda made many commentaries; including the Budhāmahavāna-Vyākhyāna.

Kālidāsa is praised in the yamaka verse Mk 39. Mb 42 mentions the Pōdiyam (mountain) where the three forms of Tamil (prose, poetry, and the drama) flourished. Ck 40 extols the attainments of a pandit named Mallikārjuna, and describes him as highly versed in the five pratishtes, namely, the Māya, Bhūpāla, Yoga-pārāyana, Pratishte, and Pratishṭārvyana, as well as in logic, grammar, and the Vṛitti, Patti, Byōma-tiku, and Durgga-tiku śāstras. Valjanna appears as a poet in Bl 238, TN 23 refers to Patanjali’s Padastoma, and to Rāmānuja as the author of the Bhāshya (the Viṣistādvaita-viśdānta-bhāshya). In Dg 25 we are informed that the Hoysala general Pūlāvva composed a Hari-charite in shatpadi verses. Sōma is said in Mb 158 and Gd 46 to have been a successful poet in eight languages, and to have acquired much wealth by his profession. Unfortunately we are not told what languages they were. In Sb 375 is an account of the Vijayanagar prince Mārāpa, who, with his minister Mādhava, having collated the three vedas and examined the text of the purāṇas, compiled the Saivā-gama-stōtra. The Vijayanagar king Harihara II is expressly
stated in Kp 34 to have been a cultivator of Karnāṭaka learning. Ādityāryya is said in Pg 69 to have been the author of Bhāskya-
bhūsha. Sr 94 contains an account of the recitation of the
Mahābhārata before the Mysore king by Alasingar-aiyangār.

Other notices of authorship may be drawn from the
distinguished composers of various inscriptions. Thus, the fine
and learned Kadamba record in Sk 176 was composed by the
poet Kubja. The Chalukya inscriptions Sh 571 and Dg 66
were composed by the great minister for peace and war,
Rāma-punyavallabha, and Kl 63 by the like minister, Anivārita-
Dhananjaya-punyavallabha. The elaborate eulogy of Gomāta
in SB 85 was composed by Sujanottamsam, the poet Bobbana,
who has the distinctive title Kannada-kavi-bapta. Ak 48 was
composed by the ornate poet Śāntinātha, grandson of the
southern Sōma, and known as kavi-kula-tilaka. Ak 118
was composed by Umēsadatta and corrected by the great poet
Trivikrama. Ak 123 was composed by Sōmanātha, known
as su-kavi-kanthābhārana. Sh 69 was written by the kaviśvara
Brammadēva. The composer of Sk 281 was the learned
Phanīśitu, son of Viśvanāthāryya.

There are several of the eloquent and elaborate Vijayanagar
inscriptions composed by the court poet Sabhāpati (Sh 1,
Hn 6, Gu 30, Pg 4, Cn 167, Pg 75, Hk 132, Md 55) and his
descendants. Tm 1 is by his son Kaviśasana Svayambhu;
Ck 39 and Sh 83 by his grandson Krishnakavi Kāmakōṭi;
and Mb 60 by his great-grandson Rāma, the son of Kāmakōṭi.
Another accomplished author was the minister Tirumalārya,
son of Alasingārya, who composed TN 23 and Ch 92. Then
Sr 64 was composed by the poet Tirumaleyyācharya, skilled in
Karnāṭa, Ṭhundhra, and Sanskrit poetry, and in singing; constant
reader of the Rāmāyaṇa and Bhārata.

The latest notice of authorship is in Ch 154, where
Dēvachandra is said to have caused the genealogy of the
fathers to be written. This probably refers to the compendium
of Jaina traditions called the Rājavall-kaṭhe, compiled for one
of the Mysore queens.
VII. RELIGION

The early inhabitants of the country were probably to a great extent, especially on the female side, Nāgas or serpent worshippers, that is, of the cobra, which is the Nāga. Effigies of the cobra are set up to this day at the entrance of every village or town for public adoration, and ceremonial offerings are made to the living cobra. In the Sātavāhana inscription at Banavāsi, of the first or second century, the king’s daughter is named Nāgasri, and she makes the gift of a Nāga. The province corresponding with the Shikārpur tāluq, said (Sh 263) to have been ruled by the wise Chandra Gupta, was named Nāgakhandā or Nāgarakhandā. Some of the minor royal lines in the west claim Nāga descent. Thus, the Sēndrakas were of the Bhujagēndra-anvaya or lineage of the snake king (IA. vii. 106), and the Sindas were of the Phanirāja-vāmśa (Hl 50, 20), which has the same meaning, while the Sēnāvāras had the phani-dīvajā or serpent flag (Cm 95). Jina datta, the founder of the Śantara line, is said to have married a Nāga virgin. The Chōla prince Rājadhirāja is said to have bravely gone down into a cavern, and by his radiant beauty won the hand of the noble daughter of the Nāga race. The professed Janamejaya grants (Sk 45, etc.), which really belong to the twelfth century, are records of donations made to Brāhmans for performing the sarpa-yāga or serpent sacrifice, perhaps indicative of a wholesale subjection or extinction of serpent worshippers or Nāgas. Of the Vijayanagar king Harihara II, it is said (Si 95) that his virtues were sung in pleasant stories by the Nāga maidens in Pāṭāla.
Nāyaka of Harati is described (Cl 54) as brother to the Nāga virgins of the Nāga-lōka.

Jainism prevailed in Mysore from before the third century B.C., when Bhadrabāhu, accompanied by Chandra Gupta, led a migration of Jains from the North to the South (SB 1), and it continued a popular faith during more than a thousand years of the Christian era. Asoka, the grandson of Chandra Gupta, strove towards the close of his reign to propagate Buddhism (Mk 21), and in the fourth century A.D. a Bāna king is compared with Boddhisattva in compassion for all living things in the world (Mb 157). Even so late as 1055 a Buddhist vihāra was erected in Belgāmi (Sk 170), and the Baudha sāvāsī is mentioned in 1098 (Sk 106), while a great Baudha town named Kalavati is mentioned even in 1533 (Tp 1). But Buddhists it would seem were never numerous. The spread of Jainism was greatly promoted in the second century A.D. by Samantabhadra (SB 54), and later by Akalanka, who defeated the Buddhists in public disputation at Kānchi in the eighth or ninth century (SB 54), in consequence of which they were banished to Ceylon. Jainism was the State creed in the time of the Ganges, of some of the Rāshtrakūtas and Kalachuryas, and of the early Hoysalas. Also of the minor states of Punnāta, of the Śāntaras, the early Changālvas and the Kongālvas, as testified by their inscriptions. But the Chōla conquests in 1004, the conversion of the Hoysala king in 1117, and the assassination of the Kalachurya king in 1167 were severe blows to its influence. In an endeavour to accommodate itself to the age, Jina is described in 1151 as the Universal Spirit who is Śiva, Dīnārī (Brahmā), Sugata (Buddha), and Vishnu (Tm 9); and for a generation following we find (Ck 21, 13) chieftains who were supporters of all the four creeds,—Māheśvara, Jaina, Vaishnava, and Baudha.

Lists of the Jain hierarchy and the succession of Jain gurus are contained in the following inscriptions, arranged according to date: SB 1, Nr 35, Sh 64, SB 47, 43, 54, Dg 90, SB 40, 42, 105, Ng 76, Cn 149, Ak 1, TN 105,
RELIGION

SB 108, Nr 46. The first is of the (?) fifth century; the remainder are of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, except the last two, which are of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The greatest detail for the early period is supplied in SB 105, which gives the names of the Tirthankaras, the Ganaudharas, the Kēvalis, the Śrutakēvalis, the Daśapūrvaśadharas, the Ekaśāṅgadharas, and Ācharāṅgas. It then continues, through Kundakunda, Umāsvāti or Griddharpinchha, Balākapinchha, Samantabhadra, Śivakōti, Dēvanandi or Pājyapāda, Akalanka, etc., to Arhadballi, who formed four divisions of the Sangha,—the Śena, Nandi, (Tridivēsa or) Dēva, and Simha sanghas. The others contain some of this information, but not in a connected manner, and each one branches off at a certain point to give a succession relating to the immediate object of the inscription. There is none which is more interesting or which conveys more valuable information than SB 54, interspersed as it is with chaṇḍas or quotations of the first importance in corroboration of the narrative. Its date is 1128, and its object is to record the death of Mallishēna-Maladhāri, who was a disciple of Ajitaseṇa, and who gained a great name in his day among the Jains. Nr 46 also contains much historical information relating to the sixteenth century in recounting the successes of the Jain orator Vādi-Vidyānanda.

According to Sk 186 there were no Brāhmans in the South in the time of Mukkanna Kadamba, the third century. Having sought diligently for them throughout the region and finding none, he went without delay to the North, and from the Ahichchatra agrahāra (said to be in the Bareilly District) procured a number of Brāhman families (see also Nj 269) whom he settled in the agrahāra of Sthānakundūr (Tālgunda), to the north of Belgāmi (Shikārput āṭaluq). From his family sprang the royal Kadamba line, as related in the Tālgunda pillar inscription (Sk 176). On the other hand, it seems that there must have been some Brāhmans before, for the Sātavāhana grant of the first or second century on the Malavallī pillar (Sk 263) was made as a Brāhman endowment. But they
may have left the country, as those above-mentioned from the north are said to have attempted to do. In the east, tradition attributes the introduction of Brāhmans to Mukunti Pallava, who is also of the third century. It is evident from the Tālgunda pillar inscription that Brāhman professors had gained a great reputation in Kāñchi, the Pallava capital, when Mayūrasamma, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, went there at about that period in order to complete his studies.

The earliest form of the Brāhma faith was connected with the worship of Śiva, who was, it is asserted, doorkeeper to the Mahāvalis or Bānas (Sp 5, 6). But Vishnu, in his Vāmana or Dwarf incarnation, deprived Mahā Bali in two strides of all his possessions except Pāṭāla, which was left to him. And Krishna, who is another form of Vishnu, also found means, in a war against Bāna, to overcome Śiva who fought for the Bānas. It is difficult to separate the worship of Śiva and Vishnu in subsequent periods. They continued to be jointly recognised in all parts, and the united form Harihara, composed of Hari (Vishnu) and Hara (Siva), was a symbol of their general equality in religious estimation. Of Harihara, Dg 25 in 1224 says: "The celebrated Śiva acquired the form of Vishnu, and Vishnu acquired the great and famous form of Śiva, in order that the saying of the Vēda (that they were one: see Dg 36) might be fully established." Kēśava or Vishnu, again, is identified as follows in the fourteenth century (Bl 3) with the chief object of worship in all the sects: "He whom the Saivas worship as Śiva, the Vēdāntins as Brahmā, the Baudhhas as Buddha, the Naiyāyikas as Kartta, the Jainas as Arha, the Mīmāṁsakas as Karmma."

The worship of Śiva was from an early period specially associated with an ancient teacher named Lakulīśa, who apparently can be traced back as far as the first century (J.R.A.S., 1907, p. 419). His name frequently recurs in our inscriptions (see Si 28, Sk 126, 107, 104, 108), and his creed and sect are referred to as the Lākulāgama (Ak 62), Lākulāmnaya, Lākula-samaya (Sk 107), etc. But there must have been a
succession of gurus of the name. For Si 28 in 943 says that Lakulîśa, fearing lest his name and works of merit should be forgotten, became incarnate in the muninâtha Chîllûka. And Sk 126 records a grant made in 1036 to a Lakulîśvara; perhaps he was the same as the one mentioned in a grant of 1020 in Mîlpâdi in North Arcot (SII, iii, 27). Sk 107, of about 1078, describes a Vâlmiki-muni as being (?) a hand to Lakula. Sk 94 in 1094 praises Śrîkantha-pandita as himself Lakulîśa, while Sk 98 in 1103 says that his son Śômeśvara-pandita caused the Lâkula-siddhânta to blossom; and Sk 92 and 96, of 1168 and 1179, compare the rîjaguru Vâmasakti with Lakulîśvara or Nakulîśvara. But farther, Tp 12 of 1285 speaks of Lakula's new samaya. As hitherto generally known, Lakulîśvara was the founder, in about the eleventh century, of the Pâśupata sect, and this was at Kârâhana in the Lâta country, which Dr. Bühler identified with Kârvân in Barâda. The Lakula of our inscriptions belongs to the period between 1054 and 1156, and is generally mentioned in connection with the Kâlâmukha sect, who are described as a branch of the Śakti-parshê in the Mûvara-kôneya-santati of the Parvatatâvali (II 10, Sk 107, 114, 316, Bl 117, Sk 104, 108). There is a list in Ck 35 of a succession of gurus of the Agastyâśvara matha at Śrîparvata, all whose names end in âkti.

The Śaiva reformer Śankarâchârya opposed the Jains and revived Śiva worship in the eighth century, when also he founded the Śrîngârî matha in the Kadûr District (Sg 11). But in the middle of the twelfth century took place the Vîra Śaiva revival, a revolt against Brâhmanism, promoted by Basava, the minister of the Kalachurya king Bijjala, which resulted in the establishment of the Jangama, Śivâchâra, or Lingâyit faith, the popular religion to this day of the Kannada-speaking peoples. Into this great numbers of Jains were merged, while Jain images and temples were converted to Linga use. Ck 21 mentions the Shôdaśar or Sixteen, a special class of Lingavantas. The Keladi kings, the Changâlvâs, the
Bhairarasu-Woḍeyars, the Coorg Rājas, and other smaller states, professed the Lingāyit creed, which was also adopted by the Mysore Rājas in conjunction with the Vaishnava faith of their origin.

The revival of Vishnu worship was due in great measure to the Vaishnava reformer Rāmānujāchārya, also called Emberūmānār, who, at the beginning of the twelfth century, took refuge from Chōla persecution in the Mysore country, where he converted from Jainism the Hoysala king Bṛṭṭi-Dēva, thenceforward called by the name Vishnuvardehī. Rāmānuja established the Yatrāja matha at Mēlukōte (see Sr 64), and received a large tract of land on both banks of the Kāvēri near Seringapatam, named the Ashtagrāma or eight townships. For the management of his affairs he appointed the Fifty-two. These were Śrīvaishnavas, and his first disciples.

Bitter animosity continued to exist against the Jains, and in 1368 (as already related above, p. 113) they complained in a body to the Vijayanagar king Bukka-Rāya of the persecutions to which they were subjected by the Vaishnavas. The king summoned before him the leading men of both sects, and after inquiring into the matters in dispute, decided that no difference could be allowed as regards their liberty to follow their respective ceremonials. He then took the hand of the Jains, and holding it in the hand of the Vaishnavas, decreed that the Jains were free to carry out their customary ritual, and that equal protection would be given to both sects (SB 136). This decree was to be set up at all Jain bastis by the Vaishnavas, who were not to look upon the Jains as in a single respect different. And, from a fund which the Jains would annually raise among themselves, the Vaishnavas were to appoint twenty men as a body-guard for the Jain image of Gomāṭa at Śrāvaṇa-Belgola, and were to repair such Jain temples as had been ruined. This was actually done at Kallēha (Kalya in Māgadi taluq), as witness the copy of the decree set up there (Ma 18).

The Śrīṅgerī matha had assisted in the foundation of the

*His original name is said to have been Ḫaiyālīvān.*
Vijayanagar empire in the fourteenth century, and furnished the first minister to the kings, who in consequence liberally endowed it (Sg 1). From the Vira-Saivas, who had largely superseded the Jains in the west, the latter were exposed to violent opposition. For instance, Bl 128 states, in 1638, that an over-zealous Linga-yit official had stamped a linga on the pillars of the principal Jain basti at Halebid. The Jain merchants remonstrated on this with the Sivachara high priests, and an agreement was come to that the Jain priests of the basti should first offer the usual Saiva salutation of ashes and betel leaf, and then perform their worship and other ceremonies according to their own custom. This decree was engraved on stone by order of the minister of the Belur kingdom. On the fall of Vijayanagar in 1565, the Sringeri matha fell for a time to ruin, but in the next century was restored, and its endowments were renewed by the Keladi kings (Sg 5, 11, 13), who also established and endowed Sivachara mathas all over the Shimoga District.

The Rajas of Mysore likewise established agraharas for Brähmans (see Kg 37, Yd 54, Sr 64, Yd 58), and erected or added to temples (see Bn 118, Ch 86, Nj 1). Of Dodda-Deva-Raja it is said (Kg 37) that temples of the gods he had made, was making, and would continue to make. The Varaha (or Boar) which was lost in the Yavana invasion, Chikka-Deva-Raja brought from Srimushna (in South Arcot) and set up with devotion in Srirangapatana or Seringapatam (Ch 92). It is now in Mysore, having been removed there at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Of Muhammadan records, Sk 324 is one of the principal. This informs us that in 1632 the Bijapur Sultan, Muhammad Adil Shâh, son of Ibrahim Adil Shâh, erected the fort on the hill at the Mâsür Madag tank as a sign of victory in the attempt to repel the wicked infidels and to establish the auspicious Islam. Si 66b is a memorial to Malik Rihan, Subahdar of Sira, dated 1651. DB 31 contains an interesting inscription of the time of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb
Álamgir, dated in 1691. Si 66a records the erection of the big mosque at Sira in 1696. Ht 19 is a Mughal grant in the time of Dilávar Khán, Naváb of Sira, dated 1745.

There are some grants by Haidar All to Musalmán fakirs in 1763 and 1767 (Cp 146, 16, 114). Of Tipu Sultan’s inscriptions, one of the most characteristic is Sr 159 at the Elephant gate of the Seringapatam fort, the date of it being 1791. Those at the Gumbaz in Ganjam, the mausoleum of Haidar and Tipu, are of interest (Sr 23, 24, etc.). My 54 relates to the construction of a dam in the Káverí in 1797.

Of Christian records, an old inscription has been found at Ánekal, surmounted by a cross, and referring to the Kumbara ane or Potters’ dam. Its date is uncertain. But Dominican friars are said to have built a church there in 1400. A stone or stones are also said to have existed at Kánkánhalli recording a grant to the “sannyásis of Rome.” Nr 46, of about 1530, in relating the successes of the Jain disputant Vidyānanda at various royal courts, says that he destroyed (alidu) the European faith (Peringiya mata) of the Viceroy (or Agent—Káryya) of Sríranganagar or Seringapatam, who must, it would thus seem, have been a Roman Catholic Christian.

Of special religious ceremonies, one of the earliest mentioned is the aśvamédha or horse-sacrifice, which was a royal rite symbolic of supreme power. The Kadamba kings claim to have performed many horse-sacrifices. Accordingly, the Brāhmans of Tānagundūr are said (Sk 178) to be residents of 144 villages acquired as donations for the 18 horse-sacrifices of king Mayūravarmma. The king Krishnavarmma (? fifth century) is expressly stated (Bl 121) to have performed the horse-sacrifice. The Chalukya king Pulikēsi I performed the horse-sacrifice in the sixth century (Kl 63, Gd 48, etc.). A much later instance is that of the Chōla king Rājādhirāja or Jayangonga-Chōla in the eleventh century, who is also said (Dv 75) to have performed the horse-sacrifice. Other sacrifices mentioned are the vajapēya (Cn 167), performed
in the sixteenth century for the Vijayanagar kings Nrisimha and Krishna-Rāya; and the _agnishtōma_ (Mb 62) performed in the seventeenth century for the chief of Sugatūr. The Mysore king Kaṇṭhīrava-Narasa-Rāja is said (Ag 64) to have revived the performance of the _ekādaśi-vrata_, like Ambarisha and all the other kings. The Brāhmans of Sthānakundūr are described (Sk 176) as drinking _sōma_ juice, and those of Kellangere are called (Ak 117) 200 ornaments of _sōma_ drinkers.

An interesting term is that of _ghatika-sthāna_, which seems to indicate a place of public assembly for Brāhmans. It has been translated by Professor Pātha as "religious centre"; and Professor Kielhorn has written an article suggesting that it was something like a Brahmapuri. The name occurs in Sk 176, where Mayūrasarmma, on going to the Pallava capital for completing his studies, is said to have frequented every _ghatika_. In Si 23 of 1167 the Noṇambēsvara temple is said to be the great _ghatika-sthāna_ of the city of Henjeru. On the other hand, Sk 197 of 1182 describes _ghatika-sthānas_ as supports to _dharmma_ and mines for enjoyment (_bhōga_). Cn 178 of 1442 contains the statement that a _ghatika_ was established in a certain place "in accordance with the saying (or directions) of Uttanka in the Sāma-vēda."

There are a few references to rarer religious sects. Thus, Hs 18 records a grant in about 450, by the Kadamba king Mrigēšavarmma, as made to an Ātharvāṇi Brāhman. The grant in Sk 281 was made to Kāśmir Brāhmans. Then Gb 61 of 812 mentions the Yāpaniyas, a Jain unorthodox sect, who had the appearance of Digambaras, but followed the observances of the Śvetāmbaras (EI. iv. 338). And Hl 23 of 968 describes one of the places where the grant was made as a Lōkāyata city. The Lōkāyatas were an atheistical sect, followers of the doctrines of Chārvāka. Certain tenets and sectarian terms of the Lingāyits are set forth in Kg 49, in connection with the erection of a _matha_ for the Tōṇṭada-svāmi. The essentials are detailed which constitute a primeval _bhakta_, and a primeval _jangama_.

Attention may be drawn to some notable donations. Bl 121, of about 420, describes a merchant as the donor of a thousand cows. Kg 33, of 1663, mentions a Brāhman who was known as the donor of a crore of virgins. Nl 88 records a grant for feeding 12,000 odevars or Lingāyit priests in the Gangādhara temple at Śivaganga on a certain anniversary day. A singular statement is that in Sb 18, which speaks of the Vijayanagar king Dēva-Rāya II as having become after his death a mahārājika or demigod, reminding one of the apotheosis of the Roman emperors.
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VI. Kāvyāvalōkana. By Nāgāvarmma. A Standard Work on
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By the Same. Revised Edition. With Introduction, by
R. Narasimhachar, M.A. 1903.

(For Opinions of Scholars and the Press, see the Bangalore
and other volumes of "Epigraphia Carnatica.")
MYSORE AND COORG
FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS
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FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS

Published for Government

22790

BY

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The Inscriptions of Mysore and Coorg have been published in the *Epigraphia Carnatica* as follows:

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Containing numerous Facsimiles, and the Original Text of all the Inscriptions, in the Vernacular Characters, with Transliteration into Roman Characters, and English Translations.

An Index volume to the whole is in preparation.

Published by the Mysore Archæological Department, and printed at the Mysore Government Press, Bangalore, except Volumes V and X, printed at the Basel Mission Press, Mangalore.

On sale by the Curator, Mysore Government Central Book Depot, Bangalore.

¹ Including 46 belonging to Coorg.
² Including 2 belonging to Coorg.
PREFACE

The present volume is the outcome of researches extending over a number of years. All who have had to do with Mysore and Coorg know the attraction of their grand and varied natural features, their agreeable climate, and their interesting racial characteristics. Indeed, a Kannada poet describes the Hoysala country, that is Mysore, especially the west, as a hand-mirror (or reflection) of Kashmir. Regions so inviting could never have been entirely secluded from the general current of public affairs, but stirring events of recent times had brought them more prominently to notice. Curiosity was thus awakened as to their past. For though their chronicles could perhaps be fairly retraced for about five centuries, earlier periods were more or less a blank. To supply this want it was recognised that an examination was imperative of the inscriptions to be met with in all parts, which furnish almost the only contemporary records for the various periods to which they relate.

These inscriptions are mostly on either stone or metal. Their primary object is, in general, to record the erection of temples or other public structures, the endowment of gods or Brāhmans with lands and gifts, or to commemorate acts of heroism or self-sacrifice. But occasion is taken to give at the same time details as to the ruling powers of the day, their
ancestry and past achievements, and other information invaluable for historical purposes. Those on stone are engraved on natural rocks, on prepared pillars or slabs set up at the spots dedicated, and on the walls of temples and the gateways of forts and other buildings. Those on metal are generally on copper plates of a convenient size, strung together on a metal ring, which is secured with an impression in metal of the royal seal. Being portable, these can be secreted, and thus have often survived when inscriptions on stone have been destroyed.

To arrive at a just conception of the past annals of the countries, therefore, no better or indeed other way existed than to collect copies of all the inscriptions wherever they could be discovered, and to combine their historical contents into a consecutive narrative. Such has been the task accomplished in the volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* (see list above, p. vi), of which the present volume forms a compendium—a convenience for consultation.

As regards previous efforts in this direction, it is related that the Mysore king, Chikka-Dëva-Râjâ, who ruled from 1672 to 1704, had lists and copies made of the inscriptions throughout his country, but this was for the purpose of checking the endowments. The register so compiled was unfortunately one of those in the royal library which, during the usurpation of the throne in the latter part of the eighteenth century, was ordered by Tipu Sultân to be taken for boiling the gram or *kullî* for the horses. On the restoration of the Hindu Râj in 1799, during the Survey operations conducted at the beginning of the nineteenth century by Colonel Collin Mackenzie, copies were taken of inscriptions to the number of several thousands. But neither would the former of these collections, had it survived, nor the latter, the examination of which would be but labour lost on account of its unreliable
character, satisfy the critical demands of the present day. Numberless errors have been unwittingly propagated in past times by copies that were not trustworthy of inscriptions and other records.

The means of obtaining mechanical facsimiles, and the use of the photographic lens, together with a juster appreciation of the absolute necessity of exact and veracious counterparts, have raised the processes of epigraphy to those of a fine art. Scholars seated in their own libraries are thus now placed in possession of the texts in a form that cannot be surpassed for exactitude, and even easier to study than the originals.

It was in 1865, when Mr. L. Bowring, C.S.I., was Chief Commissioner of Mysore and Coorg, that the services of Major Dixon, an officer skilled in the new art of photography, were engaged to obtain copies by that process of inscriptions in various places easily accessible, where they were known to be numerous, such as Chitaldroog, Harihar, Belgami, and the north-west. These, numbering 150, were, in the then imperfect state of the art, taken on a scale so reduced that they could only be read with a magnifying glass, and even so, owing to insufficient cleansing and preparation of the originals, with difficulty. The photographs, however, were eventually, after other efforts to deal with them, placed in my hands for decipherment of the ancient characters and for translation in such leisure time as could be found from my regular duties. My only qualifications for the work were a knowledge of the language and the country. Otherwise it was new to me, and the task was not an easy one, as I was already engaged on extra duty in compiling the first edition of the Gazetteers of Mysore and Coorg, published in 1877. But by 1879 I contrived to bring out, in a volume called Gysore Inscriptions, translations of all those photographed as above, and of some
other inscriptions collected by myself. Archaeology had now become a hobby.

After the Rendition of Mysore in 1881 to the Native Government, on return from serving as Secretary to the Education Commission under Sir W. W. Hunter in Calcutta, I was appointed in 1884, in addition to my office of Education Secretary to Government, as Director of Archaeological Researches, being relieved for that purpose of the Police Department, of which I also had charge. In 1886 was published the volume of Coorg Inscriptions, and in 1889 the volume of Inscriptions in Sravanabelgola.

So much interest was excited by this work¹ that in 1890, at the instance of the Dewan, Sir K. Sheshadri Iyer, a regular Archaeological Department was formed under me. The exploration and copying of all the inscriptions throughout the country on a regular system, District by District, were now entered upon. The work was much interrupted by the outbreak of plague in 1898, and I was otherwise also greatly occupied with bringing out a new edition of the Gazetter of Mysore, published in 1897. But several months each year were spent in the arduous work in camp, and the results of the Archaeological Survey continued to appear in successive volumes of the Epigraphia Carnatica, according to the list on page v. The last (IX) bears date 1905, but was really issued in 1906. The total number of inscriptions and the magnitude of the whole undertaking far exceeded what had been anticipated either by myself or by the Government, and I am thankful to have been allowed to complete it.

Of the results obtained by the Survey, the details of which are contained in the volumes above referred to, the present volume is a summary. Their importance has been abundantly

¹ As it has long been out of print, a new edition is in preparation.
acknowledged by competent authorities. The history has been traced back, with scarcely a break, to the third century B.C., and former conceptions in regard to it have been considerably modified. A few of the principal items, before unknown, which have been brought to our knowledge may here be briefly mentioned. The earliest in order of time, and among the first in novelty and interest, are the account of the migration of Jains from the North under their great leader Bhadrabāhu, and the statement that he was accompanied by the celebrated Chandra Gupta as his disciple, and that both ended their lives at Śravana-Belagola in the Hassan District. These cannot be said to be proved as undeniably true, for they are perhaps now incapable alike of proof or disproof. But there are probabilities in favour of the occurrences as narrated, while they are not discredited by any anachronism. And the crowning discovery by me of Edicts of Aśoka, which placed beyond all doubt the fact that the north of Mysore in his time formed part of the Maurya empire, may also be held to lend support to the alleged connection with this country of Chandra Gupta, whose grandson Aśoka was. A local seat of the Maurya Government had evidently existed for some time at Isila, which is probably indicated by the Sidda of Siddapura in the Molakālmuru tāluq, where the edicts were found.

The rule of the Āndhras or Śatavāhanas, in succession to the Mauryas, has moreover been established. So also that of the line of Mahāvali or Bāna kings, hitherto unknown, has been made clear, together with details of the origin and rise to power of the Kadambas, who sprang from the Mysore country. The Gangas, who ruled over Mysore and Coorg for several centuries down to the end of the first millennium of the Christian era, but whose very name had been lost in oblivion, have been restored to their place in history. The Pallavas, equally
unknown before, have now been recognised as a great ruling power in the South, whose dominion was perpetuated in Mysore by the Noṇambas or Noḷambas. The influence of the Chalukyas, especially their western branch, and the important part played by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas or Raṭṭas, who for two centuries supplanted them, have been amply elucidated. The first clue to the chronology of the Chōlas was obtained from Mysore, and the range of their conquests here has been made manifest. In regard to the indigenous royal dynasty of the Poysalas or Hoysalas, who made a name in the South, their place of origin has been identified, and the building up of their power shown in detail. Not to mention the Śāntaras and others, the Changāḷvas and Kongāḷvas, lines of kings quite unknown, have been brought to light, and a large blank in the history of Coorg thus filled up.

For the more modern period, from the establishment of the Vijayanagar empire in the fourteenth century, less ignorance prevailed, but abundance of material has been obtained for adding to our knowledge and correcting previous misconceptions. Most important information has also been acquired regarding Karnāṭaka literature and other matters which it is difficult to specify in a few words. The volumes of which this is a compendium can vouch for themselves, and I would bespeak for it as favourable a reception as has already been accorded to them.

Harrow-on-the-Hill,
Christmas 1908.
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<td>IX.</td>
<td>SR</td>
<td>Serilingapatam</td>
<td>My</td>
<td>III.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DB</td>
<td>Dod-Ballapur</td>
<td>Bn</td>
<td>IX.</td>
<td>SK</td>
<td>Shikarpur</td>
<td>Sh</td>
<td>VII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Gori Biddur</td>
<td>Kl</td>
<td>X.</td>
<td>SH</td>
<td>Shimoga</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Gubbi</td>
<td>Tm</td>
<td>XII.</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>Sidsnagatta</td>
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<tr>
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<td>My</td>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>SI</td>
<td>Sila</td>
<td>Tm</td>
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<td>V.</td>
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<td>Hritiyur</td>
<td>Cd</td>
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<td>SG</td>
<td>Sringeri</td>
<td>Kd</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Holalkere</td>
<td>Cd</td>
<td>XL</td>
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<td>Holenarsipur</td>
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<td>V.</td>
<td>TK</td>
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<td>TP</td>
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<td>Cd</td>
<td>XL</td>
<td>TM</td>
<td>Tumkur</td>
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<tr>
<td>KD</td>
<td>Kadur</td>
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<td>VI.</td>
<td>YD</td>
<td>Vedatore</td>
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<td>IX.</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Yelandur</td>
<td>My</td>
<td>IV.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 By mistake Kp has been used for this in a few places.
WORKS REFERRED TO

ASI. Archeological Survey of India.
ASWI. Archeological Survey of Western India.
EC. Epigraphia Carnatica.
EHD. Early History of the Deccan. By Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar.
EHI. Early History of India. By Vincent A. Smith.
EI. Epigraphia Indica.
GI. Gupta Inscriptions. By Dr. J. F. Fleet.
IA. Indian Antiquary.
JRAS. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
KD. Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency.
     By Dr. Fleet.
SII. South Indian Inscriptions. By Dr. E. Hultsch.
VOJ. Vienna Oriental Journal.
ZDMG. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Volumes referred to without any name are those of the Epigraphia
Carnatica.
GUIDE TO PRONUNCIATION OF INDIAN WORDS AND NAMES

VOWELS

\( \text{a, } \text{ā} \) as the first and second \( \text{a} \) respectively in "afar."
\( \text{e, } \text{ē} \) as \( e \) in "pen" and "prey" respectively,
\( \text{ī} \) as \( e \) and \( ē \) respectively in "redeem."
\( o, \text{ō} \) as the first and second \( o \) respectively in "morose."
\( u, \text{ū} \) as \( u \) in "full" and "rule" respectively.
\( \text{ā} \) as \( i \) in "mine."
\( au \) as \( ou \) in "mouse."

CONSONANTS

\( g \) is always hard, as in "get"; never like \( j \).
\( f, \text{̣f} \) like \( t \) in "tat" and \( d \) in "dot" respectively.
\( t, \text{̣t} \) like \( th \) in "thin" and \( th \) in "that" respectively.
\( ph, \text{̣ph} \) like \( ph \) in "haphazard"; never like \( f \).

For other under-dotted letters the English sounds may be used, as their correct pronunciation is not easy to explain.
Specimen of Chalukya Copper-plate Inscription.
(Reproduced.)
MYSORE AND COORGG
FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS

These eloquent records of bygone ages are not, as might be expected, altogether silent in regard to the epic period. As preliminary, therefore, to the authenticated history, a brief reference may be made to notices in our inscriptions of incidents in the Rāmāyana and the Māhābhārata.

Rāma, on his expedition to Ceylon for the recovery of his wife Sītā, who had been carried off by Rāvana, is generally admitted to have passed through the Mysore country. On the abduction of Sītā, as she was borne along by her captor in his air-car, her rescue was attempted by Jātāyu, king of the vultures, who was slain by Rāvana. According to an inscription at the place (Mk 27), it was on the Jātinga Rāmēśvara hill in the Molakālmūru tāluq that Jātāyu fell when mortally wounded. But before he died he was able to impart the information as to who the despoiler was. This led to the despatch of Hanumān, the monkey chief, as a spy to Lankā or Ceylon to obtain confirmation of the report. Meanwhile Rāma made an alliance with Sugriva, the king of Kīshkindha, on the Pampā or Tungabhadrā river (near the site of the medieval Vijayanagar), with the aid of whose forces he marched against Rāvana in Ceylon. On his way through the Mysore region Rāma seems to have crossed the Kāvēri river at Rāmanāthpura in the Arkalgūd tāluq (Ag 53, Vd 25, 26). The tributary Lakshmantīrtha river, close by, is named after his brother Lakshmana. The return journey,
after his triumph, seems to have been by way of Āvani in the Mulbāgal tāluq—where there is a group of temples dedicated severally to Rāma, Lakshmīna, Bharata, Śatrughna, Vāli, and Sugriva—through Nandi in the Chik-Ballāpur tāluq (CB 29), and perhaps Mulukunte in the Tumkūr tāluq (Tm 14).

With regard to the Māhābhārata stories, Kaivāra in the Chintāmanī tāluq is said to be Ėkachakrapura (Ct 86, 87). Kunti-dēvi, the mother of the Pāṇḍavas, is said to have rebuilt a temple in the Chik-Ballāpur tāluq (CB 29). An inscription at Belgāmi in the Shikarpur tāluq (Sk 126) says that, after the performance of the Rājasūya sacrifice, the Five Pāṇḍava brothers came there, and set up the Five Lingas of the Pancha Linga temple. King Virāta’s capital, Matsya, where the Pāṇḍavas spent the last year of their exile in disguise, is identified with Pāṇungal or Hānugal in Dharwar, just over the north-west border of Mysore.
I. RULING DYNASTIES

1. MAURYAS

The earliest undoubted inscriptions in Mysore are the Edicts of Ashoka in the Molakalmuru taluk (Mk 21, 14, 34), discovered by me in 1892. They belong to the first half of the third century B.C., and are unquestionable evidence that the north of the Mysore State was included in the Maurya empire. But there are inscriptions relating to a period still farther back. For the Mauryas had as their predecessors the Nandas, and one inscription (Sk 225) states that Kuntala, a province which included the western Dekhan and the north of Mysore, was ruled by the Nandas. Another (Sk 236) derives the descent of the Kadambas, the early rulers of the north-west of the country, from Nanda. But these are of comparatively modern date, the twelfth century, and need not be further noticed.

Much more ancient and definite are the Jain inscriptions relating to Bhadrabahu and Chandra Gupta. The first discovery of those at Sravana-Belgola was made by me in 1874. The oldest are incised on the natural and irregular horizontal surface of the rock on the summit of the lower hill, called Chandragiri. One (SB 17), of (2) about 600, which almost runs into the big one (SB 1), to be mentioned farther on, couples together "the pair (yugma), Bhadrabahu along with Chandra Gupta munindra," and says that theirs was the safe (or auspicious) faith (dharmna). Two inscriptions on the north bank of the Kaveri near Seringapatam (Sr 147, 148), of about 900, describe the summit of the Kalbappu hill, that is,
Chandragiri, as marked by the footprints of Bhadrabāhu and Chandra Gupta munipati. At Śravana-Belgoḷa, one of 1129 (SB 34) mentions Bhadrabāhu—the śrutakēvali—and Chandra Gupta, who by being his disciple acquired such merit that he was for a long time served by the forest deities. Another there, of 1163 (SB 40), speaks of Bhadrabāhu, the last of the śrutakēvalis, and his disciple Chandra Gupta, whose glory was such that his gana of munis was worshipped by the forest deities. A third in the same place, of 1432 (SB 108), after extolling the yatindra Bhadrabāhu, the last of the śrutakēvalis, says that his disciple was Chandra Gupta, the greatness of whose penance caused his exalted fame to be spread into other worlds (or lands).

In literature, the Bṛihatkathākāśa, a work by Harishēna, dated in 931, says that Bhadrabāhu, the last of the śrutakēvalis, had the king Chandra Gupta as his disciple. A similar account is contained in the Bhadrabāhu-charita by Ratnanandi of about 1450; and is repeated in the Rājāvali-kathe by Dēvachandra, which is a modern compilation, of about 1800.

The tradition—thus ancient in origin, and referred to in subsequent ages down to the present as well known—is that Bhadrabāhu died at Śravana-Belgoḷa, on the Kaṭavapra or Kalbappu hill, that is Chandragiri, while leading a migration of Jains from the north, and that Chandra Gupta, who had accompanied him as his chief disciple, was the only attendant on him in his last moments. The latter survived his teacher for twelve years, which were spent in penance on the hill, and then died there himself.\(^1\)

For further local testimony to the truth of this, we have Chandra-giri, the name of the hill, given to it after Chandra Gupta. On it is pointed out the cave in which Bhadrabāhu expired (SB 71). In the centre of the group of temples there, and the most ancient among them, is the Chandra Gupta bastī,

\(^1\) "The story would be very interesting if it could be believed," says Mr. Vincent A. Smith (EHIL 137). Unfortunately he has been entirely misused as to its being a modern invention.
facing which, as being then the sole object of adoration on the hill, must be read the semicircle of rock inscriptions (SB 1-35) recording the death, by sahlīkhana or fasting, of various distinguished Jains. The façade of this basti is a perforated stone screen containing ninety sculptured scenes of events in the lives of Bhadrabāhu and Chandra Gupta. This, however, from the name of the sculptor, may be a work of the twelfth century, and made for its protection.

But of the rock inscriptions at Sravāṇa-Belgoḷa, which mostly consist of only two or three lines, the longest and most important is SB 1, in Sanskrit, not dated, but, from the characters, belonging to not later than the fifth century.¹ For they closely correspond with those of the Kavadī stone (Sb 523), recording the death of the Kadamba king Ravivarman and his queen; and phrases are grouped in a similar way in both, leaving a space between. Comparison may also be made with the characters of the Siragunda stone (Cm 50), which is of the time of the Ganga king Nirvinita or Durvinita, who came to the throne in 482.

After verses in praise of Vardhamāna or Mahāvīra, whose doctrine (it says) is even to-day in favour in Viṣāla (? Vaiśāli), a line of holy men is named who succeeded him. They were: Gautama ganadhara, his personal disciple Lōhārya, Jambu,² Vishnudēva, Aparājita, Gōvardhana, Bhadrabāhu,³ Viśākha, Prōshthila, Kṛittikārya, Jayanāma, Siddhārtha, Dhritishēna, Buddhila,¹ and others. Bhadrabāhu-svāmi, of this illustrious succession of regularly descended great men, by his power of knowing the past, present, and future, having foretold in Ujjayini a period of twelve years of dire calamity (or famine), the whole of the sangha (or Jaina community) went forth from the North to the South. By degrees they had arrived at a populous and prosperous country, when the Āchārya, Prabhā-

¹ The seventh, in the opinion of Drs. Leumann (VÖJ. vii. 382) and Fleet (EJ. iv. 25).
² These were the three Kēvalis. The second is generally called Sudharma.
³ These were four of the five Śrāvakēvalis.
⁴ These seven were Dāsāpūrvis, out of eleven.
chandra by name (or (?) with Prabhâchandra also), on this mountain named Kaţavapra, perceiving that but little time remained for him to live, in order that he might perform the penance before death, bidding farewell to them, sent away the entire sangha, and with one single disciple, worshipping on the cold rocks covered with grass, gained emancipation from his body.

Now here we have the prediction by Bhadrabâhu of twelve years of famine in the North, and the migration in consequence of the Jains to the South. As Dr. Leumann says,¹ the migration to the South is "the initial fact of the Digambara tradition." After a critical examination of Jain pattiavalis or succession lists of gurus, Dr. Hoernle says:² "Before Bhadrabâhu the Jain community was undivided; with him the Digambaras separated from the Śvetâmbaras ... The question is who this Bhadrabâhu was. The Śvetâmbara pattiavalis know only one Bhadrabâhu, who, from the dates assigned to him by the Śvetâmbaras and Digambaras alike, must be identical with the Bhadrabâhu I of the Digambaras. Considering the varying and contradictory character of the Digambara traditions, the probability is that the inception of the great separation took place under Bhadrabâhu I, who died 162 A.V. according to the Digambaras, or 170 A.V. according to the Śvetâmbaras." Dr. Jacobi says:³ "The date of Bhadrabâhu's death is placed identically by all Jain authors, from Hêmâchandra down to the most modern scholiast, in the year 170 A.V." This is 297 B.C.

The inscription records the death of a certain Achârya, who was evidently a leader of the migration to the South, for he bade farewell to the entire sangha—that is, the sangha previously mentioned as migrating with him to the South—and sent them on their way, in order that he might remain on the hill and perform the penance before death. During this final period he was ministered to by one single disciple (out of those who had accompanied him). The name of the

¹ loc. cit. ² t.A. xxi. 59, 60. ³ Kaṭhâpanâra, introd. 13.
CHANDRA GUPTA

Āchārya is apparently given as Prabhāchandra, but if the other reading above noted, proposed by Jains on the spot, might stand, Prabhāchandra would indicate the disciple, and is explained as the clerical name adopted by Chandra Gupta. The Āchārya would therefore be Bhadrabāhu. That this was the name of the last of the śrutakēvalis there is no doubt whatever. And that the first Maurya emperor, Chandra Gupta, the Sandrakoptos of the Greek historians, who reigned from 321 to 297 B.C., was contemporary with him, and disappeared from public life in the same year that Bhadrabāhu, as above shown, died, is equally clear. The question then naturally arises, What evidence is there that they were in any way connected?

As to this, Mr. Thomas says: "That Chandra Gupta was a member of the Jaina community is taken by their writers as a matter of course and treated as a known fact, which needed neither argument nor demonstration. . . . The testimony of Megasthenes would likewise seem to imply that . . ."

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1 He is described as pārṣa-chāndra in SB 104.—It has been attempted by Dr. Fleet (J. E. lv. 24) to make out that the Bhadrabāhu of the inscription was a later one of that name, who is said to have lived in the first century B.C., and that Chandragupta means his disciple Guptagupta. But no necessity appears for assuming that a long period intervened between the Bhadrabāhu in the opening portion and the one with whom the narrative begins, and that they were different persons. For even in the Kaupamārti of Bhadrabāhu, the section headed Śekaramārītā extends to many generations beyond him, which is accounted for as being for the sake of conspicuousness (see Intro. 23). Guptagupta, again, is nowhere mentioned in any inscription. The solitary instance in which the name was supposed to occur has been shown by Dr. Littled (J. E. lv. 391) to have no such meaning. Moreover, this Guptagupta is said to have had other names, one of which, it is significant to note, was Viśākha, the name of the successor of Bhadrabāhu I. To imagine also, with Dr. Leumann (in his kindly criticism), that Prabhāchandra belonged to some still more distant period, farther removed from both, in direct contradiction to the inscription, which unmistakably shows that he accompanied the ascetics on its migration. The name Prabhāchandra is not an uncommon one among the Jain gurus, and occurs at all periods. But the one honoured with this unique memorial was no ordinary man. In the effort to discover some one of the name of sufficient distinction to whom it can be fitted, a certain Digambara teacher is suggested, who cannot be shown to have lived till a later time than that of the inscription, and of course he would in no way be connected with the migration. To justify this proposed piecemeal and disjointed treatment of the inscription, it is represented that the first portion was a customary introduction to Jain inscriptions. But plausible as this may appear in theory, it is opposed to fact, for not a single inscription has been found with this introduction.

2 Judaism, or the Early Faith of Media, 23.
Chandra Gupta submitted to the devotional teaching of the Sermanas as opposed to the doctrines of the Brahmans. In treating of the Hindu religious sects, Professor Wilson says: 1 "It has been supposed that we have notices of the Jaina sect as far back as the period at which Megasthenes was sent ambassador to Sandrocoptus, and that these notices are recorded by Strabo and Arrian." Colebrooke, who examined the passages referred to, says: 2 "The followers of Buddha are clearly distinguished from the Brachmanes and Sarmanes. The latter, called Germanes by Strabo and Samanacans by Porphyrius, are the ascetics of a different religion, and may have belonged to the sect of Jina or to another." Megasthenes, in his Indika, says 3 of the Sarmanes who live in the woods: "They communicate with the kings, who consult them by messengers regarding the causes of things, and who through them worship and supplicate the deity." The story of Chandra Gupta's accession to the throne of the Nandas is dramatised in the Sanskrit play named Mudrā Rākshasa, by Viṣākhadatta, which has been translated by Professor Wilson. 4 In this we see that Jains held a prominent position at the time, and Chānaka—also called Vishnugupta and Kauṭyāya—who was the prime agent in the revolution, employs a Jain as one of his chief emissaries.

We are therefore not without warrant for assuming that Chandra Gupta was a Jain by creed. At the period when he becomes associated with Bhadrabāhu, he was much troubled in mind on account of sixteen dreams with which he had been visited. These are mentioned in many narratives relating to him. Bhadrabāhu in the course of his travels having come to Pātaliputra, the capital, the king consulted him as to their

1 Works, i. 324.
2 Essays, ii. 293.
3 McCrindle's Indica of Megasthenes (I.A. vi. 244).
4 Theatre of the Hindus, i. 125. The work is no doubt much older than he thought, owing to his erroneous opinion that the Jains were later than the Buddhists. It is now well established that they were more ancient. Professor Speyer (in his recent Studies about the Kathāsrutidhāra) also says: "Viṣākhadatta and his admirable dramas are to be placed, many centuries earlier than is generally done" (JRAS, 1908, p. 910).
interpretation, and was dismayed at the coming troubles which they portended, including the twelve years of famine. He seems consequently, impressed by Bhadrabāhu's exhortations, to have resolved to retire from the throne, and to place himself under the guidance of this the most distinguished Jain teacher then living, for the right performance of penitential acts in view of the impending calamities. He was, as Mr. V. A. Smith has pointed out,1 not fifty years of age at the time. He is not expressly stated to have died, and no special reason appears for his death at this early age. Had he fallen in battle, or his life been cut short by accident or disease, the circumstance could not fail to have been mentioned. But if he retired from the throne in order to devote himself, in accordance with the dictates of the Jain religion, to an ascetic life in the last stage of his existence,2 and accompanied Bhadrabāhu to the South, this affords a reasonable explanation of his early disappearance from public notice and of the silence regarding his further career, for absolute renunciation of all earthly ties was of the essence of the vow he had taken. On the other hand, the southern accounts represent him as living an ascetic life at Śravana-Belgoja for twelve years after the decease of Bhadrabāhu.3 His death then occurred when he was about sixty-two years of age, which seems more natural and so far entitled to credence.

That the north of Mysore may even at that period have been a part of the Maurya empire is not beyond probability. For the Edicts of Aśoka are evidence that it was so two generations later; and as the only conquest Aśoka is said to have made was that of Kalinga or Orissa, it follows that the rest of his empire was inherited from his predecessors. If it be true, moreover, as above stated, that the Nandas ruled over Kuntala, then the Mauryas naturally acquired it in succession

1 EHI, 128.
2 Aśoka, who was his grandson, did the same, as will be seen below.
3 Twelve years of penance were always thought essential for obtaining perfection, and for every ascetic who endeavours to quit this life with the best claims to enter one of the highest heavens or even Nirvāṇa (Jacobi, SBE. xxii. Introd. 18).
to them. One inscription, indeed (SB 263), says that Nagakhandha (the Shikarpur tāluq) "was protected by the wise Chandra Gupta, an abode of the usages of eminent Kshattriyas"; but this is of the fourteenth century and too much cannot be built upon it. Of special interest, however, is the statement in the work by Harishena before referred to, that when, as described in the Sravana-Belgula inscription, the saṅgha were sent on their way, "they went by the guru's direction to the Punnāta country, situated in the South." This was a province in the south-west of the Mysore State. It is mentioned in the second century by Ptolemy as Punnata, "where is beryl." It is also named in the fifth century in connection with the Ganga king Avinīta (Cg 1), whose son Durvvinīta married the Punnād king's daughter, and united it to the Ganga territory. An inscription of the Punnād Rājasā gives Kitthipura as their capital, which is identified (Hg 56) with Kittür on the Kabbani river in the Heggduḍēvankote tāluq. One of the ancient rock inscriptions on Chandragiri (SB 7) records the death of a Jain guru from Kittür.

To turn now to the Edicts of Asoka. They are also engraved on the natural horizontal surface of the rock, in three places near to one another in the Molakaluru tāluq. The most perfect is on a big boulder at the north-west foot of Brahmagiri (Mk 21). The other two, which are much effaced, are one to the north of Siddapura, which is about a mile to the west (Mk 14), and the remaining one on the Jātinga Rāmesvara hill, about three miles to the north (Mk 34). They are all three virtually alike, but differ from three somewhat similar ones in the north of India,—those at Bairat in Rājpura, Rūpnāth in the Central Provinces, and Sahasrām in Bengal,—in containing two edicts and not one, of which the second is a brief summary of the precepts of dharmma or the moral law. Another peculiarity is that, although they are

1 Saṅghopī saṅgaṁ gūra-eṣṭyaṁ daksīṇa-paṭha-dīkaṁta-Punnātā-毗瑟呾 contemplating
2 Hā. xii. 137, xviii. 366.
inscribed in the Brāhmi characters,\(^1\) written from left to right, common to these edicts in other parts, the last word, in which the scribe states his profession, is in the Khārōṣṭhī characters,\(^2\) written from right to left, which are found only in the extreme north-west of the Punjab. The date of these edicts is believed to be expressed in the figures 256 which occur at the end of the first edict, and which are understood as referring to the number of years from the death of Buddha, though they have been also interpreted in many various and quite irreconcilable ways.\(^3\) The edicts themselves would thus belong to the year 231 B.C.: This was the last year of Ašoka’s life, and thirty-eight years after his coronation-anointing. Dr. Fleet professes\(^4\) to have discovered that “particular interest attaches to the Mysore versions, because the Brahmagiri text discloses the fact that it was framed on the anniversary of Ašoka’s abdication, and when he was living in religious retirement on the hill Suvannagiri, still known as Songir, which was one of the hills surrounding the ancient city of Girivraj in Magadha.” Whether all this be so or not is by no means determined.\(^5\)

The language of the edicts is what is known as Māgadhī, with some local peculiarities. All three in Mysore begin in the same way, with greeting from the Ayaputa (Āryaputra or Prince) and the Mahāmātās (high officials) of Suvannagiri (identified as above) to the Mahāmātās\(^6\) of Isila (possibly Sidda in Siddapura). The edicts are introduced with the formula “Devānam Piye commands” or “Thus says Devānam Piye.”

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\(^1\) The source of the Devanāgarī and other alphabets of India. It is apparently of Semitic origin, and was introduced into India in about the ninth century B.C. But an indigenous origin has also been claimed for it (see J.R.A.S., xxxv. 253).

\(^2\) A form of Aramaic script introduced by the Persians after the conquest of Darīs in the sixth century B.C.

\(^3\) For a summary of these, see J.R.A.S., 1904, p. 4 ff.


\(^6\) It is interesting to find this term mahāmātā in use so late as the eleventh century (see Nl 1).

\(^7\) This formula, with which most of the edicts are introduced, recalls the similar one in the famous trilingual inscription of Darīs at Behistān, of 316 B.C., every section of which commences with, “Says Darīs the king.”
This name (Devānām priyah), meaning "Beloved of the gods," was a royal title borne by the Maurya kings. It is sometimes used alone, but more often in conjunction with the king's name. It thus occurs as an epithet of Piyadasi (Priyadarsī) and of Dasaratha his grandson. The main object of the present edicts is to exhort all classes to greater effort in pious duties. In doing this the king adduces his own example, how while he was a lay disciple he did not exert himself strenuously, but after he entered the sacred Order he did so, and as the result the men who were (regarded as) true in Jambu-dvīpa (were shown to be) false, together with the gods. This was the fruit of effort or exertion, and in the same way the lowly, as well as the great, could by exertion attain to śramaṇa (or heavenly bliss). A precept to this effect is quoted, said to have been delivered by the Vyūtha (or the Departed, that is Buddha) 256 (? years ago).

With regard to the various circumstances referred to in the above summary. The king, in the thirteenth Rock Edict, had proclaimed that remorse on account of the slaughter and devastation that attended his conquest of Kalinga, which was effected in the ninth year of his reign, had made him resolve for the future to maintain peace and devote himself to religion. At length he became a Buddhist—and he here says that during the time when he was an upāsaka (or lay disciple) he did not put forth much effort. But more than six years before our present inscriptions, he entered the saṅgha (or sacred order) and vigorously exerted himself. What ensued from these special efforts has been stated above, but the sentence is elliptic and not over clear. It is generally agreed, however, and there can be no question, that the reference is to the Brāhmans, who are designated throughout Hindu literature by several terms which mean "gods on earth." As M. Senart says: "After his conversion the king proceeded to deprive the Brāhmans of the almost divine prestige they enjoyed throughout the whole of India." Their authority being rejected, their gods were also deposed. That it was to Buddhism the king was converted there can be no doubt. Previous to this change of faith he
was apparently a Jain. Akbar's minister Abul Fazl says in
the A'in-i-Akbari that Aśoka introduced Jainism into Kashmir,
and this is confirmed by the Rāja-tarangini, the Brahmical
history of Kashmir. That he was a Jain has also been de-
duced from his edicts. But some are of opinion that he
followed the Brahmman creed. His conversion at length to
Buddhism was not signalised by persecution of his former co-
religionists, but by inducing a revolution throughout India in
the public estimation of them. In short, the members of the
Order no doubt took advantage of the king's presence and
adhesion to influence him to depose their rivals, whether
Brahmans or Jains, from their former pre-eminence. This
action of his does not invalidate the express injunctions to
toleration contained in so many of his edicts, wherein he in-
culcates more than once the duty of reverence to and the
bestowal of alms upon both Brahmans and Śramanas.
Toleration was denied only to their false claims. On the
other hand, it would be strange if no trace whatever could be
discovered of the resentment which would naturally be evoked
by so powerful though silent and peaceful a revolution in time-
honoured beliefs. And we may perhaps find a trace in the
fact that Devānāmpriyāḥ, as one word, is explained by
Katyāyana in the Vārttikas to Pāṇini as synonymous with
mūrkha, a fool! This was a very characteristic retaliation, if
so meant, and the use of the word thus authorised has come
down even to the present time, and is common, I am told, at
all events among the Brahmans.

The second edict in our inscriptions is as follows: "Thus
says the Beloved of the gods:—Obedience should be rendered
to mother and father. So also regard for living creatures
should be enforced. Truth should be spoken. These virtues

1 Thomas, Jainism, or the Early Faith of Aśoka; also by Professors Kern (I.A. v.
275), Fischel, Minayeff, etc. Reasons have been given above for the belief that
Chandra Gupta, the grandfather of Ašoka, was a Jain. His grandson Sampladi or
Sampati was also a devoted Jain.

2 See also the satirical verses on Aśoka quoted in vol. v., Introd. 30, 31, from the
Bhūja Prabandha.
of the sacred law should be practised. So also the teacher should be honoured by the pupil, and towards relations due respect indeed should be shown. This is the ancient standard (of piety)—this conduces to long life, and this should thus be done. There is a striking resemblance here to the fifth commandment of the Mosaic code. The whole tone indeed of the Edicts of Aśoka is both higher than and quite different from that of any other inscriptions found in India. Solicitude for the welfare here and hereafter of all his subjects, high and low, is manifest throughout, and it extended even to peoples beyond his boundaries in an all-embracing humanity. His concern for the latter was shown practically by the despatch of missionaries to bordering lands. Among other places, it is of special interest to note that he sent a therā named Mahadeva to Mahiṣa-mandala, the country round Mysore—which must therefore have been a place of importance even at that period—and a therā named Rakkhita to Vanavāsi, known as Banavāsi, on the north-west of the State.

2. ŚATAVĀHANAS

Next to our Edicts of Aśoka, whose discovery formed—as has been said by the eminent French authority—an epoch in Indian archaeology, the oldest inscriptions that have been found in Mysore are those in Prākrit on a pillar at Malavalli in Shikarpur taluq. The first of these (Sk 263) is a grant by Hāritiputta-Sātakanni, of the Mānava-gotra and Vinhuka-dāchutu family, king of Vaijayanti, that is Banavāsi, engraved in what are called Cave characters. He commands the mahāvalabham rajjukam that the village Sahalātavi has been given

1 Mysore, properly Mahiṣūra, derives its name from maḥiṣa, Sanskrit for buffalo, reduced in Prākrit to maḥī and in Kannada to maṇe, and now, Kannada for town or country; which commemorates the destruction of Mahiṣāsura, a minotaur or buffalo-headed monster, by Chīmungu or Mahiṣa-sura-marītani, the form under which the consort of Siva is worshipped as the tutelary goddess of the reigning family. Mahiṣa-mandala appears in the Tamil form Eranai-tala in Mānavaśar’s Agāndnāra, which is of the second century.

2 The rajjukar were first appointed in the time of Aśoka, but perhaps for other purposes. They were, however, properly Revenue and Settlement officers. For, as
for the enjoyment of the Mattapatti (that is Malavalli) god, as a Brähman endowment, to Konoḍamāna, a Hāritiputta of the Kojñiya-gōтра. It is dated in the second fortnight of the hot season, the first day of the first year. In Banavāsi is also an inscription (IA. xiv. 333) of apparently the same king, dated in the twelfth regnal year, in the seventh fortnight of the winter, the first day. In this the Mahārāja's daughter, the Mahābhōji Sivakhaḍa-Nāgasiri (Sivaskanda-Nāgaśri) makes the grant of a nāga (the cobra in the middle of the slab on the margin of which the inscription is engraved), a tank, and a vihāra. Moreover, in the Tālgunda pillar inscription (Sk 176) Sātakarni is named as one of the great kings who had worshipped at the temple there. Again, to the west of Chitaldroog, on the site of an ancient city whose name is said to have been Chandrāvali, were found 1 in 1888 a number of leaden coins, among which were some bearing the legend "Sadakana-Kālalāya-Mahārāṭhīsa,"—that is, Sātakarnī-Kalālaya-Mahārāthī—surrounding a humped bull, and having on the reverse the Buddhist symbols of a bōdhi tree and a chaitya.

These are all evidence that the north-west of Mysore was at that period in possession of the kings who bore the general name of Sātakarnī. They are often spoken of as the Āṇdhra, and identified with the Andarā described by Ptolemy as a powerful nation, and also mentioned by Pliny. The Purāṇas, however, seem to call them Āṇdhraḥbhrityas, or servants of the Āṇdhra. But from inscriptions in the western caves it appears more correct to call them Sātavāhanas, 2 a name from which has arisen the form Śālīvāhana. The Indian era named after Śālīvāhana, reckoned from A.D. 78, is in general use. For many centuries it was called the Saka-kāla.

Dr. Bähler has pointed out (ZDMG. xlvi. 466), the name literally means "holder of the rope," that is, their duty was concerned with the survey of the land. In name they are represented by the modern khatūsār, a corruption of the Persian nār rīshṭa dār, he who holds the end of the rope.

1 See EI. vii. 31. Others have since been found there of the same series, together with Roman coins of Augustus; and a clay seal, bearing the figures of an elephant and what looks like a sentry standing facing it. Some letters at top, said to be Brāhmī, have not been deciphered.

2 Bhāndārkar's EHD. 24.
or Śaka-nripa-kāla—the time of the Śakas or of the Śaka kings. But eventually the word saka came to be misunderstood as itself meaning era, and to distinguish it, was then called the Śālivāhana-śaka. A reminiscence of its origin is, however, contained in Sk 281, of 1368, which is dated in the Śātvāhana-śaka instead of the Śālivāhana-śaka. So far as I have observed, the decided use of the latter term came in with the foundation of the Vijayanagar empire in the fourteenth century. The Mysore State is spoken of in 1717 as in the Śālivāhana country (Cm 109).

The territory of the Śātvāhanas extended over the whole of the Dekhan, and Śātakarni is called the lord of Dakshinā-patha in the Kshatrapa Rudradāman’s inscription. Their chief capital appears to have been at Dhanakataka in the east (Dhāranikottā on the Krishnā), but their chief city in the west was Paithan on the Gōdāvari. The Ḥathigumpha inscription of Kharavela in Kalinga tells us of a Śātakani in the second century B.C., but the Śātakarni of our inscriptions may be referred to the first or second century A.D. A peculiarity of these kings is that the name of his mother always appears with that of the king. Thus we have Gautamiputra Śātakarni, Vasishthiputra Pulumāyi, and here, Hāritiputra Śātakarni. This is a Rajput custom due to polygamy. The actual names of the mothers are not given, but they are called after the gōtra of their family priest.1 The two branches of the Gōdāvari which form the Delta are still named after the two great queens—the northern is the Gautami, and the southern the Vasishthi.2 With regard to the Kaḷalāya of the coins, he was doubtless a viceroy under Śātakarni.

In the early centuries of the Christian era we find the Mahāvalis or Bāṇas occupying the east of Mysore, the Kadambas the north-west (where they succeeded the Śātvāhanas), and the Gangas the centre and south. To take these up in order.

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1 See Dr. Bühler, in Cunningham’s Stūpas of Bharhat, 129.
3. MAHĀVALIS OR BĀNAS

The Mahāvalis held the country east from the Pālār river and north into the Madras districts. According to one inscription (J.A. xiii. 6) their territory lay to the west of the Āndhra or Telugu country, and Mb 157 describes them as ruling a Seven-and-a-half Lakh country, having twelve thousand villages, in the Āndhra-mandala. This seems to have been known as the Vādugavali Twelve Thousand (SII. iii. 90), in Sanskrit the Āndhrāt-pathaḥ (EI. iii. 76). They claim descent from Mahāvali or Mahā Bali (Bali the Great) and his son Bāna, whence they are also called Bānas. They may have been connected with Mahābalipura, known as the Seven Pagodas, on the coast south of Madras. Their flag displayed a black buck, and their crest was a bull (Mb 126).

Bali was a Daitya or Dānava (or, as we should say, Titan) king, who by the power of his penance defeated Indra, humbled the gods, and dominated the three worlds. The gods appealed for help to Vishnu, who assumed the Vāmana or Dwarf incarnation, and appearing before Bali as a Brāhmaṇa dwarf, begged for only three paces of ground. This being granted, he assumed his godlike dimensions, and with two strides having covered heaven and earth, there being no place for the third, planted his foot on Bali's head, and forced him down to Pātāla (the nether world and abode of the Nāgas or serpents), which on account of certain virtues was left in his possession. The germ of this legend is found in the Rgveda, where Vishnu is represented as taking three strides over heaven, earth, and the lower regions—typifying perhaps the rising, culmination, and setting of the sun.

Bāna was Bali's eldest son, a giant with a thousand arms. He propitiated Śiva, who agreed to live in his capital,1 and Bāna appointed him guardian of the gates, or doorkeeper, as the inscriptions put it. Bāna's daughter Ushā became

1 According to the Vishnu Purāṇa (Bk. V. chap. xxxiii.) this was Śōṅjitapura, said to be Dēvikota, near the mouth of the Cōkerōon, on the Madras coast.
enamoured of a prince she saw in a dream, whom, on being shown a number of portraits, she identified with Krishna's grandson Aniruddha. Him her female friend Chitrālekha then contrived to introduce clandestinely into the princess's apartments. When discovered, he was seized and imprisoned by Bāna, and a war ensued. Krishna came in person from Dvāraka to besiege the capital. Śiva guarded the gates and fought for Bāna, who worshipped him with his thousand hands. But Krishna found means to overthrow Śiva, and having taken the city, cut off Bāna's thousand hands, except two, with which he obliged him to do homage.

This line of kings was first brought to notice by my discovery of the two big stone inscriptions, Sp 5 and 6 (vol. x), originally published by me in 1881 (AJ. x. 36). The plates published in 1884 by the Rev. T. Foulkes (AJ. xiii. 6)\(^1\) added to the information regarding them. Many inscriptions were later found in the Kolar District (vol. x), and some further details were contributed by inscriptions at Tiruvallam, north of Vellore in North Arcot (SH. iii. 88), a place described as Vānapuram (Bānapuram), situated in Perum-Bānapāḍi, the great Bāna country, or country of the Great Bāna (see Brhad Bāna, farther on). The records in Mysore supply only three dates—338,\(^2\) 909, and 961. Those at Tiruvallam add one—888—but do not specify the name of the Bāna king whose time it was.

A table of the Mahāvali or Bāna kings so far as known is appended, with dates where given:

\(^{1}\) Published again by Dr. Kielhorn in 1894 (EL. iii. 74).
\(^{2}\) This date has been examined by Dr. Kielhorn (EL. xxiv. 10) and Dr. Fleet (xvii. 239), who find only the week day disagrees.
BRIHAD BĀNA

Bali, Mahāballi, lord of the Dānavas, regent of the Asuras.

Bāna, who made Paramēśvara (worshipped by all the three worlds, the lord of gods and demons) his doortkeeper.

In his line was born Bāṇādhīrāja.

After many Bāna kings had passed away, there were

Vandhīvallabha Malladēva Nandivarmma, 338

Jaya-Nandivarmma

Vijayāditya

Malladēva Jagadekamalla

Bāna Vidyādhara, Vikramādiyana Jayamēra, married Kundavai, daughter of Pratipati (Prathuvipati II), the son of Kongunivarmma-dharmma-mahārāja Sivamahārāja-Pemmānadigal (the Ganga king Sivamāra II).

Prabhūtarmāra

Vikramādiyana, (?) 888

Vijayāditya, Bejeyotta, Pugalippavar-ganpa, 909

Vijayaśāhu Vikramādiyana,
the friend of Krishna Rāja (? Rāshtrakutā king, 884-913)

Sambayya, 961
ruling under the Pallava king Iriya-Nolamba or Dilliya (943-966).

The first Ganga king, Kongunivarmma, who is assigned to the second century, is said (SII. ii. 187) to have been consecrated to conquer the Bāna country, and in DB 67 to be a wild-fire in consuming the stubble of the forest Bāna, Mayūraśarma, the progenitor of the Kadambas, at about the same time is said (Sk 176), when an outlaw in the forests of Śripavata (Karnāl District), to have levied tribute from Brihad Bāna (the great Bāna) and other kings. The Chōla king Killi-Valavan, who reigned about 105 to 120, married the princess Sithathakai, claiming descent from Mahāballi. She was probably the daughter of a king in the Mysore country (no doubt a Bāna). The Kolar volume gives an account of such details as the various inscriptions there supply regarding.

1 If this indicates the first Bāna, it furnishes a clue to his period.
2 Kanakasambhal's The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago, 77.
the Bānas. The first Nandivarmma is said to have promoted the fortunes of his family, and obtained the crown and the throne amid the blessings of Brāhmans. He was possessed of mighty elephant and other forces, which secured him against conquest by the most powerful kings. Malladēva Nandivarmma is said to have been like a sun in waking up the lotus lake of the Bāna family, and in compassion for all living things in the three worlds was like Bōdhisattva or Buddha.

For other references—the Chalukya king Vikramāditya (655-680) is said (IA. vi. 75; Seven Pagodas, 127) to have conquered Rājamalla of the Mahāmalla family, that is the kings of Māmallāipura, the common name for Mahābalaipura—in other words the Mahāvalis. Under the Gangas in 776 the Nirgunda Yuvarāja, Dundu, is said (Ng 85) to have put the Bāna family to confusion. The Ganga king Nītimārgga, in about 850, is said (Mb 228) to have captured Bānarasa's Mahārājara-nāḍ, which was chiefly in the Kadapa District. The Chōla king Vira-Nārāyaṇa or Parāntaka in 921 claims (SIH. ii. 387) to have uprooted by force two Bāna kings, and conferred the title of Bāṇādhirāja on the Ganga prince Prithuvipati II, great-grandson of Śivamāra I. The Bānas, therefore, though claiming friendship with Krishna Rāja, no doubt a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king and an enemy of the Chōlas, seem to have lost their independence in the first half of the tenth century. Hence we find (Mb 126) Sambayya in 961 ruling a district under the Pallava king Iriva-Nolamba or Dilipa.

But they by no means disappear from history. The Bāna kingdom is mentioned along with others in southern India of the twelfth century in Vaidyanātha's Pratāpa-Rudriya. Trivikrama-dēva, the author of the Prākrit grammar Trivikrama-vrattī, of probably the fifteenth century, claims to be a descendant of the Bāna family (IA. xiii. 13). Moreover, inscriptions at Śrīvilliputtūr in the Tinnivelly District show that two kings, named Sundara Tol and Muttarasa Tirumala, who obtained possession of the Pāṇḍya throne in 1453 and 1476, call themselves Mahāvali Vāṇādhirāja (ib. xv. 173).
4. KADAMBAS

The Kadambas were independent rulers of the west of Mysore from the third to the sixth century, together with Haiga (North Kanara) and Tuluva (South Kanara). They were of Mysorean origin, and are identified with Banavasi as their capital, which is on the west frontier of the Sorab taluq, an ancient city mentioned as one of the places to which Asoka sent a mission in the third century B.C., and also by Ptolemy in the second century A.D. Its Brahmanical name was Jayanti or Vaijayanti. In later times Banavasi, or Banavase, as it is often spelt, was a Twelve Thousand province, corresponding more or less with the Shimoga District.

The origin of the Kadamba family is mixed up with various legendary stories (see my Mysore Gazetteer, i. 295) centering in a Mukkanna or Trinëtra and a Mayuravarmma. The former, also called Jayanta Trilochana, is described as their progenitor, and as a son of Siva and Pārvati. The country being at the time without a king, he is said to have obtained the throne on being spontaneously wreathed by the State elephant, an indication of his royal destiny. Mayuravarmma, apparently of the fourth generation after him, seems to have established the family in power, and is hence also at times regarded as their founder. According to Sb 179, he had seventy-seven successors on the throne.

A fine pillar inscription at Tālgunda (Sk 176) gives a realistic account of the family, beginning with him. But here he is named Mayūrasarmma, the latter affix indicating a Brähman. According to this record he was of a devout Brähman family of Sthānakundūr (Tālgunda), an agrahāra founded by Mukkanna (see Sk 186) for Brāhmans whom he had induced to come from Ahichchhatra in the North and settle here (see also Nj 269), there being none at that time in the South. The family had growing near their house a kadamaka tree, of which they took special care, and thus became

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1 Some Orientalists write this affix as varman, the only objection to which is that it is never met with in that form. And so with similar cases.
known as the Kadambas. Along with his teacher, Mayūra-
ārāma went to the Pallava capital (Kānchi—Conjeeveram, 
near Madras) in order to complete his vedic studies. There 
he had a fierce quarrel with the Pallava horse or stables, by 
which he was so enraged at Kshattriyas lording it over Brāhmans that, in order to revenge himself, he resolved to 
adopt the life of a Kshattriya. Practising himself in the use 
of arms, he overcame the Pallava frontier guards, and escaped 
to the inaccessible forests near Śrīparvata (Karnāl District), 
where he became so powerful that he levied tribute from 
Bṛhad Bāṇa (the great Bāṇa) and other kings around. The 
Pallavas having led an army against him, he fell upon them 
like a hawk unawares in night attacks, and inflicted such loss 
upon them that they saw it was hopeless to put him down. 
Thus driven to take him as an ally, they recognised him as 
king of a territory stretching from the Western Ocean to 
Premārā. He was succeeded by his son Kangavarmma, 
whose son was Bhagiratha, whose son was Rāghu, whose 
brother was Bhāgirathi or Kākustha. The latter was a 
powerful ruler, and his daughters were given in marriage to 
the Gupta and other kings. He had a reservoir made for the 
temple (of Prañaveśvara at Tālgunda, now in ruins) at which 
Sātakarnī and other great kings had worshipped. His son was 
Śāntivarmma, who wore three crowns; in whose time the 
inscription was composed and engraved.

This valuable and interesting record states that Mayūra-
ārāma was anointed to the throne by Shaḍānana, after 
meditating on Senāpati and the Mothers. In like manner 
other early grants describe the Kadambas as purified by 
meditation on Śvāmi-Mahāśēna and the group of Mothers.³ 
They are also said to be lords of Vairajayanti (Banavāsi), of the 
Mānavya-gōtra, Hāritiputras, and pratikrīta-svādhyāya-chatrā-

³ All that the inscription says about this is: tat eva Pallandēva-svapakṣaḥ brahmade 
śāntiṁ vishistah.

³ Shaḍānana, Senāpati, and Śvāmi-Mahāśēna all refer to the god of war, Kārttikeya, 
son of Śiva. The Seven Mothers, Sapta Māṭikā, were his nurses, and are identified 
with the Pleiades.
KÄKUSTHA

As the grants are dated only by the ancient system of the seasons, or in regnal years (running from 2 to 11), they furnish no definite dates for the kings. But one (A.D. vi. 23), issued when Kākusthavarmma was Yuvarāja, is ascribed to the eightieth year of his victory (sva-vaitāyika), for which there is at present no explanation.

Certain allusions, however, occur which serve as a guide to the Kadamba period. It is known, for instance, from inscriptions that the Chalukya king Kīrttivarmma, who reigned from 566 to 597, subdued the Kadambas. Their independence must therefore have been before this. On the Malavalli pillar (Sk 264) a Kadamba grant immediately follows one by Sātakarna, who, when he made his, was in possession of Banavāsi. The Tālgunda pillar (Sk 176), again, names Sātakarna as one of the great kings who worshipped at the temple there. Between the time of the fall of the Sātavāhanas, the beginning of the third century, and that of the reign of the Chalukya king Kīrttivarmma, the latter part of the sixth century, seems thus marked out as the period of Kadamba independence; during which also they claim to have performed many horse-sacrifices—evidence of supreme power.

This estimate is confirmed by other considerations. For the statement that Kākusthā gave his daughters in marriage to the Gupta and other kings most probably refers first to Samudra Gupta, the only one who is known to have made an expedition to the South, as recorded on the pillar at Allaha-

1 This difficult phrase is rendered by Dr. Kielhorn (El. vi. 17), "studying the requital (of good or evil) as their sacred text," and he adds: "If this interpretation be correct, I cannot help thinking that the epithets allude to the history of the Kadambas as told in the Tālgunda inscription. So long as the Kadambas were private Brahmans it was one of their chief duties to study the sacred texts; in other words, they were satdhyāya-śrutaśrāvāsī. When they had become kings, it was an equally sacred duty for them to require good and evil; to do so was what the study of the Vedas had been to them before; and thus, having been satdhyāya-śrutaśrāvāsī, they then were puṇḍikāya-satdhyāya-śrutaśrāvāsī." Another translation proposed in El. vii. 148 is: "well versed in repeating the sacred writings one by one."

2 Virūgamā asashatāḥ prthu-Kadamba-kadamba-kadambakāna (El. vi. 3).

3 The translation should be: . . . Śivaśabdājavarmma, having heard that they were formerly given by the Hārājīputra, of the Mānavaśa-gōtra, the lord of Vaiśayatni, with great pleasure made the grant a second time to . . . (as pointed out by Dr. Fleet).
bad, and this took place in the latter half of the fourth century. Then the Ganga king Tadangāla Mādhava, for whom we have (Sk 52) the date 357, is said to have married a sister of the Kadamba king Krishnavarman. She was thus a daughter of Kākustha, and the Gangas are another royal family to which one was given. But her son was an infant on his mother’s lap when he was crowned in 430, and so here again we get the end of the fourth century for the time of Kākustha. The rare metre, too, which is employed in the main part of the Tālgunda inscription is one that has been found only in a few documents of the fourth or fifth century. The victory in the eightieth year of which Kākustha was Yuvarāja might (if it is correct) perhaps refer to the events by which Mayūravarman (to give his name in the form of that of a king) gained his throne, which would thus be at the beginning of the fourth century. But if he had predecessors going back four or five generations, the rise of the Kadambas may safely be placed early in the third century, the time at which the Śatavāhana power came to an end.

Our attention may now be directed to the old Anaji inscription (Dg 161). This informs us that Krishnavarman-Rāja’s army was totally defeated in a battle with Nanakkāsa-Pallava-Rāja, and that the prince Sivanandavarman, whose country was thereby ruined, retired in consequence from the world and gave himself up to a life of penance. That Krishnavarman was a Kadamba king there can be little doubt, and Śivanandavarman was probably his son. The latter was perhaps responsible for the disaster, and may have been the governor of a province in the east of the Kadamba dominions. But he is described as devoted to the feet of his mother and father, and to be born also in the family of the Kēkayas, who made intermarriages with the Ikshvākus (perhaps the Gangas, who claim to be descended from Ikshvāku). Now the Kadamba king Krishnavarman is said (Bl 121) to have

1 G.R. No. 1.
2 The latest date assigned to the Śatavāhanas is about 218 A.D. (see Bhandarkar, KHL 45).
married a daughter of Kaikeya, and this identifies him with Śivanandavarmma's father. Vishnuvarmma was the eldest son born of the union, and Śivananda varmma would thus appear to have been a younger brother of his. That bitter hostility existed at this period between the Kadambas and the Pallavas we have evidence in the statements (JA. vi. 24) that Mrigēśvarvarmma was a destroying fire to the Pallavas, and that Ravivarvarmma uprooted Chandadanḍa, the lord of Kānchi, and therefore a Pallava.

By collocating the various items regarding them the following table¹ may be constructed of the Kadambas:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mukkandja, Trinētra, Trilōkāhāna</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madhukēśvara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mallūṭha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandravarvarrmma I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandravarvarrmma II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patandra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayūrāvarvarrmma, Mayūravarvarmma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kangavarvarmma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhagirathra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raghya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāgirathī, Kākostha, Kākūthavvarmman (end of fourth century)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śānivarvarmma, Śāntivarvarvarrmma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrigēśvarvarrmma, Māṇḍhāṭrivarvarrmma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrigēśvarvarrmma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ravivarvarmma, Bhānivarvarmman Śivarathra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harivarvarmma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krishnavarvarrmma I,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.: the daughter of Kaikeya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrigēśvarvarrmma, Śivananda varrmma, Vishnulāśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishnunarvarmma, Śivananda varrmma, was also of the Kākaya family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simhavarvarmma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krishnavarvarrmma II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēravarvarmma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ The one in vol. viii. Introd. p. 2, contains obvious mistakes, for which I am unable to account. In the above, the exact position and relationship of Māṇḍhāṭrivarvarrmma are not known, but in 460 (M1 110) the Ganga king Durrvanīlta is, by a singular mistake, called the Māṇḍhāṭrivarvarrmma of the age, instead of the Māṇḍhāṭrī, and the substitution may be intended as a flattering allusion to this king. Śivananda varrmma and Dēravarvarrmma have been placed conjecturally, but the latter it is known was the son of a Krishnunarvarmma.
Of the predecessors of Mayūravarmma we have no inscriptions, unless Śivakhadavarmma (Śivaskandavarmma) of the Malavalli pillar represents one. But Mukkanna is often mentioned, and seems to be an historical person. In Sk 186 he is said to have founded the Sthānakundūr agrahāra, the existence of which before the time of Mayūravarmma is clear from the Tālgunda inscription. In fact, the Brāhmans settled there from the north are said to have made an effort later to leave the province. But they were brought back again, and in order to prevent a repetition of the attempt, were compelled to leave unshorn a lock of hair on the forehead, as a distinguishing mark. From these are descended the present Haiga or Havika Brāhmans of the north-west of Mysore, who wear their hair in that fashion. Ethnologically, their colour and features support the tradition of a northern origin. Of the other kings, the first Chandravarmma appears to be the Chandrahāsa who is the hero of a popular romantic tale; the second one is perhaps the progenitor of the Coorg race.

The Kadamba dominions seem to have been at times divided, and ruled by more than one king, while at others they embraced an extensive united empire. Hence the statements that Bhagiratha was the sole ruler, and that Śāntivarmma had three crowns. The latter is said to have been master of the entire Karnāṭa region, while Krishnavarmma I is described as the sovereign of Dakshināpatha or the South. Though the proper capital was always Banavāsi, there were other royal seats,—at Palāsilā (Halsi in Belgaum District), at Uchchāśringi (which I am inclined to think may have been Uchchangīdurga near Molakālmuru, and not the well-known one south of Bellary), and at Tripārvata (not identified). The royal insignia, either at this period or later, were the lion crest and the monkey flag, and a musical instrument called permatti. The kings are styled dharma-mahārājadhirāja, and their family god was Jayanti Madhukēśvara of Banavāsi.

For some time from the seventh century the Kadambas are not prominent, though names occasionally appear, which,
TALES OF THEIR ORIGIN

owing to the absence of dates, are not easy to place. Such are those of Madhuvarma (Sk 66), who must belong to the earlier period, Kundavarma (Kp 38), and Mādivarma (Cm 128). On the other hand we know from Mb 38 and 50 that the Kadamba princess Divāmbikā or Divalabbarasi was married to the Pallava Nolamba king Vira-Mahēndra, who reigned from about 878 to 890.

But from the end of the tenth century the Kadambas emerge as rulers of various provinces. This was a period of general subversion of old dynasties in the South. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas were brought to an end, and the Western Chālukyas regained ascendency. The Pallavas and Eastern Chālukyas were subdued by the Chōlas, who also overthrew the Ganga sovereignty in Mysore. The Hoysalas were there rising to power, and the Nolambas, who were Pallavas, having subjected the Mahāvalis or Bāṇas, whom the Chōlas finally absorbed, were forming the Nolambavāḍi province of Mysore. Following upon this period of general commotion and transition, we find Kadambas ruling Bayal-nāḍ (the Wynaad) from the tenth to the twelfth century, Manjarābād in the eleventh century, Hāngal (in Dharwar) and Goa from the tenth to the thirteenth century, Lunke (near Molakālmaru) in the eleventh and twelfth century, Nāgarakhandā (the Shikārpur tāluq) in the twelfth century, and the Banavāsi Twelve Thousand (the Shimoga District) from the tenth to the fourteenth century.

Inscriptions of the twelfth century give us different versions of their origin and genealogy. Sk 117, at Belgām, derives them from a person named Kadamba, who had four arms and an eye in his forehead, and who was born from a drop of sweat that fell from the forehead of Hara or Śiva. From him were descended Mayūravarmma, Ravivarman, Nṛgavarmma, and Kiritivarman, in whose line arose Vikrama Tailapa or Tailama, whose son was Kāma-Dēva, whose son was Malla, whose son was Sōma, ruling the Banavāsi country in 1118.¹

¹ An inscription of 1168 at Kargudari in the Hāngal tāluq gives much more detail (IA, x. 249).
KADAMBAS

Dg 35, at Harihar, derives the family from Mayūravarman, also called Mukkanna, who was born to Rudra or Śiva under a kadamba tree. On account of the eye in his forehead, the crown could not be bound there, as it would cover up the eye. The crown or diadem was therefore bound near his knee, where it would show well. Growing up in the shade of the kadamba tree, his family became known as the Kadambas. In course of time Barmma-Dēva was born in the line, whose son was Boppa-Dēva, whose son was Sōyi-Dēva or Sōma, ruling in the Nāgarakhandha. Seventy in about 1160, Sk 236, at Bandalikke, says that a king Sōma, when Paraśurāma destroyed all the Kṣattriyas, was saved by his guru Aśvatthāma or Iśvarāmśa. They went to the Kailāsa mountain to worship Pārvatī, and there saw the king Nanda, who had been supplicating Śiva for a long time for a son without result. Suddenly some kadamba flowers fell there, and on offering these the god appeared, granting Nanda the boon that he should have two sons called Kadambas, at the same time introducing him to Iśvarāmśa. The two sons thus born were Kirttivarman and Maylavarmma. To the latter was born Tayla, whose son was Śanta, whose son was Maila. After many others, there was born in his line Boppa, whose son was Sōma or Nigalanka-malla, ruling in Nāgarakhandha in 1174. Of these three accounts, which add little to our knowledge of the Kadambas, the first may be of some value. The other two were evidently invented for the purpose of glorifying Sōma-Dēva, and the last one to flatter the Kalachurya king Rāyamurāti-Sōma as well. But in the later stages they probably give the correct names of the kings who preceded.

The Kadambas do not disappear from history till the rise of Vijayanagar in the fourteenth century, and the founders of that empire may have been connected with them. Actually the last Kadamba inscription is Sa 32, the date of which is 1307. The royal line sprung from the simple Brāhman student whose outraged feelings in so singular a manner transformed him into a Kṣattriya thus held the field for a thousand years.
5. GANGAS

The Gangas ruled over the greater part of Mysore from the second to the eleventh century. Their grants have been found in all parts, from Coorg in the west to North Arcot and Tanjore in the east, and from the extreme south of the Mysore State in the south to the Belgaum District of Bombay in the north. To the time of Śivamāra I (680) these are mostly on copper plates, though a few, such as Mb 263 and Cm 50, are on stone. From his time stone inscriptions are the most numerous. The Ganga territory was known as Gangavādī, a Ninety-six Thousand province, and the existing Gangādikāras, who form the largest section of the agricultural population of Mysore, represent its former subjects, their name being a contraction from Gangādikāra. At the time of the foundation of the Ganga kingdom its chief city was Kuvalāla (Kolar), but the capital was removed in the third century to Talakād on the Kāvēri, in the south-east of the Mysore District. This remained the permanent capital, although the royal residence was fixed at Mankunda (west of Channapatna) in the seventh century, and at Mānya-pura (Manne, north of Nelamangala) in the eighth century.

The name, Ganga, of the dynasty is not an ordinary one, and the only other occurrence of such a name in history is in the Greek and Roman accounts relating to the times of Alexander the Great and Seleucus. Chandra Gupta, and the Nandas before him, are described as ruling over the Prasii and the Gangaridæ. The latter, the people of the Ganges valley, are mentioned by Ptolemy; and the Latin authors Virgil, Valerius Flaccus, and Curtius also make reference to them. Pliny writes of the Gangaridæ Calingæ, or Gangas of Kalinga,
GANGAS

who, as he terms them *gens novissima*, were not so ancient. We know from inscriptions that there was an important line of Ganga kings in Kalinga in the seventh and eighth centuries, and Ganga kings continued there down to as late a period as the sixteenth century. But the Gangas in Mysore were the main line, as the Kalinga Gangas admit. Both branches trace their name to the river Gangā or Ganges.

Although Ganga inscriptions professing to be of the third century have been found, the earliest which contain a detailed account of the origin of the family are stone inscriptions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the Nagar and Shimoga taluqs (the chief being Nr 35, Sh 10, 4, 64). If any such of older date existed, which is not improbable, they have been lost or destroyed. According to the above records—which were inscribed in the time of the great Chalukya king Vikramāditya or Vikramānka, the son of a Ganga princess—the Gangas were of the Ikshvāku and therefore Solar race. They were descended from Dhananjaya, whose son was Hariśchandra, of whom the first two say Daḍiga and Mādhava were the sons. The other two make them the sons of Padmanābha descended from Hariśchandra, and interpose a number of steps. Thus Hariśchandra's son was Bharata, whose wife was Vijayamahādevi. At the time of conception she bathed in the Gangā or Ganges to remove her languor, and the son born in consequence was named Gangādatta, whence his descendants were called the Gangas. After a time there was Vishnugupta, who, by performing a certain sacrifice, pleased the god Indra and received from him an elephant. Vishnugupta had two sons, Bhagadatta and Śrīdatta, between whom he divided his dominions. To Bhagadatta was given Kalinga, and he ruled as Kalinga Ganga. Śrīdatta had the ancestral kingdom, together with the elephant, which thus became the Ganga crest. Later on there was Priyabandhu, to whom the god Indra gave

1 The Kalinga account (24, xiii. 275) is that Turvasu, the son of Vayāti, being without sons, practised self-restraint and propitiated the river Gangā, the bestower of boons, by which means he obtained a son, the unconquerable Gāṇgēya, whose descendants were victorious in the world as the Ganga line.
five tokens, with a warning that they would disappear if the kings adopted any other faith. At length arose Padmanābha, who by his penance obtained two sons. When, some time after, Mahipāla, the ruler of Ujjayini, suddenly attacked him, demanding the five tokens, Padmanābha refused to surrender them and prepared for war. But first sent them away, along with his two sons, to the South, accompanied by their sister and attendant Brāhmans. At the time of their departure he gave his sons the names Daulīga and Mādhava, and the history continues only in connection with them. Their line was the Ganga line—*tad anvayā* Ganga-anvayah (Nr 35).

When they arrived at Perūr, which is still distinguished from other Perūrs as Ganga-Perūr (in Kadapa District), they met there the Jain āchārya Simhanandi. He was interested in the story of these Ganga princes, and taking them by the hand, gave them instruction and training, and eventually procured for them a kingdom.¹

This was obtained as a boon from the goddess Padmāvatī, who confirmed it with the gift of a sword. Mādhava, who is said to have been but a boy at the time,² seizing the sword with a shout, struck with it a stone pillar, which broke in two. So favourable as an omen, this feat is mentioned in nearly all the inscriptions that refer to him. What the pillar was it is difficult to say, but one account describes it as an obstacle in the way of his gaining the throne (SB 54). The kingdom thus founded was named Gangavādī, a Ninety-six Thousand country. Its boundaries were—north, Marandale (not identified); east, Toṇḍa-nāḍ (the Madras country east from Mysore); west, the ocean in the direction of Čhēra (Cochin and Travancore); south, Kongu (Coimbatore and Salem

¹ He is named as a great poet by Indrabhūti, in his *Samayabhāshā*, along with Elāchārya (Padmanandī, the guru of Śākaṭāyaṇa) and Pājñapāda (*Jal. sū. 20*). In SB 54 he is mentioned next to Saunatabhadra, who belongs to the second century; and the Bāga plates (*SIL. i. 387*) say the Ganga dynasty obtained increase from the great Simhanandi (*pāṭi Simhanandi-mahima-puṣṭilabhā-paridhīr Ganga-anvayā*). In Nr 35 and 36 he is described as *Ganga-śrīpramana ordhiḍa Simhanandī-āchāryya*—the āchāryya Simhanandi who made the Ganga kingdom.

² A little boy playing at big boys' games (*prahala-bhīva-śilpa bhūna*).
GANGAS

Districts). Its chief city was Kuvalāla¹ (Kolar), and its stronghold Nandagiri (Nandidroog).

The first king was Mādhava, who was called Kongunivarman,⁴ a title used for all the subsequent kings of the line, and they are styled dharmma-mahādhirājah or dharmma-mahārājādhirājah. They are said to be of the Kānyāyana-gōtra, and some records trace them back to Kanva. A line of Kanva kings ruled immediately before the Sātavāhanas, Kongunivarman would naturally be brought into conflict with the Bānas, who were in power to the east and north of Kolar. He is accordingly said to have been consecrated to conquer the Bāna-mandala, and to be a wild-fire in consuming the stubble of the forest called Bāna. Towards the west, Dadiga and Mādhava are said to have erected a chaityālāya at Mandali near Shimoga, when on their way to subdue Konkana. The date 103 is given for Kongunivarman in Nj 110, in which he is called the first Ganga, and is said to have made a grant then of Kudiyāla (in the Nanjangūd taluq). If reliable, the date must have been very early in his reign. The Tamil chronicle called Kongudēśa-rājakkal gives 189 as a date in the first king's reign, and he is said to have reigned for fifty-one years. In either case the rise of the Gangas falls in the second century.

He was succeeded by Kiriya Mādhava, the son of Dadiga, born in Kōlāla, who seems to have been not at all eager to fill a throne, as he is said to have assumed the honours of the kingdom only for the sake of the good government of his subjects. He was of a literary turn of mind, a touchstone for (testing) gold—the learned and poets, was proficient in the niti-sāstra or science of politics, and wrote a treatise on the dattaka-sūtra or law of adoption.

Harivarman, his son, next came to the throne, and he removed the capital to Tajekkāḍ or Talakāḍ (Talavana-pura in Sanskrit), situated on the river Kāverī in the south-east of the Mysore District. He is commonly described as having

¹ This name appears later as Kuvalāla, and then Kōlāla.
² A common form is Konganivarman, and in rare cases Kongulivarman, Kongulivarman and Kongooivarman.
employed elephants in war, and having gained great wealth by the use of the bow. Two grants of his time have been found. The first (I.A. viii. 212), obtained in Tanjore, gives his name in the Tamil form Arivarmma. It records a gift by him, in 247, of the Orekódu village in the Maisu-nāḍ Seventy (now Varakódu in the east of Mysore tāluq) under somewhat interesting circumstances. A Baudhha disputant named Vādimidagaṇendrā (a rutting elephant as an orator) in the pride of his learning affixed to the main door of the palace at Talavana-pura a putra (as a challenge) in which he asserted the claim that he was the foremost scholar in logic, grammar, and all other branches of knowledge. Whereupon a Brāhman named Mādhava-bhaṭṭa put his pretensions to the proof (before the Court), and when the opponent speaker denied the existence of the soul, established its existence, and with the elephant-goad his speech forced him to crouch down (like a vanquished elephant). The king being pleased, gave the Brāhman the title Vādibhasimha (a lion to the elephant disputant) and with it the Orekōdu village. Whatever objection may be taken to this inscription on palaeographical or other grounds, it must be confessed that the details related in it are singularly in keeping with its professed period. The other grant of this king is in the Tagaḍūr plates (Nj 122) of the date 266. In this, a Gāvunda or farmer who had made important captures in a battle at Henjeru (now Hemāvati, on the northern border of Sira tāluq) received as a reward the Appogāl village. Yet another record may be mentioned. This is Mb 157, the Muḍiyanur Bāna plates of 338. On the back of the first plate is an erased Ganga grant, which, as far as it is legible, goes down to the time of Harivarmma, but no fresh information regarding him is to be obtained from it.

1 Hanche, one of the boundary villages, still exists. The inscriptions at Varakódu appear in My 4b to 49, one of which is in Tamil. Near to Varakódu is the ancient village of Varuna (for inscriptions there see My 34-45 and 35) connected with a Chāñkya family of the name of Goggi.

2 The palm leaf commonly used for writing upon.

3 One is reminded of Martin Luther affixing his theses to the door of the church at Wittenberg.
His son Vishnugopa next became king. He is said to have been devoted to the worship of gurus, cows, and Brähmans, and seems to have set aside the Jain faith for that of Nārāyaṇa (Vishnu), for the five tokens before mentioned now vanished. In one place (DB 67) his mental energy is said to have been unimpaired to the end of life, implying that he lived to a great age. In kingly policy he was the equal of Brihaspati, and in valour equal to Śakra (Indra).

His son, or grandson, Tadangāla Mādhava, followed. Of him it is said (DB 68) that his two arms were grown stout and hard with athletic exercises, and that he had purchased his kingdom by his personal strength and valour. He favoured the worship of Tryambaka (Śiva), and revived the donations for long-ceased festivals of the gods and Brähman endowments, being daily eager to extricate the ox of merit from the thick mire of the Kali-yuga in which it had sunk. He married the sister of the Kadamba king Krishnavarmma, and she, as above shown, must have been a daughter of the famous Kākustha. There are two grants of this reign. One (Sh 52; IA. vii. 172), of apparently the date 357, is on plates engraved in a curious jumble of alphabets, and records a grant of land to a Gauḍa or farmer who forced his way into Henjeru (see above) and rescued Rājamevala’s wife and guards. The other is Mr 73, of his 13th year, about 370. In this he makes a grant, on the advice of the āchārya Viradēva, for the Arhad temple in the Perbbolal village of the Mudukottur district. The fragmentary stone inscription Mb 263 also stops at this reign.

The son born to Mādhava by the Kadamba princess is known as Avinita. Several inscriptions state that he was crowned when an infant on his mother’s lap. He may therefore have been a posthumous son, and his father evidently had a very long reign. Avinita was brought up

1 According to Sh 4 he was the son of Prithivi-Ganga, who was the son of Vishnugopa, and his father cannot have come to the throne.
2 Other instances of plates engraved in a similar mixed fashion are the Kalinga Ganga inscriptions in IA. xiv. 10 and EI. iii. 220.
DURVVINITA

as a Jain, the learned Vijayakirtti being his preceptor (Mr 72). The king himself is described as being the first among the learned, of unstinted liberality, and devoted to protecting the South in the maintenance of castes and religious orders (DB 68). The grant of his first year (Mr 72), which from DB 67 we can assign to 430, was made to two Arhad or Jain temples, one at Uranur and the other at Perur. In the latter case the grant consisted of a fourth part of the karshapana \(^1\) levied as outside customs. In DB 67, which is of his 29th year, 459, a Brähman of Tippur (in Dod-Ballapur taluq) was given a village called Mëlur (perhaps the one in Siddlaghatta taluq), with freedom from all the eighteen castes. This is an interesting allusion, as evidence of the antiquity of these panas, composed of the agricultural, artisan, and trading classes, who form the Right-hand and Left-hand factions. The king, it says, at this time held Brähmans as supreme, and was devoted to the worship of Hara (Śiva). Still, in 466 he made a grant to a Jain, as recorded in the Mercara plates (Cg 1). From DB 68 we arrive at 482 for the termination of his reign, and seeing that he was crowned at or soon after his birth, this is not allowing an unreasonable time for him.

Durvvinita, his son, thus succeeded him in 482. His tutor is described (Tm 23) as "the divine who was the author of the Śabdāvatāra," that is, the celebrated Jain grammarian Pūjyapāda, and he is said (Mi 110) to have walked according to the example of his guru. He thereby acquired a taste for literature, and wrote a commentary on fifteen sargas of the Kiratājuniya, a Sanskrit poem by Bhāravi. He is also no doubt the Durvvinita named in Nripatunga's Kuvirājamārgga as one of the distinguished early Kannada authors. He married the daughter of Skandavarma, the Rāja of Punnād, who, as a royal princess, claimed the privilege of swayamvara by choosing.

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\(^1\) Copper coins of 80 ratis weight, belonging to the earliest native coinage (Ranson, Indian Coins)
him for herself, though from her birth she had been intended by her father, on the advice of his own guru, for the son of another (DB 68). Punnāḍ is of course the Punnāṭa in the south-west of Mysore to which reference has been made before, in connection with the Jain migration under Bhadrabāhu. Many inscriptions state that Durvvinīta waged sanguinary wars for the possession of Andari, Ālattūr (in Coimbatore District), Porulare (? in Chingleput District), Pennagaram (in Salem District), and other places. He thus considerably extended the limits of the kingdom to the east and south. He seems also to have annexed the whole of Pānnāḍ and Punnāḍ (Tm 23). Another inscription (Nr 35) says that he captured Kāduvetṭi on the field of battle, and placed his own daughter’s son on the throne in Jayasimha’s hereditary kingdom (that of the Pallavas). And this is confirmed by the interesting old Siragunda stone inscription (Cm 50), in which he is called Nirvvinīta. Nr 35 indulges in puns on the Vinita names, and says that these kings were like a-vi-ṇītar (riders on the ram, that is, Agni or fire) to the forest the army of avinīta (wicked) hostile kings, and a-avnītar (unbending) in successful and severe battles,—such being their reputation in avani (the world). The Vinitēśvara temple mentioned in Ch 63 may have been a memorial of them. The first grant we have of this king’s time is Bn 141, of his 3rd year, 485, recording a donation to a Brāhman named Vasaśarma, but the details are missing. Then, after those relating to him above referred to, we have DB 68, of his 35th year, 517, making a grant at Bempūr (Bēgūr in the Bangalore tāluq) to a Brāhman named Dēvasarma, who was called Mahadēva. This inscription attributes to the king, as in the case of his father, the maintenance of the castes and religious orders which prevailed in the South. He appears to have favoured the religion of Vishnu. How much longer he ruled we do not know.

But he was followed by his son Mushkara or Mokkara, of whom little is known. Savage kings are said to have rubbed
against one another in paying homage at his feet. From the
inscription published in *IA.* xiv. 229, we learn that he married
the daughter of the Sindhu Rāja. The Mokkara-vasati men-
tioned in the Lakshmīśvara inscription in Dharwar (*IA.* vii.
101) must be a memorial of him, and points to an extension
of the Ganga kingdom in that direction. From this time the
State seems to have adhered to the Jān religion.

Of Śrvikrama, son by the Sindhu princess, who came
next, no particulars are recorded, except that he was the
abode of fourteen branches of learning, and well versed in
the science of politics in all its branches.

He had two sons, who in turn succeeded to the throne.
The elder, Bhūvikrama, was a great warrior, whose chest was
marked with the scars of wounds inflicted in battle by the
tusks of elephants. He defeated the Pallava king (Narasimha-
pōtavarmma) in a great battle at Vilanda, and is said to have
captured the whole of the Pallava dominions. Some other
details are given in Md 113 and Tm 23. On account of his
successes in war he received the title Śrivallabha, and in Sr
160 is called Dugga. He made Mankunda (Chamapāṭha
ṭāluq) the royal residence. From Md 113 we obtain the date
670 for the end of his reign.

His younger brother Śivamāra followed, and ruled to at
least 713. The Ereganga of *IA.* xiv. 229, who was governing
the Tore-nāḍ. Five Hundred, the Kongal-nāḍ Two Thousand,
and the Male Thousand, and who made a grant to Vinadi and
Kesādi, the chief temple priests of Panekodupādi, may have
been his son (though not so stated) who is unnamed in the
genealogical lists. Śivamāra was also known as Nava Kāma,
and as Śishta-priyāḥ (beloved by the good), the name by
which he describes and signs himself (Md 113). He is more-
over styled Prithivi-Konāgi. He had two Pallava princes in
his charge (Md 113), perhaps as hostages, or as their guardian,
which goes to confirm the account of his elder brother's
conquests. They were the sons of the Pallava yuvarāja, who
is not named, and are called Pallavādhīrājas. Beginning with
Nj 26 of this reign, which records a grant in the Punnad Six Thousand, stone inscriptions become the general rule.

It was during the sixth and seventh centuries, while the Gangas were thus engaged in conquests to the east and south, that we hear of attacks on them in the north-west. The Kadamba king Mrigeshavarma claims (IA vi. 24) to have overthrown (utsaddi) the lofty (tunga) Gangas, which apparently indicates no more than some encroachment on their territory, as they were certainly not overthrown in the usual sense of that word. The more powerful Chalukyas, who were invading the South and subdued the Kadambas in the sixth century, naturally came into contact with the Gangas. Thus Kirittivarma, who reigned from 566 to 597, is said (IA xix. 17) to have inflicted damage (avamarsha) on them as well as on a number of other kings. And in about 608 the Ganga and Alupa kings (the latter belonging to South Kanara) are said (EI vi. 10) to have felt the highest pleasure in attending on Pulikesi. In 694 they are said (Dg 66) to have been, along with the other principal kings of the South, brought into his service by Vinayaditya. But in this passage the Alupas and Gangas are distinguished by the epithet maula, which means ancient, of long standing, of original unmixed descent,—unimpeachable testimony to their having been long established in their kingdoms, and that their ancestry could be traced back for a considerable period. It also seems to show that they were entitled to special consideration.

The Gangas may be said to have reached the height of prosperity during the long reign of Sriprusha, who came next, and in whose time the kingdom was called the Sri-majya or fortunate kingdom. He was the grandson of Sivamara, whose son is not named and had therefore probably died before his father. This son may have been the prince Ereganga above noted, as the heir-apparent seems often to have been a governor of Kongal-nad, along with other western provinces. Sriprusha’s personal name was Muttarasa, and he is also called Prithivi-Kongani. His date is fixed by Mg 36 of 750,
his 25th year, Gd 47 of 762, and Ng 85 of 776, his 50th year. TN 1 is of his 1st year, Kl 78 of his 26th year, Mb 80 of his 42nd year. There are numerous other records of his time without dates. One has recently been found of his 7th year.

Bannur seems to be called his town in TN 115, and his house was apparently situated there. Perhaps to the time before he came to the throne belong Ht 86, in which he appears as ruling the Kerekunda Three Hundred, and Bp 13, in which he is ruling the Elenagar-nad Seventy, the Avanya-nad Thirty, and the Ponkunda Twelve. The latter calls him Mathava Muttarasa, and speaks of the army marching against Mahavali Banaras. Mi 99 says that while Sripurusha was ruling, the Raṭtas rose up against Gangavadi. But the chief military exploit of his reign was a crushing defeat of the Pallavas in a battle at Vilarde. Nr 35 says that he slew the valiant Kāduveṭṭi of Kānchi, captured the Pallava state umbrella, and took away from him the title Perimmāṇḍi, which is always afterwards assumed by the Gangas, and is often used alone to designate them. He is said to have written a work on elephants, called Gaja-śāstra. He removed the royal residence to Māṇypura (Manne, Nelamangala tāluq), and this was before 733.

The details of the grant in Mg 36, of his 25th year, point to the east of the Bellary District as being within the limits of his kingdom northwards. Ng 85, of his 50th year, shows him making a grant for a Jain temple erected by Kandachchi, granddaughter of Pallavadhiraja and wife of Parama Gula, the Nirggunda Rāja, whose father Duṇḍu is described as a confounder of the Bāna family. In Kl 6, of Sripurusha’s 28th year, we have (his son) Śivamāra ruling Kadambur. In Kd 145 we have his son Vijayāditya ruling Āsandī-nāḍ. In Sp 65 we have his son Duggamāra Ereyappa ruling Kovalāla-nāḍ; in Mb 80, of the king’s 42nd year, the same prince was ruling the Kuvalāla-nāḍ Three Hundred and the Ganga Six Thousand, while his
queen was ruling Ägali; in Mb 255 he was ruling the same provinces, and the army was sent against Kampili (on the Tungabhadrā in the north of the Bellary District); in Sp 57, besides the above two provinces, he was ruling Panneñād, Belattür-nād, the Pulvaki-nād Thousand, the Mu-nād Sixty, and one or two others whose names are not clear.

Śripurusha's son Śivamāra Saigotta came to the throne in the latter part of the eighth century. In his reign the prosperity of the Gangas underwent a reverse, and they became subject to calamities which threatened the extinction of the Ganga power altogether. These arose from the Rāṣṭrakūtās, who had recently, under their king Krishna I, ousted the Western Chālukyas and established their own supremacy. Krishna's son Dhōra, also called Dhruva, Nirupama, and Dhārāvarsha, who had superseded his elder brother (owing to the latter's addiction to pleasure and indifference to his royal duties, EL. iv. 287), seized and imprisoned the king of the Gangas, who are expressly said (NI 61; EI. vi. 248) never to have been conquered by others. The motive for this harsh step may possibly have been that Dhārāvarsha, having determined to set aside his elder son Kambha or Stambha in favour of a younger son Gōvinda,—whom he appointed yuvārāja or heir-apparent, and to ensure whose succession to the throne he even offered to abdicate,—had it in his mind to compensate the former by giving him the Ganga kingdom. But another account (EI. iii. 104) states that Ganga was one of the hostile kings whom Gōvinda brought into the country as an aid to himself. Hence the resentment against Ganga. In any case, we find Kambharasa in Hg 93 governing the Ninety-six Thousand (a common designation of the Ganga territory) under his father. In SB 24, where he is called Raṇāvalōka Kambaiya, he is said to be ruling the kingdom of the world; and in 802 was still in power (NI 61). After him, in 812, when his

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1 From CI 8 it appears that Duggamāra attempted to dispute the succession, but was opposed by Singapōta, the Nolamba king.
younger brother Gòvinda Prabhütavarsha was on the throne, we find (Gb 61) Chákì Rája was chief ruler (adhirāja) of the entire (aśeṣha) Ganga-mandala. This is the latest date we have for the Rāśhrakūṭa occupation.

Gòvinda, either, as seems likely, on the death of his elder brother, or moved by reasons of compassion or policy, released Ganga from his “long and painful confinement,” but owing to his hostility had again to confine him (E.I. vi. 249). During this period of release may have occurred the victorious attack he made at Mudugundūr (Māṇḍya tālūq) on the Vallabha (or Rāśhrakūṭa) army encamped there, which may have been the cause of his being again consigned to prison. Eventually, however, Gòvinda not only reinstated him in his kingdom, but took part in his coronation, he and the Pallava (or Ganga-Pallava) king Nandivarmma binding the diadem on his brow with their own hands (Yd 60, NI 601). The actual ceremony may perhaps not have been performed before. Kl 231 and Gd 54 show that Śivamāra was ruling. According to IA. xviii. 309, his reign extended into that of the Rāśhrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha, who came to the throne in 814. Śivamāra Saigotta is there presented as his feudatory (the solitary instance in which the Gangas acknowledge an overlord); the crowning is mentioned; and Śivamāra is said to be ruling the Gangaṇḍi Ninety-six Thousand up to Marandale as his boundary (see above, p. 31). He erected a Jain temple in Kummadavāḍa (now Kalbhāvi, in Belgaum District).

Of Śivamāra himself, besides what is said in other places, a lengthy account is given in NI 60. He is said, here and in Kl 90, to have been brought into a world of mingled troubles, or placed in a world of endless calamities, like matted pairs of top-knots or twisted top-knots. But he seems to have been a learned and accomplished man, supporter of the fine arts, builder of an ornamental bridge (see Md. 113), esteemed as a poet, proficient in logic and philosophy, skilled

1 It was no doubt Nandivarmma’s claim to Ganga descent which led to his being invited to join in the performance of this important act of State.
in all matters connected with the stage and drama, and a special authority on the treatment of elephants and horses. He wrote an important work on elephants, called Gajāśṭakaṁ, expounding his system (Nr 35).

During his detention as a prisoner, his son Mārasimha claims to represent the Ganga rule. Sr 160 shows him as the Yuvarāja, under the name Mārasing-Ereyappa and with the title Lōka Trinētra. Two Pallava princes, father and son, obtained permission from him to make a grant. The father's name was Kolliyarasa, and from Sb 10 it would seem that the Rāṣṭrakūta king, Gōvinda Prabhūtavarsā, took Koll into his service. Nl 60, dated in 797, describes Mārasimha, though only Yuvarāja, as ruling the entire (akhandam) Ganga-mandala, and decorating all the feudatories. But he must have died while his father was still in captivity. For Nj 269 contains the important statement that Śivamāra gave charge of his kingdom to his own younger brother Vijayāditya, who, like Bharata, knowing the earth (or land) to be his elder brother's wife, refrained from enjoying her (as his own).

Śivamāra had a second son, who is called Prithivipati (or Pilduvipati). He gave shelter to refugees from Amōghavarsha, and defeated the Pāndya king Varaguna at Śri-Purambaīyam (near Kumbhakōnum). But no more is heard of him, so both he and Vijayāditya probably died before Śivamāra. For the latter was succeeded on the throne by Vijayāditya's son, called Rājamalla (or Rāchamalla) Satyavākya, which are titles borne by all the Ganga kings who came after. Rājamalla is said (Yd 60) to have rescued from the Rāṣṭrakūtas his country, which they had held too long, as Vishnu in the form of a Boar rescued the Earth from the infernal regions. He thus established his independence. He also married Singapōta's granddaughter, Pallavādhirāja's daughter, the younger sister of Nolambādhirāja. But he was not suffered to remain unmolested. For the inscription at EI. vi. 25 informs us that a chief named Bankēśa was ordered by Amōghavarsha to uproot

1 Salem Manual, ii. 385.
Bas-relief of the Death of Nītimāraka.
On stone at Dholkā Hinda.
the lofty forest of fig trees—Gangavāḍī, difficult to be cut down. He accordingly captured Kedala (Kaidala near Tumkur), which was strongly fortified and defended. Having occupied that part of the country, he drove away the hostile lord of Talavana-pura (the Ganga king of Talakād). He then sprang like a lion across the Kāvērī, and shook the dominion of him who was even able to shake the world (meaning the Ganga). But at this point he was recalled by Amōghavarsha on account of some rebellion at home, which looks like an excuse for his having been forced to retire. But that he took Kaidala may be true, as Tm 9 and Nl 84 show us a line of chiefs established there and at Sīvaganga who claimed to be lords of Māṇyakhēta, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital.

Rājamalla was succeeded by his son styled Nātimārgga, a title also used by the subsequent kings of this line. His real name was Ereyanga, but he is mentioned as Rāṇa Vikramayya in Yd 60. He gained a great victory (Kl 90, Nj 269) over the Vallabha army at Rājārāmudū, which is to the north of the Kolar District. Besides this, he captured Bānarasa’s Mahārājara-nāḍ (Mb 228). This is called in Ct 30 the Mārājavāḍī Seven Thousand, with Vallūr as its capital. It was chiefly in the Kadapa District. Kl 79 shows that under Nātimārgga the Pallava king Nolambādhirāja was ruling the Ganga Six Thousand, and sent against Bānarasa a chief named Pompalla, who was killed in a battle at Murggepāḍī. At the head of the Doddahundū stone (TN 91) is a rude but interesting bas-relief depicting Nātimārgga’s death, the exact date of which event is not known, but his eldest son Satyavākya was present. One of the king’s followers evinced his fidelity by being buried under him. Nātimārgga’s younger sister Jāyabbe was married to the Pallava king Nolambādhirāja (Si 24, 38), who was Pōlalchōra Nolamba.

Rājamalla Satyavākya (II), the eldest son of Nātimārgga, was his successor on the throne, and distinguished himself in a battle at Rēmiya (Nj 269). An inscription of his occurs in North Arcot District (EL. iv. 140). His younger brother
named Būtugendra or Būtarasa was Yuvarāja in 870 (Nj 75), and governing Kongal-nāḍ and Pūnāḍ. Būtarasa is said (Nj 269) to have defeated Rājarāja (which is a Chōla name), and in Hiriyūr (Chitaldroog District) and other places was victorious over Mahēndra, the Pallava Nolamba king. Five times he overcame in fight the Kongas (Tamil people of Coimbatore and Salem), who resisted his tying up elephants, and he captured many herds according to old custom. He married the daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I.

He must have died before his elder brother the king, as Ereganga, his son by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess, became Yuvarāja (Sr 147). This prince his uncle Rājamalla Satyavākya associated with himself in the government, and crowned under the name of Ereyappa (Nj 269). The date of which act must have been about 886, as Ag 70 makes Satyavākya’s 37th year correspond with Ereyappa’s 21st year, and the former’s 18th year was 887 (Cg 2). In Hg 103 Ereyappa appears governing Nugu-nāḍ and Navale-nāḍ. In Hs 92 he is ruling the Kongal-nāḍ Eight Thousand, and Būtuga’s queen ruling Kūrgal. In Nj 130 we have Permmāḍi (the supreme king), the Queen, and Ereyappa acting together. In other cases we have Permmāḍi and Ereyappa acting together, as in Nj 139, which is of Satyavākya’s 22nd year. Perhaps the queen was now dead. In Satyavākya’s 29th year we have mention of Ereyappa’s son (Kn 48).

Sh 90 shows Ereyappa reigning as supreme, and Būtuga under him governing the Mandali-nāḍ. Bn 83 and Kn 52 are also of his reign; Cp 48 may be, and Cp 161, which is dated in 913. Ereyappa is often distinguished by a special set of epithets not used of any other kings of the Ganga line, as in Sr 134, Kr 38, Bn 83. He is called in some cases Nitimārgga (II), as in Ag 26, 61, and in others Satyavākya, as in Cn 251. But being engaged in hostilities with Mahēndra, whom he eventually slew in battle, perhaps at Penjeru, he obtained the distinctive title Mahēndrāntaka. From Md 13 of 895, Mi 52 of 897, Md 14 of 907, and Kd 6 it would
appear as if Mahendra and his son Ayyapa, both styled Nolambadhiraja, exercised some authority in the Ganga kingdom. But Cm 129 describes an attack upon the latter. At about this period the Cholas having suddenly uprooted the Banaas, the Chola king Parantaka claims in 921 (Sil. ii. 387) to have conferred the Bana sovereignty on the Ganga prince Prithivipati, grandson of the Prithivipati before mentioned, giving him the name Hastimallia (see also El. iv. 225).

Ag 5 and 27 record the death of a king who in the former is called Rachamalla Permmanaali, and in the latter Ntimarga Permmnaali, but they seem to refer to the same person. The second says that his death was caused by hiccough, owing to phlegm sticking in his throat; and the first says that it occurred at Kombale. Both relate how certain men committed themselves to death in the fire through sorrow for his decease. The wording makes the identification difficult, but it seems probable that the king Satyavakya Rachamalla II is intended in both, unless only the first refers to him and the second to Ereyappa, who is mentioned in the other in such a way as to exclude him.

Ereyappa left two sons, Rachamalla and Butuga. The former appears in Ag 61 making a grant in 920. HN 14 may possibly refer to his queen and Tp 10 of Kachcheya Ganga's 3rd year may also be of his time. But his reign must have been a short one. Hg 116 apparently refers to a proposed division of the kingdom between the brothers. But Md 41 informs us that Butuga slew Rachamalla and took possession of the whole. He was a close friend of the Rashtrakuta king Baddega or Amoghavarsha II, who gave him his daughter Revaka to wife (El. iv. 350), with a dowry of the Beligere Three Hundred, the Belvola Three Hundred, the Kisukad Seventy, and the Bagenad Seventy (provinces in the Dharwar, Belgaum, and Bijapur Districts). On the death of Baddega, Butuga assisted his son Krishna or Kannara III in securing the throne from an usurper named Lalliya. And when Kannara was at war with the Chola king Rajaditya,
Bütuga rendered him a great service by slaying the Chōla king at Takkolam (near Arkōnam), and was rewarded with the Banavase Twelve Thousand province (Md. 41). This was in 949 (El. vii. 194). He may have been assisted in gaining his own throne by Kannara, who (El. iv. 249) claims to have planted in Gangapāti, as in a garden, the pure tree Bhūtārya, having uprooted the poisonous tree Rāchamalla. Bütuga has the distinctive titles Nanniya Ganga and Ganga Gāngēya. Among other exploits, he is said (Nṛ. 35) to have taken Chitrakūṭa by assault, and conquered the Seven Mālavas, the boundaries of which he marked out with stones, and gave the country the name Mālava Ganga.

His son by the Rāśtrakūṭa princess was Marula Dēva, and a daughter, married to the son of Krishna III, became the mother of Indra Rāja, the last of the Rāśtrakūṭas. Mj. 67 may be a memorial of her. If so, her name was Kundana-Sōmīdēvi. But Bütuga was succeeded on the Ganga throne by Mārasimha, his son by another wife. Of him a long account is contained in SB 38 of 973. He led an expedition against Gurjjara or Gujarāt on behalf of Kannara or Akālavarsa III (who had made extensive conquests in the South as far as Tanjore, El. iv. 280), fought against the Western Chālukya prince Rājāditya, put down a dangerous chief named Naraga (in the Chitaldroog District), and brought the Nolamba family to an end. On account of this last he has the special title Nolambakulāntaka. He is also styled Guttīya Ganga and Pallava-malla. He made grants in the Dharwar District in 968 (L. A. vii. 101, 112). He appears to have promoted the coronation of Indra Rāja in an attempt to maintain the Rāśtrakūṭa power. But this was shattered by the Chālukyas beyond recovery in 973, and Indra Rāja starved himself to death by the Jaina rite of sallēkhana at Śravana-Beḷgoḷa in 982 (SB 57). Mārasimha had retired to Bankāpura in 973 to end his days in religious exercises at the feet of Ajītasēna, and died in 974. The kingdom in his reign extended as far as the great river, the
Face of Gumata.
Colonial Jain image at Sravanabelgola. 9th B. A.D.

Inscriptions at foot, to the right and left.
RAKKASA-GANGA

Krishnā, and included the Nolambavāḍi Thirty-two Thousand, the Gangavāḍi Ninety-six Thousand, the Banavase Twelve Thousand, the Śāntalīgē Thousand, and other provinces whose names are gone (EL. iv. 352).

His son Rāchamalla Satyavākya (IV) then came to the throne. There is an inscription of his time in Cg 4, dated in 977. In this his younger brother Rakkasa appears as governing a province on the bank of the Beddore, here the Lakshmantirtha, which is still called the Doddā-hole in Coorg. For some time past there seem to have been efforts to revive the influence of the Jain religion, of which the expiring Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Ganga dynasties were the principal mainstay. And under Rāchamalla was erected at Śravāna-Belgola, by his minister and general Chāmunda Rāya,—who is said in TN 69 to have performed many works of merit in the land he governed,—that remarkable Jain monument and object of worship, the colossal statue of Gomața. The date of its execution was about 983, and in daring conception and gigantic dimensions it is without a rival in India.

Rakkasa-Ganga Rāchamalla succeeded his elder brother, and we have a record of his reign in Šp 59. In this a chief subordinate to him is ruling the Nolambavāḍi Thirty-two Thousand. From Nr 33 it would appear that Rakkasa adopted his younger brother’s daughters and son. The latter was named Rāja Vidyādhara, but may have died, as the king is represented as taking special interest in the daughters.

The only later Ganga king of whom we have certain knowledge is the Nittimārgga of Ch 10, dated in 999, in which he makes a grant along with a Pallava princess, the

1 A certain Panchala-Dēva, with the Ganga titles, set himself up as independent in 975, but was killed in battle by the Cháluksya king Taila (EL, v. 372). In Ht. he is called a mūnkalīmantaṭāṭēpāṭā or great feudal chief. An attempt was also made by a Ganga named Mudu-Rāchayya, who took the titles Chaladanka-Ganga and Gangara-bajā, to seize the Ganga throne, but he was slain by Chāmunda-Rāya (SB 109), who thus avenged the death of his younger brother Nāgarāmanura. Before the battle, the prince Rakkasa’s guardian, Bāyiğa of the Kakka (or Rāṣṭrakūṭa) family, sent the prince away to a place of safety and rushed in to meet his own death (SB 60, 61).
elder sister of Nolamba. It is possible that Cm 3, which is of the 6th year of a Nittimārgga Rāčamalla, is of his time, as the date with a slight correction will work out, according to Dr. Kielhorn, as either 989 or 992. Then we have Md 78, in which a king called only Ganga Pemmānadi is described as ruling Karnāta. There are discrepancies in the date, which probably corresponds with 996. He may be the Ganga Rāja under whom Talakāḍ was lost, as SB 45, which relates how the Hoysala general Ganga Rāja in 1116 recovered Talakāḍ from the Chōlas, says he was a hundred times more fortunate than that former Ganga Rāya.

The Chōlas, who had been victorious over all the east of the peninsula, taking possession of Kānchi, the capital of the Pallavas, and reducing to submission the Eastern Chālukyas, with whom were allied the Rāṣṭhrakūtas and the Gangas, now penetrated to Mysore. Ht 111 shows the Chōla king Rājarāja-Dēva ruling in the east of the State in 997. His son Rājēndra-Chōla captured Talakāḍ by 1004, and the Ganga power, which had ruled Mysore for nine centuries, was brought to an end.

But the Gangas do not disappear from history. A Ganga princess was married to the Western Chālukya king Sōmēśvara I (reigned 1042-1068), and became the mother of the kings Sōmēśvara II (reigned 1068-1076) and his celebrated brother Vikramānka (reigned 1076-1126).1 Gangas were in authority in the Kolar District during the Chōla occupation, and were also trusted officers of the Hoysalas. It was a descendant of the Gangas, the Hoysala general Ganga Rāja, that recovered Talakāḍ from the Chōlas (ML 31) in 1116 under Viahnunvardhāna, who then drove the Chōlas out of Mysore. The last Ganga representative was the Ganga Rāja of Ummattūr, who fortified himself on the island of

1 It is curious that a Karnāṭaka dynasty was set up even in distant Nepal, apparently in 1097, which was presumably of Ganga origin. The founder, Nānya-Dēva (perhaps ? Nānīya-Dēva), came from the South. He was succeeded by Ganga-Dēva and four others, the last of whom removed the capital to Khāṭmāndū, where the line came to an end (Ins. from Nepal, by Dr. G. Bühler).
Sivasamudram at the Kāvēri Falls, and assumed independence in the beginning of the sixteenth century. He was put down by the Vijayanagar king, Krishna Rāya, in 1511 (El. vii. 18).

The Kalinga Ganga kings of Orissa, another branch of the Gangas, have a separate history, of which a summary may be seen in the Bangalore volume. They date by an era called the years of the Gāngēya family (Gāngēya-vamsa-samvatsara), the exact period of which has not been determined. They are also called the Gajapati or elephant kings. They ruled from the sixth century to the middle of the sixteenth, when the country fell a prey to the Muhammadans. One inscription of theirs, of about 700, has been obtained in Mysore (Bn 140).

The following is a table of the Ganga kings of Mysore, with dates so far as known, taken entirely from inscriptions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Of the Ikshvāku or Solar race, was</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dhananjaya</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hārīchandra, king of Ayodhyā</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pālmanāla</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dādiga</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Mādhava I, 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konguṇivarmanas</td>
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</tbody>
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2. Mādhava II, Kriya Mādhava

3. Harivarmanas, 247-266

4. Viṣhagōpa

Prithvi-Gāṅgā

5. Mādhava III, 337-370
   Tadangāla Mādhava,
   m. Kaliṁba princess

6. Aṃnita, 430-482

7. Durvāṅgita, 452-517
   m. Punnāla princess

8. Mūkāra,
   Mokkāra,
   m. Śindhu princess

1 This name is applied to all the kings to the end. The Tamil chronicle says that he was ruling in 189 and reigned for fifty-one years.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Birth Year</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Śrīvikrama</td>
<td>560-610</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Bhāvikrama, Srivallabha</td>
<td>-670</td>
<td></td>
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<td>11.</td>
<td>Śrīśāmāra I, 670-713</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nava Kāma, Sisht-piśyāḥ, Prithvi-Kongaṅī I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Śripurusha, 728-776</td>
<td></td>
<td>Muttarasā, Prithvi-Kongaṅī II, Permuṅamalī¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Śivamāra II, Saigota</td>
<td>-815</td>
<td>Vijayāditya, Kanavikrama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Rājāmalla Satyavākya I²</td>
<td></td>
<td>m. Pallava princess</td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>Mārasimha, 797</td>
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<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Prithvivāti I,</td>
<td>815</td>
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<td>17.</td>
<td>Mārasimha</td>
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<td>18.</td>
<td>Prithvivāti II,</td>
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<td>19.</td>
<td>Hastimallā, c. 910</td>
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<td>20.</td>
<td>Rājāmalla Satyavākya II, 870-907</td>
<td></td>
<td>Būrṇengodra, 870 Būtarasa, Gunauddataranga, m. Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess</td>
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<td>18.</td>
<td>Rājāmalla Satyavākya III, 920, Kachcheyā, Ganga</td>
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<td>Ereyappa, 886-913 Ereyanga, Nīṭimārgga II, Satyavākya, Mahēṅdrāntaka</td>
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<td>20.</td>
<td>Mārasimha, 961-974</td>
<td>Gūtiya Ganga, Notambalakāntaka</td>
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<td>21.</td>
<td>Rājāmalla Satyavākya IV, 977</td>
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<td>Rakkasa Ganga, 984</td>
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<td>23.</td>
<td>Nīṭimārgga III, Rājāmalla, (7) 989 or 992, 999</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rāja Vidyādhara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ This title is used of all the subsequent kings, often alone, without any name.
² These names are used as titles by all the kings that come after.
³ This name is used as a title by the kings that follow.
These annals of the Ganga kings of Mysore present a consistent and circumstantial account that goes far to disarm criticism, and they fill up what is otherwise a blank in an interesting and important period in the history of the south. Comments casting doubt upon them have been directed mainly against minor details, that hardly affect the credibility of the chronicles as a whole. Records of so remote and lengthy a period could scarcely be expected to be free from all difficulties. But though they have been discovered in so many different parts of the country, and of such various dates, covering several centuries, they agree in giving us a generally uniform narrative, the incidents of which are corroborated by testimony from other sources, while the dates tally, and they are not discredited by anachronisms. This is the best answer to all detraction.

From one source, entitled to the highest respect, an objection has been raised that the reigns of the earlier kings work out to an impossible average length for a direct succession. But it is easy to imagine that some unimportant steps may have been omitted, as occurs in other known annals. That this was actually the case appears from Sh 4, which inserts a Prithivi-Ganga between Nos. 4 and 5. That the Gangas were long-lived is clear from the statement that the first king reigned for 51 years, and regarding Vishnugopa, that his mental energy was unimpaired to the end of life, evidently meaning that he lived to a very advanced age, while Avinita certainly reigned for 52 years. To take the particular reigns referred to by our critic:—From Harivarmma in 247 to Avinita in 430 gives 183 years up to the fifth generation; from Avinita in 482 to Shivamara in 670 similarly gives 188 years up to the fifth generation. And if the first five centuries of the Ganga history were occupied by even only eleven generations, this gives an average of 45 years to each, which is about the same as the above, and though high, seems by no means impossible. At any rate, apart from all theory, there they are.

1 A scholar whose recent death cannot be sufficiently deplored.
The principal opposition, however, from another source, is based upon the sweeping dictum that all the Ganga inscriptions on copper plates are spurious, and only those on stone genuine. Merely to state this is to expose the credulous nature of this paradoxical hypothesis. And it is disproved by the fact that the ancient Ávani stone fragment (Mb 263) and Sirigunda stone (Cm 50) are contemporary with and contain records similar to those on the early copper plates. At the same time they render it probable that others on stone of like nature formerly existed, as even the Lakshmiśvara stone (IA. vii. 101) may bear witness. Those have been lost or destroyed, while the metal plates have survived because they were portable and indestructible and could be hidden. In view of the general consistency and veracity of the records, errors that may be detected here and there in style or orthography are of trifling importance. And the serious allegation that they are condemned by the misuse of a more modern form of a certain letter in plates professing to be ancient has been proved to have no foundation. The persistent opponent of the Gangas here referred to has lately expressed (El. viii. 55) his willingness, when he feels justified, to abandon his present views and cancel anything wrong that he has written against them, but not yet. The sooner the better is the only comment one can make. The truth is bound to prevail.

6. PALLAVAS

To revert to the earlier history.—The Kadambas, as previously stated, succeeded the Sātavāhanas in the west of Mysore, but the Pallavas were their successors throughout the Telugu countries in the east of the Dekhan, and Pallava inscriptions are found as far south as Trichinopoly. These kings are first met with as the Pahlavas, who, with the Sakas and Yavanas, are said to have been destroyed (early in the second century) by Gōtamiputra Sātakarni (ASWL. iv. 108).
EARLY ACCOUNTS

A little later a Pallava named Suvisākha, the son of Kulaipa, was minister to the Kshatrapa Rudradāman (EI. viii. 49). Pallava is a Prākrit form of Parthava, meaning Parthian, here especially the Arsacidan Parthians.

According to tradition, their progenitor, descended from Śālivāhana who ruled at Pratishṭhāna (Paithan on the Gōdvāri), was a Mukuntī Pallava, who introduced Brāhmans into the South in the third century. A principal seat of the Pallavas was Vengi (between the Krishnā and Gōdvāri in the east), but Kāṇchī (Conjeeveram, near Madras) was their chief capital. It was so in the third century when Mayūraśarimma, the Kadamba student, went there (Sk 176), and both are mentioned in the Samudra Gupta inscription of the fourth century. The Pallavas may have ousted the Mahāvalis or Bānas from the coast regions, and driven them eastwards inland. The ancient inscriptions now at Mahābalipur are Pallava.

But the chief enemies of the Pallavas, to the eighth century, were the Chalukyas, who describe them as by nature hostile, as if there were some radical cause of animosity between them. If the Chalukyas, as their name suggests, were by origin Seleukian, this would account for the enmity of Arsacidans. A series of continual wars ensued. In the sixth century the Chalukyas, after defeating the powers in the west, wrested Vatāpi (Badāmi, in the Bijāpur District) from the Pallavas, and made it their capital. Early in the seventh they captured Vengi, and established there the separate Eastern Chālukya dynasty. The Pallavas now destroyed Vatāpi, but the Western Chālukyas, who had held it, before long recovered their power, and in the eighth century, inflicting a severe defeat on the Pallavas, entered Kāṇchī in triumph, the city, however, being spared (Kl 63). The Gangas of Mysore had also been attacking the Pallavas. They took some of their possessions in the sixth century, and completely conquered them in the seventh and eighth.

1 After the separation the name appears with the long ā.
But the Western Chālukyas, shortly after they had triumphed over the Pallavas in the middle of the eighth century, were themselves overcome by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who retained the supremacy for two hundred years. They made the Pallava king pay tribute, and imprisoned the Ganga king. Early in the ninth century, however, they released and reinstated the latter, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Pallava (or Ganga-Pallava) kings united performing his coronation.

The earliest mention of the Pallavas in the inscriptions of Mysore is in Sk 176, which relates how the Kadamba Mayūrasarmma went to their capital to study, felt himself insulted, became an outlaw for the purpose of revenge, and was eventually recognised by them as king over a Kadamba kingdom in the west. This was in the third century. The Pallavas next appear in Dg 161, in which their king Nanakkāsa is said to have totally defeated the army of Krishnavarmma, evidently the Kadamba king, probably in the fifth century. At the end of the same century the Ganga king Durvvinītā captured Kāḍuvetṭī¹ on the field of battle. Narasimhapōtavarmma must have been the Pallava defeated by the Ganga king Bhūvikrama in the seventh century, and Pallava princes were in the custody of his successor Śivamāra I (Md 113). In Kl 63 Narasimhapōtavarmma is named as having erected certain of the temples in Kānchi, and Nandipōtavarmma as the Pallava who suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Western Chālukya king Vikramaditya Satyāśraya in about 733. The Pallava from whom the Ganga king Śripurusha in the eighth century took away the title of Permmanadi is called, as usual, Kāḍuvetṭī. Then we have (Yd 60, Nl 60), in about 813, the Pallava king Nandivarman, who took part (perhaps as being a Ganga-Pallava) in the coronation of the Ganga king Śivamāra II.

¹ This is the common designation in Ganga inscriptions for the Pallava king. It survives in the name of Kāḍuvetṭī-nagura in North Arcot District. The Pallavas are also called Kāḷavas.
7. NONAMBAS OR NOĻAMBAS

With him the old main line of the Pallavas perhaps ended. But the succession was maintained by the Nonambas or Noļambas, who claim to be Pallavas,¹ and gave their name to the Noļambavāḍi or Nonambavāḍi Thirty-two Thousand province, corresponding generally with the Chitaldroog District and adjacent parts north and east of it. The existing Nonabas, a numerous and important section of agriculturists in Mysore, represent its former subjects.

The genealogy of the Noļambas is given in the Hēmāvati pillar (Si 28). They are stated to be of the Isvara-vamśa, and descended from Trinayana, through Pallava, the king of Kānchi. The first king named is Mangala or Noļambādhirāja, praised (nūta) by the Kārnāṭas. His son was Simhapōta, whose son was Chāruponnera, whose son was Pōlalchōra Noļamba, whose son was Mahēndra, whose son was Nanniga or Ayyapa-Dēva, whose sons were Anniga (or Bīra Noļamba) and Dilipa or Irīva Noļamba.

Singapōta was subordinate to the Ganga king Śivamāra Saigotta, and was sent by him against his younger brother Duggamāra, who strove to set himself up as independent (Cl 8). The Rāṣṭrakūṭas having imprisoned Śivamāra and assumed the government of the Ganga territory, we find (Cl 33, 34) Singapōta’s son and grandson under their orders ruling the Noļambalige Thousand and other provinces. This may have been the nucleus of the Noļambavāḍi province. On the restoration of the Gāgas, their king Rājamalla Satyavākya I married Singapōta’s grand-daughter, Pallavādhirāja’s daughter, the younger sister of Noļambādhirāja, and gave his own daughter Jāyabbe in marriage to Noļambādhirāja Pōlalchōra (Si 38). The latter appears in Kl 79 as ruling the Ganga Six Thousand under the Ganga king Nītimārgga. His son by the Ganga princess was Mahēndra or Bīra Mahēndra, who in Bp 64 is ruling the same province, under

¹ A princess named in Cl 10 is said to be of the Noļamba-vamśa and Pallava-kula.
the Gangas. In Sp 30 he appears as ruling in conjunction with two others over a territory up to the Kiru-tore or little river as its boundary. But Si 38 represents him as assuming independence in 878, while DB 3 says he was ruling as king, and fighting with the Ganga king. He was opposed by Bütuga, the Ganga Yuvarāja, and finally slain by Bütuga's son Ereyappa, who thence obtained the title Mahēndrāntaka. Mahēndra's queen was a Kadamba princess, named Divalabbarasi or Divāmbike (Mb 38), and he is called Nolambādhirāja and the Nolamba Nārāyana. CB 26 of about 880 and Md 13 of 895 may refer to him, and show that the Nolambas had gained considerable power.

Mahēndra's son was Ayyapa, and it is in connection with him that the Nolambavādi province is first mentioned. In Jl 29 of 920 he is said to be ruling the Nolambavādi Thirty-two Thousand, with Annayya (his son) as a governor under him. But as a rule all the Pallava Nolamba inscriptions, from Mahēndra in Pg 45 of about 880 to Nanni Nolamba in Mb 122 of 969, represent the kings as ruling the kingdom of the world, that is as independent. Nolambavādi must have been the main portion of their kingdom, which seems from the inscriptions to have extended eastwards as far as the Srinivāspur tāluq. Sb 474 of 954 speaks of the time in the (near) past when the Thirty-two Thousand was under one king.

For Ayyapa, who has the names Nanniga, Nannigāsraya, Nolipayya, and Nolambādhirāja, we have the dates 897 in Mi 52, 918 in DB 9, 920 in Si 39, and 929 in Kd 6. His eldest son Anniga or Bira Nolamba, also called Annayya and Ankayya, succeeded him. For the latter we have the date 931 in Ct 43 and 44, in which he is described as being at peace, in the enjoyment of all the rights of sovereignty. Gd 4 states that Anni, a son of the Ganga prince Pīldhuvipati (Prithuvipati II), was killed in battle when fighting in his army. Anniga was defeated by the Rāśtrakūta king Krishna or Kannara III in 940 (EI. iv. 289; v. 191). His younger brother Dilipa or Irīva Nolamba next came to the throne.
He had also the name Nolapayya. Bp 4 and Kl 198 show that he had the Vaidumbas under him, and Mb 126 that he had subjected the Mahāvalis. For him there are the dates 943 in Si 28, 948 in Si 35, 951 in Ct 49, 961 in Mb 126, and 966 in Kl 245.

In Mb 122 of 969 we are informed that Nanni Nolamba had assumed the crown. He was Iriva Nolamba's son (Hr 1). But the Ganga king Mārasimha, who ruled till 974, boasts of having destroyed the Nolamba family, whence he had the name Nolambakulāntaka, and he was ruling, among other provinces, over the Nolambavādi Thirty-two Thousand (EI iv. 352). In Mb 84 of 974 we have a record of three Nolamba princes, who had escaped and were perhaps hiding, hearing with relief the news of his death. But the Nolambavādi Thirty-two Thousand continued in possession of the Gangas, as testified by Rakkasa Ganga's inscription (Sp 59) of about 985.

The Pallava Nolamba line, however, was not extinguished, for the kings continue to appear for a long time after, under the Chōlas and Western Chālukyas. Ht 47 informs us that when Nolambādhirāja was ruling, Chōla fought with his army stationed at Bijayitamangala (Bēt mangala, Bowringpet āluq), and Nolambarasa was killed. But when he died, his son (?) succeeded him. Ht 111 shows that in 977 the Chōla king Rājarāja had gained a footing in that part of Mysore, and Ayyapa's son Gannaras was acting as governor under him. But a Nolambādhirāja Chūrayya continues as a Pallava king under the Chōla king Rājarāja to 1010 (Mb 208, Ct 118). He may be the one so named in Mb 84 as having escaped the general massacre of his family, and it may be his father who is there mentioned, and who is perhaps to be identified with the Nolambarasa above stated to have been killed in battle, leaving his son to continue the line.

But the Nolambas seem to have gone over after this to the protection of the Western Chālukyas, who were at enmity with the Chōlas. For Mk 10 shows us a Jagadēkamalla-

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1 This indicates the direction in which they retired when driven from Nolambavādi.
No̱lamba-Pallava ruling the kingdom in 1022, with the seat of his government at Kampiḷi (on the Tungabhadrā in the west of the Bellary District). Then Dg 71 shows us Udayāditya, called the No̱lamba-Pallava-Permmāṇadi, ruling in 1035 under the same Chālukya king Jayasingha Jagadēkaṇalla. In Dg 126 is Jagadēkaṇalla-Immaḍi-No̱lamba-Pallava-Permmāṇadi, ruling the Kadambalige Thousand and other provinces under the same king in 1037. Dg 124 shows a Trailōkya-malla-Nanni-No̱lamba-Pallava-Permmāṇadi ruling Kadambalige in (?) 1042. The introductory part is effaced, or it might have supplied some important details. He appears again in Dg 20 with extended authority in 1045. JI 10 shows a Nārasinga ruling the Kadambalige Thousand and other provinces under the same king in 1054, with his son Chōraya as a governor under him at Uchehangi. The Chālukya king Trailōkyamalla, was Sōmēsvara I or Āhavamalla, who ruled 1040 to 1069. He married as one of his wives a Pallava princess, by whom he had his son Jayasimha, who takes the titles Vira-No̱lamba (or No̱lamba)-Pallava-Permmāṇadi. Under his father he was governor of various provinces in 1048 and 1054 (HI 107, 119). The next king, Sōmēsvara II, his elder half-brother by a Ganga mother, made him governor of the No̱lamba-Sindavādi province in 1068 (Sk 136). Mk 28 is a record of him in 1072, and Cd 82 of 1074. His other elder half-brother Vikramāṅka, also by the Ganga mother, on coming to the throne in 1076, made him Yuvarāja, and he won important conquests for the kingdom. In 1080 he was ruling Banavase and other large provinces for his brother (Sk 293). But eventually he rebelled against him, and was defeated and imprisoned. We know that another half-brother of his, named Vishnuvarddhana Vijayāditya (see Cī 18), the son of an Eastern Chālukya princess.

1 The title Permmāṇadi was taken by the Gangas from the Pallavas on their subjection of them in the eighth century. The Ganga power being now overthrown, the Pallavas resume the use of it.

2 A curious inscription of his (Ibn 142) is antedated in 444, and is the model on which the professed Jananīyaya grants (Sk 45, Sh 183, etc.) were framed.
was ruling the Nolambavādi Thirty-two Thousand in 1064 and 1066, with his seat of government at Kampili. He is described as about to sink into the ocean of the Chōlas, but this was averted by Rājarāja and Chōla-Ganga of the Kalinga Gangas. Then Si 9 shows us another Udayāditya ruling in 1072 over the Nolambavādi Thirty-two Thousand, and said to be extending the Pencheru kingdom on all sides. He was evidently under the Chōlas, as he has the sub-title Vira-Rājendra, as well as Vira-Nolamba-Pallava-Permmānadi. Pencheru is Penjēru (or Henjēru), now called Hēmāvatī, situated on the northern border of Sira tāluq. Apparently it was at this time the capital of Nolambavādi. The same Udayāditya appears in Gd 57 in (?) 1109, and in place of bearing a Chōla title he is there styled binder of Chōla-mārāja. But meanwhile the Pāṇḍyas of Uchchangi come into view as governors of the Nolambavādi province. Ci 33 shows Tribhuvanamalla-Pāṇḍya ruling it in (?) 1083, and he is described as defeater of the designs of Rājiga-Chōla. Dg 155 says he was the younger brother of Tribhuvanamalla-Nolamba-Pallava-Permmānadi (Jayasimha above). Dg 3 shows that the seat of government had been moved to Betittur (Bettūr near Dāvangere). In 1124 Rāya-Pāṇḍya was ruling the province from the same place (Dg 2). But next year the capital was again at Uchchangi (Ci 61), where it remained, and he had a Pallava as a feudatory under him. Dg 4, Ci 38 and 39, show Vira-Pāṇḍya ruling the province in 1143 and 1149. Hk 56 says that at the rise of Bījana, the Kalachurya king (in 1156), Palatta-Pāṇḍya was ruling Nolambavādi. Dg 113 mentions a Pallava king in about 1160, without giving any name. Cd 13 shows Vijaya-Pāṇḍya ruling Nolambavādi in 1184. But in Cd 23 we have a Pallava prince named Māchi-Dēva in 1205 as feudatory to the Hoysala king Ballālā II. His descent is given for three generations, and he was ruling in the Holalkere-nād (Chitaldroog District) and adjacent parts.
8. GANGA-PALLAVAS

But while the Noṇambas or Nojambas thus continued to represent the old Pallava dynasty, there was another branch of the Pallavas which had its origin in perhaps the eighth century. This branch has been designated the Ganga-Pallavas. For Nandivarmma from whom they descended, a contemporary of the Chalukya king Vikramāditya (reigned 733-746), though a Pallava in name, was a Ganga by descent (EL. iv. 182). They would seem later to call themselves the Nripatunga-kula, from their Rāṣṭrāṅga connection. Nripatungavarmma was a Pallava, the grandson of Dantivarmma and the son of Nandivarmma, but his mother was Śankhā, daughter of the Rāṣṭrāṅga king Nripatunga-śamghavarsa, after whom he was probably named. At the same time he also claims to be descended from Kongani, the ancestor of the Gangas. The territory of these Ganga-Pallavas lay in the east of Mysore, in the North Arcot, Tanjore, and Trichinopoly districts. Their inscriptions are in Vaṭṭeluttu and archaic Tamil characters, and their names generally have the prefix Vijaya, or, in Tamil, Ko-viṣaiya.

The kings of this line of whom records have been obtained are Narasimhavarmma (about 800), his son Nandivarmma (about 820), and the latter’s sons Nripatungavarmma or Nripatungavikramavarmma and Kampavarmma. Also Aparājīvatikramavarmma. In Mysore we have two inscriptions of the time of these kings in the Mubāgal tāluq (Mb 227, 211). One is of the 24th year of Narasimhavikramavarmma, and the other of the 12th year of Iśvaravarmma. As these contain references to Bānarasa and Mahendra, they belong to about 880. Five centuries later we have representatives of perhaps the same family in the Chik-Ballāpur tāluq (CB 41, 14), who describe themselves as of the Nripatunga-kula and have the Ganga title Lord of Nandagiri (or Nandigiri). Vembi-Dēva was ruling in 1267 and 1270 (Dv 79, CB 14). In 1283 he has the second name Nandi-Dēva (Dv 28).
9. CHALUKYAS

The Chalukyas next claim our attention. They were in the ascendant throughout the north-west of Mysore, and the Bombay and Haidarabad Districts beyond, from the fifth to the eighth century, and from the latter part of the tenth to that of the twelfth. Their first appearance south of the Narmadā (Nerbudda) was in the fourth century, previous to which they profess to have had fifty-nine predecessors on the throne of Ayōdhyā, but of these nothing is known, not even their names. On their entering the Dekhan they overcame the Rāṣṭrakūtas, but the Pallavas effectually opposed them, and the invader, Jayasimha or Vijayāditya, was slain. His queen, being at the time pregnant, took refuge with a Brāhmaṇ, and gave birth to a son named Rājasimha, who eventually defeated the Pallavas, and then formed an alliance with them, confirmed by his marriage with a Pallava princess. In the sixth century, Pulikēśi, whose chief city was apparently Indukānta (supposed to be Ajantā or some neighbouring place), wrested Vātāpi (Bādāmi in the Bijāpur District) from the Pallavas and made it his capital. His son, Kirtti varmanma subdued the Mauryas (descendants of the ancient Mauryas of Pāṭaliputra) ruling in the Konkan, and the Kadambas of Banavasi. Another son, Mangalēśa, conquered the Kalachuryas. The Ālupas or Āluvas, ruling in Tuluva or South Kanara, were also at the same time overcome, and the next king, Pulikēśi II, came into contact with the Gangas. In about 617 the Chalukyas separated into two branches, of which the Eastern Chālukyas\(^1\) made Vengi (near Ellore in the Gōdāvari District), taken from the Pallavas, and subsequently Rājamahēndri (Rājamundry), their capital, while the Western Chālukyas, with whom Mysore is chiefly concerned, continued to rule from Vātāpi, and eventually from Kalyāna (in the Nizām's Dominions, about 100 miles west by north of Haidarabad).

The Chalukyas were of the Sōma-vamśa or Lunar race.

\(^1\) See note, p. 53 above.
They profess to be of the Mānavya-gōtra and Hāritiputras, nourished by the Seven Mothers (as were the Kadambas). The Varāha or Boar was the emblem on their signet. The Western Chālukyas are styled the Satyāśraya-kula, from the name of the first king of that branch. The titles on their inscriptions are nearly invariably—Samastabhuvanāśraya, Śrī-prithvi-vallabha, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Satyāśraya-kula-tilaka, Chālukyābharana.

Though these details appear very circumstantial, the origin of the Chalukyas is far from clear.1 The name Chalukya, as I have pointed out, bears a suggestive resemblance to Seleukia, and the Pallavas being of Parthian connection, as their name implies, we have a plausible explanation of the inveterate hatred between the two, and their prolonged struggles were thus but a sequel of the contests between Seleucidae and Arsacidae on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates.

The following is a table of the early Chalukyas down to the rise to power of the Rāśtrakūtas. A full account of the Chalukyas down to 1123, including their rise, their eclipse by the Rāśtrakūtas, and their revival, is given in Dg. 1.

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1 They are said to have miraculously sprung from the moisture or water in the hollowed palm (chulaka, chulaka) of Hāriti's hand (see Dg 41); or, according to another account, from the libation to the gods poured from his gublet (chulka, chulka, chaluka) by Hāriti. Dr. Hoernle (JRAS. for 1905, p. 12) says: "Despite the attempted Sanskrit derivation of the genealogists, I would suggest that the name (Chalukya) is not a Sanskrit word at all, but of foreign (Gurjara or Hunie) origin." He adds that it may be from a Turki root, chap, gallop, chapul, a plundering raid, a charge of cavalry (?).—Mr. V. A. Smith (EHIL. 383) states: "There is some reason for believing that the Chalukyas or Solankis were connected with the Chāpas, and so with the foreign Gurjara tribe of which the Chāpas were a branch."
Jayasimha is said to have defeated and destroyed Indra, the son of Krishna, the Rāṣṭrākūṭa or Raṭṭa king. He himself, however, was slain in an encounter with Trilochana Pallava. His queen, then pregnant, fled and took refuge with a Brāhmaṇa named Vishnu Sōmayāji, in whose house she gave birth to Rājasimha. On growing up to man's estate he renewed the contest with the Pallavas, in which he was successful, and married a princess of that race. Pulikēśi was the most powerful of the early kings, and performed the horse sacrifice. Kṛttivarmma subdued the Nalas, of whom we know no more, the Mauryas and the Kadambas. Mangalēśa conquered the island called Rēvati-dvipa, and the Mātangas; also the Kalachurya king Buddha, son of Śaṅkaragaṇa, the spoils taken from whom he gave to the temple of Makuṭēśvara near Bādāmi. He attempted to establish his own son in the succession, but Pulikēśi, the elder son of Kṛttivarmma, obtained the throne. Pulikēśi's younger brother Vishnudevadīhana, surnamed Kubja, on the capture of Vengi from the Pallavas,
there founded the separate line of the Eastern Chālukyas, who remained in power in the Vengi and Rājamahēndri country till the eleventh century, when they were absorbed into the Chōla family.

The earliest Chālukya inscriptions in Mysore are of the time of Pulikēśi II or Satyāśraya, the first of the Western Chālukya line, of about 640. Sh 10 is a fragment, containing only his name. But Gd 48 is on copper plates, recording a grant by him to Brāhmans in the Konikal-vishaya. It begins with the mention of Polikēśi I, surnamed Raṇavikrama, who performed the horse sacrifice. It then passes to Satyāśraya (Pulikēśi II), the conqueror of Harshavarddhana. The grant was made when the king was at the Sangama-tirtha, and on the application of his beloved daughter, called in his or her own language (sva-bhāshayā) Amberā. Sa 79 is of the time of Vikramāditya, about 680. Then we have Sh 154, of about 685, when Vinayāditya Rājāśraya was ruling, and Pogilli-Sendraka-mahārāja was a governor under him over Nāyarkhanda (the Shikārpur tāluq). Dg 66, the Harihara plates, are of 694, the 14th year of Vinayāditya, and so far contain information similar to that in Kl 63, but with fewer details. A grant was made in the Vanavāsi country to a Brāhman while the king was in camp near Harishapura (Harihara). Then comes Sk 278, of about 700, in the reign of Vijayāditya Satyāśraya.

But the most important of all is Kl 63, the Vokkalēri plates, dated in 757. They contain a variety of historical information of the highest value, and their publication by me in 1879 first opened the eyes of scholars to the true significance of the Pallavas, then scarcely known even by name. The plates begin with an account of the Chalukyas, and mention first Polekēśi, who performed the horse sacrifice. His son was Kṛttivarman, who overcame the kings of Vanavāsi (the Kadambas) and others. His son Satyāśraya defeated Harshavarddhana (king of Kanyākubja or Kanōj), the wārlike

1 It is not clear what language is meant.
lord of all the north, and thus acquired the title of Paramēśvara. His son Vikramāditya Satyāśraya subdued the Pāndya Chōla Kērala Kalabhra¹ and other kings, and forced the king of Kānchī (the Pallava), who had bowed to no other, to kiss his feet with his crown. His son Vinayāditya Satyāśraya quelled the power of the three kingdoms of the South—Chōla, Pāndya, and Chera—and of the king of Kānchī, and levied tribute from the rulers of Kavēra, Pārasika, Simhala (Ceylon), and other islands. He also, by churning all the kings of the north, acquired the pāli-dhvaja and all other signs of supreme power. His son Vijayāditya Satyāśraya uprooted the enemies still left in the south, and fought for his father in the north, gaining, besides the pāli-dhvaja, the emblems of the Gangā and Yamunā. He was by some means taken prisoner, but escaped, and thus averted the danger of anarchy in his own country. His son was Vikramāditya Satyāśraya, who resolved to uproot the Pallavas, by nature the enemies of his family. Marching with great speed into the Tundāka-vishaya (Tōnda-mandala), he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pallava king Nandipōtavarmma, who fled, leaving to the conqueror his special trumpet, drum, flag, and other trophies. Vikramāditya then entered Kānchī in triumph, but spared the city, relieved the destitute, and presented heaps of gold to the Rājasimhēśvara and other temples which Narasimhapōtavarmma had formerly erected.² He then burnt up Pāndya Chōla Kērala Kalabhra and other kings, and set up a pillar of victory on the shore of the southern ocean. His son Kirttivarmma Satyāśraya, when only Yuvarāja, obtained permission to again attack the king of Kānchī, and forced him to take refuge in a hill fort, capturing his elephants, rubies and gold, which he delivered to his father. On succeeding to the throne he

¹ The Kalabhras are mentioned (in the Velvikudi plates) as having gained possession of the Pāndya country in about the seventh century. They appear to have been Karnātas (Med. Arch. Rep. 1908).

² A pillar with an old inscription in front of the Rājasimhēśvara temple at Kānchī bears witness to his having visited it. And his queen, Lōkamahādēvi, of the Halhaya family, had a temple built at Patpalkal in commemoration of his having three times defeated the Pallavas.
made a grant to Brāhmans in the Pānungal-vishaya (Hāngal in Dharwar).

But while thus triumphant in the south-east, the Chālukyas were overcome in the north-west by the original enemies whom they had subdued on first entering the Dekhan in the fourth century. These were the Rāshtrakūṭas, who retained the supremacy for 200 years, after which the Chālukyas once more recovered their power.

10. RĀSHTRAṌKŪṬAS OR RAṬṬAS

The Rāshtrakūṭas or Raṭṭas may have existed in the Dekhan from very early times. They were perhaps connected with the Rājput Raṭhōrs, and are supposed to be represented by the modern Reḍdis. Their territory is called Raṭṭavādi, or, in Tamil, Iraṭtapādi, and was a Seven-and-a-half Lakh country. Their capital, at first Mayūrakhaṇḍi (Mōrkhaṇḍ in the Nāsik District), was early in the ninth century established at Mānya-kheṭa (Mālkhēḍ in the Nizām’s Dominions, about ninety miles west by south of Haidarābād). The earliest decided mention of them describes Indra, the son of Krishna, as overcome by the early Chalukya king Jayasimha. Then we have a Gōvinda repulsed by Pulikēśi I. But the connected table of kings is as follows:—

\[1\] The Rāshtrakūṭa family was in all likelihood the main branch of the race of Kshatriyas named Raṭṭus who gave their name to the country of Mahārāṣṭra, and were found in it even in the times of Aśoka the Maurya. The Rāshtrakūṭas were the real native rulers of the country, and were sometimes eclipsed by enterprising princes of foreign origin, such as the Sātavāhanas and the Chalukyas who established themselves in the Dekhan and exercised supreme sovereignty, but were never extirpated (Bhandarkar, *E.H.D. 62*).
These kings very commonly had the title Vallabha, taken from the Chalukyas. In its Prakrit form of Ballaha, which is
often used in their inscriptions in Mysore, without any name, it furnishes the key by which to identify the powerful dynasty called Balharäs by Arab travellers of the tenth century, and described by them as ruling from Mänkír (Mänyakhêta).

Indra II is said to have married a Chalukya princess, but Dantidurga, who left no heir, and Krishna I, his uncle, who therefore came to the throne after him, were successful in overcoming the Chalukyas and establishing the supremacy of the Rāshtrakūtas. The beautiful Kailâsa temple of Elurâ (Ellore) was probably erected by Krishna (see Gb 61).

The earliest Rāshtrakūta inscriptions in Mysore are Cl 33 and 34. They are of the time of Jagattunga Prabhútavarsha Pratâpâvalôka Srivallaha, which titles denote a Gôvinda. And the fact that he is called Akâlavarsa’s son shows that it was Gôvinda II. The Jain Harîvamśa, composed in 783, says that Vallabha, the son of Krishna (Akâlavarsa), was then ruling over the South, and this was the same person. In the above inscriptions he has the Pallava Nolamba king Singapôta’s son and daughters as rulers under him. Singapôta, we know from Cl 8, was contemporary with the Ganga king Sivamâra Saîgotta. The latter, having assisted Gôvinda, was seized and imprisoned by Gôvinda’s younger brother Dhrûva Nirupama, who had ousted his elder brother. The reason of this supersession is said in certain later grants to have been that Gôvinda was addicted to sensual pleasures, and so let the kingdom slip out of his hands. But the Paithan grant of 794 (EI. iii. 104), nearer to his own time, says that he brought in even the hostile Mâlava and other kings to help him, who were joined by the Kânchi, Ganga, and Vengi kings. Nevertheless Dhrûva defeated him, and drove these enemies away on the east and north. He then took possession of the whole kingdom, “leaping over” his elder brother.

The Rāshtrakūta invasion of Mysore at the close of the
eighth century by Dhruva Nirupama profoundly disturbed the even tenor of the Ganga sovereignty, which had been maintained on the whole unimpaired for 600 years. The Gangas, it is expressly said, had never been conquered before. But now they suffered the ignominy of seeing their king (Sivamāra) led away into captivity, and their country placed under the rule of a foreign hostile prince. A motive for this procedure on the part of the Rāshtrakūta king has been suggested above, but resentment at the Ganga having sided with his rival elder brother must have been a primary cause.

We thus come to Hg 93, in which we have Dhārāvarsha Śrivallabha as the supreme ruler, and Kambharasa ruling the Ninety-six Thousand, that is, Gangavādi, under him. This was Dhārāvarsha's eldest son, and the first Rāshtrakūta viceroy of Gangavādi, his claim to the Rāshtrakūta throne having been set aside by his father in favour of a younger son Gōvinda. Kambhaiya appears again in SB 24, with the title Raṇāvalōka. Nl 61 shows him as Īsha-Kambha-Dēva and Raṇāvalōka still in power, but now reconciled to his younger brother, who had assumed the crown of the whole kingdom.

The Manne plates (Nl 61) of 802 give an interesting account of the Rāshtrakūtas from Krishna I to Gōvinda III. Dhōra or Nirupama, besides imprisoning Ganga, hemmed in and levied a tribute of elephants from Pallava, drove Vatsa-Rāja, who had seized the Gauda kingdom, into the impassable desert of Mārwār, and took away from him the state umbrellas which had belonged to Gauḍa. He resolved to appoint his younger son Gōvinda as his successor, on account of his splendid form and superior abilities, thus depriving the elder son of his birthright. But when the father died and Gōvinda claimed the throne, the latter had to contend with a confederacy of twelve kings, headed, it would appear from other records, by Stambha, the Kambha above mentioned, his elder brother who had been superseded. Kambha, however, eventually submitted, and continued to rule the Ganga kingdom under his younger brother. His death may have been the
occasion that led Gōvinda to release the Ganga king from "the burden of his cruel chains and restore him to his own submissive country." But Ganga in his pride having shown a return of hostility, was swiftly seized and again confined. Eventually Gōvinda replaced him on the throne, binding the diadem on his brow with his own hands, in conjunction with the Pallava (or Ganga-Pallava) king Nandīvarma.

Gōvinda's exploits are recounted—his driving away Gurijara, and receiving the submission of Mārasarvva in the Vindhiya mountains. After passing the rainy season at Śrībhavana, he came to the south and encamped on the Tungabhadrā, when Pallava paid up in full the tribute due from him. The site of the camp, as we know from IA. xi. 126, was at the Rāmēśvara tirtha. This is an island in the Tungabhadrā, a few miles north of the junction of the Tungā and Bhadrā in the Shimoga District. Here the king had some sport with boars and confirmed a grant originally made by (the Western Chālukya king) Kirttivarma.

Of the same king's reign are the Kadab plates (Gb 61) of 812. In these the genealogy begins with Kakka, whose son was Inda, whose son was Vairamēgha. This unusual name for Dantidurga seems to be supported by an inscription in North Arcot.1 His paternal uncle Akālavarsha, his successor on the throne, is next mentioned, and the splendid temple he erected (the Kailāsa at Ellore), dedicated after his own name to Kannēśvara. Next follow his sons Prabhūtavarsha and Dhārāvarsha, and the latter's son Prabhūtavarsha, who makes the grant from Mayūrakhanda for a temple at Mānyapura. It is in this inscription that we meet with Chāki Rāja as viceroy (the last) of the Ganga territory.

Rājamalla Satyavākya I, the Ganga king who succeeded Śivamāra II on the throne, made himself independent of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, rescuing from them his country "which they had held too long" (Yd 60). But, as we have seen above, Amōghavarsha attempted to recover it by sending a chief named

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1 ASI, Annual Report 1903-4, see article by V. Venkayya on Irrigation in South India.
Bankēśa to uproot Gangavādi. This project failed, and the Ganga king is described as able even to shake the world. Amōghavarsha also fought against the Ganga king Prithivipati I. The Ganga king Nītimārgga I next signally defeated the Vallabha (or Rāshtrakūṭa) army at Rājārāmaḍu (in the north of the Kolar District). But the Rāshtrakūṭas continued to hold the Banavase province, which they had taken over from the Western Chālukyas. Its boundaries, however, did not extend eastwards beyond the Tungabhadrā.

Amōghavarsha seems now to have adopted a different policy, and gave up his animosity in favour of alliances. For we find that his daughter Chandrobbalabbe was bestowed in marriage on Bûtuga the Ganga Yuvarāja, while another daughter named Šankhā was given to the Ganga-Pallava king Nandivarmmā. We also know from the statements in the Kavirājamārgga that Amōghavarsha Nripatunga, who had a very prolonged reign of more than sixty years, from 815 to 877, came to entertain the highest admiration for the Kannāda people and country, their language and literature. But later on, in 930 (Dg 119), the Rāshtrakūṭas in the reign of Suvarṇa-vārsha (Gōvinda IV) were in possession of a province called the Kadambalige Thousand, which was to the east of the Tungabhadrā and extended down to Holakere (Hk 23). As it was in 920 that we find the Nolambavādi province first mentioned as such (Jl 19), Kadambalige may have been intended as a barrier between it and Banavase. Somewhat later, in the reign of Akālavarsha Kannara III, we find the Rāshtrakūṭas established near Devanhalli (Dv 43) and Māgadi (Ma 75). These parts cannot have been gained by conquest, unless perhaps they were connected with Bankēśa's expedition (see above), or in some way with Kannara's defeat of the Nolamba Pallava king Anniga in 944. For there is no acknowledgment either now or at any time that the Gangas were subordinate to the Rāshtrakūṭas.1 Still less were they

1 The single exception is the Kalbidävi inscription (see above), but the circumstances of Śivamāra's captivity and restoration to the throne sufficiently account for this.
so at this period. On the contrary, they were in intimate alliance, and rendering each other mutual assistance. The Ganga king aided Kannara III in gaining his throne, married his sister Rēvaka or Rēvakanimmadi, and slew the Chōla king who was at war with him,—while, on his part, Kannara helped Būtuga to usurp the Ganga throne from Rāchamalla, and ceded to him the Banavase province, which was in addition to the districts north of it that formed the dowry of his bride. The tracts above in question may therefore have been occupied as points of communication with the cast, for the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominion under Kannara III extended into North Arcot and other parts in the South even to Tanjore.

But the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power was waning to its close, and feeble rulers in rapid succession occupied the throne. The Ganga king Mārasimha strove to prop it up and appears to have crowned Indra, who was his nephew, in the attempt to do so. But Kakka or Kakkala was defeated in 973, and probably slain, by the Western Chālukya king Taila, who married his daughter Jakabbe. Mārasimha died at Bankāpur in 974 at the feet of his Jain guru, and Indra, after vain efforts to recover his throne, took the Jain vow of sallēkkhāna and starved himself to death at Śravāṇa-Belgoḷa in 982 (SB 57), the last of his race. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa rule had already been brought to an end by the Western Chālukyas, and the Gangas before long succumbed to the Chōlas. Thus fell, nearly together, the two principal Jain states of the South.

II. WESTERN CHĀLUKYAS

The Western Chālukyas, after an eclipse of 200 years by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas or Raṭtas, regained their ascendancy, as above stated, in 973. Of Taila, who restored their power, Sk 125 says: “The earth and the crown having fallen into the hands of the Raṭtas, he drove the kings of the Raṭta
kingdom before him, put them down and overwhelmed them, this millstone (gharatta) to the Rattas, and took possession of the crown of the Chālukya kingdom." But Cd 25 of 971, if it can be relied on, represents Taila's father Vikramāditya as already an independent ruler. The inscriptions of the revived Western Chālukyas are mostly confined to the Shimoga District, where they continued to hold the Banavase and Kadambalige provinces. A complete account of the whole line, from its origin down to Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla in 1123, is given in Dg. 1. But the following is the table of the later Western Chālukyas:

1. Tailapa, Nūrmaddi Taila, Ahavamalla, 973-997, 
m. Jakabbe, dr. of the Rāṣṭrakūta king Kakkala

2. Satyāśraya, Irva-bedengga, 997-1009, 
m. Ambikī-Dēvi

3. Vikrama, Vikramāditya, 
Tribhuvanamalla, 1009-1018

4. Jayashmika, 
Jagadēkamalla, 1018-1042

5. Śomēśvara (I), Trailōkyamalla, Ahavamalla, 1042-1068

6. Śomēśvara (II) 
Bhuvamuraṇamalla, 1068-1076

7. Vikramāditya, 
Jayashmika, Vira-Nolamī, 
Tribhuvanamalla, 1076-1126

8. Śomēśvara (III), Sarvajna, Bhūlīkamalla, 1126-1138

9. Jagadēkamalla, Permma, 1138-1150

10. Tailapa, Nūrmaddi Taila, 
Trailōkyamalla, 1150-1182

11. Śomēśvara (IV), Tribhuvanamalla, 1182-1189

Tailapa is described in Sk 125 as eager for war with Chōla and a terror to him. In Hs 50 is an inscription of 997 ascribed to the beginning of the reign of Pampā-Dēvi, daughter of the Chālukya Permmānadi. But there is no further information about her. Possibly she was the daughter of Satyāśraya, said to have been married to the Pallava king
Iriva-Nolambadhiraja. Satyashraya also had a son, Kundamarasa or Kundaka-Raja, who was viceroy and governor of Banavase in 1012 (Sk 287), with the seat of his government at Ballipura or Belgami (Sk 125). He was still in the same position in 1025 (Sa 7). Jayasimha Jagadekamalla, Satyashraya's younger brother, next came to the throne. He caused the lotus king Bhūja to shut up, and was a lion to the elephant Rājendra Chōla. In 1032 he was enjoying sports at Etagiri (Yatagiri in the Nizam’s Dominions). In 1036 he was at Pottalakere (Sk 126), and made a grant to Vādi-Rudraguna or Lakulīśvara-pandita for repairs to the temple of the Pancha Linga at Balligāve, which had been set up by the Pândavas when they came there after performing the Rājasūya sacrifice. This Lakulīśvara has been supposed to be the same as the founder of the Pāṣupata sect, whose career it had appeared began at Mēlpādi in North Arcot in 1020 (SIH, iii. 27). But Lakulīsa, according to Si 28, must have lived at an earlier period than 943. And it is now discovered that the original Lakulīsa (whose name means Śiva with the club) belongs to the first century.\(^1\) The king in 1039 was at Ghaṭṭadakere (Sk 153). In 1042 an agrahāra was established at Andhāsura, the place still so called near Anantapur, but first mentioned in connection with Jīnadatta-Rāya, who belongs to the eighth century. A glowing description is given in Sa 109 bis of the Sāntalige-nāḍ, of which Andhāsura was apparently the capital at that time. Such was its fertility that hunger was unknown there. Meanwhile, in 1042 we have notices (Si 40, 37, 25) of certain Chōla chiefs connected with Irungōla-Dēva ruling under this king in the north of Sira tāluq.

Jayasimha's son Sōmēśvara I next came to the throne, and is styled Trailōkyamalla and Āhavamalla. His governor of Banavase in 1046, among other titles, is called "guardian of Kollipāke, the door of the South." This place, which is frequently referred to as a chief seat of the Lingāyit faith,

\(^1\) See JBrRAS. xxii, 151; JRAS. for 1907, p. 419.
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has unfortunately not been identified. In 1046 Chāmunda-Rāyarasa was governor of Banavase (Sk 160), and in the following year of other provinces as well, as far as the western ocean (Sk 151). He erected the elegant monolith gāṇḍa-bhērunda pillar at Belgāmi, surmounted by the image of Bhērumdēsvara in human form with double eagle's head. He himself is called gāṇḍa-bhērunda, and a bhērunda pole, perhaps the length of the pillar, was established as a measure for land. In Sk 152 is the record of a man who thirteen years afterwards climbed to the top of the pillar and committed suicide by throwing himself down on to a row of spear-headed stakes. The king's son by his Pallava wife appears as governor under him in 1048 and 1054 (Hī 107, 119). An inscription of the latter year (Sk 118) says that the Chōla king valiantly fell in a battle with him, a reference to the death of Rājādhīrāja. Sb 325 says that Åhavamalla slew the warlike Chōla. In 1051 the king visited Bandanikke (Hī 65). In 1058 his son Vikramāditya, who is given all the Ganga titles, was ruling in Balligāva as viceroy over the Banavase, Sāntalige, and Nolambavādi provinces (Sk 83). Two years later he was ruling Gangavādi (Sk 152, Dīg 140). In 1063 and 1065 the king's son Vishnuvarddhana Vijayāditya was ruling the Nolambavādi kingdom (Sū 18, Dīg 111), with the seat of his government at Kāmpili (Mī 29). Meanwhile, in 1062, the Sāntara kings were ruling in Pomburchcha. The king also had a notable master of the robes in Lakshma or Lakshmana, to whom he gave rank next to the royal princes, and entrusted him with the government of the Banavase province (Sk 136). In 1068 the king came to a tragic end by drowning himself, when smitten with deadly fever, in the Tungabhadrā at Kuruvattī (Sk 136).

His eldest son Sōmeśvara II Bhuvanaikamalla succeeded to the throne. He was a Ganga on his mother's side, and had as minister the powerful Ganga prince Udayāditya. The latter was governor of the Gangavādi, Banavase, and Sāntalige provinces from 1070 (Sk 109) to 1075, and had the seat of
his government at Balligāve (Sk 130). The king himself made his chief residence at Bankāpura (Sk 129, 128). He was attacked at the beginning of his reign by the Chōla king Vira Chōla, who was put to flight. He then formed three provinces, extending from coast to coast, to protect himself against Chōla invasions. These were Banavase, Nolamba-Sindavādi, and a territory beginning (it says) at Alampura. This last may be a place to the south of the mouth of the Pālār river. The three were placed respectively in charge of the viceroys Lakshmana, Vikrama-Nolamba, and the Ganga mandalika, perhaps Udayādityya (Sk 136).

His younger brother, the distinguished Vikramādityya or Vikramānka, also a Ganga on the mother's side, next came to the throne. He set aside the Šaka era and established a new one, called the Chālukya Vikrama era, from the beginning of his rule. It is in this reign that we have the inscriptions giving an account of the origin and genealogy of the Gangas (Nr 35, Sh 64, 4, etc.). The king appointed as Yuvarāja his half-brother Jayasingha, the son of a Pallava mother, and called Vira-Nolamba-Pallava (Sk 297). In 1074 the latter has the epithet antra-nīśīnam (Cd 82), which may mean either that his elder brother placed no restraint upon him, or that he had unbounded confidence in him. In 1080 he was on the most affectionate terms with his brother (Sk 297). He was ruling the Banavase and other provinces, all the lands as far as the southern ocean, in 1079 and 1080 (Sk 109, 293, 297). The last two contain a record of his exploits. The king was residing at Etagiri in 1077 and 1078 (Sk 124, 135), and his valour is extolled, especially in victory over Chōla and Lāla. From 1106 the Pāndyas of Uchchangi became the rulers under him of the Nolambavādi and other provinces (Dg 139, Hl 68). Tribhuvanamalla Pāndya is said in Dg 155 of 1124 to be Vira-Nolamba's younger brother. He may have been related by marriage. He had the seat of his government at Beltür (Bettür near Dāvangere), and he claims (Dg 139) to be the emperor's right hand, and
(Dg 3) to have made important conquests for him. The Hoysalas were in power in Gangavadi, but in SB 45 and 59 a spirited account is given of a night attack made on Vikrama's army by the Hoysala general Ganga Raja, at Kannegala, and the Hoysalas soon assumed independence. Sāntalīge was being governed by the Śāntaras, and feudatory Chōla chiefs ruled the territory on the north-east (Cl 43).

Vikrama's son Sōmēśvara III Bhūloka-malla was the next ruler, and was called Sarvajna, or all-wise, by other kings. In 1129 he came on an expedition to the South and encamped at Hulluni-tīrtha. Banavase in his time was ruled by Kadambas (SB 141), while the Pāṇḍyas continued to govern Nolambavadi, and Chōla kings—Irungōla and others—the parts in the north-east.

Jagadēkamalla is said (Cl 277) to have slain the generals of the hostile Chōla and Gurjara kings, and captured their wealth and troops of horse. Of the same reign is Pg 43, in which we have Irungōla's son ruling in the Henjeru city. The latter (in Si 23) makes a grant there in the Nonambēśvara temple, which, it is interesting to note, is called the great ghatika-sthāna of the city. The exact signification of this term is not known, but here it seems to indicate the chief place of assembly for Brähmans. The word occurs in the Tālgunda inscription (Sk 176), as well as in Cn 178 and Sk 197.1

Under Nūrmmađi Taila or Traillīkyamalla, the Chālukya dynasty, which had reached its zenith with Vikramānka, began rapidly to decline. A powerful noble named Bijjala, of the Kalachurya family, had been appointed as general and minister, and the influence thereby obtained he turned against his sovereign and expelled him from the throne. This event occurred in 1156. The Chālukya king retired south and maintained himself in the Banavase country. The religious feuds which raged at Kalyāna in connection with the establish-

1 See Dr. Kielhorn's article on the subject (Göttingen Nachrichten for 1900, Heft 3), and foot-note to p. 8 of Introd. EC, vol. vii,
ment of the new Lingāyit creed kept the hands of the Kalachuryas fully occupied. The Chālukya influence, therefore, was not extinguished, and Sōmēsvara, the last of his race, succeeded to the fallen fortunes of his house in 1162. He seems to have had his residence at Annigeri in Dharwar, and on the extinction of the Kalachuryas in 1183 an attempt was made to recover the Chālukya power, but in vain. What ultimately became of him does not appear. The latest record of him is Hl 46, dated in 1189. The Hoysalas of Dōrasamudra from the south, and the Śenās or Yādavas of Dēvagiri from the north, had now closed in upon the disputed dominions, and the great and powerful Chālukya name disappears from history as that of a dominant race. But certain descendants of the line appear to have ruled in some parts of the Konkan till the middle of the thirteenth century.

12. KALACHURYAS

The Kalachuryas or Kalabhuryas were one of the lines of kings subdued by the Chalukyas on their first arrival in the south. They were apparently connected with the Haihayas in descent. The founder of the line was named Krishna, said to have been born of a Brāhmani girl by Śiva. In the guise of a barber, he slew in Kālanjara an evil spirit of a king who was a cannibal, and took possession of the Nine-lakh country of Dāhalā (Chēdi or Bandelkhand). A Chēdi or Kalachuri era, dating from A.D. 248, is used in their inscriptions in the north, and is evidence of the antiquity of the family. Their inscriptions in Mysore, some seventy in number, are principally confined to Belgāmi in Shikarpur tāluq, Harihār in Dāvangere tāluq, and some places in Sorab tāluq. Among their titles are: Lord of the city of Kālanjara (in Bandelkhand), having the flag of a golden bull, Śanivārasiddhi, Giridurgamalla. ¹ ²

¹ As determined by Dr. Kleinhorn (EL, ix. 129).
² The last two were adopted by Vira Ballāla of the Hoysala line.
The genealogy of the family is given as follows in Dg 42. After many kings had ruled in succession to Krishna, the founder, there arose the celebrated Kannama-Dēva. He had two sons, Bijjala and Rāja, of whom the former came to the throne. On the other hand, Rāja had four sons—Ammugi, Šankhavarmma, Kannara, and Jōgama. The first and last of these occupied the throne in succession. Then followed Jōgama’s son Pemmādi, whose son was Bijjala-Dēva. He made the whole earth his own, even as Agastya swallowed up the ocean. Another account (Sk 236) says the Kalachurya line gave light to the world through Sōma; through Pemma it became spotless; through Gorvappa it was distinguished for enjoyment; through Vajra it acquired might of arm; king Yōga gave it stability; and through king Bijjala it gained power.

Bijjala was a Jain by religion. Though he had usurped the throne, he did not assume the royal titles till six years afterwards, in 1162. A minister named Rēcha claims (Sk 197) to have obtained the empire for him and his successors. He then marched to the south, whither the Chālukya prince had retired, and proclaimed himself supreme. During his reign Basava, the son of an Ārādhya, came to settle in Kalyāna, where he became the son-in-law of the chief minister. He had a very beautiful sister named Padmāvatī, whom Bijjala, having seen, became enamoured of and married. Basava was thus in course of time appointed chief minister and general. The Rāja gave himself up to the charms of his beautiful bride and left all power in the hands of Basava, who employed the opportunity thus afforded him to strengthen his own influence, displacing the old officers of State and putting in adherents of his own, while at the same time he sedulously cultivated the favour of the king. By these means, and the promulgation of the new Lingāyit faith, he increased rapidly in power. At length Bijjala’s fears were aroused, and he made an attempt to seize Basava; but the latter escaped, and afterwards dispersed the party sent in
pursuit. His adherents flocked to him, and Bijjala, advancing in person to quell the insurrection, was defeated and compelled to reinstate the minister in all his dignities. Basava not only resumed his former power and authority, but formed a plot against the life of the king, probably in the hope of becoming supreme in the State as regent during the minority of his nephew, the son of Bijjala and Padmāvati. Accounts differ as to the mode in which the king was killed. According to the Jain version, he was poisoned on the banks of the Bhima when returning from a successful expedition against the Silāhāra chief of Kolhāpur; while the Lingāyits state that he was assassinated by three of Basava’s followers.

Rāyamurārī Sōvi, the son of Bijjala, resolved to avenge his father’s death, and Basava fled to Ulive or Vrishabhapura on the Malabar coast. Thither the king pursued him and laid siege to the place. It was reduced to extremities, and Basava in despair threw himself into a well and was drowned. But according to the Lingāyits he disappeared into the linga at Sangameśvara, at the junction of the Malprabhā and Krishnā.

The remaining three kings of this line were brothers of Sōvi, and during this period the last Chālukya regained a certain portion of his kingdom. But the territories of both towards the south were absorbed into the dominions of the Hoysalas, who had by this time risen to power in Mysore.

The following is a table of this short-lived but eventful Kalachurya dynasty:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Reigns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Bijjala, Bijjana, Nissankamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, 1156-1167</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Rāyamurārī Sōvi, Śūnēśvara, Bhuvanikamalla, 1167-1170</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Sankama, Nissankamalla, 1176-1181</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Āhayamalla, Apratimalla, 1181-1183</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Śinghama, 1183</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first appearance of Bijjala in our inscriptions is in 1156 (Sk 104, 108). In these, which acknowledge the

1 The name also appears in the form Kalatsurya (Śb 131, 267).
Chālukya supremacy, Bijjala is styled a maha-mandalēśvara, but in the first he is significantly said to be ruling all the countries. From 1158, described as his 2nd year (Sb 255), he is entitled bhujabala-chakravartti⁴ or mighty emperor, and invested with a number of epithets (Sk 18). In the next year, 1159, the dominion appears as his (own) victorious kingdom (Sk 123). On the other hand, Sb 328 of the same year begins with a genealogy of the Chālukyas down to Nūrmāṇḍi Taila, and merely adds "at that time" was Bijjala king (kshoniṇīpāla). Sk 102 of 1162 relates how he came to subdue the southern region and encamped at Balligāve. The next year he is said (Sk 242) to have extended his territory to the shore of the ocean, while Sk 123 says he subdued from the ocean in the south to the Chālukya capital in the north. In 1164 and 1165 raids by the Hoysalas are mentioned (Dg 42, Sb 372). In 1168 Bijjala has all the Chālukya supreme titles (Sk 92). Sk 197 says that the king of Simhala carried his tray, the Nepāla king was his perfumer, Kērala was his betel-bearer, Gurjjara was his artificer, Turushka was his groom, Lāla was his valet, Pāṇḍya was his crutch, and Kalinga the attendant on his elephant.²

He was succeeded by his son Sōmeśvara or Rāyamurāri Sōvi-Dēva, who is said (Sb 389) to have exacted tribute from Lāla, Chōla, and Gurjjara. Kadamba kings had for some time at this period been governors of the Banavase province, and of interest is the statement in Sb 345 of 1171 that Sōvi-Dēva, the Kadamba governor in that year, had put the Changālva king³ into chains, as he had vowed. Sb 139 of 1173 shows how the despatch of a military force was needed to collect the fixed land rent.

Sankama-Dēva, a younger brother, next came to the

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¹ This title was also taken by the Hoysalas.
² Certain inscriptions (HI 50, Sk 197, 119) introduce Bijjala's younger brother Mālūgi-Dēva and his son Kali-Dēva or Kandara, and a Mālūgi-Dēva, younger brother (probably cousin) of Rāyamurāri Sōvi-Dēva, as if they had sat on the throne. They may perhaps have been associated in the government.
³ For the Changālva kings, see section under that head below.
CHÓLAS

throne. Of him it is said (Sk 96) that twice five heralds were continually heard proclaiming in his court how Gaula had sent (as tribute) elephants; Turushka, horses; the Simhala king, pearls; Chōla, white cloths; Magadha, musk; the Malaya king, sandal; and the Lāla king, young girls. In this year, 1179, Sankama paid a visit to Balligrāme, accompanied by the chief officers of his court, and being greatly impressed with the munificence and charities of the Kēdārēsvara temple, and with the erudition of its high priest, the rāja-guru Vāmasakti, made a grant for it.

Āhavamalla, another brother, succeeded, but may have been associated in the government with Sankama for some time before. Sk 119 says he was a lion to the elephant Gaula, a net for the shoal of fish the Chōlika army, a south wind to the rain-cloud the Āndhra king, and a continual thunderbolt to the royal swan the Mālava king. The latest date we have for him, 1183, is described as his 4th year or his 8th year (Sk 245, 159). With him the Kalachuryas came to an end, though there is no record of how this happened. But a chief named Brahma or Bomma is credited (IA. ii. 299) with destroying the Kalachuryas and restoring the Chālukyas. He was eventually defeated by the Hoysala king Ballāla.

13. CHÓLAS

While, after the overthrow of the Rāshtrakūtas in 973, the Western Chālukyas and the Kalachuryas in succession dominated the north-west of the Mysore country for 210 years to 1183,—after the overthrow of the Gangas by 1004,1 the Chōlas dominated the south and east of the country for 112 years to 1116. The Chōlas2 were one of the oldest royal lines known in the south of India, being mentioned in

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1 The exact date of the event is not known, but the earliest mention I have met with of the conquest of Gangaśādi is in the 19th year of Rājarāja (Mā 123).

2 The name as written in Tamil is Śōla or Śōja; in Kannada it is Chōla; and in Telugu appears as Chōla (for the Eastern Chālukya kings).
the edicts of Asoka in the third century B.C. They were Tamil, and their original capital was at Oreiyur (now known as Warriore), near Trichinopoly. But the later capital, which is the one principally identified with them, was Tanjore.

Of their early history little or nothing has been recovered, but a few details for the first and second centuries appear in a recent publication.\(^1\) It is not till the tenth century that anything definite is known about them, and even then their practice of dating inscriptions only in the regnal year of the king afforded no basis for framing the chronology of the line; while the names adopted by many of the kings were themselves misleading, being mere royal titles. The first actual date which gave a clue was in a Ganga inscription of 950 in Mysore (Md 41). This contained the statement that the Ganga king Būtuga, who was aiding the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kannara or Krishna III in his war against the Chōlas, slew the Chōla king Rājāditya at Takkolam (near Arkanam), thus bringing the war to a close. Chōla inscriptions dated in the Śaka era were also found in other parts of Mysore, and eventually in the Madras country too. A chronology of the Chōlas from the tenth century, when they first came into prominence, has thus been constructed, the calculations being made by Dr. Kielhorn (see ET. viii. App. ii. 21), and it would seem that contact with the Gangas and other powers to the north first led them to adopt the Śaka era in dating their inscriptions.\(^2\) After the twelfth century the Chōlas ceased to be formidable.

The following is a table of the Chōla kings thus deduced. They had the titles Parakēsarivarman and Rājakēsarivarman alternately, beginning with the first:—

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\(^1\) See note 2, p. 19 above.

\(^2\) Unlike those of other royal lines, the Chōla inscriptions, instead of being on separate slabs of stone set up at the site of a grant, are mostly inscribed on the basement and outer walls of temples, in long single lines that go right round the building. The earlier ones in Mysore are generally in Kannada, but the majority are in Tamil, and there are even some in the Tamil language but in Kannada characters.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Reign</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Virapallava</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Athiyar I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tambi II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rajendravarman II</td>
<td>1018</td>
<td>Married to Muvalli-Chola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Govardhanaraiya II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Muvalli-Chola</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tiranakka II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Athiyar II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Mahindrakka II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Rajendravarman I</td>
<td>1085</td>
<td>Married to Kuchchh-Chola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Rajakon-Kon-Chola I</td>
<td>1085</td>
<td>Married to Muvalli-Chola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Rajendra-Chola II</td>
<td>1085</td>
<td>Married to Viramahadevi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Rajendra-Chola I</td>
<td>1085</td>
<td>Married to Viramahadevi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Rajendra-Chola II</td>
<td>1140</td>
<td>Married to Kumbakonam-Chola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Rajendra-Chola II</td>
<td>1140</td>
<td>Married to Kumbakonam-Chola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Adhvastra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Rajendra-Chola III</td>
<td>1140</td>
<td>Married to Amalavarmathi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Vikrama-Chola</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Kalvitunga-Chola I</td>
<td>1143</td>
<td>Married to Muvalli-Chola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Kalvitunga-Chola II</td>
<td>1146</td>
<td>Married to Muvalli-Chola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Rajaharaja I</td>
<td>1146</td>
<td>Married to Muvalli-Chola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Kalvitunga-Chola III</td>
<td>1178</td>
<td>Married to Amalavarmathi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Rajendra-Chola III</td>
<td>1216</td>
<td>Married to Amalavarmathi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Rajendra-Chola IV</td>
<td>1226-1267</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The first event which brought the Cholas into contact with Mysore was in 921. At that time they had uprooted the Bānas, and the Chōla king Parāntaka conferred the Bāna sovereignty on the Ganga prince Prithivipati, giving him the name Hastimalla (SII. II. 387). The next event was the death of the Chōla king Rājāditya in 949 by the hand of the Ganga king Būtuga. This, according to Māl 41, may have been effected by an act of treachery, but the large Leyden plates give a different version (ASI. IV. 207). The occasion was war between the Chōlas and the Rāṣṭrakūtas, in which Krishna or Kannara III, the Rāṣṭrakūta king, was aided by Būtuga, who was his brother-in-law. The scene of the tragedy was at Takkolam (near Arkonam), and it brought the war to an abrupt termination. Krishna-Rāja, thus victorious, assumes in Tamil inscriptions the title Kachchiyun-Tanjaiyun-kouda (capturer of Kānci and Tanjore), and seems to have established his power for a time over the Chōla territories. He also rewarded Būtuga by giving him the Banavase Twelve-Thousand province, the north-west of Mysore, which, added to the provinces north of it that formed the dowry of his bride, carried the Ganga territories once more far up towards the Krishna river.

But the tide turned in the time of Rājarāja. The Chōlas had, by that time carried their arms up to Kalinga on the east coast, and made Vengi, the Eastern Chālukya territory, an appanage of the Chōla empire, Rājarāja's daughter being married to the Eastern Chālukya king Vimalāditya. The wave of conquest was then directed to the west, against the Western Chālukyas, in the course of which the Ganga territory in Mysore was invaded. We accordingly find Rājarāja established near Hoskōte in 997 (Ht 111). But by 1004 his son Rājendra-Chōla, who was in command of the Chōla army, succeeded in capturing Talakād, the Ganga capital, and brought the Ganga power to an end. The conquest of the south and east of Mysore, in an arc extending from Arkalgūḍ in the west, through Seringapatam, north by Nelamangala to Nidugal, was speedily effected, and Rājendra-Chōla gained
the title Gangaikonda-Chōla. The Changāḷivas, whose kingdom was in the Hunsūr tāluq and Coorg, were at the same time brought under Chōla subjection, and the Chōla general Panchava-mahārāya, who had overcome the Changāḷivas in the battle of Panasoge, was rewarded by Rājarāja with the Arkalgūḍ and Yēlūsāvira country, together with the title Kshattriya-sikhāmani Kongāḷva. In the extreme north-east, connected with Niḷugal, was Henjeru (now Hēmāvatī, on the northern border of Sira tāluq), a subordinate Chōla kingdom. These were the outposts of the new conquest.

There is little doubt that the Chōlas contemplated the entire subjugation of Mysore. But in this they were foiled to the westward by the Hoysalas, who were now rising to power. Thus, Rājarāja’s general Apramēya is said, in 1006, to have encountered Poysala’s minister Nāgaṇṇa (TN 44), and to have won a battle over other Hoysala leaders at Kalavūr (Kaleyūr near Mālingi, opposite to Talakāḍ, on the other side of the river). Then, Panchava-mahārāya, another of Rājarāja’s leaders, who had distinguished himself in the battle of Panasoge (Cg 46), and been invested with the title of Kongāḷva, conducted victorious expeditions along the west coast (Sr 140). But in Mysore the Kongāḷvas were opposed by the Hoysala king Nṛipa-Kāma in 1022 and 1026 (Mj 43, Ag 46), and made no way in extending the Chōla conquests in this country.

The territory actually acquired by the Chōlas in Mysore was parcelled into provinces, which, according to their usual policy, were named after Chōla kings. The south of Ganga-
vāḍī, or that part of Mysore District, thus received the name Mudikondachōla-maṇḍala; the north of Bangalore District was the Vikramachōla-maṇḍala; Kolār District was the Nikarili-
chōla-maṇḍala. The sub-divisions of these large provinces were termed valanāḍ. Thus, the southern portion of the first above named was the Gangaikondachōla-valanāḍ, while that of the third was the Jayangondachōla-valanāḍ. Towns were treated in the same way, so that Talakāḍ became Rājarājapurā;
Manalūr (Malūrpaṭṇa, near Channapaṭṇa) became Nikarillichōlalapura; Kuningil (Kunigal) became Rājēndrachōlalapura. But Kolār retained its original name of Kuvalīlā.

The conquests of Rājarāja's reign, as detailed in various inscriptions, are thus described in Cp 128, of his 23rd year. He destroyed the ships at the Kāndalūr Śālāi (on the west coast), and with his victorious army conquered Vengai-nāḍ (the Eastern Chālukya territory on the east coast, between the Krishnā and Gōdāvari rivers), Gangapāḍī (the Ganga territory in the south and east of Mysore), Nulambapāḍī (the Nolamba Pallava territory in the north of Mysore), Tadigaivalī (the west of Bangalore District), Kūḍa-malaināḍ (the Coorg hill country), Kollam (Quilon), Kalingam (the Kalinga Ganga territory on the east coast, up to Orissa), Ilā-maṇḍalam (Ceylon), the Iraṭṭapāḍī Seven-and-a-half Lakh country (the Rāṭṭa or Rāshṭrakūṭa territory in the Dekhan), twelve thousand ancient islands of the sea (perhaps the Laccadives and Maldives), and deprived the Śēliyar (or Pāṇḍyas) of their glory at the very time when it was at the highest. In Mysore both he and his son specially patronised the temple of Pidāriyār in Kolār, now known as the Kolāramma, and repeatedly endowed it, while Rājēndra-Chōlā had the brick parts rebuilt in stone (KI 109).

Many of these conquests were really effected by Rājarāja's son Rājēndra-Chōlā, who was in command of his father's army. But the conquests made by Rājēndra-Chōlā and the trophies acquired by him in his own reign are thus described (among other records) in Nj 134 of 1021, his 9th year. They were—

Yedatore-nāḍ (the north of Mysore District); Vanavāṣi (Banavāṣi, on the north-west frontier of the Mysore country); Kollipāke (a celebrated Saiva place, not identified); Manne (in Nelamangala tāluq, the Ganga royal residence); the crown of the king of Ilā (Ceylon), and the more beautiful crown of its queen; also the crown of Sundara and the necklace of Indra which the king of the South (Pāṇḍya) had given up to the kings of Ilā; the whole of Ilā-maṇḍala (Ceylon); the famous crown and the ruby necklace which were heirlooms worn by
the Chēralas or Kēralas (kings of Malabar); many ancient islands; the superb crown of pure gold which Paraśurāma, when he uprooted the race of kings twenty-one times, had deposited in the inaccessible Chandimat island. He moreover defeated Jayasinga (the Western Chālukya king), who turned his back at Muṣangi or Muyangi and fled. To these achievements are added in Kl 44 of 1023, his 12th year,—the Iraṭtapāḍī Seven-and-a-half Lakh country (the Raṭṭa territory in the Dekhan); great mountains filled with the nine treasures; Śakkaragotām (Chakrakoṭṭa in Central India); Maduramanḍala (the Pāṇḍya territory of Madura); Nāmanigakkōnai, Panjappalli, and other places whose names are gone. But the information is supplied in Cp 82 of 1034, his 23rd year, or Nl 7 of 1038, his 27th. The above list of conquests is there extended as follows. He took Maṣuni-dēsam; defeated Indiraviratan of the Lunar race in a great battle at Ādinagararavai, capturing his relations and family treasures; Oṭṭa-viṣhaiyam (Orissa); Kōsalai-nāḍ (in the Central Provinces); Taṇḍabutti (Dāndabhukti), after destroying Danmapāla (its king Dharmapāla) in a fierce battle; Dakkana-Lāḍam (southern Lāṭa), after a vigorous attack on Īranaśūram; Vangāla-dēsam (Bengal) from which Gōvindaśandan (Gōvindachandra), dismounting from his horse, fled; terrified Mayipāla of Sangottal in battle, capturing his elephants, women and treasures; and took Uṭṭira-Lāḍam (northern Lāṭa), and even Gangai (the Ganges). He also sent many ships over the billowy ocean and captured Śaṅgirāma-Viṣaiyöttungapanman (Changirāma-Vijayöttungavarma), the king of Kiḍāram (near Prome in Burma), seizing his fine elephants and the jewelled archway of his fort and palace gates; gained Śrivijaiyam, Pānmai, Malayūr, Maṇirudingam, Ilangaśōbam, Mā-Pappālam (in the Andaman islands), Mevili pangam, Valarppandār, Kulaittakolam, Mādama lingam, Illamurī-dēsam, Mā-Nakkavāram (the Nicobar islands), and Kiḍāram (in Burma). A good many of these names of persons and places are not identified, but the enumeration suffices to show the wide range of Rājendra-Chōla's victorious
expeditions. His son boasts (NL 25) that his father had conquered from Gangai (the Ganga territory) in the north to Ilangai (Ceylon) in the south, and from Mahōdai (Cochin) in the west to Kādāram (Burma) in the east. Few of the parts, however, thus attacked were retained. The invasions were evidently mere raids on a large scale, whose object was booty, especially crowns, crown jewels, and jewelled trophies of all kinds.

Rājādhirāja-Dēva had been associated with his father in the government for more than a quarter of a century, or (as NL 25 and CB 21 say) had planted his own umbrella under the white umbrella of his father, and had shared in his career of conquest. He next succeeded to the throne, and the events of his reign are recounted in Dv 75. He bestowed crowns and the kingdoms subdued in the last two reigns on his uncles, brothers and sons. His treatment of captive kings was blood-thirsty and cruel, while he was as eager as his father to amass crowns and jewels. He beheaded the Pāṇḍya king Mānabarana on the field of battle, taking his golden crown set with large gems; had the Kērala king trampled to death by his elephant; sent Sundara-Pāṇdiyan flying, and seized his state umbrella, his big fans made from the tail of the yāk, and his throne. He slew the king of Vēnād, destroyed the three kings of Irāmakum, and wrecked the ships of Villavan (the Chēra king) at Kāndalūr Sālai. He routed the army of Āhavamalla (the Western Chāluksya king) and forced him to retreat, burnt Kollipākkai, and openly seized the jewelled crown of Vikramabāhu, the king of Ilangai (Lanka). When Vira-Sālamēgan invaded the country from Īlam (Ceylon), he drove him off, took his sister and wife prisoners, and cut off the nose of his mother. And on his returning to revenge them, he slew him on the battlefield, and seized his golden crown set with large jewels. He also took the crown of Śrivallavan Madanaraṇa, a king of Īlam descended from Kannara (? Rāṣṭrakūṭa

1 This might perhaps be taken to mean the Ganges, but Rājendra-Chōla is commonly described as the conqueror of Gangai and the East country, in which the former is unquestionably the Ganga territory, from the conquest of which he had the title Gangaikōnda-Chōla.
king); and leading the army a second time to the north, chased away Gaṇḍan, Dinakara-Nāranan, Ganavati and Madiśūdanan, and burnt the palace of the Śālikkiyar (Chālukyas) at Kampili (on the Tungabhadrā, north of Bellary). Dv 76 adds a few more details. The tribute paid by the Villavar (Chēras), Minavar (Pāṇḍyas), Śālikkiyar (Chālukyaś), Vallavar (Pallavas), Kösalar, Vanganar, Konganar, Śintukar, Ayyanar, Śingalar (Singalese), Pangalar, and Āntarar (Āndhras), together with the revenue he obtained from one-sixth share of the produce of the land, he distributed among the Brāhmans, and performing the horse-sacrifice, seated himself on the throne with the name Jayangonda-Chōla. But he died in fighting against the Chālukya king Āhavenalla in the battle of Koppam (perhaps Kopana in the south-west of the Nizam’s Dominions)\(^1\) in 1052.

An inscription at Annigere in Dharwar\(^2\) says that the wicked Chōla (Rājādhirāja), who had abandoned the religious observances of his family, penetrated into the Belvola country and burnt the Jain temples erected there by (the Ganga king) Ganga-Permāḍi, but that he eventually yielded his head to (the Chālukya king) Sōmēśvara (Ahavamalla) in battle and forfeited his life. On the other hand, a Chālukya inscription in Mysore (Sk 118) says the Chōrika (or Chōla king) valiantly died on the battlefield.

Rājendra-Dēva, his younger brother, backed by the elder brother’s army, had invaded the Iraṭtapāḍi Seven-and-a-half Lakh country and erected a pillar of victory at Kollāpuram (Mb 107, Kl 107). It was in revenge for this that Āhavamalla attacked the Chōlas at Koppam. Rājendra-Dēva was present at the battle, and when his brother died took command of the army and secured the throne. Notwithstanding that his brother the king had fallen, and that he himself was severely wounded and had lost many of his principal leaders, he contrived to slay the Chālukya king’s younger brother Jayasinga, Pulakēsi, Daśavarmma, Nāmi-Nulamba, and other princes

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\(^1\) See note, p. 16, Introd. to vol. ix.  
\(^2\) Ḡārāgaranudol Chōlikau amni sattan.  
\(^3\) KD. 444.
without number, so that Āhavamalla fled in terror (Bn 108). Rājendra followed the example of his brother in bestowing royal titles on his uncle, his brothers, his sons and grandsons (Bn 108).

Of the time of Rājamahendra, probably his son, perhaps the one to whom he gave the title Uttama-Chōla, there is only one inscription (Ht 36), of his 2nd year. It contains no historical information, and the reign was a very short one.

We then come to Virarājendra, of whom a long account is given in Cp 85, of his 4th year. He was a younger brother of Rājendra-Dēva. He routed the army which had been sent against him into Vengai-nāḍ (the Eastern Chālukya territory); beheaded the great chief Śāmundrajan and cut off the nose of the beautiful Nāgalai; when Vikkalan and Singalan (the Western Chālukyas Vikrama and Jayasimha) engaged him in battle at Kūdal-Sangamam (the junction of the Tungabhadrā and Krishnā), hoping to wipe out the disgrace of their former defeat, he gained the victory. He overcame Śingan of Kōsalai, Kētaraiyan, Māraiyan, Irasayan, and others; and when Maduvanan fled, along with the other chiefs who had dismounted from their elephants, Āhavamalla also fled, leaving his wives, treasure, elephants, and other valuable spoils to the victor. He beheaded on the battlefield the king of Pottappi, Vāran, Kēralan, and Jananāta's brother; had the king of the South (Pāndya), Śripallava's son Siruvan, and Virakēsari trampled to death by elephants, seizing all their crowns and jewelled decorations; drove the family of the Śengiraiyas and Śeralas into the western ocean; subdued the Iraṭtas and captured their elephants; in a fresh battle cut off the heads of the chiefs Val... Vanjipayyan, Pīramadēva, Bandāra-Toraiyan, Śattiyannan, Pattiyannan, Vimanayan, and Vangāran; also of the Ganga, Nulamba, Kāḍava, and Vāidumba kings; and returned to his great city Gangai (perhaps Gangaikondasōlapuram), near the great river.

The next inscriptions are those of Rājendra-Chōla II, Eastern Chālukya king on his father's side, but through his
mother a grandson of the Chōla king Rājendra-Chōla, and by his wife a son-in-law of Rājendra-Dēva, who was also his uncle. He is better known as Kulottunga-Chōla, the title he afterwards assumed in his 7th year. He is the Rājiga-Chōla whose designs are said to have been frustrated by the Chālukya prince Vikramāditya and the Pāṇḍyas of Uchchāngi. Kl 108 of his 2nd year, and Cp 77 of his 17th, say that when still Yuvarāja he wedded the goddess of Victory by his heroic deeds at Chakrakoṭta, where he took tribute from the king of Dhārā, and captured troops of elephants at Vayirāgaram. He also routed the army of the kings of Kuntala (the Western Chālukyas), and put on the garland of victory over the North, while he inherited at the same time the crown of the South and of the country adorned with the Ponni (or Kāvēri). His white umbrella shone like moonlight all over the earth, and his tiger banner fluttered on mount Mēru. Many rows of elephants stood before him, sent as tribute by kings of remote islands, while outside his splendid capital lay the head of the runaway Pāṇḍya king, pecked by kites. He inflicted a total defeat on Vikkalān (the Chālukya), forcing him to retire in disorder to the west, his retreat being marked by dying elephants all the way from Nangili (in the east of Mulbāgal tālūq) to Manalūr and the Tungabhadrā. By this victory the Chōla acquired the two countries Ganga-māndalam and Śinganam, a statement which, together with the line of the Chālukya retreat, indicates that the Chōlas had temporarily lost the Ganga country. He then resolved to take the Pāṇḍi-māndalam, and when his armies marched forth for this purpose, it was as if the northern ocean was about to overflow the southern ocean. The five Panjavas (Pāṇḍyas) fled in terror to the forests. These he destroyed, planted pillars of victory in all directions, took possession of the pearl fisheries, the Podiyil mountain, where the three forms of Tamil (prose, poetry, and the drama) flourished, the central Śayyam (the Sahya mountains) where elephants are captured, the (river) Kannī and Gangai. He established colonies in all parts of the
conquered country as far as Kottāru. He then seated himself on the throne solely for the receipt of tribute. Later inscriptions, down to Kn 12 of his 49th year, say that he caused the wheel of his authority to roll over all regions, so that the Mīnavar (Pāṇḍyas) lost their position, the Villavar (Chēras) became disconcerted, and the other kings retreated in disguise.

By 1116, near the close of his reign, Talakād, the old Ganga capital, had been retaken by the Hoysalas, and Chōla dominion in the Mysore country brought to an end. This important capture was effected by Ganga-Rāja, a general of the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana, and probably a descendant of the old Ganga Rājas, being (as SB 45 says) a hundred times more fortunate than that former Rāja of the Gangas (under whom Talakād and the kingdom were lost). Farther point is given to the event by his original name Rājendra-Chōla being used for the Chōla king in Bl 58. A spirited account is contained in SB 90 and MI 31 of how Ganga-Rāja summoned the fort to surrender, and how the Chōla governor Adiyama returned a defiant answer, saying, Fight and take it (if you can). This Ganga-Rāja did, driving out the Chōla chiefs who were present, and followed up his success by bringing under one umbrella all the districts which had become Chōla nāḍs. Putting to flight the Tigulas (the Tamil people) of Gangavāḍi, he caused Vira-Ganga (the Hoysala king) to stand erect (or assert his independence).

Some relics of Chōla dominion lingered on in the north-east of the Kolar District, where we have inscriptions of Vikrama-Chōla down to his 12th year (Ct 70). They are chiefly in the Chintāmani and Śrīnivāspur tāluqs. In Ct 160 of his 5th year, he is credited with the destruction of Kalinga and the conquest of Kadalmalai.

At a still later period Kōnerinmaikōndān made some

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1 The date is determined by Yd 6, the first to give Vishnuvardhana the title Talakādu-gopu, dated Saka 1038 (expired), Durmukhi, and Ch 83, which describes him as in the same year ruling in Talakādu and Kōlāla over the whole of Gangavāḍi as far as Kōngu. Moreover, a village which Ganga-Rāja received as a reward for his exploit he made over to a Jain priest in 1117 (MI 31).
arrangements connected with the Marudūr (Maddūr) agrahāra, through his agent there (Md 3, 7). But the Chōla authority in Mysore had long ceased, and the tables were now turned, for the Hoysalas became protectors of the Chōlas. One of the titles of Nārasimha II, the Hoysala king who came to the throne in 1220, was Chōla-rājya-pratishthāchārya (setter up of the Chōla kingdom). This was justified by the aid given to the Chōla king Rājarāja III, who in 1232 had been taken captive by the Kāda (Pallava) king Perunjinga at Śendamangalam in South Arcot. Nārasimha, on hearing of it, sent an army and set him free (EI. vii. 160; Gb 45). The next Hoysala king, Sōmēśvara, had also by 1237 entered into the Chōla country, defeated Pāṇḍya, and restored Chōla to his hereditary kingdom (Md 122). According to Ak 123 this was a Rājendra-Chōla. But two years later he had himself taken possession of the Chōla country and was ruling from there (TN 103), his residence being at Kannanur (Nj 36) or Vīkrāmapura (to the north of Śrīrangam in Trichinopoly), which, it is said (Bn 6), he had created for his pleasure in the Chōla-mandala conquered by the might of his own arm, and there, with an interval in 1252, he was till 1254. Kp 9 of 1257 describes him as the talisman (rakṣāmani) or protector of Chōla.

14. POYSALAS OR HOYSALAS

On the subversion of the Gangas by the Chōlas in 1004, the Poysalas or Hoysalas rose to power in the west of Mysore, and eventually, in 1116, expelled the Chōlas and became rulers of the whole country, which they held till the middle of the fourteenth century. They were of indigenous origin, and Sosevūr or Sosayūr—the Śāsakapura of Sanskrit writers—named as their birthplace, has been identified with Angadi in the Western Ghats, in Mudgere tāluq (see Mg 9, 15, 16, 18). They claim to be Yādavas and of the Lunar race, and bear the
title Lord of Dvārāvatī-pura (which represents both Dvāraka in Kathiāwār, the reputed capital of Krishna, the hero of the Yādavas, and their own capital Dōrasamudra). They were Jains, and the progenitor of the family was Sala. On a certain occasion when he went to worship at the temple of his family goddess Vāsantikā-dēvi at Sosevūr (still represented by that of Vasantamma) and was receiving instruction from the yati there, a tiger bounded out of the forest, glaring with rage. The yati\(^1\) hastily snatched up his rod\(^2\) and handed it to the chief, saying poy Sala (strike, Sala!). Whereupon Sala hit at and killed the tiger, finishing it off perhaps with his dagger (see Bl 171). Moreover, from the rescued yati’s exclamation, he assumed the name Poysala, of which Hoysala is the more modern form.\(^3\) This story is repeated in all the accounts of the origin of the dynasty, and their crest on temples exhibits a free standing group of Sala stabbing the tiger (see frontispiece, vol. v.), while the seal of copper-plate grants shows a dead tiger and the rod (as in Bu 6).

Of the time of Sala no records have been found, but the name Poysala occurs in an inscription of 1006 at Kaliyūr, on the opposite side of the river to Talakād (TN 44). From that time onwards Hoysala inscriptions become more and more frequent until they mount up to bewildering numbers, down to the establishment in 1336 of the Vijayanagar empire, the founders of which were probably connected with the Hoysalas. The Hoysala inscriptions are found from Tanjore in the south to Sholapur in the north, and from Coorg in the west to the east coast in South Arcot. They are mostly on prepared slabs of black hornblende, and are remarkable for their beautiful and artistic execution, the whole being so skilfully engrossed that,

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\(^1\) According to Sb 28 his name was Sudatta, and Nj 39, 38 state that he had been brought by the king from some other place and established there. Nr 46 calls him Vardhamāna-munindra.

\(^2\) Though described as a cane (śettra) and in other ways (see vol. v. Introd. 10), it was no doubt really the usual stout rod of an ascetic, made of the solid or male bamboo.

\(^3\) The name also appears as Poysana and Hoysana. In Tamil it is written as Poyinchala or Pochala.
notwithstanding ornamental flourishes and pictorial initials, no space is left for the insertion of a single additional letter.

The Hoysalas at first acknowledged the supremacy of the Western Chālukyas, the chosen enemies of the Chōlas, but the bond was a loose and friendly one, and in the time of Vishnuvarddhana they became independent. Their capital was Dōrasamudra (now Halebid in Bēlūr tāluq), which appears in Sanskrit as Dvārasamudra and Dwāravatipura. But while this was under preparation and being adorned with splendid buildings by Vinayāditya (see SB 53), the capital was at first at Sosevūr and then at Beluhūr, Bēlāpura or Vēlāpura (Bēlūr). Among the usual titles of the Hoysalas were (besides the one mentioned above),—Yādava-kulāmbara-dvīmanī (sun in the sky the Yādava family), samyaktva-chuḍāmanī (crest-jewel of perfect devotion), Maleparol-ganda (champion among the Malepas or hill chiefs), bhujabalā- pratāpa-chakravrīti (strong-armed illustrious emperor), and frequently, from the time of Ballāla II., dakshina-chakravrīti or tenkana-chakravrīti (emperor of the South). But the special titles and conquests of any one king are often carried on and attributed to his successors.

The following is a table of the Poysalas or Hoysalas as derived from their inscriptions:
1. Sala, Poysala, Hoysala, 1066

2. Nṛīpa-Kāma, Kāma-Poysala, 1022-1027
   Rāghamalla-Permmāḍī

3. Vinayāditya, Tribhuvanamalla-Poysala, 1047-1100
   Ereyanga (Vivarāja from 1063 to 1095)

4. Ballāla I, 1100-1106
   Tribhuvanamalla-Ballāla-Poysala

5. Bīti-Dēva, Bittiga, 1111-1141
   Udayāditya
   Vishuvarddhana, Vīra-Ganga, Vikrama-Ganga,
   Tribhuvanamalla, Talakāḍu-gopura
   died: 1123

   Jagaddēkamalla-Nārasimha

7. Ballāla II, Vīra-Ballāla, 1173-1220
   Śanivāra-siddha, Girināruunamalla, Vādava-Nārayana

8. Nārasimha II, Vīra-Nārasimha, 1220-1235
   Magu-rajya-nirmulana, Pāndya-disāpaṭṭa, Chōla-rajya-pratishthāchārya

9. Sōmēsvara, Vīra-Sōmēsvara, Soi-Dēva, 1233-1254

10. Nārasimha III, Vīra-Nārasimha, 1254-1291
    Rāmanāthu, Vīra-Rāmanātha, 1254-1295

11. Ballāla III, Vīra-Ballāla, 1291-1342
    Vīvānāthu, 1295-1297

12. Ballāla IV, 1343
    Vīra-Bīrapākha-Ballāla

Nṛīpa-Kāma or Kāma-Poysala is not included in the Hoysala genealogy as usually given in their numerous inscriptions, which proceeds from Sala to Vinayāditya. The reason of this omission is not evident, as Ak 157 and 141 say that he was Vinayāditya's father. He cannot have been Sala himself, or this would have leaked out in some of the numberless inscriptions which contain the pedigree. On the contrary, he is said to have been known as Rāghamalla-Permmāḍī, which connects him with the Gangas, due perhaps to intermarriage. That he ruled there can be no doubt, for, among others, Mg 19 is of his 7th year, and in Mj 43, dated in 1022, and Ag 76, dated in 1026, we find him opposing the Kongāla king, and next year aiding Banavase (Mj 44). Moreover, SB 44 describes him as the patron of Ėchang or
HOYSALAS

Echiga, the father of Ganga-Rāja, the Hoysala general who captured Talakāḍ in 1116. How he was related to Sala does not appear, but if the Poysala of 1006 was Sala, there was very little distance between them.

Vinayāditya was the first notable king of the line. He was born in Sosavūr (SB 56) and ruled from there. He is styled Tribhuvanamalla-Poysala-Dēva, from the Western Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya (reigned 1076-1126) being his overlord, but HI 1 shows that before this Hoysala-Dēvi was the queen in 1035 of Trailōkyamalla, Vikramāditya's father. Vinayāditya also had the six letters Ra-kka-sa Po-yxa-la inscribed on his flag, a possible reference to connection with the Ganga king Rakkasa. In what year Vinayāditya came to the throne we do not know. The earliest date we have for him is 1047 (Ng 32, Cm 160). The boundaries of the kingdom in his time are given in the former as—Konkana (North Kanara), Ālvakhēḍa (South Kanara), Bayalnāḍ (Waināḍ), Talekāḍ (in the south-east of the Mysore District), and Sāvimale (somewhere to the north), and he is said (Bl 200, etc.) to be ruling the Gangavāḍi Ninety-six Thousand. The latest date we have for him is 1100 (Bl 141). His wife was Keleyabbarasi, and they had a son Ėreyanga.

Whether the latter ever occupied the throne seems doubtful, and he probably died before his father. Kd 142 shows him to be only Yuvarāja or heir-apparent up to 1095. At the same time, Kd 33, without date, and Cn 148 of 1093 represent him as ruling (also SB 144), which must have been in conjunction with his father. He was a general under the Western Chālukyas, and is described as a powerful right arm to the Chālukya king. He trampled down the Mālava army, burnt Dhārā and laid it in ruins, dragged down Chōla and plundered his camp, broke and ruined Kalinga (Sh 64, etc.). By his wife Ėchala-Dēvi he had three sons—Ballāla, Bīṭṭi-Dēva, and Udayāditya.

Of these, Ballāla I succeeded his grandfather on the throne in 1100 (Bl 199), and his reign was a short one, but there are
inscriptions of his up to 1106 (Cn 169). He is styled Tribhuvananamalla-Ballāla-Poysala, and visited Sosavūr in 1100 (Bl 199), but made Beluhūr (Bēlūr) his capital (Ng 32, Cm 160). The inscriptions tell us of his marrying in one day in 1103 the three beautiful and accomplished daughters of Mariyāne-danḍanāyaka. In 1104 he led an expedition against the Changālva king (Hn 161, 162), and together with his brothers repulsed an attack made by Jagaddēva (Śantara king) on Dōrasamudra, capturing his treasury and the central ornament of his necklace (Bl 58, Ng 30).

Bīṭṭi-Dēva, Ballāla's brother, next came to the throne, and is celebrated as the rescuer of his country from the Chōlas and the establisher of the independence of the Hoysalas, whose kingdom he greatly extended. In what year his reign began has not been discovered. DB 11 might have decided the question, being of his 12th year, but unfortunately no year is named. The earliest actual date that can be cited for him is 1111 in Sh 89, but Kd 164 represents him as ruling in 1100: this must have been in association with Ballāla, his elder brother. An important event in his career was his exchanging the Jain faith for that of Vishnu, which took place (before 1116) under the influence of the reformer Rāmānuja, who had fled from persecution by the Chōla king, a rigid Śaiva, and taken refuge in the Hoysala country. This change was signalled by Bīṭṭi-Dēva calling himself thenceforward Vishnuvarddhana, the name by which he is best known. He now entered upon an extensive range of conquests. Talekāḍ was captured by his general Ganga-Rāja in 1116, and this was immediately followed up by the expulsion of the Chōlas from Mysore and the recovery of all the provinces there which they had previously taken. These Ganga-Rāja loyally made over to his king. He also in a night attack drove off the Chālukya army encamped at Kannegāla (near Hassan). By these operations he caused Vishnuvarddhana, who now took the title Vira-Ganga, to stand erect, that is, enabled him to assume independence (SB 90, etc.). Thus in
1117 Ch 83 says that he was ruling in peace in Talakāḍ and Kōlāla, having under his sole umbrella the kingdom of the Gangavādi Ninety-six Thousand, including Kongu (Salem and Coimbatore). The conquest of the Nilagiris and Malabār, according to the same inscription, was effected by the general Punisa, who, among other exploits, is said to have frightened the Todavar, the earliest mention that has been found of the Todas as the settled tribe inhabiting the Nilagiri mountains. While these expeditions were being carried out in the south and west, the king’s attention was directed to the north, and in the same year as the capture of Talakāḍ, 1116, the Pāṇḍyas of Uchchangi were attacked and defeated in a battle at Dumme, which is on the border of Shimoga and Chitaldroog Districts (Cm 99). According to Ck 29 and 30, the conquest of Uchchangi was effected for him by Chāma-Dēva, a son of the Orissa king Chōla-Ganga, and born in the Mysore country. Pages might be filled with the details of Vishnuvarddhana’s conquests as given in various inscriptions. Suffice it to say that the boundaries of the kingdom in his reign extended (Mg 22, Kd 102, etc.) on the east to Nangili (the eastern portion of Kolar District); south to Kongu, Chēram, and Ānemalai (Salem, Coimbatore, and Travancore); west to Bārakanūr (in South Kanara); north to Sāvimale (somewhere towards the Krishnā). The southern boundary is given in Ak 30 as Rāmeśvara (on the east coast in the Madura District). Hn 119 says: east, south and west three oceans being the boundaries of the land he ruled, on the north he made the Perddore (or Krishnā) his boundary. The course of his victories is thus graphically put in Kd 69: the lion the Hoysala king’s valour, having sported in plunder at Talakāḍ, attacked the lofty elephant Uchchangi, calmly marched by Banavase, daringly seized on Belvala, and sprang forward with joy to the Perddore (or Krishnā), planting his feet on Hanungal. Bl 58 describes his conquests in general, and Ng 70 gives a list of important forts which he captured. The provinces over which he ruled were (Cm 160, Kd 80, etc.)—Kongu,
Nārāsimha

Nangali, Talakāḍ, Gangavāḍi, Nolambavāḍi, Banavase, Hānungal, Huligere, Halasige, and Belvala. Gold coins of his have been found, on the reverse of which appear the titles Talakāḍu-gonḍa or Nōnumbavāḍi-gonḍa. His own country (says Hn 119) he gave to Brāhmanas and the gods, and himself ruled over the foreign countries won by his sword. Dōrasamudra was the recognised capital (Bl 147, Md 29, etc.), but he made his residence at various places. In 1128 he was at Vāḍavapura or Tōnnūr (My 16). In 1137 Bankāpura on that side (the north) and Talavana-pura (Talakāḍ) on this side (the south) are stated (Ak 144) to be his capitals (rājadhānī). He took up his abode in the former in 1139 (Cm 199, 200), and there he died in 1141 (Cm 96), his body being conveyed to Sōsavūr. His first wife was Sāntala-Dēvi, a strenuous upholder of the Jain faith, but she died in 1131 (SB 53), and by a subsequent marriage with Lakkumā or Lakshmi-Dēvi he had the son who succeeded him, born in 1133 (Bl 124), and crowned from the day of his birth (Bl 93).

This was Nārāsimha I, who must have been a boy when he came to the throne. His reign was on the whole uneventful, but the boundaries of the kingdom were maintained. He is said in 1145 to have slain Changālva in battle, and seized his elephants, horses, gold and new jewels (Ng 76). He is also said to have been a terror to most of the kings of the South (Sr 74, Kd 51, Hs 137), and in 1161 to have defeated a Kadamba force that threatened Bankāpura (Bl 193). But his power was sustained mainly by his father's reputation and the devotion of his father's generals. Of these, Chōkimayya (Hn 69) calls himself king Vishnu's Garuḍa, and in Bp 9 of 1155 appears as if ruling at Nangali over part of Gangavāḍi. Then there were Hulla (SB 137, 138), who was one of the foremost upholders of the Jain faith, and Bīṭṭiga (Hs 137). The Chāluṅkya king Jagadēkamalla attacked Hoysala in 1143 (Dg 85), and seems to have asserted his supremacy by 1149 (Ck 29, 30). Thus Nārāsimha has the prefix Jagadēkamalla in 1153 and 1155 (Kl 100, 169), but immediately after this
the Chālukya throne was usurped by Bījjala and the Kala-
churyas. The Hoysala king eventually lapsed into a voluptu-
tuary. For Bl 193 informs us that he had three hundred and
eighty-four well-born women in his female apartments, and
Bl 114 contains statements that bear this out. He died in
1173, being, it would seem, only forty years of age. His chief
queen was Ėchala-Dēvi, and they had a son Ballāla.

The reign of Ballāla II or Vira-Ballāla died in glory with
that of his grandfather, Vishnuvarddhana, and the whole
dynasty is in consequence sometimes called the Ballālas after
him. He was crowned on the 22nd of July 1173 (Kd 4, 136,
129) in the capital Dōrasamudra. In Bl 86 an account is
given of a royal progress made by him in his father's lifetime
through the hill countries in the west. On this occasion
Tantrapāla-Hemmādi claims to have induced Kongālva,
Changālva, and the other chiefs of Male to do homage, and
eventually to have gained the crown for Ballāla, himself being
made minister. But His 20 shows that in 1174 Ballāla had
to send an expedition under his general Bettarasa against the
Changālva king Mahadēva, who had retired to Pālpare, a fort
in Kīggatnāḍ in south Coorg. Bettarasa destroyed him and
made Pālpare the seat of his own government. But the
Changālva Pemma-Virappa later on attacked him, aided by
the Kodagas (or Coorgs) of all the nāds, and was near gaining
the victory, when Bettarasa eventually triumphed. This is
the earliest specific mention that has been found of the
Kodagas or people of Coorg. But Ballāla's great victories
were to the north. An early conquest was that of Uchchangi,
the Pāndya fortress. This had been besieged by the Chōlas
for twelve years and abandoned as hopeless; but Ballāla easily
overcame it, and when Kāma-Dēva, the Pāndya king, threw
himself on his mercy, restored him to his kingdom. This was
before 1177 (Ck 36), and he, in consequence, assumed the
titles Giridurgamalla and Śanivāra-siddhi. A battle with
Sankama-Dēva (the Kalachurya king) is mentioned in 1179
(Mg 33). But his great decisive victory was one gained at
Hoyala Stone Inscription.
Soratūr (near Gaḍag) over the formidable Sēuna army. Though he came with as many as 200,000 infantry (says Dg. 25), armed with thunderbolts, and 12,000 cavalry, conspicuous with high saddles and jewelled breastplates, Ballāla-Rāya on his one elephant charged the Sēuna king’s army, put them to flight, and slaughtered them all the way from Soratūr to the bank of the Krishnāvēni river. According to Bl 77 he moistened his sword with the blood of the Pāṇḍya king, whetted it on the grindstone the head of Bhillama, and sheathed it in the mouth of Jaitugi (Sēuna kings). He followed up this great victory by the capture of a number of forts north of the Mysore country, all these successes being accomplished before 1190 (Cn 179). By 1193 he had taken up his residence at Lokkigondi or Lakkundi in Dhārwār (Sk 105). His northern boundary was advanced to the Bhimarathi (Tp 43). He was now sole ruler of the Seven-and-a-half Lakh country (Ci 64), and styled emperor of the South (Sb 140). During this period he lived at various places, but eventually established the royal residence (rājadhāni) at Hallavūr, also called Vijayasamudram (Hn 139, Cn 172) and Vijayapura (Cn 244). This place was the modern Huloor, on the Tungabhadrā in the Rāṇi-Bennūr tāluq of Dhārwār. He was there in 1180 (Ci 73), but from 1200 (Hn 139) seems to have been living there almost continuously till 1211 (Ak 137). His senior queen Uṃa-Dēvi, mentioned in 1209 (Ak 40), appears in many records for a long time. His son Nārasimha was apparently associated with him in the government in 1205 (Cd 23). He was Yuvarāja in 1210, and had a sister named Sōvala-Dēvi, celebrated for her beauty and virtues (Cn 243). 1 At the same date the king, his crowned queen Padmala-mahādēvi, and their son Nārasimha are represented as all ruling together (Hk. 13, 14). In 1218 the king was encamped at Nidugal-durga (Hn 61). At length,

1 She established the agrahāra of Sōmanāthapura, which was equal to Valabhi, at Hārvanahalli (Hārmhalli in Arākere tāluq), where there is a fine temple of Sōmēśvara (Ak 123).
being of full age, Ballāla established Nārəsimha in the kingdom and went to heaven (Cn 211\textsuperscript{b}). This was in 1220, as Nārəsimha was crowned in that year (Cn 172\textsuperscript{a}). Thus closed an energetic and distinguished reign of forty-seven years, during which the Western Chālukyas and the Kalachuryas came to an end, the Sēnas were driven back, and the Hoysalas remained as a dominant power in the South. Coincident with the king’s death was the self-sacrifice of the prince Lakṣmaṇa, recorded on a pillar by the side of the Hoysalēśvara temple at Halebūḍ (Bl 112). He was of royal blood, and perhaps a half-brother. He and a thousand warriors had vowed themselves, as Garuḍas, to live and die with the king, and at his death took their own lives as a sign of undying devotion to him.

Nārəsimha II was crowned on the 16th of April 1220 (Cn 172\textsuperscript{b}). His distinctive titles are—uprooter of the Magara kingdom, displacer of Pāṇḍya, establisher of the Chōla kingdom (Cn 197). Saying, “Why am I called master of elephants when there are no troops of elephants of which I am master?”—he marched, without stopping, for a hundred gāvudās to the east, and uprooting the Magara king, captured the hundreds of elephants he had brought against him (Ci 72). By this expedition he became possessed of a wealth of elephants, horses, jewels, and other valuables, such as had never been acquired before (Cn 197). In connection with this an incident related in Cn 203 of 1223 deserves notice. When marching against Magara, the king encamped at Chūḍāvāḍī and gave a feast to celebrate the adding to his necklace of an emerald received from Munivaraḍītya. This must have been a stone of unusual size and value. Chūḍāvāḍī is no doubt the Chūḍa-grāma (Muḍiyanūr in Mulbāgal tāluq) mentioned in 338 (Mb 157). Munivaraḍītya was an old title belonging apparently to a landed chief in Mēlai (or western) Mārayapāḍī (Ci 162), and the Magara kingdom may have been identical with the Mahārājāvāḍī of which the Bānas were in possession in the ninth century (see above, p. 43; also
below, p. 164). The boundaries of the Hoysala kingdom are
given in 1228 as Nangali on the east, Kongu on the south,
Älvakhêda on the west, and the Heddore on the north (Cn
204). But the next year Nârâsimha is said to be ruling from
Kâncchi, with the surrounding ocean as his boundary (Tp 42).
The Séunás had again attempted to press to the south, but their
multitudinous army was routed (Md 121), and their leaders
Vikramapâla, Pâvusa, and others were slain (Dg 25). In
South Arcot the Kâdvâla (or Pallava) king Perunjinga had
meanwhile taken the Chôla king prisoner. On hearing of it,
Nârâsimha vowed that the trumpet should not sound until he
had released him. He accordingly sent an army, which forced
the Kâdvâla king to surrender, and set free Chôla, to whom
Nârâsimha restored his crown, thus justifying his title of setter
up of the Chôla kingdom (El. vii. 160; Gb 45). A pillar of
victory was also erected at Sêtu (Dg 25), as far as which he
brought the land under his control (Cn 203). By his wife
Kâlale-Dévi he had the son Sôyî-Déva or Sômësvâra (Cn
203), who was tended like a mother by the king's sister
Sôvala-Dévi (Ak 123).

Sômësvâra came to the throne in 1233, as 1254 is given
as his 21st year (Sr 110). Of him it is said (Kp 12) that
when he first began to walk, Chêra went before him, calling
out, "Bravo! mind your steps, Dêva!" while the Chôla king
and Pândya, one on each side, held his hand. The boundaries
of his kingdom are given (Md 122) as Kâncchi on the east,
Vêlâvura (Bêlûr) on the west, the Peddore (or Krishnâ) on the
north, and Bayalnâd (Wainnâd) on the south. He is repre-
sented as first fighting against Krishna-Kandhara (the Sêuma
king), but he was principally engaged in conquests to the
south, while the Séunás continued to make incursions in the
north-west.1 In 1236 he is said (Kp 63) to be living in the
Pândya-mañdala, which he had acquired by his strength and

1 An inscription at Pavâdharpur (near Shôllapur) states that the Hoysala king
Sômësvâra made a gift to the god there in Saka 1159, or A.D. 1236 (Bo. Archl.
Rep. 1897-8).
valour. Jl 33. says he marched into the Chōla-Pândya kingdom, and Ak 123 that he had uprooted Rājendra-Chōla on the field of battle, but when he threw himself on his mercy, gave him his protection. He now took up his residence permanently at Kannanūr or Vikramapura (north of Śrīrangam in Trichinopoly), which he had created for his pleasure in the Chōla-mandala acquired by his own arm. Here, with a short interval in 1252, he remained till 1254 (Ak 108), being styled Sārvavāhma or universal emperor. In 1252 he revisited Dōrasamudra, and the two Changālva kings then ruling conducted him to Rāmanāthpura (Ag 53).

On his death in 1254 a division was made of the Hoysala territories. The ancestral Kannada kingdom, with its capital at Dōrasamudra, was given to Nārasimha III, his son by his wife Bijjala-Kānī, while the Tamil districts in the south and Kolar fell to the share of Rāmanātha, another son by his wife Dēvala-Dēvi. Nārasimha was born perhaps on the 12th of August 1240 (Kd 100), and his upanayana was performed on the 25th of February 1255 (Bl 126). He now paid a visit to the Vijaya-Pārśva Jain temple at Halebid and read the genealogy of his line as recorded in the inscription there (Bl 124). He signs himself Malaparol-gaṇḍa in Md 79 and TN 100. In 1271 the Sēuna king Mahādeva came forth to battle, but fled in a single night (Ng 39). In 1276 a more formidable invasion took place by the Sēunas under Sāluva-Tikkama, the general of Rāma-Dēva. Assisted by Irungōla and other powerful local chiefs, he advanced against Dōrasamudra. But in a great battle fought at Belavādī on the 25th of April the Sēuna army was utterly routed and driven beyond Dummi with great slaughter (Bl 164, 165). The rival king Rāmanātha continued to rule throughout the reign of Nārasimha, and collisions occasionally took place between their followers. But he mostly remained in his own territory, and

1 As stated in an inscription lately discovered at Koundajji agrahāra in Ghohi ṭalūq.

2 Inscriptions of the Hoysala kings Sōmājvara and Rāmanātha are found as far south as Tanjore, at Sendalai and Mamārgudi (Mad. Archi. Rep. 1896-7).
probably had his capital at Kannanur in Trichinopoly, as Ballala (his successor) is represented as marching from Kannanur (Ck 4). In the Mysore country he seems to have had a residence at Kundana, perhaps the place of that name near Devanhalli. The southern boundary of his kingdom in Mysore extended from about Homudike in Tumkur tāluq to Lakkur in Mālur tāluq, the western being east of the range of hills north from Dēvarāyadurga. He survived Nārasimha and was succeeded for a short time by his son Viśvanātha, but the Hoysala dominions were again united under Nārasimha's son Ballala III.

The latter was crowned on the 31st of January 1292 (Cn 36). In 1301 he appears issuing his orders to the temple priests throughout the districts in Kolar resumed from Rāmanātha's kingdom (Bn 51, etc.). In 1305 we find him marching against the Šcuna king, who was desirous of capturing him (Sa 156). In this reign began the Musalmān invasions from Delhi which brought the Hoysala empire to an end. The earliest notice of these is in 1310, when the Turukas are said to have marched against Dōrasamudra (Hn 51, 52). This was the first invasion, under Kāfūr, the general of Ālā-ud-din of the Khilji or second Patha dynasty. The king was defeated and taken prisoner; Dōrasamudra was sacked, and the enemy returned to Delhi literally laden with gold. The king's son, carried off as a hostage, was restored in 1313 (Sh 68). By 1316 the capital was rebuilt (Md 100). But a later expedition in 1326, sent by Muhammad III, of the house of Tughlak, completely demolished the city. The king seems to have retired to Tonḍanur (Tonnrū near Seringapatam), but eventually went to live at Unnāmalé (Tiruvannāmalai or Trinomalee in South Arcot). He was there in 1328 (DB 14) and frequently afterwards up to 1342 (Bn 21). But in 1329 he had a residence in Mysore, called by various names—Virupākshapura (Ht 43), Hosaviḍu, Hosanāḍ, Hosadurga, and so on. It is uncertain what place this was. But in 1340 he performed an anointing to the
kingdom (Bn 111), which must have been that of his son, who is called (Cm 105) Vira-Virūpāksha-Ballāla-Dēva. The ceremony therefore probably took place at Virūpākshapura. In 1341 he is said to have erected a pillar of victory at Sētu (Mr 82). At length he fell fighting against the Turukas in a battle at Beribi on the 8th of September 1342 (Kd 75). His son was wearing the crown in 1343 (Cm 105), but the Hoysala power was at an end. The latest date that has been found in inscriptions for Ballāla is 1346 (Bn 120).

15. SĒUNAS

The Sēunas (also called Yādavas of Dēvagiri), who were the great rivals of the Hoysalas in contending for the possession of the Western Chālukya and Kalachurya dominions, claim descent from Krishna through Subāhu, a universal monarch, who divided his empire between his four sons. The second son, Dridhaprahāra, obtained the south, and his descendants ruled over the Sēuna country, in Central India, probably corresponding in great part with the modern Khāndēsh. He was succeeded by twenty-two kings of his line down to Bhillama, who was the contemporary of the Hoysala king Ballāla II, and from whose time alone the history of Mysore is concerned with the dynasty. Their inscriptions are confined to the north of the Shimoga District and the Dāvangere tālūq, and range in date from 1212 to 1300. They had titles such as Yādava-Nārāyana, bhujabalaprātāpa-chakravartti, etc., which were appropriated by the Hoysalas on the latter defeating them. Their standard bore the device of a golden garuda. Having overcome the Kalachuryas, they became masters of all the western Dekhan, with their capital at Dēvagiri, now known as Daulatabad. Their destruction was due to the same Musalmān invasions from Delhi that brought the Hoysala power to an end. The following is a table of the kings:
The immense army of Bhillama was totally routed by Ballāla II at Soraṭūr, as previously related, and slaughtered all the way to the Krishnā river. Jaitugi is also mentioned as defeated by him. Singhana took advantage of Ballāla's death to seize some part of Mysore in the extreme north-west. According to Sb 319 an army of 30,000 horse sent by him captured the hill fort of Gotti (that is, Chandragutti) in 1239. His attempts to collect the local revenue, however, seem to have been resisted by force (Sb 425, 217), and about the same time battles were fought against his army by the Sindas at Nēmattī (Hl 54, 55). The Sēuna kings, among other epithets, are generally described as destroyers of Mālavā-Rāya, terriūrs of the Gurjjara Rāya, and establishers of Telunga-Rāya. The Hoysala king Sōmēśvara, as we have seen above, is said to have fought against Krishna-Kandhara. But in Mahādeva's time the Sēuna general Sāluva-Tikkama claims to have won important victories over the Hoysalas, in connection with which, apparently, he made some additions to the temple of Harihara, which the king had himself visited, and where he remitted all the taxes of the agrahāra (Dg 59). But Hg 39 says, on the other hand, that Mahādeva fled in a single night. In the time of Rāma-Dēva the seat of the Sēuna government in Mysore was fixed at Bettūr, close to Dāvangere on the east. But in 1276 an invasion of Dōrasamudra by Sāluva-Tikkama was entirely defeated at the battle of Belavāḍī, as related in Bl 164, 165. The
Vijayanagar

Musalmān invasions from Delhi began in the reign of Rāma-Dēva and before long extinguished the Sēuna power. Finally, in 1338, Muhammad Tughlak removed the capital of his empire from Delhi to Dēvagiri, giving it the name of Daulatābād.

16. Vijayanagar

The Vijayanagar empire was founded in 1336, immediately on the disappearance of the Hoysalas from the stage of history. The founders were two princes named Hakka and Bukka, sons of Sangama. The former became the first king, taking the name of Harihara, and his brother succeeded him. They were probably subordinates of or connected with the Hoysalas,¹ and were aided in their enterprise by the head of the matha at Śrīnērī (in the Kadūr District) founded by the reformer Śankarācharaya in the eighth century. The name of this guru was Mādhava, and he is known as Vidyāranya. He became the first minister of the new State.

The Vijayanagar inscriptions in Mysore are nearly as numerous as those of the Hoysalas. There is one (Bīg 70) which actually professes to be of the date 1336, and relates a story as to how the site of Vijayanagar was selected. But it cannot be relied on, no original being forthcoming. Then, Mg 25 contains some statement, which, owing to gaps in the inscription, cannot be fully made out, that Bukka-Rāya’s chief councillor was unwilling to give up Sosavūr. This was the birthplace of the Hoysalas. By 1539 its name had been changed to the present Angadi (Bī 197).

But Sg 1 of 1346 is genuine and undoubted, and one

¹ A Ballappa-dānāyaka, described as a son of the Hoysala king Ballala III, appears in several inscriptions at the close of the Hoysala period, down to Mr. 16 of 1343. And in Sg 1 of 1346 we find Ballappa-dānāyaka as a son-in-law of the first Vijayanagar king, Haribhu ḍa. Moreover, in Yd 29 appears a son of Ballala, called Hampe-Vodeyar. Now Hampe (the ancient Pampa) is still the name for the site of Vijayanagar.
of the earliest known inscriptions of the Vijayanagar kings. After obeisance to Vidyātīrtha, the guru of Vidyāranya above mentioned, it states that Harihara, having conquered the earth from the eastern to the western ocean, resolved to make a grant to celebrate the festival of his victory. Accordingly, he, with his four brothers, his son-in-law and other relatives, made grants to Bhāratitīrtha-śripāda and his disciples, as well as to forty Brāhmans living in the holy place Śrīnēri, for the maintenance of the rites and services. Another interesting inscription is Sk 281 of 1368, which contains particulars regarding Mādhava, then minister to Bukka-Rāya, and he is described as the guru who cleared and made plain the ruined path of the upanishads. It is unique in being dated by the Śatavāhana-śaka, for the Śālivāhana-śaka, a reminiscence of the origin of the latter. And it is of interest to note that the grant made in it consists of a village which was the object of the grant in the Kadamba Pārākrit inscription of about the third century on the Malavalli pillar (Sk 264), and connected with a preceding inscription on the same pillar (Sk 263) recording a grant in about the second century by the (Śatavāhana) king Śatakarnī.

The first or Sangama dynasty of Vijayanagar, who were Yādavas, held the throne from 1336 to 1478, and consisted of nine kings. The throne was then usurped by a Śāluva chief, who was succeeded by his son. There were thus only two kings of the Śāluva dynasty, also Yādavas, and they occupied the throne from 1476 to 1496. Then followed the Narasīnga dynasty from Tuluva, which ruled from 1496 to 1567, and had six kings. The fourth and last dynasty was the Rāma-Rāja or Karnāṭa. It was in power from 1567 to 1644, and numbered six kings.

The following is a table of the Sangama dynasty:—
Of Sangama's five sons, the eldest, called according to tradition Hakka, assumed the name Harihara, and was the first king of the new empire. Kampa or Kampana became ruler of a kingdom in the east, in the direction of Nellore, and had Śayana, the commentator on the Vēdas, brother of Mādhava, as his minister. Bukka succeeded Harihara on the throne, and was the most distinguished of the brothers. Mārapa obtained a kingdom in the west (Sb 375), with the seat of his government at Gōnantasāila or Chandragupti (Chandragutti). He subdued the Kadambas.

The Vijayanagar kings had Virupāksha for their family

1 Certain inscriptions represent him as ruling in 1422 (An 79, Sk 93).
BUKKA-RĀYA

god, and their grants are usually signed in his name. Their crest was the Varāha or Boar, which had been that of the Chālukyas. Their capital was situated on the Tungabhadrā, in the west of the present Bellary District, near the Pampā lake, on a remarkable site covered with immense boulders, and their stronghold was the hill Hēmakūṭa. In Mysore, the king’s eldest son was as a rule a viceroy in Muluvāyi (Mulbāgal) in the east, while another son was viceroy in Āraga in the Male-rājya or hill kingdom in the west. Another son was at times governor of the Terakanāmbi kingdom in the south. But from the end of the fifteenth century the chief representative of the empire in the south was a viceroy called the Śrī-Ranga-Rāyal, whose seat of government was at Seringapatam.

Of Harihara I not much is known beyond what has been stated above. But Bukka-Rāya, whom he appointed as his Yuvarāja (Cn 256), was famous. With the assistance of Vidyātīrtha-muni he became very great, and having freed from enemies a hundred royal cities, counting from Dōrasamudra, ruled over an empire perfect in its seven parts (Yd 46). Though the establishment of the capital is attributed to Harihara, and his naming it Vidyānagari after Vidyāranyaśripāda (Cd 46), the building of the city and the transformation of its name to Vijayanagari, or city of victory, are said to have been the work of Bukka-Rāya (Cn 256). The latter has the special titles āri-rāya-vibhāda (destroyer of hostile kings), bhūshege-toppava-rāyara-ganda (champion over kings who break their word), Hindu-rāya-Suratrāṇa (Sultān over the Hindu kings), pūrva-paśchina-dakshiṇa-samudrādhisthāvā (master of the eastern, western, and southern oceans). He was a terror to the Turushkas, the Konkana (king) Sankapārya, the Āndhras, Gurjaras, and Kāmbhōjas, and defeated the Kalingas. An interesting event of his reign, showing his liberal-mindedness, was his reconciliation of the Jainas and the Vaishnavas in 1368. The latter had been persecuting the former, who in a general body appealed to the king for
protection. He summoned the leaders of both sects before him, and declared that no difference could be made between them. Then (as graphically described in Sb 136), taking the hand of the Jainas and placing it in the hand of the Vaishnavas, he ordained that they should each pursue their own religious practices with equal freedom. Copies of this decree were to be set up in various places, and besides the one at Sravana-Belgoja (SB 136), there is still one at Kalya in Magadi taluq (Ma 18), the Kallehada-patţana mentioned in them.

In 1355 Bukka-Rāya is said (Cd 2) to be ruling from Hosapaţṭana in the Hoysana country, and Hosapaţṭana is mentioned in connection with the Jainas who appealed to him as above mentioned, who are said to have come from districts included within Āneyagondi, Hosapaţṭana, Penugonda, and Kallehada-patţana. It may be the place called Hosavidu, Hosadurga, and by other names, which was a residence of the last of the Hoysala kings. I have thought it might be Hosūr in Goribidnūr taluq, or Hosadurga in Chitaldroog District. But this is uncertain, and its identification would be of interest. It is described as having been the capital of Nijagali-Kataka-Rāya, but unfortunately this does not help us. It was apparently the same place as Virūpākṣhapura (see vol. x. Introd. 32).

Harihara II, Bukka-Rāya's son by Gaurāmbikā, succeeded him on the throne. But he also had other sons—Virūpanna-Odeyar by Jommā-Dēvi, whose succession was apparently desired in the west (Kp 6); Mallinātha or Mallappa-Odeyar, who was ruling in the east of Mysore; and Kampanna-Odeyar or Chikka-Kampanna, ruling in the south of Mysore. Harihara II is principally praised for making the sixteen great gifts at various sacred places, localities which show that his territories extended from the Krishna at Kurnool to Kumbhakōna or even farther south. But severe struggles were going on with the Sultāns of the Bahmani kingdom of Gulbarga, which was founded in 1347, or only eleven years after Vijaya-
nagar. Thus, in 1380, when the Turushkas were swarming over the Adavani (Adöni) hill-fort and kingdom, Mallappa-Odeyar’s son defeated them, took possession of the fort and kingdom, and handed them over to Harihara (Kg. 43). In 1384 the Turukas are said to have come and attacked Kottakonda when the army had gone to the Órugal country (Ck. 15). In 1397 we are informed of the exploits of the general Gunda (Bl. 3), into the flames of whose valour the Yavanas, Turushkas, and Andhras fell like moths. He conquered the Kēralas, Taulavas, Andhras, and Kutakas, seized their wealth, and gave the spoils to the king. Dragging the elephant-like Saipa, Patheya, and other proud Turushkas along by their hair in battle, he tied them up in his stables like monkeys; and besides them, seized by the throat the two great tigers known as Jyēśṭha and Kanishṭha. He set up pillars of victory in all the fifty-six countries, and restored the tower at the gateway of the Belur temple, which Ganga Sālār, the Turushka from Gulbarga, had come and burnt. Harihara was a cultivator of Karnāṭaka learning¹ (Kp. 34). He died on the 30th of August 1404 (Tl. 129, SB. 126), and his virtues, it is said (Si. 95), are sung in pleasant stories by the Nāga maidens in Pāṭāla, listening to which the serpents there are filled with delight.

He had a son by Pampā-Dēvi, who appears to have reigned next, under the name of Immaḍi-Bukka-Rāya or Bukka-Rāya II. But the reign was a very short one, of little more than a year. Dēva-Rāya or Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya then succeeded, Harihara’s son by Mēḷā-Dēvi or Malla-Dēvi, of the family of Rāma-Dēva, probably the Sēuna king. He also had the sons Chikka-Rāya-Odeyar, ruling in Āraga in the hill country to the west; and Virūpāṇna or Virūpāksha, who conquered the eastern countries down to and including Ceylon (El. iii. 225), and in 1404 appears as if ruling in Vijayanagar (Tl. 13). Perhaps he was a candidate for the throne on the death of his father. But Pratāpa-Dēva-Rāya gained it, and was crowned on the 7th

¹ Karnāṭaka-vīdayā-villāna.
of November 1406 (Hn 133). Some inscriptions seem to represent him as the founder of a Pratāpa dynasty. An interesting account is given in Dg 23 and 29 of the construction of a dam at Hariharā in 1410 across the Haridrā. The struggles with the Musalmāns to the north continued unabated, and the pages of Firishṭā are filled with details relating to them. According to him, Dēva-Rāya, whom he calls Dewul-Roy, was forced to give his daughter in marriage to the Bahmani Sultān Firōz Shāh. At the end of his reign Dēva-Rāya inflicted a severe defeat upon the Sultān. A great slaughter of the Muhammadans followed, and the Bijāpur country was laid waste with all the treasured resentment of many years. These reverses killed Firōz Shāh. But his successor, Ahmed Shāh, drove back the Hindus, and desolated the possessions of Vijayanagar, massacring women and children without mercy. Whenever the number came to 20,000, he halted for three days and made a feast. The Hindus, in desperation, formed a plot against him, from which he escaped by a hair’s breadth. Terms were then agreed to, and he retired to his own country, the capital of which he shortly removed from Gulbarga to Bijār, a hundred miles to the north. Of these affairs there is little indication in our inscriptions, which generally represent the king as ruling a peaceful kingdom.

Dēva-Rāya was succeeded by Vijaya-Rāya, his son by Dēmāmbikā, but the history is not very clear at this period, and Vijaya-Rāya’s reign was a short one. He was followed by his son Dēva-Rāya II, also called Praudhya-Dēva-Rāya, who had the special title Gaja-bēntekāra or elephant hunter. His mother was Nārāyanāmbikā, and one inscription (Ml 121) describes him as having received the throne from his elder sister (mījagraja), which may perhaps refer to the princess married into the Bahmani family. The kings of Anga, Kannōja, Kāmbōja, Vanga, and Nēpāla are said (Tl 200) to have

1 The Bahmani empire was finally dismembered in about 1489, and broken up into the five States of Bijāpur, Ahmednagar, Golkonḍa, Berūr, and Bijār.
acted as his servants, carrying his umbrella, his chāmara, his stick, or his goblet. He also had 10,000 Turushka horsemen in his service (Sr 15). He died on the 24th of May 1446 (SB 125, 127). He had a brother Pārvvati-Rāya-Odeyar, who in 1425 ruled the Terakanāmbi kingdom, in the south of Mysore District (Ch 195, 105), and is no doubt the Śrīgiri, who was ruling in North Arcot in 1424 (EL. viii. 308).

Dēva-Rāya's son by Pomnalā-Dēvi, Mallikārjuna, also called Immaḍi-Dēva-Rāya, next came to the throne, and he was followed by Virūpāksha, the son of Dēva-Rāya by Simhalā-Dēvi. These were reigns wanting in vigour. Mallikārjuna is said (Md 12, 59) to be in Penugonḍa in 1459, along with his minister, engaged in affairs connected with Narasinga's kingdom. This was the chief next to be mentioned.

Sāluva-Nṛsimha, also called Narasinga-Rāya-Odeyar, the most powerful noble in Karnāta and Telingāna. He was general of the armies of Vijayānagar, and successfully defended it against the Muhammadans. But the influence he thus gained enabled him in 1478, in the reign of Virūpāksha, to usurp the throne. When he was thus king, 1 the Bahmani Sultān again invaded the Vijayānagar territories, and was over-running the whole country, having advanced so far as to lay siege to the strong fort of Mālūr (Kolar District). Nṛsimha took to flight, but afterwards came to terms with the Sultān, who nevertheless marched on to Kānchī (Conjeeveram), "situated in the centre of the dominions of that malignant one," and plundered the town and temples, which were "the wonder of the age." Nṛsimha's distinctive titles were—mīḍīnī-misara-gandha (champion over the mustaches of the world), kaṭhāri-sāluva (dagger falcon). He was succeeded by his son Immaḍi-Nṛsimha or Immaḍi-Narasinga-Odeyar, for whom the earliest date seems to be 1493.

This king, however, was murdered in 1496 by their general Narasa or Narasinga. He was of Tuluva descent,

1 He was the tenth king of Vijayānagar, and his son the eleventh.
and became the founder of the Narasinga dynasty of Vijayanagar. The following is a table of this dynasty:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Timmia</td>
<td>m. Devaki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liyana</td>
<td>m. Bakkamana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Narasa</td>
<td>Narasinga, Nrisimha, 1496-1503</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By Tippajii</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Vira-Narasimha or Nrisimha, Bhujabala-Raya, 1504-1509</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Nagaladevi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Krishna-Raya, 1509-1529</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Obamkai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Achyuta-Raya, 1532-1542</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. Timamambai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Venkata</td>
<td>Tirumalambai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. to Rama-Raja, Deva-Raya, (see Karnata dynasty) 1542</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Sadashiva-Raya, 1543-1597</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Narasa is said in several inscriptions (Sk 234, etc.) to have quickly dammed the Kaveri when in full flood, crossed over and seized his enemy alive in battle. Then, taking possession of Srirangapattana (Seringapatam), he made it his own abode. Having conquered Cheera, Chola, and Pandyan, as well as the proud lord of Madhura, the fierce Turushka, the Gajapati king and others; from the banks of the Ganges to Lankâ (Ceylon), and from the eastern to the western mountains, he imposed his commands upon all kings. In Ramesvara and other sacred places he from time to time bestowed the sixteen great gifts. He died in 1505 (Kr 64).

He was succeeded in turn by three sons, born to him by different mothers. The first of these, Vira - Narasimha or Nrisimha, also called in a few cases Bhujabala-Raya, drew to himself, it is said, the hearts of all from Sêtu to Sumênru, and from the eastern to the western mountains, and made all manner of gifts in all the sacred places. The Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, and other kings addressed him with such words as, "Look on us, great king! Victory! Long life!" His half-brother Krishna-Raya next came to the throne, and was one of the most powerful and distinguished of the Vijayanagar monarchs. About 1520 he inflicted a severe defeat upon the Muhammadans, in consequence of which a good

1 The Bushbalnao of the Portuguese historian Nunis.
understanding prevailed between the courts of Vijayanagar and Bijāpur for a considerable time. One of the earliest expeditions of the reign was against Ganga-Rāja, the chief of Ummattūr (in Mysore District), who had rebelled and claimed Penugonda, perhaps as being a Ganga. His main stronghold was on the island of Śivasamudram,¹ at the Falls of the Kāvēri, and parts of the Bangalore District were known as the Śivasamudram ¹ country. Krishna-Rāya captured his fort at the Falls, and also took Seringapatam. He extended the limits of the empire until they reached to Cuttack on the east and to Salsette on the west. In capturing Kōṇḍavīdu in 1516, he took prisoner Virabhadra, son of the Gajapati king Pratāpa-Rudra, and Dg 107 relates that he granted him the Maleya-Bennūr country (in the west of Mysore) as an estate. Krishna-Rāya was a great patron of Sanskrit and Telugu literature, and had at his court eight celebrated poets, distinguished as the askitadiggaja. On his death, Achyuta-Rāya, his half-brother, succeeded to the throne. He was profuse in gifts to the Brāhmans, the records of which are commonly surmounted by a figure of the Vāmana or dwarf incarnation. He established in 1539 a sort of bank for the benefit of Brāhmans, called the Ānanda-nidhi. Two verses celebrating this event are repeated in Dg 24 and Hk 123, as well as in eight other places in Hampi and Kamalāpurā.²

Achyuta-Rāya’s son, perhaps an infant, was next crowned as king, but died in a short time. Sadāsiva-Rāya, the son of Ranga, a deceased brother of Achyuta by the same mother, was then raised to the throne by the great minister Rāma-Rāja (who was his brother-in-law) and the councillors. He is said to have subdued all his enemies in Suragiri (Penugonda), and brought the whole land into subjection to his commands, while the Kāmbōja, Bhōja, Kalinga, Karahāṭa and other kings acted as servants for his female apartments.

But Rāma-Rāja himself wielded the chief power in the State, and is called the ruler of the great Karnāṭa kingdom

¹ Properly Śivasamudram. ² For the latter see Mad. Arch. Rep. for 1903-4.
Though possessed of commanding abilities, so great was his arrogance that the Musalmān States of Bijāpur, Golkonda, Ahmednagar, and Bidar were provoked to combine in an attack on Vijayanagar as their common enemy. In the battle of Talikota, near Raichūr, on the 23rd of January 1565, Rāma-Rāja was slain, on which the Hindu army fled panic-stricken, and the royal family escaped to Penugonda. The victorious Muhammadans marched to Vijayanagar, which they utterly sacked and destroyed. Thus fell this once great and populous capital, the ruins of which are still a source of admiration to visitors.

From Rāma-Rāja was descended the last Vijayanagar dynasty, styling themselves kings of Karnāṭa. Their capital was at first at Penugonda, which was attacked in 1577 by the Muhammadans, but successfully defended by Jagadēva-Rāya, whose daughter was married to the king, and who became chief of Channapaṭṭa. In 1585 the capital was again removed to Chandragiri, and later still to Chingalpat (Chingleput). These were, however, captured by the forces of Golkonda, and the king fled to the protection of Śivappa-Nāyak, the chief of Bednūr in the west of Mysore.

The following is a table of the Karnāṭa or Rāma-Rāja dynasty:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Reigns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rāma-Rāja,</td>
<td>m. Lakkāmbākā</td>
<td>Rāma-Rāja, killed 1565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri-Ranga,</td>
<td>m. Tirumala-Dēvi</td>
<td>18. Tirumala-Rāya, 1567-1571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23. Sri-Ranga-Rāya II, 1643-1664</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TIRUMALA-RĀYA

The descent of this dynasty, who call themselves kings of Karnaṭa or Karnaṭaka, is elaborately traced back (as in Tm 1) to the Lunar line, through Yayāti and Puru. In that race was Bharata, in whose line was Santanu, fourth from whom was Vijaya, whose son was Abhimanyu, whose son was Parikshit. Eighth from him was Nanda, ninth from whom was Chālikka, seventh from whom was Rāja-Narēndra. Tenth from him was Bijjalēndra, third in whose line was Vira-Hemmāḍi-Rāya, who prostrated himself before Murārī (Vishnu), and was lord of Māyāpuri. Fourth from him was Tāta-Pinnama, whose son Sōma-Dēva took from the enemy seven hill-forts in one day. His son was Rāghava-Dēvaṭā, whose son was Pinnama. He was lord of Aravīti-nagarī and had a son Bukka, who assisted in firmly establishing even the kingdom of Sāluva-Nṛśimha. Bukka's wife was Ballāmbikā, and their son was Rāma-Rāja. He gained a victory over Sapāda’s army of 70,000 horse, took the hill-fort of Ādavani (Adoni), and driving away Kāsappudayā, captured Kandana-vōli-durgā (Kurnool), and owing to his faith drank with impunity the water from the feet of Hari there, although his kinsmen had put poison into it. His son, by Lakṣmyāmbikā, was Śri-Ranga-Rāya, whose wife Tirumalāmbikā bore to him three sons—Rāma-Rāja, Tirumala-Rāya, and Vēnkaṭapati.

Aliya¹-Rāma-Rājaya-Dēva having (in 1256) suddenly set (or died) owing to acts of State by the kings of the Turukas, the city, throne, and countries of the realm were destroyed and in ruins (Hk 6, Hl 7). On the death of Sadāśiva-Rāya, the brother of Rāma-Rāja, named Tirumalā-Rāya, was anointed to the throne, and ruled from Penugonda (Anantapur District), which now became the capital. He subdued all his enemies and made all the great gifts in the various sacred places. He captured the eighty-four hill-forts (the Mahratta country), put down the pride of Avahala-Rāya, subdued the Utkala (Orissa) king, and styled himself the Tribhuvanamalla of Vengi, and

¹ Son-in-law, that is of Krishna-Rāya.
the Suratrāna (or Sultān) of Urgōla (Orangal). He reduced to submission the Raṭṭas, and called himself lord of Kalyānapura, Chālikka emperor, victor over Gonga of Komarānikōta, and displacer of the Rāya of Rodda. The Kāmbbōja, Bhōja, Kalinga, Karahāta and other kings were his doorkeepers.

He was succeeded in order by his sons Śrī-Ranga-Rāya I and Vēṅkaṭapati-Rāya I. The former, halting in Uddagiri (Udayagiri), captured the hill-forts of Kōṇḍavīḍu and Vīṅghinda (both in the Krishna District), and took up his residence in Penugonda. Vēṅkaṭapati-Rāya, his brother, was next anointed to the throne in Suragiri (Penugonda) by Tātāchārya, the family guru, but removed the capital to Chandragiri (in North Arcot). Immediately after his accession he dispersed the hosts of Yavana fiends. His army also plundered Malik Ibrāhīm's son Muhammad Shāh (both kings of Golkonda) of horses, elephants, and white umbrella, so that he returned home in disgrace. Among other titles, Vēṅkaṭapati has those of Manniyān and Sāmula, and displacer of Oddiya-Rāya (the Orissa king). It was during his reign, and apparently with his consent, that the Rājas of Mysore gained Seringapatam, and thus became independent.

Vēṅkaṭapati's grandson Rāma-Dēva or Rāmachandra-Rāya next came to the throne, and was followed by Vēṅkaṭapati II, grandson of the original Rāma-Rāja, and called Peda-Vēṅkaṭa. His younger brother Pina-Vēṅkaṭa's son, Śrī-Ranga-Rāya, adopted by Gūpāla-Rāja, grandson of the original Rāma-Rāja's brother Vēṅkaṭādri, was next placed on the throne as Śrī-Ranga-Rāya II. In 1644 his capitals Chandragiri and Chingalpat being taken by the forces of Golkonda, he fled to the protection of Sivappa-Nāyak of Bednūr, in the west of Mysore, who installed him at Belūr and neighbouring parts, and even laid siege to Seringapatam on the plea of restoring his sovereignty. But in this he was defeated. Śrī-Rānga-Rāya's inscriptions continue to 1664, and with him ended the Vijayanagar empire. According to Kg 46 he had a son
Devadēva who was ruling in that year, and in Gu 64 and 65 we have a still later Vēnkaṭapati ruling in 1668, who may have been the same. The line eventually merged in that of the chiefs of Ānegundi, who were subdued by Tipū Sultān. Some members of the family, however, still continue there.

17. BIJĀPUR SULTĀNS

But it was in 1644 also that, as the result of the Bijāpur conquests in the late Vijayanagar possessions in Mysore and adjacent countries, the Carnatic Bijāpur Balāghāt and Pāyāngāt provinces were formed under the governorship of Shāhjī, father of the celebrated Mahratta leader Śivaji. The latter, after his father's death, overran all these jāgīr provinces to enforce his claim to a half-share. Records of this Mahratta domination are found in inscriptions of Śivaji's son Sambhājī or Sambhāji, dated 1663 and 1680 (Kl 219, CB 32), of Sambhājī's wife (Kl 227, 224, 254), and Sambhājī's sons (Mb 154, Ct 54), down to 1693. The most interesting is the one on the wall of a temple on the summit of Nandidroog (CB 32), which gives a brief but graphic description of this great stronghold.

Meanwhile we have records of the Ādil Shāhī kings of Bijāpur themselves. They were of high birth, being descended from a prince said to be the son of the Ottoman Sultān Amurāth or Murād, and brother of Muhammad the Great, the conqueror of Constantinople. He escaped to Persia and was transported to the Bahmani court in India, where he rose to power, and ended by establishing this line of kings, the constant rivals of Vijayanagar.

A fine Arabic and Persian inscription of 1632 (Sk 324) is of the reign of Muhammad-Ādil-Shāh, son of Ibrāhīm-Ādil-Shāh, and records the erection of a fort on the hill at the Māsur-Madag tank on the northern frontier of Mysore in the Shikarpur tāluq, as a memorial of victory to that point over
the wicked infidels. Other inscriptions of the same reign are Ci 43 and 44 of 1653, relating to the formation of a tank by the local governor under circumstances of special interest. In 1648 was built by the local chief the fort at Channarāyapaṭṭana in the Hassan District, apparently in pursuance of a treaty with Bijāpur (Cn 158, 160, 165), no doubt to mark the limits of the two territories. At Sira is an inscription on the tomb of Malik Rihān, Subahdār of Sira, who died in 1651 (Si 66h). In 1703 and 1712 are records of the governor Gulām Ali Khān, in the former of which he decided a dispute between two Hindu gurus as to their respective disciples (Mb 98, Kl 74).

18. MUGHALS

Of the Mughal period there are a few inscriptions. The most interesting is one of the time of Aurangzeb relating to the grant of Dod-Ballāpur in 1691 (DB 31). In 1696 was erected the big mosque at Sira (Si 66c). There are also records of the Navāb Durga-Kūli-Khān in 1720 (Si 112), and of the Navāb Dilāvar-Khān in 1742 and 1745 (Si 13, Ht 19).

19. MYSORE RĀJAS

It was their acquisition of Seringapatam in 1610, and the retirement from it then of the Vijayanagar viceroy, that brought the Rājas of Mysore into prominence as independent rulers. But the family traces its origin to the beginning of the fifteenth century, and after the catastrophe which befell the Vijayanagar empire at the battle of Talikota in 1565, the Rājas of Mysore, in common with its other feudatories, had been preparing to cast off the Vijayanagar yoke.

They are of the Lunar race, and their origin is thus related in Ch 92 and other inscriptions. Certain Yādava princes from Dvāraka (the capital of the hero Krishna in
Kathiāwār) came to the Karnāṭa country, either led by fancy, according to some accounts, which seems natural, or, according to others, in order to visit their family god Nārāyana on the peak of Yadugiri (Mēlukōte). Seeing the beauty of the land, and being pleased with it, they took up their abode in Mahisha-pura (Mysore), and became the progenitors of the existing royal family. Tradition alleges that there were two princes, named Vijaya and Krishna. Espousing the cause of a distressed maiden, the daughter of the Woḍeyar or chief of Hadana (now Hadināḍ, to the south-east of Mysore), they saved her from a forced marriage with the chief of Kāruga-halli, who was of inferior caste, by secreting themselves at the wedding banquet and slaying him. She then became the willing bride of Vijaya, who assumed the government of Hadana and Kāruga-halli, adopting the title of Oḍeyar or Woḍeyar,¹ along with a profession of the Jangama or Lingāyit creed. From them was descended Hire-Betṭada-Chāma-Rāja (the third of those named Chāma-Rāja), to whom are assigned the dates 1513 to 1552, previous to which no annals have been preserved. He, during his lifetime, made a partition of his dominions between his three sons. To Timma-Rāja he gave Hemmanhalli, to Krishna-Rāja he gave Kembala, and to Chāma-Rāja, surnamed Bōl (the Bald), he gave Mysore. No male heir surviving to either of the elder brothers, the succession was continued in the junior or Mysore branch. The following is a table of the kings:—

¹ A title of all the Rājas of Mysore. It was also a title of the early Vijayanagar kings, and of various lines of chiefs in the South. It signifies lord or master (being the honorific plural of Oḍeyar), and appears in Tamil as Uḍaiyār. As ra perfor it is the term applied to Jangama or Lingāyit priests.
MYSORE RÂJAS

Hire-Betâdla-Châmâ-Râja (1513-1552)

1. Bûl Châmâ-Râja IV, 1571-1576

2. Betâdla-Châmâ-Râja V, 1576-1579

3. Râja-Wodeyar, 1578-1617

4. Châmâ-Râja VI, 1617-1637

5. Innâdli, Râja-Wodeyar, 1637-1638

6. Kunthirava-Narasâ-Râja I, 1638-1659

7. Dôdja-Dêva-Râja, 1659-1672

8. Chikka-Dêva-Râja, 1672-1704, Kunthirava


10. Dôdja-Krishna-Râja, 1713-1731

11. Châmâ-Râja VII, 1731-1734

12. Innâdli-Krishna-Râja, 1734-1766

13. Nannya-Râja, 1766-1770

14. Châmâ-Râja VIII, 1770-1776

15. Châmâ-Râja IX, 1776-1796


(adopted)

17. Châmâ-Râjâendra X, 1868-1894

18. Krishna-Râja IV, 1894

Timma-Râja is said (Sr. 14) to have gained the title Antembara-ganda, distinctive of the Mysore Râjas. Châmâ-Râja IV defeated in battle Rêmaâti-Vênkaâta, the general of Râma-Râja. He also, as we know from history, withheld the tribute due to Vijayanagar, and set at defiance the viceroy at Seringapatam, who in vain attempted to arrest him. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Betâdla-Châmâ-Râja, who, though conspicuously brave, had no capacity for government. His younger brother, Râja-Wodeyar, was therefore raised to the

1 Innâdli means second; Mummâdli, third.

2 His elder brother, as the senior, was originally called Dôdja-Dêva-Râja, but as he did not come to the throne, the designation is applied to the junior who actually ruled.

3 "Champion over those who say they are such and such." A more intelligible form is Biruk-pathembara-ganda, "champion over those who say they have such and such titles."
throne by the elders. He, it is said (Sr 14, 64, TN 63), according to his vow, thrashed the proud lord of Kārugahalli on the field of battle with his riding- whip. But, far more important, he overcame Tirumala-Rāya (the Vijayanagar viceroy) and seated himself on the jewelled throne in Seringapatam. Whatever were the means by which this was accomplished, it is undoubted that the aged viceroy retired to Talakād in 1610, where he shortly after died, and that Rāja-Wodeyar took possession of Seringapatam and made it his capital in place of Mysore.¹ From this time dates the independence of the Mysore Rājas, though it is curious that some of their inscriptions still acknowledge the Vijayanagar supremacy down to as late a period as 1668 (Gū 65), and Narasa-Rāja of Māsūr is said (Yd 5) to be the right hand of the Vijayanagar sovereign in 1642. But, at the same time, they make numerous grants by their own independent authority, one of the earliest that can be cited being of the date 1612 (Ch 200).

All the sons being dead, Rāja-Wodeyar was succeeded by a grandson, Chāma-Rāja VI, in whose time (1630) we know that Channapatna and its possessions were added to Mysore. A posthumous son born to Rāja-Wodeyar was next placed on the throne as Immadi-Rāja-Wodeyar (Yd 17), but he was shortly poisoned, at the instigation, it appears, of the Dalavāyī.²

Kanṭhirava-Narasa-Rāja I, son of the gallant Beṭṭada-Chāma-Rāja, then obtained the crown, and had a distinguished reign. He successfully repelled the Bijāpur invasions, and extended the kingdom on all sides, gaining great booty, some of which he applied to strengthening the fortifications of

¹ This seems to have been countenanced by the Vijayanagar sovereign Vēṅkapa- pati-Rāya, who is said (TN 62) to have confirmed Rāja-Wodeyar in 1612 in the possession of Ummattür and Seringapatam; and Nj 198 implies that he considered the Mysore kings to have a right to the throne of Kanjāṭa.

² The title of the chief officer of the State, who was at the head of the army but was also a minister. The office was mostly hereditary, the Mysore and Kalale families having entered into an alliance according to which the former provided the Karta (Curtur in the English records) or ruler of the State, and the latter the Dalavāyi or commander-in-chief.
Seringapatam. He was the first to establish a mint, at which were coined the Kanṭhirāya (Canteroy) huns and fānamaś named after him (Ag 64), which continued to be the current national money until the Muhammadan usurpation. According to Sr 103 he was Krishna himself, born to give peace to the world when it was troubled by the Turushkas and resounded with the noise of horse hoofs. While he ruled, all the land was prosperous. When he went forth to war, the Vangas, Hūnas, and Konkanas were terrified, the Saurāshtras lost their kingdom, the Gurjara horse bolted, the Mēchhas fell down in a swoon. He established many agrahāras, bestowed numerous gifts, and revived the observance of the ēkāḍaśi-vrata, or eleventh day vow in honour of Lakṣmī-Nrīśimha (Vishnu), like Ambarisha and other kings of old (Ag 64).

He died without issue, and Doḍḍa-Dēva-Rāja, a grandson of Chāma-Rāja IV, was selected to succeed him, a rival claimant, afterwards Chikka-Dēva-Rāja, being sent, with his father, into confinement at Hangala (Gundalpet tāluq). This reign was occupied in repulsing invasions from Bednūr by Śivappa-Nāyak, who attempted to restore the authority of the Vijayanagar king, a fugitive at his court. Doḍḍa-Dēva-Rāja extended the Mysore territories to the south and northwest. All those who were persecuted by the Mēchchas, who had seized upon the land, flocked (says Yd 54) to him for protection. The Pandyas lost their kingdom, the Chōlas sailed away with all their forces to the islands, the Kēralas took poison, the Haivas were smitten by the gods, the Konkanas lost heart, the Hūnas sought only to save their lives, the Habhusikas were pierced all over with wounds, the Lātas were driven to wander in the forests, the Gurjara were paralysed, the Rānas obtained nīroṇa, while the Kurus, Maravas, Mudgalas and Jangālas, the Angas, Vangas, Kālingas, the Magadha king, with the king of Madhura and others, threw themselves at his feet. Several uncouth Mahratti and Hindustāni words are given as specimens of the exclamations heard on all sides from those who fell in his wars. He made all the
gifts described in the Hēmādri and other sacred books, and established in every village inns (chatra) for the distribution of food. Dividing his kingdom into four parts, he gave the first to the Brāhmans, the second to the gods, the third to charity, and reserved the fourth for his own use. Details of his conquests are also thus given (Sr 14). He defeated the army of the lord of Madhura in Īrōdu (Coimbatore District), slew Damaralaiyappēndra, and put to flight Anantōji. He captured the elephant named Kulaśēkhara, and took by assault Sāmballī (in Bhavāṇī tāluq, Coimbatore), Ōmalūr (near Salem), and Dhārāpuram (in south of Coimbatore District). He defeated the army of the Keladi kings (Shimoga District), captured the elephant called Gangādhara, and seized Hāsana (Hassan) and Sakkarepaṭṭana. The territories thus acquired extended from Sakkarepaṭṭana (near Chikmugalūr) in the west to Sēleyapura (Salem) in the east, and from Chikkanāyākapura (Chiknāyakanhalli) in the north to Dhārāpuram in the south, between all which places he established an inn for travellers at every yōjana (about nine miles) along every road. He died at Chiknāyakanhalli.

Chikka-Dēva-Rāja, great-grandson of Chāma-Rāja IV, previously passed over and sent into confinement, was now elevated to the throne, and is one of the most celebrated of the Mysore Rājas. Many important administrative changes were made by him, some of which created serious discontent. This was suppressed by a treacherous massacre of Jangama priests, who had fomented it. But at his death in 1704, notwithstanding the troublous times, he had built up a secure and prosperous kingdom, stretching from Palni and Ānemale (Madura District) in the south to Midagēsi (north of Tumkūr District) in the north, and from Carnatic Garh in the Bāramahāl (Salem District) in the east to the borders of Coorg and Balam (Manjarābād) in the west.

The inscriptions are chiefly concerned with his successes in war. One of the earliest (Ch 92 of 1675) describes him as seated on the throne of the Karnāṭa dominion like the great Indra. In the east, defeating the Pāndya king Chokka
(Nāyak of Madura), he seized Trivura and Anantapur; in the west, smiting the Keladi kings, with the Yavanas, he took Sakalēṣapura and Arakalgūḍu (both in Hassan District); in the north, defeating Ranadulha-Khān (the Bijāpur general), he captured Kētasamudra, with Kandikere, Handalakere, Gūlūr, Tumukūr, and Honnavalli (all in Tumūr District). Defeating in battle Mushtika, who was aided by the Morasas (people of Kolar District) and Kirātas, he captured Jadagāndurgā and changed its name to Chikkadēvarāyadurgā (now Dēvarāyadurgā). The Varāha (or Boar) which was lost in the Yavana invasion, he brought from Śrīmushna (South Arcot) and set it up with devotion in Śtrāṅgappattāna (Seringapatam—it is now in Mysore, where it was removed in the time of Pūrnayya). He also (Sr 151) conquered Timmappa-Gaūḍa and Rāmappa-Gaūḍa and took Maddagiri, Midageśi, Bijjavara and Channarāyadurgā. Then he is said (in Sr 14 of 1686) to have defeated the Mahrattas from Panchavaṭi (Nāsik, in the north of the Bombay Presidency), and of their leaders he slew Dādōji and cut off the limbs and noses of Jaitaji and Jasavanta.1 He also reduced to abject terror Śambhu (Sambhōji, son and successor of the celebrated Sivaji), Kutupu-Shāh (one of the Sultāns of Golkonda), Ikkerī Basava (Basavappa-Nāyak, adopted son of Channammāji, widow and successor on the throne of Sōmaśekhara-Nāyak), and Ekōji (or Venkōji, the half-brother of Sivaji, who seized Tanjore and founded the line of Mahratta rulers there). We are also informed (in Sr 64 of 1722) that he conquered the lord of Madhura, and withstood Sivaji at the time when the rulers of the countries around Āgra, Delhi, and Bhāgānagara (Haidarābād) were falling down before him and presenting tribute. He

1 Dādōji bādi jaitaji jasavanti svarsuṇa-nāsā-khāṭhi. The latter part of the phrase might possibly be rendered—"cut off the noses of all arms." This was a practice adopted by the Mysoreans in order to instill terror into the enemy. See Manucci, Storia de Mogor (Irvine's translation and additional notes, vol. iv.). But may it not have been the survival of an old Indian custom? For Professor Macdonell, in writing of early Sanskrit medical works (Imp. Gas. Ind., vol. ii.), says—"Probably the only valuable contribution to surgery to which India can lay claim is the art of forming artificial noses. This operation has been borrowed in modern times from India, where Englishmen became acquainted with it in the 18th century.
CHĀMA-RĀJA

thus acquired the title Apratīma-vīra (unrivalled hero), which is one of the distinctive epithets of the Mysore Rājas. He is moreover said to have defeated attacks from every point of the compass, made by Turukas (or Muhammadans), Morasas (Telugu people of the Kolar District and north-east), Āreyas (or Maharattas), Tigulas (Tamil people), Kodagas (Coorgs), and Malegas (hill tribes in the west). In addition to Kutūpu-Shāh (of Golconda), he is said to have driven off Edulu-Shāh (Ādil-Shāh of Bijāpur).

Kanṭhīrava-Narasā-Rāja II, the son of Chikka-Dēva-Rāja, was born deaf and dumb, and thence called Mūk-arasu. But through the influence of the eminent minister Tirumalārāya he succeeded to the throne. There are no inscriptions of his time.

His son, Doddā-Krishna-Rāja, followed, during whose reign frequent invasions took place by the Muhammadans and the Maharattas, who had to be bought off. The king being immersed in his own pleasures, all power began to fall into the hands of the ministers.

With him the direct descent ended. Ag 62 gives a list of the kings down to 1811, but (to complete the chronicle from history) Chāma-Rāja VII, a member of the Hemmanhalli family, was next elected. He was eventually deposed by the dalavāyi Dēvarāj and the minister Nanjarāj, and died a prisoner at Kabbāldurga in 1734. Immaidl-Krishna-Rāja of Kencchangōd, a younger and distant branch, was put on the throne in that year, and died in 1766. His eldest son Nanja-Rāja was directed by Haidar-Ali to be installed, but finding him not sufficiently subservient, Haidar turned him out of the palace in 1767. He was strangled in 1770, being nominally succeeded by his brother Chāma-Rāja VIII, who died childless in 1775. An inscription of the previous year (Bl 65) truthfully represents Chāma-Rāja as the king, but the excellent Haidar-Ali as the ruler. Chāma-Rāja IX, a member of the Kārugahalli family, was next selected by Haidar in a dramatic manner. He died in 1796 and Tipū-Sultān appointed no successor. On the capture of Serinterpattam by the British in 1799 and the death at the same
time of Tipu-Sultan, the Muhammadan usurpation of Haider-Ali (1761-1782) and Tipu-Sultan (1782-1799) being brought to an end, the British Government restored the Hindu dynasty, and placed on the throne Mummadi-Krishna-Raja, son of the last-named Chama-Raja. His inscriptions run from 1800 (Sr 8) down to near the end of his life in 1868. One in the Lakshmiramana-temple at Mysore commemorates his installation there on the throne of his ancestors on the 30th of June 1799. Another, of 1829, in the Krishnaswami temple, ascribes to him nine modes of service, called the nine jewels, for the pleasure of the goddess Chamundeshvari. These were—the jewel of adornment, in presenting crowns for the gods at Melukote and other places; the jewel of love of country, in founding Chamarajanagar and other towns; the jewel of devotion, in building temples; the jewel of their consecration, in completing their towers; the jewel of public good, in erecting dams and bathing-places; the jewel of charity, in establishing inns for feeding pilgrims at various sacred places; the jewel of fame, in issuing gold and silver coins; and the jewel of language, in publishing commentaries on the sacred books. Ch 86 of 1828 and Nj 8 of 1845 contain a list of the titles and emblems of the Rajas of Mysore. Krishna-Raja was deposed in 1831 for continued misrule, and during the next fifty years Mysore was administered by British Commissioners. In 1881 it was again restored to the Mysore family in the person of Krishna-Raja's adopted son Chama-Rajendra, and he was succeeded in 1894 by the present Maharaaja, Krishna-Raja IV, at first under the Regency of the Maharanee his mother. On attaining majority in 1902 he was installed in power.

20. COORG RAJAS

The Kongalvas, who had been installed by the Cholas in 1004 or 1005 (Cp 40) as rulers of Kongal-naad—the Yelusavira country in Coorg and the Arkalgud taluq in Mysore—

1 Examples of Haider-Ali's inscriptions are Cp 146, 18, and 114; of Tipu-Sultan's, for the most part characteristically bombastic, Sr 23, 159, Bn 7, and My 54.
and of whom there are a dozen or more inscriptions in Coorg (see Cg 30-30), disappeared on the expulsion in 1116 of the Chōlas from Mysore by the Hoysalas, their latest inscription being dated in 1115 (Cg 33). But the Changāḷvas, who ruled over the other parts of Coorg and Changa-nāḍ—the Hunsūr āṭāl in Mysore—continued in power, in subordination to the Hoysalas, and subsequently, as the Rājas of Nanjarāyapaṭṭana or Nanjarājapaṭṭana, to Vijayanagar, till nearly the middle of the seventeenth century (Hs 36). The earliest express mention of the Kodagas or Coorgs in the inscriptions is in 1174 (Hs 20), when Bādaganda Nandi-Dēva, Udeyāditya-Dēva of Kuruche, and others, the Kodagas of all the nāḍs, are said to have assisted the Changāḷva prince Pemma-Virappa in his attack on the Hoysala army at Pālpare, an enterprise that was not successful. The Changāḷva line became extinct in 1644 by the death of the last king at the capture of Piriyapatna or Periapatam by the army of the Mysore Rāja. The latter did not, however, follow up the victory into Coorg, owing to the forces of Bednūr having entered the country under Śivappa-Nāyaka, who was engaged in invading Malayāla. The Kodagas later on may have attempted to recover Piriyapatna, as they are mentioned (Sr 64) among the assailants from all quarters who were overcome by Chikka-Dēva-Rāja of Mysore.

The throne of Coorg left vacant by the overthrow of the Changāḷvas did not remain long unoccupied. A prince of the Bednūr family, who may have been related to the Changāḷvas in some way, having settled at Hāḷēri (called Kshīra-nagara in Sanskrit), to the north of Mercāra, in the garb of a Jangama or Lingāyit priest, gradually brought the whole country under his authority. His descendants continued as Rājas of Coorg till 1834, when the country was annexed by the British.

The following is a table of the Coorg Rājas, whose history is contained in the Rājendranāme, compiled by order of Vira-Rājendra, and translated into English by Lieut. Abercromby at Mangalore in 1808:—
The first Muddu-Raja removed the capital from Hālēri to Madikēri (Mercāra), where he built a fort and palace in 1681. The second Muddu-Raja and his cousin Muddaya ruled together at the same time, and died in the same year. The succession was then disputed. Dēvappa-Raja at first secured the throne, but Linga-Raja, the rival candidate, gained possession by seeking the support of Haidar Ali, who had usurped the throne of Mysore. Linga-Raja died in 1780, and his tomb was erected in Mahādevapura, the northern quarter of Mercāra (Cg 12). Haidar then took possession of Coorg under the pretext of being guardian to the sons until they should come of age. But the princes were confined at Gorūr (in Hassan tāluq) and then at Piriyapatna (Periapatam). In 1782 the Coorgs rose in rebellion, and Haidar Ali died. But Tipū-Sultān, his son, re-established his power, and when the Coorgs again rebelled, deported them wholesale to Seringapatam, and parcellled out the country among Musalmān landlords, who were enjoined to exterminate all the Coorgs that might remain. In 1738 Vīra-Rājendra, with his wife and brothers, made his escape from Piriyapatna, and before long was able to regain a measure of power. Through the support of the British, who were now at war with Tipū-Sultān, he was at
length securely seated on the throne, and a large body of
Coorgs escaped to their own country during the siege of
Seringapatam by Lord Cornwallis in 1792. Vira-Rājendrā
had a romantic career and was the most distinguished of the
Coorg Rājas. Cg 13 and 14 are grants made by him in
1796 for Śivāchāra maṭhas, and they direct that at the time
of Śiva-pūja blessings may be invoked with the following
hymn of benediction:

jāti-samaratvam prithvi-patītvam saubhāgya-lāvannyaḥ ativa-rūpam |
tvad bhakti vidyā paranāyur ivaṁ tvam daś cha mē Śankara janma
janmani ||

(Recollection of former births, dominion of the world, the glory of good
fortune, surpassing beauty,
Faith in thee, knowledge, long life, (objects of) desire,—(of these) be thou
giver to me, Śankara, from age to age.)

And the witnesses are thus described:

āditya chandrō anilō malaś cha dyaur bhūmir āpō hṛidayam Yamaś cha
ahaś cha rātrīś cha ubhayaś cha sandhi dharmasya janaśī narmasya vṛtah.

(Sun and moon, wind and fire, sky, earth and water, heart (or
conscience) and Yama, day and night, morning and evening; these know
the deeds of a righteous man.)

In Cg 17 are recorded the erection and endowment of the
Ūnkārēsvara temple at Mercāra in 1820 by the first Linga-
Rāja. The building was commenced, it is said, on the
1,796,362nd Kali day, and completed on the 1,797,421st.
A curious account of an elephant hunt in the time of the last
Vira-Rāja is given in Cg 25. Elephants having increased in
numbers to such a degree that they were destroying fruit trees
and crops, killing travellers, and damaging houses, the king
considered it part of his duty as protector of his people to
rid them of these troubles. He therefore, after invoking the
aid of Śiva, entered into the forests in a chariot made and
painted like a lion (according to Hindu belief the natural
enemy of the elephant), and in the course of 2 years, 1 month
and 25 days, between 1822 and 1824, disposed of 414
elephants. The actual days on which they were hunted were
38, and in those days he claims to have shot with his own hand 233, while his trained soldiers captured 181 alive, and "it was a marvel that men should catch stout and lofty rutting elephants as if they were mice."

But this king was a monster of sensuality and cruelty, and by wholesale murders had established a reign of terror in the country. In 1832 his sister and her husband escaped to the Resident at Mysore for British protection, and the Rāja's insolent and defiant conduct led to an expedition being sent against him. As the result, he was deposed in 1834, and at the request of the people the country was taken over by the British. The Rāja was deported to Vellore, but afterwards lived at Benāres. In 1852 he was allowed to go to England, where he sought to gain the favour of Queen Victoria by having his daughter baptized and brought up as a Christian. He then commenced a Chancery suit against the East India Company, which dragged on till the affairs of the Company passed over to the Crown. He died in England in 1862, and was buried in Kensal Green Cemetery in London.

Among later inscriptions is Cg 29 of 1857. This relates to the restoration of a temple of Mahadēva on the Kunda hill. The work, to which a number of prominent men contributed, including a Brāhman, Coorgs, and even a Muhammedan, was commenced, it is said, on the 1,810,060th Kali day.
II. RULERS OF MINOR STATES

1. ĀLUPAS OR ĀLUVAS

Of the rulers of the principal minor States, we may begin with the Ālupas or Āluvas (also called Ālu and Ālva). They are mentioned in connection with the Chalukyas in the seventh century, who describe them along with the Gangas as an ancient family (Dg 66), and under the Rāśṭrakūṭas in the eighth (Sb 10). Their original estate seems to have been Edevolal, to the north-east of Banavasi. But their regular kingdom was called Ālvakheda or Āluvakheda, which was one of the boundaries of the Hoysala kingdom in the eleventh century (Mg 32). It was a Six Thousand province (Sb 10), situated chiefly in South Kanara, and it has been suggested that it corresponds with the Olokhoira mentioned by Ptolemy so far back as the second century. The inscriptions of the Āluvas have been found at Kiggia (Koppa tāluq) and at Udayāvara, near Udipi (South Kanara), while it appears that Pomburecha (Humcha in Nagar tāluq) was at one time in their possession (Kp 37).

No connected genealogy of the line has been obtained, nor any account of their origin. But the names of certain kings occur. Thus we have Gunasāgara as governor of the Kadamba-maṇḍala in about 675 (Kp 38), and his son Chitravāha (Chitravāhana) in 692 in the time of Vinayāditya (Sb 571). Then in about 800 we have a later Chitravāhana, ruling the Āluvakheda Six Thousand under the Rāśṭrakūṭa
The earliest mention of these kings is in the time of (the Chalukya) Vinayāditya, the end of the seventh century. With the approval of the brother's son of the Chānta king Jayasangraha, who was lord of the city of Madhura encircled by the Kālinidi, and of the Ugra-vamsa but connected with the Yaduvamsa by marriage, a grant was then made by the wife of the Pändi yuvarāja; and it is said to be under the protection of "the three hundred of the children of the house of the Chāntas." That this was the original form of the name appears also from Sk 283 of about 830, where too the king is said to be a Chānta. According to Nr 35 and 48, the Sāntara kingdom was founded by Jinadatta-Rāya, lord of the northern Madhura (Muttra), who was of the Ugra-vamsa. The Sāntaras are identified with Paṭṭi-Pomburcha, the modern Hombucha or Humcha in Nagar-taluq, as their capital, which may previously have been in the possession of the Āluvas. The remote progenitor of the line was Rāha, from whom was descended Sahakāra, who became a cannibal. He was the father of Jinadatta, who escaped from him in disgust and came to the South, bringing an image of the Jain goddess Padmāvati. She bestowed on him the power to transmute iron into gold, as exemplified in his horse's bit being turned into a golden bit on touching it with her image. Thus aided, he subdued the local chiefs around, and established his capital at Pomburcha (supposed to mean golden bit) and took the name Sāntara. His descendants the Sāntaras ruled over the Sāntalige

2 Paṭṭi was apparently the name of the country in which Pomburcha was situated. The Hoysala king Vishnuvariddhana is said (Sr 49, III 58) to have set up Paṭṭi Perumāla.
Thousand, which corresponds generally with the present Tirthahalli taluq and neighbouring parts. Jinaadatta conquered the country southwards as far as Kalasa (Mudgere taluq), and northwards fortified Góvardhangiri (Sāgar taluq), which he named after the famous hill near Muttra in the north of India. At a later period the capital was removed to Kalasa and then to Kārakala (in South Kanara). The rulers eventually became Lingāyits and adopted the title of Bhairarasa-Woḍeyars, but they probably had Jain wives. They continued beyond the fall of Vijayanagar in the sixteenth century, and were finally absorbed into the Keladi State.

Among the early Sāntara kings are mentioned the brothers Srikēśī and Jayakēśī, and the son of the former, Ranakēśī. We have the Chānta king Jagēśī in Sk 283 ruling the whole of Sāntalige under the Rāśtrakūṭa king Nripatunga Amogha-varsha. He may therefore be placed in about 830. But a connected genealogy begins with Vikrama-Sāntara, who had the titles Kandukāchārya and Dāna-vinōda. He is credited with forming the Sāntalige Thousand into a separate kingdom, of which the boundaries were the Sula river on the south, Tavanasi on the west, and Bandlige on the north. No eastern boundary is named (Nr 35). In about 920 a Sāntara king, whose name is not given, was defeated in a battle with the Nolambas, and slain and beheaded by the Ganga prince, the son of Pilduvipati or Prithuvipati (Gd 4). In 1062 and 1066 Vira-Sāntara and his son Bhujabala-Sāntara are said (Nr 47, 59) to have freed the kingdom from those who had no claim to it. The reference may be to certain Chālukya princes, Bijjarasa and his brother Gōna-Rāja, who are stated (in Sa 109 bis) to be in full enjoyment of the Sāntalige-nāḍ in 1042. A glowing description is given of the fertility of the province, which was such that hunger was unknown there, and grass, firewood, and water were so abundant that many learned Brāhmans were induced to make it their abode. The Sāntalige-nāḍ, it says, had been ruled by many, but among them none was more famous than Gōna-Rāja. He established
an agrahāra for the Brāhmans at Andhāsura (still so called, near Anantapur). Andhāsura is named among one of the first conquests of Jinadatta.

After this the Śāntaras completely recovered their power and influence. For of Nanni-Śāntara, the brother of Bhujabala, it is said (Nr 36) that he gained much greater distinction than even Būtuga-Permmādi (the Ganga king) had obtained, as the emperor came to meet him half way, and, giving him half the seat on his metal throne, placed the valiant Śāntara, whom he had protected, at his side. In the third generation from this we have Jagadeva, who must be the king that attacked the Hoysalas in Dōrasamudra and was beaten off by Ballāla I and Bītī-Dēva in 1104, as his nephew Jayakēśi is given the date 1159 (Sa 159).

The centre of the State was later removed southwards to Kalasa (Mudgere tāluq), and from 1209 (Mg 65) to 1516 (Mg 31) it is called the Kalasa kingdom. Inscriptions at Kalasa give us the names of its rulers, two of whom, from 1246 to 1281, were queens, Jākala and Kālala-mahādevīs; then Vira-Pāṇḍya and Bhairarasa-Wodeyar alternately recur. In 1292, at the time of the coronation of the Hoysala king Ballāla III, Kālala’s son Pāṇḍya-Dēva successfully defended his country from an attack (Cm 36). But for the fourteenth century there are no inscriptions; it was the time of the Musalmān invasions from Delhi. In 1432 was erected the gigantic image of Gōmata at Kārakala by Vira-Pāṇḍya. From 1516 the State is called the Kalasa-Kārakala kingdom (Mg 41), and is described (Mg 62) as the kingdom below and above the Ghats. Kalasa is above the Ghats, in Mysore, and Kārakala below the Ghats, in South Kanara, both in about the same latitude. In 1530 the king is only said to be on the throne of Kārakala (Kp 47). The extension of the kingdom below the Ghats probably took place in the fifteenth century, when the kings had the title (Mg 42) ari-rāya-gaṇḍara-dāvani (cattle-rope to the champions over kings). The Vijayanagar king Krishna-Rāya soon after invaded the Tulu
country and encamped near Mangalūr (Mg 41). Bhairarasa fled, but made a vow that if the imperial army should retire and he return in peace to his country, he would repair the temple at Kalasa. What he wished for happened, and his right to the territory which he had occupied may then have been recognised. In 1542 and 1555 the crown is said (Mg 40, 60) to be that of Keravase, which may have been then the capital. It is near to Kārakala, on the east. The latest grant we have by the Bhairarasa-Wodeyars is dated 1598 (Kp 50). But another colossal image of Gōmaṭa was erected at Yenūr (in South Kanara) by the brother of a king named Pāṇḍya in 1603 (see SB, Introd. 31, 32; El. vii. 110, 112).

3. CHANGĀLVAS

The Changālvas or Changāluvas were a line of kings ruling for a long period in the west of the Mysore District and in Coorg. Their original territory was Changa-nāḍ (Hs 97), corresponding chiefly with the Hunsūr tāluq. They claim to be Yādavas (Hs 63, Yd 26) and of the Lunar race, descended from a king named Changālva, who was in Dvarāvatī, and having defeated Bijjalendrā, seized his titles. What these were does not appear, but the kings are generally styled maha- maṇḍalika-maṇḍalēśvara. This Bijjala might perhaps be an early king of that name among the Kalachuryas (see above, p. 79), or one of the Śāntaras. The Changālvas became devoted Śaivas, and had as their family god Annadānī-Mallikārjuna on the Beṭṭadpur hill (in Hunsūr tāluq), which they called Śrigiri, perhaps with reference to the Śaiva sacred place Śripārvata or Śrīśāla in the Kurnool District. But they are first met with in Jain inscriptions at Panasoge or Hanasoge, to the south of the Kāvēri river in the Yedatore tāluq, where there are many ruined basadis. These, according to Yd 26, were sixty-four in number, and were set up by Rāma, the

1 The invasion is said to have been made by Bhujahala-Rāya. If this be taken as a name and not a title, it may refer to Krishna-Rāya's elder brother Narasimha, who is called Bushalrāo by Nuniz (see Myc. Arch. Rep. of 1908).
son of Daśaratha, the elder brother of Lakshmana, and husband of Sītā. The Jain priests of the Hottage (or Pustaka) gachcha claim exclusive jurisdiction over basadis at Panasoge and at Tale-Kāvēri (in Coorg), which may perhaps have been the limits of the Changālva kingdom east and west.

One of the basadis or Jain temples at Panasoge set up by Rāma had been endowed by the Gangas, and was rebuilt by the king Nanni-Changālva. The Ganga gifts are ascribed in Yd 25 to Mārasimha-Dēva, and he ruled from 961 to 974. Nanni-Changālva, from his prenomen Rājendra-Chōla, belongs to the beginning of the eleventh century. He is the first Changālva of whom we have any certain knowledge. But as their kingdom was conquered by the Chōlas at the time when the Ganga power was overthrown in 1004, the Changālvases must have been an established line of kings prior to that. Their inscriptions are found mostly in the Hunsūr and Yedatore taluqs and in Coorg, where they occur as far west as Yedava-nād and Bēttyet-nād.

The subjugation of the Changālvas by the Chōlas seems to have been effected by their defeat at Panasoge by the Chōla general Panchava-mahārāya (Cg 46). The subsequent Changālva kings all had Chōla prenomens for nearly two centuries. But on the expulsion of the Chōlas from Mysore by the Hoysalas in 1116, the Changālvas came into collision with the latter. Ballāla I had led an expedition against them in about 1104 (Hn 162). Vira-Ganga was applied to for a grant by their purānika in 1139 (Cn 199, 200). In 1145 Nārasimha is said (Ng 76) to have slain Changālva in battle, and seized his elephants, horses, gold, and new jewels. In 1155 Nārasimha's general Chokimayya is said (Hn 69) to have brought the Changa king's territory into subjection to his king, and in 1171 Sōvi-dēva, the Kadamba ruler of Banavase, having vowed to do it, put the Changālva king into chains (Sb 345). Changālva is named as one of the kings who paid homage to Nārasimha's son Ballāla when as a prince he made a tour in the hill countries to the west (Bl 86). But
Ballâla, when on the throne, had to send an expedition in 1174 under his general Beṭṭarasa against the Changâlva king Mahadêva, who had retired to Pälpare, a fort in Kiggatnâd in south Coorg. Beṭṭarasa destroyed him, and made Pälpare the seat of his own government. But the Changâlva Pemmap-Virappa afterwards attacked him, aided by the Kodagas (or Coorgs) of all the nâds (the earliest express mention of the Coorgs). Beṭṭarasa was near being totally defeated, but contrived to gain the victory (Hs 20). After this the Changâlvas appear to have submitted to the Hoysalas. In 1245 they had their capital at Śrirangapaṭṭana, not Seringapatam, but the place in Coorg known as Kodugu-Śrirangapaṭṭana, situated to the south of the Kâvērī, near Siddapur (Ag 53), and two kings, Sōma-Dēva and Boppa-Dēva, were ruling conjointly. In 1252 the Hoysala king Sōmēśvara was received by them on a visit (Ag 53) to Râmanâthpura (on the north bank of the Kâvērī in Arkalgūd taluk). Changâlvas named Mali-Dēva and Harihara-Dēva are mentioned in 1280 and 1297 (Bl 89, Cg 54, 45, 59), but during the fourteenth century none are met with.

At the end of the fifteenth century they again appear, and Nanja-Râja, who ruled from 1502 to 1533, was the founder of their new capital Nanjarâjapaṭṭana or Nanjarâyapaṭṭana. It is in Coorg, to the north of the Kâvērī, where it turns north and becomes the common boundary of Mysore and Coorg. The kings now called themselves kings of Nanjarâyapaṭṭana or Nanjarâjapaṭṭana, and this place still continues to give its name to the northern taluk of Coorg. Nanja-Râja’s younger brother Mahadêva is mentioned in Hs 63 and SB 103, but a genealogy of the Changâlvas at this period is given in Hs 24 and 63. Mangarasa in his Jayanripa-kâvyâ, written in about 1509, says that his father was descended from the minister of the Changâlva kings, and that the latter derived their origin from Krishna, that is, were Yâdavas. Śrikanṭha-Râja, ruling in 1544 (Cg 26) seems to have been an important personage, and is distinguished by supreme titles (Hs 24). Piriya-Râja,
surnamed Rudragana, who ruled from 1586 to 1607, rebuilt Singapattana and named it after himself Piriyapattana (Hs 15), the Periapatam in Hunsur taluq. In 1607 Tirumala-Raja, the Vijayanagar viceroy at Seringapatam, made a grant of the Malalavadi country (Hunsur taluq) to Rudragana “in order that the worship of the god Annadungi-Mallikarjuna should not fail as long as the Nanjarayapattana kings of the Changalva family continued” (Hs 36). But Piriyapattana was taken by the Mysore king in 1644, Vira-Rajaiya, the ruling prince, falling in its defence, after putting to death his wives and children on seeing that his situation was desperate. This was the end of the Changalvas.

4 KONGALVAS

The Kongalvas ruled a kingdom consisting of the Arkalgud taluq in the south of the Hassan District of Mysore and the adjoining Yelusavira country in the north of Coorg. It was more or less the Kongal-nad Eight Thousand, of which the Ganga prince Ereyappa had been governor in about 880 (Hs 92). But the Kongalva State now in question was a creation of the Cholas in about 1004, as recorded in Cg 46. It is there said that the great Chola king Rajakesarivarmanm Permmanadigal (Rajaraja), on hearing how Panchava-maharaya had fought without ceasing in the battle of Panasoge (Yedatore taluq) and annihilated the enemy (the Changalvas), resolved to bestow on him a crown and give him a nadd. Accordingly, when he appeared before the king, the latter bound on him a crown with the title Kshatriya-sikhamsani Kongalva, and gave him Malavvi (now Malambi, in Coorg). Of this Panchava-maharaya we have an inscription at Balmuri (Sr 140), dated in 1012, in which he is described as a bee at the lotus feet of Rajaraja, and is said to have been invested by him with the rank of mahaa-dandanayaka for Bengi-mandala (the Eastern Chalukya territory) and Ganga-mandala (the Ganga territory in Mysore). He then claims to have led an expedition
throughout the western coast region, in the course of which he seized Tuluva (South Kanara), and Konkana (North Kanara), held Malaya (Malabar), and put to flight Chēramma (the king of Cochin or Travancore), after which he pushed aside Teluga and Raṭṭiga (countries to the north of Mysore), and desired to have even the little Belvola country (in Dharwar and Belgaum Districts).

Kongālva kings with Chōla prenomens continue down to 1115 (Cg 33), and disappear on the expulsion of the Chōlas by the Hoysalas at that time. They were Jains, and the titles ascribed (Ag 99) to Adaṭarāditya, who ruled from 1066 to 1100, are: entitled to the pancha-mahā-sabda, māhā-maṇḍalēśvara, chief lord of the city of Oreyūr (the early Chōla capital near Trichinopoly, now called Warriore), sun upon the eastern mountain—the Chōla-kula—with twisted top-knot, crest-jewel of the Sūryya-vamsa (or Solar race). Adaṭarāditya had a learned minister named Nakulāryya, who boasts of being able to write in four languages (Ag 99). Which these were is unfortunately not mentioned.

Two occasions are referred to, in Mj 43 and Ag 76, on which the Kongālvas came into collision with the Hoysalas. In the former, the Kongālva king attacked Nripa-Kāma-Poysala in 1022, when the latter was apparently saved by his general Jōgayya. In the latter, Kongālva claims to have gained a victory at Manni over the base (munda) Poysala in 1026. As no farther advance of the Chōla arms is recorded, it is evident that the Hoysalas checked the Chōla career of conquest in Mysore in this direction.

The Kongālva name survived till 1390 (Cg 39), when some Jain priests repaired the basadis at Mullūr (in Coorg) and a Kongālva-Suguni-Dēvi made grants for them, which are still continued.
5. PUNNĀḌ RĀJAS

Punnāḍ was a very ancient kingdom, situated in the south of Mysore. It is the Punnāṭa mentioned in connection with the Jain migration from the North in the third century B.C. led by Bhadrabāhu, who at Śravana-Belgola (Hassan District), in anticipation of his death, directed the pilgrims to go on to Punnāṭa (as stated by Harishēna in the Brihatkāthakāśa, dated in 931¹). It is also mentioned in the second century by Ptolemy as Pounnata, where (he says) is beryl. Its name occurs again in the fifth century in connection with the Ganga king Avinīta (Cg 1). It was a Six Thousand province, and had as its capital Kitthipura, now identified (Hg 56) with Kittūr on the Kabbani river in the Heggadadeväṅkōte tālūq. Avinīta's son Durvvinita, who reigned from 482 to 517, married the daughter of Skandavarmma, the Rāja of Punnāḍ, who chose him for herself, although from her birth she had been intended by her father, on the advice of his own guru, for the son of another (DB 68). Punnāḍ was after this annexed to the Ganga kingdom (Tm 23), but the name continues to appear for some time.

Only one inscription has been discovered of the Punnāṭa Rājas (/A. xii. 13; xviii. 366). Its date is not certain, but it gives the following succession of kings: Rāshṭravarmma; his son Nāgadatta; his son Bhujaga, who married the daughter of Singavarmma; their son Skandavarmma; and his son the Punnāṭa-Rāja Ravidatta. The latter makes a grant of villages to Brāhmans, from his victorious camp at Kitthipura.

There was also a small district called the Punnāḍ Seventy in the Devanhalli tālūq in the tenth century (Dv 41, 43), but whether it had any connection with the other is not apparent.

¹ See above, p. 19.
6. SINDAS

The Sindas gave their name to the Sindavadi province, which extended over parts of the Shimoga, Chitaldroog, Bellary, Dharwar, and Bijapur Districts. The account of their origin is first related in Dg 43, and repeated in HI 50 and 20. From the union of Śiva and Sindhu (the name of the river Indus) was born a son, to whom Bhava (Śiva) with affection gave the name Saindhava, and made the king of the serpents his guardian. Saying that unless his son drank tigress's milk he would not become brave, Śiva created a tigress, whose milk the child drank, and grew in the world. Moreover, Paramēśvara directed the goddess Mālati to aid his son in war, and gave him a second name of Nidudōl Sinda (the long-armed Sinda). Being told that Karahāta (in Satāra District) was his abode, he took possession of it, driving out the kings that were there. Among his titles are: mahā-mandalēśvara, lord of Karahāta-pura, obtainer of a boon from the goddess Mālati, distinguished by the blue flag (nila-dhvaja), of the Phanirāja-vamśa (the race of the king of serpents), having the tiger and deer crest. The Sindas also had (HI 98, 26) the titles Sinda-Gōvinda, and Pātāla-chakravartti.

The earliest reference to their country seems to be in the fifth century (Kd 162), under the name of the Sindh-uthayā-rāśtra, an outlying portion. But in 750 the Sinda-vishaya itself is mentioned (Mg 36). The Sinda inscriptions in Mysore are principally found in the Dāvangere and Honnāli tāluqs. In 968 a Sinda appears under the Rāshtrakūta king Akālavarsha (Hk 23). In 992 the Sindas had come under the Western Chālukyas (Dg 114), in 1180 were under the Kalachuryas (HI 50), in 1189 again under the Western Chālukyas (HI 46), in 1198 under the Hoysalas (Sk 315), and in 1215 under the Śeunas (HI 44). Their chief city at this period was Belagavaratti or Belagavatti, now called Belagutti, in the Honnāli tāluq; but in 1164 the royal
residence was at Hallavūr (Dg 43), which is on the Tunga-
bhadra (Hulloor in the Rāni-Bennūr taluq in Dharwar), the
city at which, soon after, the Hoysala king Ballāla II lived for
a considerable time. A list of the nāḍis included in the Sindā
kingdom is given in HI 50, the principal being the Edavatte
Seventy, Bellave Seventy, Muduvalla Thirty, and Narivalige
Forty (Hl 26, 28).

Īśvara-Dēva I, ruling from 1166 to 1180, seems to have
been of some importance. At his coronation, the sound of the
drums and conchs roused up Uragēndra (the king of the
serpents), who came there in haste, saying, “This is a
glorification of my line; Oho! I must see this.” Śiva also
came, with Gangā and Pārvati, and Ganeśa, to bless the king.
With a signet-ring of the serpent jewel on his hand, with his
powerful arms and body, his sword and beard, this Sindā king
Īśvara appeared to his enemies like a terrible dragon ready to
swallow them up. In 1196 and 1197 the Sindās were
exposed to persistent attacks from the Hoysala forces of
Umā-Dēvi, the queen of Ballāla II, and in 1245 and 1247
fought severe battles at Kūḍalī and Nēmatti (Nyāmti) against
the Sēuna general Śrīdhara, whom they drove off in confusion.

7. SĒNAVĀRAS

The Sēnavāras were a Jain family of whom inscriptions
are found in the west of the Kadūr District. The first
mention of a Sēnavāra is in about 690, in the time of the
Āluva king Chitravāhana (Kp 37), and of the Western
Chalukya king Vinayāditya (Sk 278). In about 1010 a
Sēnavāra was ruling the Banavase province under Vikra-
māditya (Sb 381). But a connected account of the period
when they were independent appears in Cm 95, 61, 94 and
others, among which Cm 62 gives a date that seems to
 correspond with 1058. We thus obtain the names of
Jivitavāra, his son Jimūtavāhana, and the latter’s son Māra or
Mārasimha. They were of the Khachara-vamsa, had the
SENAVRE STONE, KANAPU.
Size of Original, 8 ft. long. 

[Image of the stone with inscriptions and illustrations]
PÁNDYAS

serpent flag (*phani-dhvaja*) and the lion crest, and were lords of Kādalūr-pura. Māra received homage from all the kings of the Vidyādhara-lōka, and was master of Hēmakūta-pura. Sūryya and Āditya, the sons of Sēnavāra, were special ministers of Vikramāditya's court in 1128 (Dg 90). The first was perhaps the father of the experienced general Sēnāpati, who claims (Dg 84) to have selected which of the Pándyas should sit on the throne, from Palatta downwards, and kept them in power, so that without him they were ciphers (*pūjya*).

8. PÁNDYAS

The Pándyas of Uchchangi were an interesting and important family. They were Vādavas, of the Lunar race, and ruled originally over Hayve, one of the Seven Konkanas, with their capital at Sisugali. The Pándya king in 1113 claims to be lord of Gōkarna-pura, and protector of the Konkaṇa-rāṣṭra (Sk 99). On the conquest of the Seven Konkanas by the Western Chālukya prince Jayasimha, the Pándyas became identified with Uchchangi (a celebrated hill-fort on the northern border of Mysore, in the south-west of the Bellary District), which became the seat of government for the Nolambavāḍi Thirty-two Thousand (the Chitaldroof District). The origin of the family is traced in Dg 41 to Mangaya or Āditya-Dēva, from whom sprang Pándya, whose son was Chēdi-Rāja, so called from his subduing the Chēdi kings.¹ Though king over the whole circle of the earth, he was permanently partial (says Dg 39) to the Pándya country, and so became famous by the name of Pándya. The blows from his bracelets had resounded on the conch-shell on the top of Paurandara's head, and his fish-crest was set up on great rocks on the chief mountains.² His son was Palanta, who secured their kingdoms to both the Chālukya and Chōla kings. The general distinctive titles of the Pándyas are: mahā-

¹ Chēdi is Bandelkhand. The Kāsthorūyas were rulers of Chēdi.
² The fish-crest was the emblem of the Pándyas of Madura in the south.
mandalēśvara, lord of Kānchi-pura, champion in cutting on both sides (parichēdī-ganda), defeater of the designs of Rājīga-Chōla.

Tribhuvanamalla-Pāṇḍya, whose name seems to have been Irukkaśēla (Dg 39), was ruling the Nolambavādi province under the Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla in (? 1083 (Ci 33). In 1101 he was also in charge of the Ballakunde Three Hundred (Dg 151, 128). His residence was at Bēltūr (Bettūr, close to Dāvangere on the north-east). He is said (Dg 139, 90) to be the rod in Tribhuvanamalla’s right hand, and such was the emperor’s confidence in him (says Dg 3) that he was considered sufficient by himself to break the pride of Chōla, harass Āṇdhra, upset Kalinga, frighten and attack the Anga, Vānga, and Magadha kings, conquer Mālava, and trample on Gurjjara. By his valour he brought the whole earth encompassed by the four oceans into subjection to king Vikrama. Dg 155 shows him in 1124 ruling the Sāntalige Thousand and various agrahāras in Banavāsi-nad, as well as the Nolambavādi province, and controlling the nidhi-nidhāna-nikshēpa (apparently mines or banks and underground treasures), the sahasra-daya (the thousand force) and other affairs. He is here called Vīra-Nolamba-Pallava-Permmāṇadi-Dēva’s younger brother. This was the Chālukya prince Jayasimha, who was the son of a Pallava mother. Whether Pāṇḍya was really related to him, or whether this is only a complimentary expression of their intimacy, is not clear. But it may be pointed out that his grandson is stated (Dg 41) to be ruling kumāra-vrittiyinda, by his right as a prince. Both of them had married sisters of Vikramāditya (Dg 41).

With Dg 2 we come to Rāya-Pāṇḍya, who continued to rule Nolambavādi and Sāntalige from Bēltūr. Dg 77 describes him as a confounder of the Chōla king, destroyer of Nēpāla, a warrior to Kalinga, uprooter of the unsubmissive Singala,
Chyéndra, Singha, and Kaulüta kings. He had the sons Pandita-Pándya, Vira-Pándya, and Vijaya-Pándya or Káma-Déva. Pandita-Pándya had for his preceptor the learned Madhusúdana (composer of Dg 41), but seems not to have come to the throne.

Vira-Pándya ruled Nolambavádi from the Uchchangi fort. He it is who is said to be standing in the right of a prince, as remarked above. He subdued Male and gave it to the ornament of the Cháluukiyas (Dg 168). At the time of a solar eclipse in 1148 he made great gifts at the confluence of the Tungabhadrá and Haridrá (Dg 41). There is little doubt that the grants claiming to be issued by the emperor Janaméjaya at this spot, in connection with the sarpa-yíga or serpent sacrifice, emanated either from this prince or perhaps from his brother Vijaya-Pándya who succeeded him, and that they were modelled on the similar grant by the Cháluukya prince Víra-Nonamba (Bn 142).

Vijaya-Pándya comes before us in Dg 115. Down to 1184 he seems free from any overlord. This was the period when the Cháluukya power was declining and the Kalachuryas were gaining the ascendancy. In token of his splendour, Dg 5 says that the points of his crown were formed of separate large sapphires, and his arms adorned with golden bracelets. He subdued in mere sport the Seven Konkanas, set up in the Kanaka mountain a pillar of victory with the fish-crest, had a treasury filled with pearls from the Támrparañni, and had a pleasure-house among the sandal trees on the slopes of the Malaya mountain. The Chólas, it would appear, made desperate efforts to conquer Uchchangi, but after besieging it for twelve years abandoned the enterprise as hopeless. The Hoysala king Ballála II, however, now made the attempt and easily captured it. Káma-Déva threw himself on the king's mercy and was restored to his throne. In Hk 4 and 56 we accordingly find the Pándya-nád under the Hoysalas, who it says had thrashed the Pándya kings on the field of battle.

9. SĀLUVAS

The Sāluvas (or Sālvās) were of the Lunar race and originally Jains, located at Sangitapura, the Sanskrit for Hāduvali, situated in Taulava-dēśa or South Kanara (Sa 164). A Sāluva-Tikkama was the general of the Śeuna kings Mahādeva and Rāmachandra, who invaded the Hoysala kingdom in 1276 and 1280, and claims to have plundered Dōrasamudra.

The records supply us with the names Indra, his son Sangi-Rāja, and his sons Sāluvendra and Indagarasa or Immadī-Sāluvendra in 1488 and 1498 (Sa 164). Then we have the Sāluvas Malli-Rāya, Dēva-Rāya, and Krishna-Dēva, down to about 1530 (Nr 46). In about 1560 the residence of the kings seems to have been at Kshēmapura (Gerasoppe, after which the celebrated Gersoppa Falls are named). We have in Sa 55 the names Dēva-Rāya, Bhairava, Sālvamalla, and again Bhairava and Sālvamalla. They were ruling the Tulu, Konkana, Haive, and other countries.

In 1384 a Sāluva-Rāma-Dēva, who seems to have been governor of Talakāḍ, was killed in battle against the Turukas at Kottakonda (Ck 15). Sāluva-Tippa-Rāja was married to Harimā, sister of the Vijayanagar king Dēva-Rāya II (Cd 29). And in 1431 we have Sāluva-Tippa-Rāja and his son Gōpa-Rāja, to whom Tēkal was given by order of that king (Mr 3). These Sāluvas are distinguished by the epithets mēdīnī-nisarga-gānda (champion over the mustaches of the world), kathāri-sāluva (dagger falcon). From this family (see My 33) sprang the short-lived dynasty, composed of Sāluva-Nrisimha or Narasinga and his son Immadī-Nrisimha or Narasinga, which held the Vijayanagar throne from 1478 to 1496.1 The former was commander of the Vijayanagar forces under the kings Mallikārjuna and Virūpāksha. But after successfully defending the empire against the Bahmani Sultān’s invasion, he took advantage of his position to usurp the crown. He is

1 Immadī-Narasingga’s son Sāluva-Dēvappa-Nāyaka was governor of the Tippur district in 1493 (DB 42, 45), and made a grant at Channapatna in 1494 (Kg 26),

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said to have been the most powerful chief in Karnaṭa and Telingāna, and a Muhammadan historian (see vol. x, Introd. 36) represents Kānchī as being in the centre of his dominions.

Notwithstanding the late usurpation, Sāluvas continued in favour. For Sāluva-Timmarasa was a minister under Krishna-Rāya (Nj 195). And in 1513 we have his younger brother Sāluva-Gōvinda-Rāja, to whom that king gave the Terakanāmbi country (Gu 3), which had been taken away from the Ummattūr chiefs. In 1519, 1521, and 1523 he is called Krishna-Rāya's minister (TN 73, 42, Ch 99). From 1520 to 1527 we have kāthāri-sāluva Krishna-Rāya-Nāyaka as the chief minister of Krishna-Rāya, and described as his right hand (Hs 48, Hg 78, 40); and in Nr 46 of about 1530 he is called a king—Sāluva-Krishna-Deva-nripati, and said to be the sister's son of Dēva-Rāya.

10. PADINĀLKUNĀD

When the Hoysala power was nearing its end, in the reign of Ballāla III, there was a great minister Perumāladannāyaka, who founded and endowed a college at Malingi, on the Kāverī, opposite to Talakād (TN 27). His son Mādhava- dannāyaka was ruling Padinālkunād (the Fourteen nāḍs) in the south of Mysore, with the seat of his government at Terakanāmbi (Gundalpet tāluq). He was in power to 1318, and (Gu 58) set up the god Gōpinātha in Gōvardhangiri (the Gopālswāmi hill in the south-west of Gundalpet tāluq). He was followed by his son Kētaya-dannāyaka, ruling in 1321 (Gu 69), and by Singeya-dannāyaka, ruling in 1338 (Hs 82). Among their titles are: death to the Kongas, subduer of Nilagiri, skilled in turning back Pāndya, and lord of Svastipura.

Descendants from these were the Nava Dannāyaks of tradi-

1 There is a Padinālkunāḍ tāluq in Coorg, but that probably refers to four nāḍs (Nāḥhunāḍ) as in Yeṭenālkunāḍ. But Terakanāmbi-nāḍ is also said (Gu 11) to be called Kudugu-nāḍ, which is the name of Coorg.
tion, nine brothers, identified with Beṭṭadaköṭe, the fort on the Gopālswāmi hill, the chief of whom was Perumāl-dannāyak. Four of them, headed by Bhima-dannāyak, quarrelled with the other five, and gaining Nagarapura (Nanjangūd) and Ratnapuri (Heḍātalā), set up a separate government. After a time they returned to attack Beṭṭadaköṭe, which after a siege of three years was taken by stratagem. Mancha-dannāyak, who conducted the defence, seeing the citadel taken, leaped from the hill on horseback and was killed. The site of this leap is still pointed out. The four victorious Dannāyaks, placing a junior member of the family in the government of Beṭṭadaköṭe, set forth on expeditions of conquest, in the course of which tradition says that they overran the country from Davasi-bettā (the southern point of Coorg) in the south, to Goa in the north, and from Satyamangala (on the Bhavāni in Coimbatore) in the east, to the Bisale Ghat (in the north-west of Coorg) on the west.

The later rulers of Kōte or Beṭṭadaköṭe belong to from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, and the seat of their government was apparently at Hura, in the south-west of the Nanjangūd tāluq. Their distinctive titles were: mahā-manda-kṣaṭvāra, Chēra-Chōlā-Pándya-mūvara-nāyakara ganda (champion over the three kings Chēra, Chōla, and Pándya), Nilagiri-sādarak-odeyar, Nilagiri-nad-āţva, or Nilagiri-uddharana (subduer, ruler, or protector of Nilagiri). But Mādhava-nāyaka (1530-1548) is given supreme titles (Hs 41).

II. PADINĀD

There was also a principality called Padināḍ or Hadināḍ, the capital of which at the end of the sixteenth century was Yelandūr (Yl 1). A chief of Padināḍ is mentioned as early as 1058 (Ch 69). Hadināḍ is also named in 1196 (TN 31) as a province of the Hoysala kingdom. It is now represented by Hadināru in the Nanjangūd tāluq. The inscriptions place the modern rulers in the sixteenth and beginning of the seven-
teenth century. In 1586 the chiefs took the names of the Vijayanagar kings at Penugonda (Nj 141). Before 1650 the province had been annexed to Mysore by Kanthirava-Narasaraja (Ch 42). In 1807 Yelandur was given as a jagir to the Dewan Purnayya in recognition of his eminent services, and is now held by his descendants.

12. UMMATTUR WODEYARS

The Ummattur Wodeyars were an important line of rulers in the south of Mysore, and the chief rivals in that quarter of the Mysore house. Ummattur is in the Chamarajnagar taluq, but the principal fortress of the chiefs was on the island of Sivasamudram,1 at the Falls of the Kaveri, where also was the temple of Somesvara, their family god (Gu 11). Their distinctive titles were: mahā-mandalēśvara, javādi-koliḥala (exulting in musk), pāsāli-Hanuma (Hanuman in artifice), arasanka-sūnegāra (slaughterer in war with kings), ghēnanku-chakrēśvara (emperor in fight with the dagger), gaja-bēntekāra (hunter of elephants). They were of the Solar race, called themselves masters of the Hoysala-rājya, and ruled also over Terakanambi and the Nilagiris, where they had a fort at Malekotta, near Kalhatti, in which they took shelter when in trouble.

They appear in inscriptions in the fifteenth century. In 1491 they take the royal titles, and seem independent (Nj 118). In 1505 they have the titles Chikka-Rāya, Penugonda-chakrēśvara, and lord over all rājas (Gu 67). But Ganga-Rāya now openly rebelled, while parts of the Bangalore District were called the Sivasamudram country. The Vijayanagar monarch Krishna-Rāya had therefore to march against him, and captured his fort at Sivasamudram in 1510, thus reducing him to submission. Ummattur itself was finally taken by the Mysore Rāja in 1613, and the line brought to an end. Sivasamudram fort was ruined and deserted under

1 See note, p. 119.
tragic circumstances arising out of struggles with local chiefs. In 1814 the island was given as a jāgīr to Rāmaswāmi Mudaliyar, who had been native secretary to the Resident in Mysore, and he erected between 1830 and 1832 the bridges over the Kāvērī which connect it with Mysore on the one side and Coimbatore on the other. His descendants now own the place. In 1902 the first electric power installation in India was set up there by the Mysore State at the Kāvērī Falls on the Mysore side.

13. KELADI KINGS

The Keladi, Ikkēri, or Bednūr kings ruled in the Shimoga District and along the west coast from the beginning of the sixteenth century to 1763. Their territory included Āraga and Guttī (Chandraguttī), both above the Ghats, in Mysore, and Bārakūr and Mangalūr, both below the Ghats, in South Kanara (§g 11). Their capital was removed from Keladi (Sāgar tāluq) in about 1560 to Ikkēri (in the same tāluq), and in 1639 to Bednūr (now Nagar). Their State was the most considerable and wealthy of those conquered by Haidar Ali and annexed to Mysore. The kings were Lingāyīts, and had the titles: Veḍava-Murāri (said to be the names of two slaves belonging to the founder of the line, who, on condition that their memory was preserved, volunteered to be sacrificed for the establishment of his power, for which a human sacrifice was declared to be necessary), Köṭe-kōlāhala (disturber of forts), viṣuddha-vaidikādvaita-siddhānta-pratisthāpaka (establisher of the pure Vaidika Advaita doctrine), Śiva-guru-bhakti-parāyana (devoted to faith in Śiva and the guru). A genealogy of the line to 1667 is given in TI 156 in Sanskrit. Most of their inscriptions record grants to Lingāyit mathas or remission of transit duties on articles carried on pack bullocks for the use of such mathas. The following is a table of the kings:—
The first prominent king was Sadhasiva-Nayak, who received his name from the Vijayanagar sovereign Sadhasiva-Raya, in reward for his services against rebellious chiefs in Tuluva or South Kanara, and he was invested with the government of the provinces above mentioned.

After the fall of Vijayanagar, Venkatappa-Nayak I assumed independence. He drove back the invasion of the Bijapur forces commanded by Randulha-Khan, and extended his dominions on the north and east to Masur, Shimoga, Kadur, and Bhuvanagiri (Kavaledurga), and on the west and south to the sea at Honore (North Kanara), by victory over the queen of Gersoppa, the pepper queen of the Portuguese, who was a feudatory of Bijapur. At the same time he
acquired territory down to the borders of Malabar, and established his power so firmly that he was able to add 50 per cent to the land assessment in great part of Kanara. His valour is said (Sh. 2) to be like adamantine armour to the Karnāṭa country, and he is described as an elephant-goad to the rutting elephants the bounding Taulava kings, a sun to the darkness the Kirātas, a boundary mountain to stop the great ocean of Mlechchas ever seeking to overflow the South in victorious expeditions. In 1621 he re-established the matha at Śrīneri (Sg 5), originally set up in the eighth century by Śankarāchārya (Sg 11), the abbot of which was instrumental in founding the Vijayanagar empire in 1336. By espousing the cause of the queen of Ola against the Bangār rāja, he came into collision with the Portuguese, who call him Venkapor, king of Canara. But their Viceroy at Goa, being anxious to secure the trade in pepper for Portugal against the English and Dutch, sent an embassy to him in 1623 to form an alliance.

Virabhādra-Nāyak averted a formidable invasion threatened by Bijāpur, which was to be assisted by the rājas of Sunda and Bilige, and the chiefs of Tarikere and Bānāvar. But the capital was removed to Bednūr, and Śivappa-Nāyak, who was in command of the army, subdued Bhairarasa of Kārakalā, invaded Malayāla, and entered Coorg. Virabhādra is said (Sh. 2) to be like a long right arm to the rājadhirāja Venkatāūḍri (Venkaṭapatī Rāya II of Vijayanagar), and to have given protection to the southern kings alarmed by the great army of the Pātuśāha (the Ādil-Shāhi Sultān of Bijāpur).

Śivappa-Nāyak himself next ascended the throne, and was one of the most distinguished kings of the line. He greatly enlarged Bednūr and made it a central emporium of trade. He also introduced the land assessment called shīst. His expeditions in Mysore extended over Balam or Manjarābād to Vastāra, Sakkarepaṭṭana and Hassan. Father Leonardo Paes, then travelling in Kanara, says that he had amassed enormous treasure, that his possessions extended
from the Tudry river to Kāsargōd or Nilēśvar, and that he had a standing army of from forty to fifty thousand men. There were more than thirty thousand Christians among his subjects, originally natives of Goa and Salsette. In 1646 Śrī-Ranga-Rāya, the fugitive king of the Vijayanagar dynasty, fled to him for refuge, and Śivappa-Nāyak not only gave him the government of Bēlūr and Sakkarepaṭṭaṇa, but attacked Seringapatam on his behalf. In 1652 Śivappa rescued from the unlawful hands into which they had fallen the lands with which the Śrīṅgērī maṭha had formerly been endowed, and restored them to the maṭha (Sg 11, 13).

In the time of Bhadrappa-Nāyak the Bijāpur army is said to have taken Bednūr and besieged Bhuvanagiri, whither the king with his family had retired, but a peace was eventually concluded. In 1664 the Mahratta leader Śivāji made a sudden descent on the coast of Kanara, sacked Kundapūr and sailed back to Gōkarna, plundering all the adjacent tracts. Sōmaśekhara-Nāyak was seized with sensual madness, which led to his assassination. But his widow succeeded in carrying on the government for a considerable time. Her army captured Basavāpaṭṭaṇa and other places to the east, where she fortified Harikere and named it Channagiri after herself. She also gave shelter to Rāma-Kāja, the son of Śivāji, when he was hiding from the Mughals, until he could escape to his own country. Peace was made between Mysore and Bednūr in 1694, the former retaining the Bēlūr country. Basappa-Nāyak I was devoted to works of charity and the care of ascetics, vagrants, and infant children. As an atonement for the murder of Sōmaśekhara, he imposed a small extra assessment, to be spent in feeding pilgrims.

Sōmaśekhara-Nāyak II is said to have attacked Sīra and taken Ajjampur, Sante-Bennūr, and other places from the Mughals. In 1748 was fought the battle of Māyakonda against Chitaldroog, in which the enemy suffered a disastrous defeat, Medakēri-Nāyak, their chief, being slain. Besides this,
an incident of some importance was connected with the event. Chanda-Sāhib, nominated by the French as the Navāb of the Carnatic in opposition to the English candidate, Muhammad-Ali, had just been released from the Mahrattas at Sattāra. Being on his way south, he took part in the battle on the side of Chitaldroog. But his son was killed, and he himself was taken prisoner. While being led in triumph to Bednūr, he induced his Musalmān guards to march off with him to the French instead. He took Arcot in 1750, but in 1752, when the French surrendered to the English at Trichinopoly, fled to the protection of the Tanjore general. This man treacherously put him to death and sent his head to the rival Navāb, who made it over to Nanjarāj, the Mysore commander. The latter despatched it to Seringapatam, where it was exposed on one of the gates for three days. In 1751 a treaty was concluded between Bednūr and the English factory at Tellichery.

An adopted son next came to the throne, but on remonstrating with his adoptive mother on her amours, which had become a public scandal, he was strangled, and Virammāji reigned in her own name. She was the last of her line, Haidar Ali, after a career of conquest over the eastern parts of Mysore, met at Chitaldroog with a pretender who professed to be the Bednūr prince supposed to have been murdered. Haidar resolved to make use of him, and invaded Bednūr in 1763 ostensibly to restore him. Making a seigned attack at the barriers, he entered by a secret path and captured the city. The Rāni, with her paramour and adopted son, fled to Ballālārayandurga (Kadūr District), having set fire to the palace. The inhabitants deserted the place en masse, and in panic took shelter in the surrounding woods. The triumphant Haidar, extinguishing the flames and sealing up the houses, acquired a booty estimated at twelve millions sterling. The Rāni, her lover, and her adopted son were all seized and sent as prisoners to the hill-fort of Maddagiri (Tumkūr District), together with even the pretender. They were liberated by
the Mahrattas when these captured Maddagiri in 1767. Virannāji died on the way to Poona, and Sōmaśēkhara ended his life there unmarried.

14. BĒLŪR AND MANJARĀBĀD

The Bēlūr family were descended from the Hadapa (or bearer of the betel-bag) to the king of Vijayanagar. Ėra-Krishnappa-Nāyaka, who is generally represented as the head, seems (Hk 112) at first to have received a grant of Bāgūr (Hosdurga tāluq), but early in the sixteenth century was invested with the government of the Bēlūr country. The principal titles of these chiefs were: lord of Manināga-pura, Sindhu-Gōvinda, dhavalānka-Bhīma. In 1645 Bēlūr and parts dependent on it were overrun by the Bednūr forces under Śivappa-Nāyak, who bestowed them on the fugitive king of Vijayanagar, then arrived as a refugee at his court. By the treaty concluded between Mysore and Bednūr in 1694, six nāds of Balam (Manjarābād) were ceded to the Bēlūr chiefs, and the remaining Bēlūr territory was annexed to Mysore. In 1792 Krishnappa-Nāyak joined the Mahrattas in their advance with Lord Cornwallis against Seringapatam, but on peace being made with Tipu Sultān, fled to Coorg in fear. Tipu, however, induced him to return, and gave him the government of Aigūr, the south of Manjarābād. On the fall of Seringapatam in 1799, Venkaṭādri-Nāyak attempted to gain independence and to recover the rest of Manjarābād. But he was captured after two years and executed.

15. CHITALDROOG

The Chitaldroog chieftains received their kingdom in Holalkere, Hiriyūr, and Chitaldroog, after the fall of Vijayanagar in 1565, from the representatives of that empire.
The chiefs were Bēdas by caste, of the Kāmagēti-vamsa, and claim to be of the Vālmiki-gōtra. They were styled mahānāyakāchāryya, and had the distinctive prefix Kāmagētikastūri. They were mostly named Medakēri-Nāyak. In the latter part of the seventeenth century they were engaged in contests with the Sante-Bennūr and Harpanhallī chiefs, and extended their territory at the expense of the former. Frequent wars afterwards arose with Bednūr and with the Mahrattas, as well as with the Mughals. The alliance with Chanda-Sāhib, and the fate of the battle of Māyakonda in 1748 have already been related above. Chitaldroog made a prolonged defence against Haidar Ali, who succeeded at last in capturing it in 1779 mainly through the treachery of some Musalmān officers. To break up the Bēda population, whose blind devotion had enabled the place to hold out so long, Haidar transported 20,000 of the inhabitants to people the island of Seringapatam, and of all the boys of proper age he formed regular battalions of captive converts or Chēlas.

16. SANTE-BENNŪR

The Sante-Bennūr family appeared early in the seventeenth century. They were of the Puvvalānvaya, and adherents of Hamumanta, the servant of Rāmachandra (Tk 22). Their founder seems to have gained possession of the Dhumī hill. His son built the fort of Basavāpatna, and acquired a territory extending from Anantapur to Māyakonda, and from Harihar to Tarikere. Basavāpatna and Sante-Bennūr were taken by the Bijāpur forces in 1637, and the chiefs retired to Tarikere. But one is said (Tk 21) to have been a rod in the right hand of the Vijayanagar king Venkatapati-Dēva in 1649. Their territory was conquered by Haidar Ali in 1761. In the rebellion of 1830, the Tarikere chief suddenly left Mysore and joined the insurgents. His son continued to create disturbances till his capture two years after.
17. NIĞUGAL.

The Niğugal territory had rulers in the eighth and down to the thirteenth century who are styled Chōla-mahārājās. Their capital was Penjēru or Henjēru, in Tamil called Pperuncheru, now Hēmāvati, on the northern border of Sira tāluq. Irungōla I was ruling in 1128 (Si 7), and in connection with him the kings are described as of the Solar race and Ina-vamśa, descendants from Karikāla-Chōla. They were mahā-mandālaśvaras, and had the titles—lord of Oreyūr (the ancient Chōla-capital near Trichinopoly), Gōva (or guardian) of Rodda, champion who had taken the heads of sixty-four chieftains. Irungōla’s kingdom was composed of the Rodda Three Hundred, the Sīre Three Hundred, the Harave Three Hundred, and the Sindāvaśi Thousand. The Hoysala king Vishnuvarddhana is said (Ng 70) to have captured the powerful Irungōla’s fort, and Nārasimha I is described as breaker of the pride of Irungōla. In 1218 Ballāla II was encamped at Niğugal (Hn 61). In 1269 another Irungōla made a raid into the Ānebiddasari-nāḍ in the Tumkūr country (Tm 49), and in 1276 joined the Sēuna army in its invasion of Dōrasamudra (Bl 164, 165). In 1285 Nārasimha III marched against Niğugal (Ak 151) and reduced it.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there was a line of Nāyakas ruling in Niğugal. Among their titles were included (Pg 54) kathārī-nāya, champion who took the head of Mēsa, bhādra-māluka, subduer of the Hoysana army.

The Haratī chiefs held the Niğugal territory from 1640, when they were invested by the Vijayanagar king Venkatapati-Rāya II with the government of Dōḍdēri, Siroha, Tāvaregere, Hiriyūr, Ayamangala, and Niğugal-durga. By tradition the founder is said to have come from the Bijāpur country. Hoṭṭenna-Nāyaka in 1559 is described (Cl 54) as brother of the Nāga virgins of Nāga-lōka, a Bēda without guile, of the 850 worthies of the 350 gōtras. They continued in power till the time of Tipu Sultān, who annexed the place to Mysore.
18. VAIDUMBAS

The Vaidumbas seem to have been connected with Tumba in North Arcot. In about 900 a Vaidumba-mahârâja, described as Ganda-Trinêtra, was ruling (Bp 62, Sp 85), with the Kiru-dore or little river as his boundary. What river is meant is not clear. The Chôla king Parântaka defeated the Vaidumbas, and they subsequently came under the protection of the Pallava-Nolambas. Subordinate to Dîlpayya or Iriva-Nolamba was the Vaidumba king Vikramâditya Tiruvayya (Bp 4), for whom we have the date 951 (Ct 49). He restored the breached tank at Vijayâdityamangala or Bêtmangala. His son was Chandrasêkhara (Mb 198). The Kalinga Ganga king Kâmânava VI had for his queen Vinaya-mahâdevi, a Vaidumba princess, who became the mother of Vajrahasta V, crowned in 1038. The Chôla king Virarâjendra claims now to have subdued the Vaidumbas. And after this we have (Ct 9) a succession of Vaidumba gâmundas, who received the title, and permission to use the insignia, together with the grant of a village in Mêlai-Mârâjapâdi or Western Mahârajavâdi.

19. CHANNAPATNA

The Channapatna chiefs generally bore the name Râna Jagadêva-Râya, after the founder of the family in Mysore (Cp 182, Md 86). He was of the Telugu Banajiga caste and had possessions in Bâramahâl. His daughter was married to the Vijayanagar king. In 1577 he vigorously repelled an attack by the Musalmâns on Penugonda, and was rewarded with territory in Mysore yielding a revenue of nine lakhs of pagodas. He made Channapatna his capital, and his descendants held possession till 1630, when the place was taken by Mysore.
20. ĀVATI-NĀṆ PRABHUS

The Āvati-nāṆ Prabhus were Gauḍas or farmers of the Morasu-wokkal tribe, who came from the east in the fifteenth century and settled in the Āvati village, with the Nandi-mandala (CB 40) and the Dēvanapura (Dēvāhālī) kingdom (Dv 51) as their territory. Their immediate descendants became founders of the modern States in eastern Mysore which were subordinate to Vijayanagar. The leader of the Āvati Prabhus was named Baire-Gauḍa, and the inscriptions of the family date from 1428 (CB 40) to 1792 (Sd 95). In 1640 the Āvati Prabhu is said (Sd 31) to be a protector of the family of Venkatapati-Rāya H. In Dv 51 and later inscriptions the Prabhu describes himself as of the fourth gōtra, that is a Śūdra.

The Yelahanka-nāṆ Prabhu is mentioned even in 1367 (Ht 117), but the inscriptions of this Āvati branch run from 1599 (Kg 12) to 1713 (Ma 3). They generally had the name Kempe-Gauḍa, after the most celebrated of the line. He founded Bangalore in 1537, and his son of the same name gained possession of the Māgadi country (Ma 1) and Sāvandurga. Though at first describing himself as of the fourth gōtra (Ma 1), he is afterwards said to be of the Sadāśiva-gōtra (Ma 2). Bangalore, which had been taken by the Bijāpur forces and included in the jāgīr of Shahji, the father of Shivaji, was eventually sold to the Mysore Rāja in 1687. Māgadi and Sāvandurga were captured by Mysore in 1728, the chief being sent as a prisoner to Seringapatam, where he died.

Of the Dēvanhalli and Dod-Ballāpur branches of the Āvati line there are no inscriptions. But of the Chik-Ballāpur chiefs there is one (CB 54). Of the Holavanahalli or Korampur branch, which founded Koratagere (Mi 31), there are a few, dating from 1627 (Mi 32) to 1726 (Mi 30). Baire-Gauḍa was the general name of the chiefs.

More prominent were the Sugaṭūr-nāṆ Prabhus, who usually had the name Tamme-Gauḍa. Their territory included
a great part of the Kolar District, and they founded Hoskote (An 47). For his aid in defeating the Musalmān attack on Penugonda, the chief received the title of Chikka-Rāya, and his possessions were extended from Ānekal to Punganūr. The inscriptions of the Sugatūr Prabhus date from 1451 (Mb 241) to 1693 (Ht 105). When Kolar and Hoskote were taken by the Bijāpur army, the chief retired to Ānekal, but was expelled when this place was taken by Haidar ᾹAli.
III. FEATURES OF ADMINISTRATION

Various statements and references in our inscriptions afford some glimpse into the ideals and methods of administration in past times. Thus, an early Ganga king is said to have assumed the honours of the kingdom only for the sake of the good government of his subjects. In the twelfth century, a high official appointed to rule over the southern province is admonished to govern the country like a father, putting down the evil and upholding the good. This indeed was always recognised as the special function of sovereignty. The Kadambas are uniformly represented (according to one version) as studying the requital of good and evil. In the case of the governor above referred to, it is said (Sk 119) that the happiness of his dependants he reckoned as his own happiness. And the results of his administration were general peace and contentment. "None were filled with conceit, none made themselves conspicuous by a display of splendour, none were in opposition, none calling out for more influence, none creating disturbances, none in suffering, no enraged enemies, none who received titles had their heads also turned by the eulogies of the bards." And as a tribute to such ability in exercising authority, it is added, that to apply the name master or king (dore) to men of straw (purunāsya) is like calling a stone a jewel. The invariable phrase used with regard to monarchs on the throne describes them as ruling sukha-sankathā-vinōdadam, in the enjoyment of peace and pleasant (or profitable) conversa-

1 The usual phrase is: dushta-nigriha śīhā-pratipālana.
tion, especially, it would appear, stories relating to benefactions for charity or religious merit.

The signs of prosperity in a country are thus enumerated in the seventeenth century: The lord of the gods sent good rains, the earth brought forth full fruit, all points of the compass were unclouded, the various orders were diligent in the performance of their respective rites, all the people were free from disease, the land was free from trouble, the women were devoted to their husbands, and all the world was prosperous (Sr 103). A thriving town is thus described in the thirteenth century: The Brāhmans were versed in the vedas, the guards were brave, the traders wealthy, the fourth caste of unshaken speech, the women beautiful, the labourers submissive, the temples ornaments to the world, the tanks deep and wide, the woods full of fruit, the gardens full of flowers (Ak 77).

The advice of the priesthood was ever deemed of importance, and they often played a prominent part in political affairs. Megasthenes, in his account of India in the fourth century B.C., says of the Sarmanes (the Jain śramanans) who live in the woods, that they communicate with the kings, who consult them by messengers regarding the causes of things. Asoka's edicts, which belong to the third century B.C., are evidence of his solicitude for all classes of his subjects, induced in part by Buddhist precept. In the second century A.D. the Jain āchārya Simhanandi made the Ganga kingdom, as it is expressed. In the eleventh century a Jain yati put the Poysalas or Hoysalas in possession of their kingdom. But Brāhmans had the foremost place in more modern times. In the twelfth century the policy of Vishnuvarddhana was radically affected by his conversion from Jainism to the Vaishnava faith through the reformer Rāmānuja. He is thus said to have given his own country to the Brāhmans and the gods, while he himself ruled over the foreign countries won by his sword. Mādhava or Vidyāranya, an abbot of the monastery at Šringeri established in the eighth century by the
reformer Śankara, was instrumental in founding the Vijayanagar empire in the fourteenth century. In the seventeenth century the Mysore king Doḍḍa-Dēva-Rāja, it is said, divided his kingdom into four parts, of which he gave the first to the Brāhmans, the second to the gods, the third to charity, and reserved the fourth for his own use.

The heir to the throne was styled the Yuvarāja. But in order that they might gain acquaintance with the duties of administration, he and other princes of the royal house were often previously appointed as viceroyos or governors of certain provinces. Thus Aśoka had been a viceroy at Ujjain in the time of his father. In his own time we have his edicts in Mysore issued by the Ayaputa (Āryaputra or prince) at Suvarnagiri. Among the Gangas, Śrīpurusha ruled over various provinces in the east before coming to the throne. In like manner Ereyappa was a governor of Kongal-nāḍ and Pannāḍ in the west. The Chālukya prince Vikramaḍitya was a viceroy at Balgāmi, and when he came to the throne, his half-brother Jayasimha was put in charge of the Banavase province. Chōla princes were appointed to govern the Vengi kingdom. The Vijayanagar princes held the position of viceroys at Muluvāyi (Mulbāgal) in the east, and at Āraga in the hill country in the west.

The king, in Hoysala times, and doubtless in others not specified, was attended by five ministers, the pancha-pradhānar (Cn 260, Ci 72). The prime minister was the sarvavādhikāri, sarvva-pradhāna, or sīrah-pradhāna. He (in one case at least) was the tongue in the council, the other councillors being like statues (Dg 25). The functions allotted to the several ministers cannot be determined from the inscriptions. But under the Chālukyas there is mention in the eighth century of the great minister for peace and war (Kl 63). In the eleventh century he appears as the great Lāla Kannada minister for peace and war (Sk 106), and in the twelfth as the senior Kannada minister for peace and war (Sk 267). He apparently combined in himself the offices of secretary of state for foreign affairs
and for war. Of the Hoysala kings, Vishnuvarddhana in 1125 is said (Cn 149) to have acquired Angara's sevenfold (saptāṅga) kingdom, and Ballāla II in 1183 is said (Bl 137) to have acquired Pāṇḍya's sevenfold (saptāṅga) kingdom; while the Vijayanagar king Bukka-Rāya in 1377 is said (Yd 46) to be ruling an empire perfect in its seven parts (saptāṅga). These are explained in the Chandraprabha Purāṇa as—the king, minister, ally, territory, fortress, treasury, and army. In Bl 128 the king is said to have acquired not only the saptāṅga-rāja but also the chatur-upāya or four expedients against an enemy (explained in the Jaimiti Bhārata to besowing dissension, negotiation, bribery, and open attack), as well as the panchāṅga-sanmantra or fivefold wise counsels. These remind us of the panchatāntra.

The policy of provincial governors in the twelfth century, under the Kalachuryas, was supervised by karaṇams or imperial censors, appointed no doubt independently by the supreme government, to whom, it is said, they were like the five senses. They were dharmnādhyakṣhāngal and rājādhyakṣhāngal (Sk 123), or scrutineers of morality and of judicial or political affairs. They were five in number (Sk 102), and their office, as here described, was to see that the Lakshmi or lady—the State—was free from adultery, which may be interpreted as meaning, that their duty was to check any disloyalty to the throne, and to maintain the purity of justice or morals and of charitable endowments.

The high officials generally bore the title daṇḍanāyaka, in more recent times shortened to daṇḍayak, denoting both military and civil rank. These were indeed frequently combined, as witness the designation of a general as mahā-pradhāna sarvādikāri senādhipati hirīya-hadavala (Bp 9, Hn 69). They were also often styled sāmantaśādhipati, implying control over feudatory chiefs. But the express military title was senādhipati, or, in modern times in Mysore, dalavāyi. The life guards, as we might term them, in the time of the Hoysalas called themselves Garuḍas. The general
Chokimayya claims to be Bittī-Dēva's or Vishnuvarddhana's Garuḍa (Hn 69, Bp 9). The prince Lakshma was Ballāla-Dēva's Garuḍa (Bl 112), and he and his force of a thousand men, who had vowed to live and die with the king, committed suicide when the latter died. In like manner, a family of Nayakas, vowed in succession as Garuḍas to the kings Ballāla, Nārasimha, and Sōmesvara (Kp 9, 10), gave up their lives along with their wives, and their servants, male and female. In battle, when victory hung in the balance, it was customary for the commander to call out some noted champion to lead a forlorn hope and devote his life to gain the day. To be chosen for such an enterprise was always represented as a great honour, and the charge was confirmed with the presentation of betel leaf to the champion from the hand of his chief (Sa 84, 86). A grant of land was made for the family of the fallen man, which in some early cases is styled bāl-galchu, but is mostly called a kalnāj, though the term sivane is used in the west. Similar grants of rent-free land, called kodagi, were made to men who fell in battle. In the interesting case of Ballāla-Dēva's Chōla queen, who was distressed on account of a man killed in the force sent to punish a village for an insult to her name, the grant is called a rakta-kodagi (Cn 205). Such a grant was also called nettara-kodagi, meaning the same. The weapons of the foot-soldiers were mostly bows and arrows. But the infantry of the Seuna army are said to have carried thunderbolts (ašani-sannāha, Dg 25), which looks as if they had fire-arms of some sort. The cavalry in the same force wore breast-plates. The courage of warriors was stimulated by the belief that their deeds of valour were eagerly watched by the celestial nymphs, who, if they fell, would bear them immediately away from the battle-field in a triumphal procession to enjoy the delights of paradise. The verse usually quoted in this connection is to the following effect:—

1 The garaṇa is the kind of Vishnu, a kite of striking aspect, having a fine rufous-coloured body, with a pure white head and neck. A chief under the Pāṇḍyaś in 1123 calls himself Nolamba’s garaṇa (Cd 34).
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By the victor is gained Lakshmi (or fortune), by the slain the celestial nymphs;
The body being destroyed in a moment, what fear of death in war?

Another verse to the same effect says:

By only these two men in the world is the disk of the sun burst through;
The sanskriti absorbed in yoga, and he who is slain in the front of the battle.

Of the secretariat there are a few notices. The private secretary (rahasyadhikrita) is mentioned so far back as the fifth century, under the Kadambas (Sk 29). But the most detailed account is in connection with the Cholas, in the eleventh century (Kl 112, 113). Here is mentioned the royal secretary, who communicated the king's orders to the chief secretary, and he, on approval, transmitted them to the revenue officers to be carried out. These then assembled the revenue accountants, who made entries accordingly in their revenue registers. The nature of these may be inferred from the mention under the Hoysalas, in the twelfth century, that among his conquests Vishnupardhana wrote down the Banavase Twelve Thousand in his kadita (Bl 17). The kadita or kadata, which is still in use among native traders in the bazars, is made of cloth, folded in book form and covered with charcoal paste; it is written on like a slate, with a style or pencil of balapam or potstone, and though liable to erasure, forms a durable record.

As to the form of official orders,—our Edicts of Asoka, of the third century B.C., are prefaced, in the ancient mode, with a greeting wishing good health to the officials addressed (Mk 21), followed by,—“the king thus commands.” In the second century A.D. and onwards for some time, the early

1 The goddess of fortune and beauty.
2 In the original—
   jirna labhyatii Lakshmiitii myhitii purangani
   kahany-vighvanamii kaytna chintii matnii raape.
3 The original is—
   dviv iman punamahan lokii saavya-manpala-bhedinau
   parivrandi yoga-yuktii cha raape chalbhinnikii katah.
grants are prefaced by the word *siddham,* (?) confirmed (Sk 263). In mediæval times the inscriptions begin with invocations of deity, according to the creed of the donor. Then follow genealogies of the ruling sovereigns, with often long drawn out eulogies of their heroic deeds and conquests. The provincial governor is next introduced, with the phrase *tat-pāda-padmāpajīvi,* dweller (like a bee) at his lotus feet, and the same phrase is used of each subordinate with reference to his superior. The royal signature, where it is given, comes at the end. The style in the seventeenth century, as illustrated by the practice under the Keladi queen Channammājī (Sk 79), contains some up-to-date features. At the head are the words *nirūpa prati,* copy of order, followed by the date and the royal signature. At the end are the words *nirūpa band,* the order ends. The document was despatched by the hands of a court official, who was charged to see to its execution and that it was entered in the sēnabōva's *kañāīta.*

In revenue matters the measurement and assessment of the land were naturally of the first importance. The Śātakarni grant of the second century is addressed to the *rajjukam* (Sk 263), which, as previously stated (p. 15 above), literally means holder of the rope, that is, a survey officer. The *rajjukas* were originally appointed long before, by Asōka, but perhaps for other purposes. The *prāku-pramāṇa* or ancient measurement is referred to in 1513 (Nj 195). The instrument used for the purpose was generally a pole, of which different ones are mentioned. There was the *bhērunda* pole (Sk 120), taken perhaps from the Bhērundēśvara pillar; the *dāya* pole of 18½ feet, the distance between the central pillars of the Aghōrēśvara temple at Ikkēri; the pole of 18 spans, each of 12 fingers breadth (Mb 49); and so on. Poles of 36 steps and 48 steps are also referred to (Ak 12, 13), and an *ottōla* pole (Ci 64). The assessment is said, under the Chōlas in 1046 (Dv 75), to be one-sixth of the produce, and this was the recognised Hindu rate from the earliest times (see vol. ii, Introd. p. 4). But a quarter of a century later is described
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in more detail (Mb 49) as a fifth of the produce of forest tracts and of lands on which dry (unirrigated) crops are raised, and a third of the produce of lands below a tank on which paddy is grown. Tipu Sultan, however, claimed three-fourths of the produce of irrigated land (My 54), at the same time asserting a title to the whole.

But from an early period all the great provinces and their subdivisions commonly had their revenue value attached to the name. Thus, while Kuntala and Raṭṭavādi were a Seven-and-a-half Lakh country, Gangavādi was a Ninety-six Thousand, Banavase a Twelve Thousand, Nojambavādi or Nonambavādi a Thirty-two Thousand, Tondānād a Forty-eight Thousand. Haidar Ali's territory is called a Three Crore kingdom (Si 98). Of smaller districts, Kongalnād was an Eight Thousand, Punnād a Six Thousand, Sāntalīge a Thousand, Hānungal a Five Hundred, Belvola a Three Hundred, Bellave a Seventy, and so on. This system is still commemorated in the Yelusāvira or Seven Thousand country, the north of Coorg. The figures apparently indicated nishkhas (see Yd 53, 54), long obsolete, the value of which varied at different times and cannot now be precisely stated, but they are popularly supposed to be equivalent to zarahas or pagodas.

Some idea of the burden of taxation may be gathered from certain inscriptions. Towards the close of the Hoysala period, in 1290, we find (TN 27) the following imposts levied on lands, whether occupied by houses or cultivated: land rent, plough tax, house tax, forced labour, accountant's fee, provender, unexpected visitor, army, double payment, change of district, threshing floor, tribute, coming of age, festivity, subscription, boundary marks, birth of a son, fodder for elephants, fodder for horses, sale within the village, favour of the palace, alarm, seizure, destruction, or injustice caused by the nād or the magistrate, and whatever else may come. Under the Vijayanagar rule, in 1505, we have (Gu 67): land rent, fines, tribute, alms, gold, kumbali; tolls on corn and grain, tax on Jangamas, tax on ... tax on meetings, duty on betel
leaves, tax on Mādīgas, duty on salt-pan{s, tax on Jiyars, customs dues, and all other taxes and imposts. See also Mi 95. Besides the revenue thus raised, taxes were imposed to provide for the festivals and offerings or other needs of temples (Gu 3, 8, 34, Sk 129). In 1491 a tax for this purpose was laid on looms, houses, oil-mills, grazing grounds, marriages, ... eggs, customs, imports, exports, cotton, et cetera (Nj 118). While in one case the funds for providing marriage pandals, and mirrors for dancing girls, were given up (Sk 295). In 1775 the Eighteen castes agreed to pay an addition to their land and other taxes, owing to the palace having taken for itself the funds previously provided (Vl 4). Remissions of taxes were sometimes granted, either generally or in specified parts of the country. In the sixteenth century, under Vijayanagar, the marriage tax was abolished, causing much rejoicing among all classes (Hk 111, Mi 64). Soon after, the tax on barbers, forced labour, birāda, customs, toll for watchmen, and other imposts were given up (Hk 110, Tp 126). Sometimes there was a vigorous protest against illegal taxation (see Sr 6, Mb 49).

The customs duties, or sunka, are spoken of as the perjunka or hejjunka, those on wholesale articles in bulk, and the kirakula, those on miscellaneous petty retail articles. There was also the vaddha-rāvula. An elaborate system existed for the levy of the duties, especially in the west, where the transport of grain and other commodities had to be carried on by means of pack bullocks. A list of forty-two thānas or custom-houses is given in Sa 123. The nature of the goods carried may be gathered from the account of those which were allowed free, within certain limits, for specified Lingāyit monasteries. For instance, Sh 28 was a permit for fifty bullocks to pass without paying toll. These might be laden with grain, areca-nut, pepper, fringed silk cloths, dried coco-nuts, grass, husked rice, rice in the husk, salt, tamarind, jaggory, oil, ghi, baskets, vidala, catechu, tobacco, cloths, et cetera; but silk, areca-nut, pepper, coco-nut kernels, and wood, were still liable
to duty (Ti §3, 49). Another list will be found in Ti 72. The colour and age of the bullocks to be exempted were to be registered at the various thánas concerned. The goods thus passed free were not to be sold outside, but to be stored in the monastery for the use of the priests and their disciples.

Of judicial procedure there is very little sign in the inscriptions. But a rough and ready justice was dispensed, and disputes were often decided by an ordeal. In 1020, under Chóla rule, a dog, which had run away on the death of its master, was appropriated by a local chief. As a penalty for this, the king's officer on the spot went into his residence, dragged out the dog, burnt the place, and seizing fifty golden images belonging to the offender, sent them to the king (Hs 10, 11). In 1057 a young chief who was a powerful wrestler had a bout with an opponent, who was thrown and died in the crush. The latter was apparently some connection of the king's. For his share in this affair, the survivor was marched off straight to Talakād the capital, and there put to death (Hg 18). It may thence perhaps be inferred that death was the appointed penalty for murder. In 1417, when a Gauda, who had gone to visit the local governor, fell down dead in his presence, a sort of inquest was held on the body, and it was sent back to his home (Sk 37). This was under Vijayanagar rule. Under the Gangas, in 910, the destroyer of a tank or grove is said to incur the same guilt as one who has committed the five great sins (Sr 34). In 1450 we find the theft of gold and drunkenness classed with the most heinous crimes, such as the slaughter of cows, or the murder of guru, wife and Brāhmans (Cd 29). In 1654 a farmer having been put to death unjustly by a Muhammadan official, a rakta-kódagi, or grant of rent-free land, was given to his son as compensation (Vi 29). In 1757 orders had been sent from the Bednúr court to arrest an offender who was defying the law, but the local official, on capturing him, beheaded him. For this he seems to have been deprived of some land he owned. He afterwards petitioned that the pagadi money for the time the
land was put out of season should be given to him. This was refused, with an order that petitions of this kind from the country for payment of money must not be made (Sk 209, 210).

The king himself was the judge, especially in deciding important cases. Such was the dispute between the Jainas and the Vaishnavas in 1368, in the time of the Vijayanagar king Bukka-Rāya, who, after hearing the evidence of the leaders on both sides, took the hand of the Jainas, and placing it in the hand of the Vaishnavas, delivered a decree reconciling the two (SB 136). Sometimes the mediation of a guru acceptable to both sides was invited (Ht 105). But trial by ordeal is mentioned in several cases. The earliest method consisted in the accused making oath in the presence of the god, holding at the same time the consecrated food. If guilty, it would choke him on partaking of it. Instances of this ordeal appear in 1241 and 1275 (Sb 387, Md 79). In the first the payment of some money was in question; the second was a boundary case. The ordeal of grasping a red-hot iron rod or bar in the presence of the god Hoysalēśvara is recorded in 1309.¹ A later form of ordeal was perhaps a severer test, and consisted of making oath as before, and then plunging the hand into boiling ghī (clarified butter). If no injury resulted, the defendant won his cause. Instances occur in 1580 and 1677 (Yl 2, Ag 2, 3). The first was a protest by the barbers and washermen against the potters paring the toenails and putting on an upper cloth (in wedding ceremonies). The other was regarding the rightful claimant for the office of syānabhāga or village accountant, and the decision was recognised and acted on by the court. But under the Mughal government we find in 1720 a regular magisterial process in the case of a Gauda whose village had been taken possession of by some one else during his absence abroad (Si 112).

The earliest reference to famine is in SB 1, where one of twelve years' duration is said to have been predicted by Bhadrabāhu. This was in the third century B.C., and in the

north. The ill effects of the calamity on that occasion were avoided by wholesale migration to other parts of India, but this was a sectarian movement, and though Chandra Gupta took part in it, the action was not in his capacity as a sovereign. Of a famine equally prolonged there is mention in Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas* (i. 43). It began in 1396, and from its severity was specially distinguished by the name of Durgā Dévi. But no steps taken by the State for the relief of famine are recorded in our inscriptions. On the other hand, Ch. 108 of 1540 says that at that time all grains sold at 7 mana (maunds) for 1 hana (fanam), and that men ate men (manuṣa manuṣaṇa tinārau). Things were apparently left to take their own course.

Crimes of violence are occasionally mentioned, such as carrying off a dancing girl by force (Sk 300), or a guru's bondman (Sk 139). But by far the most numerous were cattle raids, especially in border districts. Though sometimes the work of organised bands of robbers, many were hostile demonstrations against an enemy. The cows of a village belonging to another ruler were driven off from the grazing-grounds in the intervening woodlands as an act of defiance. The cowherds often gave up their lives in defence of their charge. Or some village hero, fired with indignation, would sally forth with a few followers and recover the stolen cows, only to die of his wounds on his return. Such an exploit was reckoned as patriotic, and the man's family were provided for with a grant of rent-free land. In more daring cases the villages themselves were pillaged and the women molested. Memorial stones, rudely sculptured to represent the incidents of cattle raids and to record the grants made in connection with them, are found in all parts.

Of measures designed for the public good, we are told (Ak 82) in 1234 that the towns in the Poysala country were surrounded with gardens, that many tanks filled with lotus were formed in their vicinity, and that groves were planted from yojana to yojana (about nine miles) for travellers to rest in.
The college founded and endowed in 1290 by the Hoysala minister Perumāla at Māilangi (TN 27) deserves mention, though it was a private rather than a State institution. Provision was made in it for masters to teach Nāgara, Kannada, Tīlīḷa (Tamil), and Ārya (Mahrratti). Then the Vijayanagar king Acchūrtā-Rāya established in 1539 a bank or fund, called Ānanda-nidhi, for the benefit of Brāhmans (Dg 24, Hk 123). It was apparently regarded as a great wonder, and the verses in praise of it have been found inscribed in no less than ten places. Perhaps this may be taken as a specimen of the old-time method of advertisement. Of the Mysore king (Dodda)-Dēva-Rāja, it is said (Kg 37) that he made wells, ponds, and tanks, with chaṭras or inns from road to road, while temples of the gods he had made, was making, and would continue to make. He is also said (Yd 54) to have established chaṭras in every village for the distribution of food, as well as (Sr 14) at every yojana on all the roads from Sakkarepattana (Kadūr District) in the west to Sēleya-pura (Salem) in the east, and from Chiknāyakanhalli (Tumkur District) in the north to Dhārāpura (Coimbatore District) in the south. In the Bednūr kingdom a veto was retained on the appointment of the heads of mathas or monasteries. To ensure the selection of qualified men, it was decreed that they must be in agreement with the court and the mahattu (the Lingāyit priesthood), not quarrelsome, hospitable, trustworthy, and having disciples (Tl 81).

The vital importance of providing a good supply of water, whether for irrigation or for the use of towns, was always recognised. Accordingly, we find the erection of dams to rivers, from which channels were led off, and the construction of wells and tanks or reservoirs mentioned in every period. A few instances may suffice.

One of the earliest recorded in the inscriptions was the formation of the tank at Tālgunda in the fourth century by the Kadamba king Kākustha (Sk 176). To the eighth century or before belongs the Vijayādityamangala or Bēt-
mangala tank on the Pālār river, named after the Mahāvali or Bāna king who caused it to be made. It breached more than once, as it was restored in about 950 by the Vaidumba king (Bp 4), and again in 1155 by the Hoysala general Chōkimayya (Bp 9). Of the tenth century were the tanks made by the priest who ruled at Āvani in the Mulhāgal tāluq (Mb 65), and of the twelfth century those in the Tumkūr tāluq made by the liberal-minded Kaydala chief who, it is said (Tm 9), supported all the four creeds—those of Jina and Buddha, Śiva and Vishnu. In 1358 we have the account (Ml 21, 22) of a number of tanks made by a Bhaṭṭa or bhāṭ, who also planted lines of trees on the four sides, and performed the upanayana ceremony to the pipal trees planted at the four corners. In 1653 was made the tank in Channagiri tāluq called Valī Surūr, by the Bijapur governor Bāri Mālīk (Ci 43, 44). In connection with this is quoted the verse describing the merit acquired by all who assist in the formation of a tank. It runs thus: "The quail and the boar, the she-buffalo and the elephant, the teacher and the performer,—these six went to svarga." The explanation given is that a quail once scraped a hollow in the ground to nestle in; a boar came and made it larger; a buffalo and an elephant each in turn enlarged it still more; a holy man then pointed out that it could be made into a tank or pond, and the king to whom he gave this advice carried it out. For their shares in this work of merit they all went to svarga or paradise.1

A scheme for the water-supply of Penugonda, carried out in 1388, is described in Gd 6. The prince Bukka-Rāya, who was the governor, wanted all the subjects to be happy. For this purpose, water being the life of all living beings, he on open court directed the hydraulic engineer to bring the Henneceriver (the northern Pennār) to Penugonda. A channel was accordingly made from the river, at Kallūdi, to the Siruvera tank, ten miles to the north.

1 The merit of making a grunt of land is thus expressed in Ck 42: "As many roots as the crops in the ground have, as many hairs as cover the cow, so many thousand years does the donor of land enjoy in paradise." See also Si 95.
As regards dams, with their channels for irrigation, an interesting account is given (Dg 23) of one erected at Harihara in 1410 on the Haridrā, near where it flows into the Tunga-bhadrā. It soon breached, but was restored in 1424 (Dg 29). The river is addressed as if sentient and responding to the wishes of the restorer. "When you said Stop!—at your command she stood still. When you called, she at once came on, flowing through the channel." In 1416 was restored a dam on the Pālār which had been breached from time immemorial and ruined down to the level of the ground (Mb 7). In 1460 was made a new dam in the Kāvērī (Sr 139), by the chief of Nāgamangala, the channel from which was extended to Harahu. The conditions on which the contract for making a channel in 1397 was given are stated in Bg 10, and included the present of a horse and bracelets to the contractor. But it was stipulated that these, as well as the funds advanced, were to be returned if water did not flow between certain specified points.

As regards municipal matters, we find (Sk 123, 119, 100) that Belgāmi included five mahās, three puras, and seven Brahmapuris, together with apparently three medical dispensaries (Sb 277). So also (Mi 109) Talakād-Rājarājapura contained seven puras and five mahās. Agara, again, comprised three cities and eighteen khampanas (TI 133, 197). In all important trading places there was usually a pāṭṭana-swāmī or town mayor, generally a prominent merchant. Some of the regulations laid down (unfortunately partly effaced) on the foundation of a town in 1331 were the following: "No fine was to be levied from a mother; brothers, elder and younger, were to share alike in property; if a female servant died, the body was to be carried forth and (?buried); if a wife died, the body was to be cremated" (MI 114). On the rebuilding of Bāgūr in 1554, settlers were encouraged by freeing them from all taxation for one year from their arrival; after that they would be considered as permanent residents and be given full possession, all previous claims being cancelled (Hk 112).
Commerce on a large scale beyond the limits of the country was carried on by what may be styled merchant princes, who generally had the title maha-vaddha-byavahari (Mi 56, Sk 247, Ak 108). In the last is an account of a family of Maleyala merchants, experts in goods and conveyance. One of them was skilled in testing all manner of gems. "He was so liked both by the Hoysala emperor in the south and Ballaha himself in the north, that he was able to form an alliance between the two kings. The wants of the great Malaiva king, of the Kajinga, Choja, and Pandyav rulers, he at once supplied. No Setti was equal to him throughout the Hoysala kingdom—just, honoured, of kind speech, full of common sense, delighting in truth." But some great merchants were of Brahma descent, such as those in Ak 22. One of these imported horses, elephants, and pearls in ships by sea and sold them to the kings. Another transported goods from the east to the west, and those that were suitable from the west to the east; also products from the north to the south, and those of the south to the north. The mercantile and trading classes are mostly included in the term vira-Bananju-dharmma, at the head of which were the Five Hundred swamis of Aryyaival or Ayyaival (Ahole in Kalaig District—Arasikere is called the southern Ayyaival in Ak 77). In inscriptions recording their agreements to pay certain dues on specified articles of merchandise, in order to provide for the support of local objects in which they were interested, they are described in long strings of somewhat amusing ironical or quasi-royal epithets (see Sk 118, Hg 17, Bl 117, DB 31, Hk 137). Their formal assembly was generally accompanied with setting up the diamond vaisanige or baysanige, as the symbol of their guild (Bl 75; Dg 59). A more sober account of them in 1181 (Sk 119) represents them as honoured residents of Ayyaival and many other chief grimas, nagaras, khedas, kharvadas, madambas, dronamukhas, puras, and pattanas of Lala, Gaula, Karmata, Bangala, Kasmira, and other countries (the con-
ventional number being fifty-six) at all points of the compass. With them are often associated, as here, the two sects of Nānā-Dēsīs. The Panchālas or five guilds of artisans also describe themselves in a similar strain of ironical epithets, which are not without interest (Gu 34).

The Twelve Āyagār are mentioned in Si 41, 112. They form the primitive village corporation, who are entitled to certain land rent-free, or to fixed fees or dues of grain and straw at harvest time. A reference to the Eighteen castes, which form the ancient Right and Left hand factions, appears so far back as in 459 (DB 67), which shows that they are much more ancient than generally supposed. In one case (Hk 104) they are spoken of as the seven-and-a-half and eleven-and-a-half. The sections included in them are called phanas, and comprise the agricultural, artisan, and trading communities. The Balagai or Right Hand ¹ are headed by the Banajigas, with the Holeyas at the bottom; the Vedagai or Left Hand are headed by the Panchālas, with the Mādiga at the bottom.

Among the officials of rural districts, the nāl-gāvunda or nād-gaunda was one of the most important. There is an interesting account (Sk 219), dated 918, of the office being continued to the widow on the death of her husband. She was a Jain, and rejoicing in her beauty, was distinguished for the skill and ability of her management. Though a woman (it says), she well protected her charge, with pride in her own heroic bravery. But on being attacked by some bodily disease, she retired in favour of her daughter, and ended her life with the performance of the Jain vow of saṃghasampanna.

A number of inscriptions record the sale of villages to various applicants, especially in the hundred years from about 1670. The general valuation seems to have been based on ten years' rental (Tl 57, 85, An 90, Nl 51, Tp 112, Hn 132). But in a case four centuries earlier (Sk 282) the value was taken

¹ The great army of the Right Hand are mentioned in 1072 (Ml 49).
at five times the annual rent, and a present of cloths was given besides to the headmen. Deductions were made in the purchase money for ruined condition (Tl 67), and for lands damaged by floods, but if trees had grown up on such damaged portions they were not to be cut down (Tl 71, 74).

An endless variety of details might be collected from the inscriptions to illustrate different features in administration, but the above may perhaps suffice to indicate some of the more salient points.
IV. MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

Among singular customs, those involving self-sacrifice of life may claim our notice. The Jain vow of sallēkhana (see E.C. vol. ii.) involved suicide by gradual starvation, in cases of incurable disease, hopeless calamity, or the inevitable approach of death. It was the orthodox Jain mode of emancipation from the body when life could no longer be endured, and the instances of its performance are numerous, especially at Sravana-Belgola, from the earliest times. A more expeditious and pleasanter way of meeting death was that adopted in 1068 by the Chālukya king Sōṃēśvara I (Sk 136), who, being prostrated with mortal fever, after performing yōga ceremonies, walked into the river Tungabhadrā up to his neck and drowned himself.

The practice of sāti, or the burning of a widow with the dead body of her husband, was a recognised institution at all periods and with all creeds, but seems to have been more actively revived in the fourteenth century under the Vijayanagar empire. The memorials of sāti, which was entered on with perfect readiness, as duty-bound in honour, are found in all parts. They are known as māstikal, that is mahā-sati-kal, and are generally sculptured with a pointed pillar or post, from which projects a woman's arm, bent upwards at the elbow. The hand is raised, with fingers erect, and a lime-fruit is placed between the thumb and forefinger. This is what is alluded to in Sh 61, 62, and Md 103, where women are said to have given arm and hand. No clear explanation has been obtained of the symbolism. Some of the stones are accom-
panied with elaborate inscriptions. Such is the stone of the fifth century to the memory of the Kadamba king Ravi-
varmma’s wife (Sb 523). Another is the beautifully pathetic Belur stone of 1057 (Hg 18).

But other instances of self-sacrifice of life are fairly numerous. The earliest are connected with the Ganga kings. Thus, in about 865, we have (TN 91) Nātimargga’s death-bed scene, and are told that his mane-magattin or major domo became kil-gunthe under him, which may be interpreted as meaning—was buried under him, probably alive, in the same grave. Another kil-gunthe sacrifice is recorded in 930 (Dg 119), at the death of the Ganga chief Chandiyammarasa. With the same object of attesting undying attachment and fidelity to a master, others entered the fire and were burnt to death. In about 912 we have (Ag 5, 27) two cases in which men committed themselves to the flames on the death of the Ganga king Rāchamalla. In 1130, a man who had taken a vow to die with the Kadamba king Takkula, fulfilled his vow (HI 47), but in what manner is not stated.

At the same time, vows of self-destruction were not confined to execution on the death of patrons. They were also entered into for the purpose of securing the accomplishment of some cherished desire. In these cases beheading seems to have been the usual method of despatch. In about 991, we are told (Sb 479) that a man vowed to give his head to a goddess at Hayve in order that the king Śānti-
varmma might have a son. His wish having been obtained, he surrendered himself to the soldiers and was beheaded. In 1050 a servant had his head cut off in order to die with the king Pompala (Ct 31). But in 1123, a cowherd, when Boppadasa and his wife paid a visit to a temple in the rice-
fields, perhaps with a view to offspring, vowed that he would give his head to swing on the pole before the god at Kondasabhāvī if the king should obtain a son (Sk 246). In 1180 a chief gave his head in order that the army to which he belonged might be victorious in the war to which it was
marching (Gd 41). In 1185 a man who had taken a vow that he would die with the queen, at her decease was reminded of it by her husband, and instantly gave himself up to be beheaded (Sk 249), for, as the inscription says, a word spoken with full resolve must not be broken. In 1215 a woman gave her head to the hook on the death of her chief’s mother (Mk 12). From sculptured representations it appears that the process of these ghastly decapitations was as follows. The votary was seated close to an elastic rod or pole fixed in the ground behind. This was forcibly bent down over the head of the victim, and the hook at the end made fast to the top-knot of hair. On being severed from the body, the head flew up, carried with the rebound of the rod released from its tension.

In 1050 there was the curious case of the man who vowed to continually pull out the nail of his finger in order to prevent the giving of a fort to a particular person (Sk 152). But his vow was of no avail, and the grant was made. Whereupon he cut off the finger, and climbing to the top of the Bhērunḍa pillar, threw himself down on a row of spear-shaped stakes and was killed.1

The instances of the Garuda warriors under the Hoysala kings have already been mentioned above (p. 104). They were life guards, who took upon themselves a vow to live and die with the king, and at his decease committed suicide. This was done in a wholesale manner, the chiefs in Kp 9, 10 being joined in despatching themselves by their wives and servants, male and female. With the prince Lakshma, too (Bl 112), his whole battalion of a thousand men slaughtered themselves. In the former case the act is described as embracing Garūḍa (the kite which is the bird of Vishnu) on

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1 A parallel to such cases may be found in the present day if the following newspaper cutting be true. A St. Louis negro has bet his life, as announced by him in the following manner: “To all whom it may concern. Take notice that I, A——P——, being sound in mind and body, do solemnly promise, with God for my witness, to put an end to my earthly existence by leaping into the Mississippi from the centre of Eads Bridge, within seven days after the Presidential election of 1904, if Theodore Roosevelt, the Republican candidate, be not elected.”
the head of an elephant. One chief is said thus to have embraced Garuḍa six times, and another, to have confronted Garuḍa, shaken and embraced him. What took place is not clear, but it may be conjectured that they killed themselves when seated in state on an elephant, and the bodies remained to be devoured (as on Parsi towers of silence) by kites and vultures, which would be immediately attracted to the spot. The final acts attributed to the chiefs no doubt refer to their death struggles. In the case of the prince Lakshma, he is said to have mounted, with his wife, on the pillar which was to be their monument, and thus become united with Garuḍa.

References to the healing art may next be noticed. The earliest mention is a droll account in 1087, given (Nr 40) in connection with the army of Vikrama-Sāntara. While hurrying to the seat of war, the men, in order to appease the fire in their bellies, fed on carcases, and as the result were driven mad with indigestion. On applying to the army doctors, these said elephant was the remedy. So they swallowed elephant and were cured, whereupon the doctors laughed. More to the point is the statement (Śb 277) that in 1158 there were three medical dispensaries in Bālligāve. And in 1162 the Kōdiya matha there is described (Sk 102) as a place for the treatment of the diseases of destitute sick persons. In the thirteenth century there was a Vaidya named Dēvapilliyanna, who was physician to the mother of the minister of the Hoysala king Nārasimha III (Ak 8). Like Dhanvantari (the physician of the gods) was this Dēvarāja, and celebrated for his new system of medicine (Ak 9). In the fifteenth century, in the time of the Vijayanagar king Dēva-Rāya II, there was the famous and learned head of a line of physicians, known as Sālagrāma, whose name was Kēsava, the son of Arunāchalēśa-pandita (Dv 81). In 1818, when an epidemic of small-pox and cholera had broken out and the people were dying around, it was stopped in the following supernatural manner (Kr 25). The goddess Mahākāli of Ujani became incarnate in a Śūdra virgin of the Gangaḍikāra tribe, named
Nanjamma, whose family descent is given. Wherever she went these diseases and other troubles, among Brähmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Südras alike, were cured. And out of the gifts made to her a new temple of Mahākāli was erected at Kannambadi. Sixteen years afterwards she had a vanga-mantapa built for it (Kr 24).

The accounts of the decorations and titles conferred on men who had distinguished themselves are of interest. The most dignified seems to have been the patta or golden band to be worn on the forehead. It was a symbol of royalty, but was also bestowed as a mark of royal favour, or for other purposes of distinction. Thus the Chōla king in 1005 decorated Panchama-mahārāya with a patta bearing the title Kshattriya-sikhāmani Kongālva (Cg 46). The Chāluksya king Tailapa-Dēva in 1006 bound a patta on the victorious general Ereyamma, with the title Rājya-samuddharanam inscribed in gold, and gave him also kēysere (?bracelets) for his children (Sa 80). The rāja-guru and other priests in 1254 bound the vibhūti-patta on the Gana-kumāri Chandavve (Ak 108). But a high distinction often mentioned in connection with prominent public men is the ganda-pendāra (see Dg 36, 44, etc.). This was a golden anklet, apparently worn on the right leg. From Bl 112 of 1220, relating to the prince Lakshma, it seems to have been set with clusters of pearls. He also had another decoration, called todar, which was a golden chain or ankle-ring, embossed with medallions, and worn on the left leg. It seems to have been regarded specially as a pledge of unswerving fidelity, and hence, when the prince received it, his wife also bound a todar on her left leg to signify that she would never desert him for another.

A singular custom, which was universal, was the ceremony of washing the feet of the guru or priest on making over the grant to a temple or for other objects. The transfer of the land or whatever was the subject of the benefaction is invariably described as accompanied with the performance of this act by the donor. But in one case, in 968, the guru’s
feet are said to have been not only washed but rubbed, dry (Hk 23).

The oriental custom of touching and remitting offerings, which is still practised in the case of nazars presented at darbārs, is mentioned in 1300, in connection with the dues payable by Brāhmans. According to the custom of the country, it is said (TN 98), the palace will touch and remit to the Brāhmans of Sōmanāthpura the former dues, whatever they may be. This was in the time of the Hoysala king Ballāla III.

Another incident mentioned in 1434 (Mr 1) was very likely typical of a custom. On the completion of a fort which the king had ordered to be built, he celebrated the occasion by having tigers captured and brought before the principal bastion, where he and his son hunted them, at the same time giving to the bastion its name as Rāja-gambhira.

In Ci 64 is a reference to stichomancy, like the classical Sortes. One of the donees is described as a salākāchārya, a man who answers questions by putting a salāka or stick into a book (a palm-leaf book) at random and so finding a suitable passage. There are elaborate rules for the system, as for most Hindu mysteries.

Every one knows or has heard of the extraordinary feats of memory performed by certain natives of India. References to such accomplishments occur in some of the inscriptions. In 1103 is mentioned (Sk 98) Malli-dēva, known as the Niṭalāksha (Īsvara) among āśu-kavi (fast or extempore poets). Of him it is said that if two persons from different sides should come towards him writing it down from the end (that is, backwards) and reading it out, he would arrange the poem so read out, whatever the subject might be, as a new poem. He would also repeat four stories from hearing them related (simultaneously); and make calculations in any number of given figures. All this he was able to do by mental effort alone. In 1223 is mentioned (Cn 203) Viśvanātha, who could write letters with both hands (at once), and go through
(at the same time) a hundred mnemonic feats (these are known as śatavadhāna), so that the learned men who examined him nodded their heads (in approval). In 1079 there was the minister Nakulāryya, who was learned in writing four languages (Cn 99); but this is not exceptionally wonderful. In 1344 there was Sōma, who was a successful poet in eight languages (Mb 158, Gd 46).
V ART

WORKS of art are chiefly exemplified in engraving, sculpture, and architecture. The specimens of engraving are those to be found in inscriptions. The finest examples are the Kadamba inscription on the Tālgunda pillar, and the Ganga and Hoysala inscriptions on stone slabs and copper plates. Most of the Hoysala inscriptions, in particular, are beautifully incised on polished slabs of black hornblende, and the contents are so skillfully engrossed that no space is left where a single additional character could be introduced. Ornamental flourishes and elegant fancy letters are used where suitable, and the whole presents an attractive appearance. Under the Chālukyas in 1067 is mentioned (Cd 47) an artistic engraver (vīvārī) who could entwine the forms of elephants, lions, parrots, and other animals so as to make them appear from the letters. In 1159, under the Hoysalas, is mentioned (Ak 141) a sculptor who within the space of a single page (of a ñle or palmyra leaf) wrote the whole of the Gō-grahana in the highest style so as to please every one.

Sculpture and carving in stone attained to an elaboration perfectly marvellous. The colossal Jain image of Gomata on a hill at Śravana-Belgoḷa, erected in about 983 during the Ganga period, is one of the most remarkable monuments in India. It is a monolith, nude, and stands 57½ feet high, with no support above the thighs. "Nothing grander or more imposing exists out of Egypt," says Fergusson, the great authority on architecture.

1 The sculptor has engraved his scale at the foot of the statue, and, curiously enough, it corresponds with the French metre. The use of this in the tenth century would form an interesting subject for inquiry.
SCULPTURE

The Hoysala crest of Sala stabbing the tiger, set up in front of the viśnuśīna of temples erected by them, is a fine example of free standing sculpture. There is also some in the ruined Jān temples at Angadi. But the most intricate and astonishing carving is that employed in the decoration of the outer walls of the Hoysala temples, and in the ceilings of the small domes or cupolas of their interior. It is executed in a potstone of creamy colour, which can be polished till it resembles marble; soft when quarried, but hardening rapidly on exposure to the air. The carving has evidently been done when the surface had thus weathered. Fergusson's opinion may here also be quoted. "There are many buildings in India (he says) which are unsurpassed for delicacy of detail by any in the world, but the temples at Bēlūr and Halebīd surpass even these for freedom of handling and richness of fancy. . . . The amount of labour which each facet of this porch (Bēlūr) displays is such as I believe never was bestowed on any surface of equal extent in any building in the world." Of the minute elaboration of detail in the frieze of the Halebid temple, he says, "it may probably be considered as one of the most marvellous exhibitions of human labour to be found even in the patient East. . . . No two facets of the temple are the same; every convolution of every scroll is different. No two canopies in the whole building are alike, and every part exhibits a joyous exuberance of fancy scorning every mechanical restraint."

In architecture the palm must be given to the ornate temples erected by the Hoysalas, or during the period of their ascendancy, in the style which has been named Chalukyan. Regarding these the same authority remarks as follows: "The artistic combination of horizontal with vertical lines, and the play of outline and of light and shade far surpass anything in Gothic art. The effects are just what mediaeval architects were often aiming at, but which they never attained so perfectly as was done at Halebid." Of the temples there, he says: "The great temple (the Hoysalēśvara), had it been completed,
is one of the buildings on which the advocate of Hindu architecture would desire to take his stand. . . . And if carried out with the richness of detail exhibited in the Kedārēśvara, would have made up a whole which it would be difficult to rival anywhere. . . . If it were possible to illustrate this little temple (the Kedārēśvara) in anything like completeness, there is probably nothing in India which would convey a better idea of what its architects were capable of accomplishing: . . . By a curious coincidence it was contemporaneous with the English cathedrals of Lincoln, Salisbury, and Wells, or the great French churches at Amiens, Rheims, and Chartres, of course without any communication. But it is worthy of remark that the great architectural age in India should have been the thirteenth century, which witnessed such a wonderful development of a kindred style (meaning the Gothic) in Europe."

The following list of the principal temples of this style in Mysore, with the dates of their erection, may be useful for purposes of comparison:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Temple</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1117</td>
<td>Chenna Kēśava</td>
<td>Bellur</td>
<td>Bl 58, 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1141</td>
<td>Hoysalēśvara</td>
<td>Halebid</td>
<td>Bl 239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1217</td>
<td>Brahmeśvara</td>
<td>Kēkkēri</td>
<td>Kr 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1173</td>
<td>Būchēśvara</td>
<td>Kōravanga</td>
<td>Ho 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1196</td>
<td>Amītēśvara</td>
<td>Amītāpurā</td>
<td>Th 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1219</td>
<td>Kedārēśvara</td>
<td>Halebid</td>
<td>Bl 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1224</td>
<td>Harihārēśvara</td>
<td>Harihār</td>
<td>Dg 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1233</td>
<td>Sōmēśvara</td>
<td>Hārmhalli</td>
<td>Ak 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1235</td>
<td>Mahākārjuna</td>
<td>Bāsārālu</td>
<td>Md 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1268</td>
<td>Kēśava</td>
<td>Sōmunāthpur</td>
<td>Dg 36, TN 97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of course no single date can be given for the Hoysalēśvara, which was more like a national monument,—under construction for a long period, and never completed. It is a double temple, and Fergusson says was left unfinished, being interrupted by the Muhammadan conquest, after the works had been in progress for eighty-six years; but no authority is given for this statement. Of the positive dates obtained from inscriptions, the carving over the southern doorway is stated (Bl 239) to have been executed for the sculptor of Pratāpa-Nārasimha or
Nārāsimha I. This indicates that the fabric of the building was then complete, say in 1141 or somewhat later. Of the votive offerings inscribed on the inner walls, the earliest appears to be Bl 105, in which the double temple, dedicated to Hoysalēśvara and Panchikēśvara, is fully recognised, and grants are made for the two gods by the sīnabhīva of the senior queen Kētala-Dēvi. Now, she was the queen of Ballāla II, and is mentioned in 1177 (Hn 54). The temple was thus begun after the one at Bēlūr, and the body of the building completed in the time of Nārāsimha I. The sculpture of the exterior walls was no doubt carried on during the subsequent reign of Ballāla II, when decorative features were also added to the Bēlūr temple (Bl 72). There is a story, indeed, that the pierced medallions, like those at Bēlūr, which have evidently been removed from their brackets on the outer pillars, were taken away at the end of the eighteenth century by Count de Lally, the French ally of Haidar Ali, (or perhaps by the younger Lally), and that he sent a sum of money from France as compensation to the temple. The stoppage of work on the building was probably due to the Śauṇa invasions in the reigns of Nārāsimha II and Sōmeśvara, followed by the removal of the royal residence by the latter in about 1236 to Kannanur, near Trichinopoly. But the beautiful and completed Sōma-nāthpur temple was built after this, in the reign of Nārāsimha III. It is a triple temple, and has often furnished a model for silver or gold caskets.
VI. LITERATURE

Of the notices of authors in the inscriptions, some are of the first importance, especially for the history of Kannāḍa or Kannada literature. The earliest relate to Ganga kings, among whom Mādhava II is invariably mentioned as having written a treatise on the dattaka-sūtra or law of adoption (see Mr 73, DB 68, etc.). This work may be assigned to the third century. In what language it was composed does not appear, but probably in Kannada. Then Durvvinīta, another Ganga king, who began to reign at the end of the fifth century; is said (Tm 23) to have had as his preceptor the divine who was the author of the Śabdrāvatāra, that is, the celebrated Jaina grammarian Pūjyapāda; and he is also said (Ml 110) to have walked according to the example of his guru. Moreover, Durvvinīta, in most of the Ganga inscriptions (see Gd 47, etc.), is said to have written a commentary on fifteen sargas of the Kirātārjunīya, which is a Sanskrit poem by Bhāravi. This commentary was no doubt in Kannāḍa, as we know that the Jains were the first cultivators of that language for literary purposes, and Nripatunga, in his Kavirajamārgga, names Durvvinīta as one of the early distinguished Kannada authors.

In the works of the principal old Kannada poets, Samantabhadrā, Kaviparimēshthi, and Pūjyapāda, invariably in this order, are named at the beginning as the earliest and most illustrious trio among the authors who preceded them. From Jaina traditions it appears that Samantabhadrā may be placed in the second century. Regarding him SB 54 supplies the following list of countries and places to which he travelled, and
where he beat the drum, as a challenge to any opponent who would meet him in public disputation. They were Pātaliputra (Patna, on the Ganges, the capital of the Mauryas or Guptas), Mālava, Sindhu, the Thakka country (in the Punjāb), Kāncipuram (Conjeeveram, near Madras), Vaidīsa (Bhīsa, in Central India), Karahātaka (Kolhāpur, in the South Mahratta country or Karnātaka Prāṇth). Nr 46 refers to the Bhāshya composed by the great brāti, in allusion to Samantabhadra's Gandāhasti-mahābhāṣya, a commentary on Umāsvāti's Tattvārthā.

Of Pūjyapāda, SB 40 says that his name was Dēvanandi; that on account of his great learning he was called Jinēndra-buddhi; and that from his two feet being worshipped by the deities he was known as Pūjyapāda. It adds that he was the author of the incomparable grammar—the Jainēndra; of the Sarva-vārtthasiddhi, and of the Samādhi-satāka, and describes him as a critic in prosody. Nr 46 also mentions as works composed by him,—Nyāyakumuda-chandrādaya, a Nyāsa on Śāktaśāna's sūtras, the Nyāsa known as Jainēndra, the Nyāsa called Šabdāvatāra on the sūtras of Pāṇini, Vaidyā-sāstra, and a-rīka to the Tattvārthā. In Sk 124 Kāmasēna is said to be in grammar Pūjyapāda, in logic Akalanka, and in poetry Samantabhādā. In SB 47 Mēghachandra is said to be in logic Akalanka, and in all grammar Pūjyapāda. In SB 55 Jīnachandra is said to be Pūjyapāda in the Jainēndra, in all logic Bhaṭṭākalanaka, and in poetry Bhāravi. SB 105, again, compares Śrutamuni with Pūjyapāda in grammar, Dēva (Akalanka) in rhetoric and logic, Gautama and Konđakunda in the two siddhānta, and Varddhamāna in spiritual philosophy.

To revert to SB 54. It mentions Vakragrīva as the author of Navastabdavāichya; Vajranandi of Navastōtra; Sumati of Sumati-satākam; Chintāmani of the Chintāmani; Śrīvarddhēva of the Chudāmani; and Śripāla as having expounded the tattva. But the most valuable of its statements is in connection with Śrīvardddha, for in relation to him a couplet is

1 Fixed in a public part of the city for the purpose.
quoted in which Danḍi highly praised him as a poet. And as
Danḍi belongs to the sixth century, this supplies us with a
definite period for Śrīvarddha, the author of the Chūḍāmanī.
Now, this work is mentioned in Bhaṭṭākalanaka's great
grammar, the Kanyāśaka-Śabdāṅgaśāsana, as if the finest work
in the Kannada language, and it is described as a commentary
on the Tatvārttka-mahākāstra, containing 96,000 verses. It
is also mentioned in TN 105, where it is called a poem, and
the author is said to have been named Chūḍāmanī from
his work, in which he had displayed all the ornaments of
composition. In the Rājāvali-kathe he is styled the Tumbalūr-
āchārya, and this place may be the Tombalūr, now commonly
known as Dommalūr or Domlūr, immediately to the east of
Bangalore; or, more likely, the Tumbala of TN 106-9.

It is evident that a work of such extent could neither have
been produced nor required had there not already existed a con-
siderable literature in Kannada, together with a widespread
cultivation of the language. And a eulogy by Danḍi indicates
that Śrīvarddha flourished in or before the sixth century.
But, both in SB 54 and TN 105, the mention of the Chūḍā-
manī is preceded by that of the Chintāmanī, the author of
which has the same name as his work. It is described as a
lucid exposition of merit, wealth, love,1 and salvation. That
this was a Kannada work is evidently implied, and one older
than the Chūḍāmanī. But of neither, unfortunately, has any
trace so far been found. On the other hand, there is a
Chintāmanī in Tamil, which Dr. Caldwell describes as a Jain
work by an unknown author, containing 15,000 lines, and
little known on account of its difficult style. He adds, how-
ever, that it is without doubt the greatest epic poem in the
Tamil language, and may be the oldest Tamil composition of
any extent now extant.

Later Ganga kings are also credited with authorship.
Thus,—Śripurusha, who reigned in the eighth century, is said
(NR 35) to have written a Gaja-śāstra, or work on elephants.

1 Dharmam-ārtha-lāma, the three chief objects of human desire.
His son Śivamāra-Saigotta, who had already mastered the difficult Phansitata-mata, the yōga of Patanjali (Nī 60), next made a profound study of the system of elephant management as expounded by the great yati born from the mouth of the female elephant, that is, in the Pālakāpyam of Pālakaṇya or Karūnubhu,—to which there is a commentary in Kannada,—and then wrote the Gajāshtaka, which, it is said (Nī 35), was so conspicuous for poetical genius that, if it could be imparted to a deaf mute, it would force him to speak. Bātugendra, the younger brother of Rājamalla II, is also said (Nī 269) to have been like the son of Karūnu in knowledge of the great science of elephants.

Additional information regarding Jaina authors is contained in the following inscriptions.—SB 40, 42, and 43 mention Umasvāti, also known as Gridhrapinchhāchārya, who had no equal in his time in discerning the padārtta or categories in logic. They also state that Gunanandi was skilled in logic and grammar, and lord of the learning of poetry. SB 40 says that Śrutakirtti wrote with great skill the Rāghava-Pāṇḍaviya, reading forwards or backwards. BL 17 informs us that Śrīpāla, with a second name Vādibhasimha, wrote commentaries without number in prose, verse, and precept. Ak 141 and Kd 69 likewise refer to him. Nī 35 says that Anantaviryya wrote a Vṛtti to the Akalanka-sūtras, and Dayāpāla a Prakriya to the Śabdāntāśāsana. Of Lōkāchārya, Ak 55 says that in the science of language he was a Kaumāra incarnate, being conversant with the branches that follow (or are studied) after grammar; and that in astrology he was well versed in the Śrīkarana, Laghumānasu, and Karuṇaratna. In SB 42 we are told of Sampūrmachandra that he was proficient in solar and lunar astronomy, and of Śrīdhara that he was skilled in mantras and medicine. TN 105 says that Indranandi was the author of Pratishthā-kalpa and Jvalini-kalpa.

Brāhmans come into view in Sk 92 and 96 in describing the attainments of Vāmasakti, the learned head of the Kōdiya matha at Balligrāme. In grammar (they say) he was Pāṇini,
in drama and music Bharata, in poetry Subandhu or Māgha, in siddhānta Lākūlīśvara or Nakūlīśvara.

Going back to Jain authors.—SB 105 states that Samantabhadra’s disciple Sīvakōti-sūri illustrated the Tattvārthasastra, and that Śrutamuni composed new poems, and excelled in all advanced learning, especially in grammar. Nr. 46 says that Vidyānanda’s sayings were ever cherished in the mind like the great Bhāshya (of Samantabhadra), and his irreproachable reasoning was ever pleasing to the minds of poets, appearing like Bāna’s prose-expressed poem (the Kādambarī). It farther says that Umāsvāti was author of the Tattvārthasastra; Akālanka of a Bhāshya to Samantabhadra’s Dvāgama-stotra; Vidyānanda illustrated the Apta-mimāṃsa, and composed the Ślokavārttikālankāra; Prabhāchandra wrote the Mārttanī; Nēmichandra was the author of Trilokasāra and other works; and Vidyānanda made many commentaries; including the Budhāśabhavana-vyākhyāna.

Kālidāsa is praised in the yamaka verse Mk 39. Mb 42 mentions the Pōdiyam (mountain) where the three forms of Tamil (prose, poetry, and the drama) flourished. Ck 40 extols the attainments of a pandit named Mallikārjuna, and describes him as highly versed in the five pratishtes, namely, the Māya, Bhūpāla, Yoga-pārāyana, Pratishṭa, and Pratishṭārṇavā, as well as in logic, grammar, and the Vṛitti, Pāji, Byōma-āvī, and Durgga-āvī sāstras. Valjanna appears as a poet in Bl 238, TN 23 refers to Patanjali’s Padastoma, and to Rāmānuja as the author of the Bhāshya (the Viśistādvaśānta-vēdānta-bhāshya). In Dg 25 we are informed that the Hoysala general Pōlālva composed a Hari-charite in shatpadi verses. Sōma is said in Mb 158 and Gd 46 to have been a successful poet in eight languages, and to have acquired much wealth by his profession. Unfortunately we are not told what languages they were. In Sb 375 is an account of the Vijayanagar prince Mārāpa, who, with his minister Mādhava, having collated the three vēdas and examined the text of the purāṇas, compiled the Saiva-gama-stotra. The Vijayanagar king Harihara II is expressly
stated in Kp 34 to have been a cultivator of Karnāṭaka learning. Ādityāryya is said in Pg 69 to have been the author of Bhāskya-
bhūsha. Sr 94 contains an account of the recitation of the
Mahābhārata before the Mysore king by Alasingar-aiyangār.

Other notices of authorship may be drawn from the
distinguished composers of various inscriptions. Thus, the fine
and learned Kadamba record in Sk 176 was composed by the
poet Kubja. The Chalukya inscriptions Sh 571 and Dg 66
were composed by the great minister for peace and war,
Rāma-punyavallabha, and Kl 63 by the like minister, Anivārita-
Dhananjaya-punyavallabha. The elaborate eulogy of Gomata
in SB 85 was composed by Sujanottamsam, the poet Boppana,
who has the distinctive title Kannada-kavi-bappa. Ak 48 was
composed by the ornate poet Sāntinātha, grandson of the
southern Sōma, and known as kavi-kula-tilakam. Ak 118
was composed by Umēsadatta and corrected by the great poet
Trivikrama. Ak 123 was composed by Sōmanātha, known
as su-kavi-kaṇṭhābhārana. Sh 69 was written by the kaviśvara
Brammadēva. The composer of Sk 281 was the learned
Phaniśitu, son of Viśvanāthāryya.

There are several of the eloquent and elaborate Vijayanagar
inscriptions composed by the court poet Sabhāpati (Sh 1,
Hn 6, Gu 30, Pg 4, Cn 167, Pg 75, Hk 132, Md 55) and his
descendants. Tm 1 is by his son Kaviśasana Svayambhu;
Ck 39 and Sh 83 by his grandson Krishnakavi Kāmakoti;
and Mb 60 by his great-grandson Rāma, the son of Kāmakoti.
Another accomplished author was the minister Tirumalārya,
son of Alasingārya, who composed TN 23 and Ch 92. Then
Sr 64 was composed by the poet Tirumaleyācharya, skilled in
Karnāṭa, Āndhra, and Sanskrit poetry, and in singing; constant
reader of the Rāmāyana and Bhārata.

The latest notice of authorship is in Ch 154, where
Dēvachandra is said to have caused the genealogy of the
fathers to be written. This probably refers to the compendium
of Jaina traditions called the Rājavali-kathe, compiled for one
of the Mysore queens.
VII. RELIGION

The early inhabitants of the country were probably to a great extent, especially on the female side, Nāgas or serpent worshippers, that is, of the cobra, which is the Nāga. Effigies of the cobra are set up to this day at the entrance of every village or town for public adoration, and ceremonial offerings are made to the living cobra. In the Sātavāhana inscription at Banavāsi, of the first or second century, the king’s daughter is named Nāgasrī, and she makes the gift of a Nāga. The province corresponding with the Shikārpur taluq, said (Sh 263) to have been ruled by the wise Chandra Gupta, was named Nāgakhandā or Nāgarakhandā. Some of the minor royal lines in the west claim Nāga descent. Thus, the Śeṇḍrakas were of the Bhujagēndra-anvaya or lineage of the snake king (IA. vii. 106), and the Sindas were of the Phanirāja-vamśa (Hl 50, 20), which has the same meaning, while the Śeṇāvāras had the phani-dīvaja or serpent flag (Cm 95). Jinarātā, the founder of the Sāntara line, is said to have married a Nāga virgin. The Chōla prince Rājādhīrāja is said to have bravely gone down into a cavern, and by his radiant beauty won the hand of the noble daughter of the Nāga race. The professed Janamejaya grants (Sk 45, etc.), which really belong to the twelfth century, are records of donations made to Brāhmans for performing the sarpa-yāga or serpent sacrifice, perhaps indicative of a wholesale subjection or extinction of serpent worshippers or Nāgas. Of the Vijayanagar king Harihara II, it is said (Si 95) that his virtues were sung in pleasant stories by the Nāga maidens in Pāṭāla. Hottemna-
Nāyaka of Harati is described (Cl 54) as brother to the Nāga virgins of the Nāga-lōka.

Jainism prevailed in Mysore from before the third century B.C., when Bhadradāhu, accompanied by Chandra Gupta, led a migration of Jains from the North to the South (SB 1), and it continued a popular faith during more than a thousand years of the Christian era. Aśoka, the grandson of Chandra Gupta, strove towards the close of his reign to propagate Buddhism (Mk 21), and in the fourth century A.D. a Bāna king is compared with Bōdhisattva in compassion for all living things in the world (Mb 157). Even so late as 1055 a Buddhist vihāra was erected in Belgāmi (Sk 170), and the Baudhā sāvāsī is mentioned in 1098 (Sk 106), while a great Baudhā town named Kalavati is mentioned even in 1533 (Tp 1). But Buddhists it would seem were never numerous. The spread of Jainism was greatly promoted in the second century A.D. by Samantabhadra (SB 54), and later by Akalanka, who defeated the Buddhists in public disputation at Kānchi in the eighth or ninth century (SB 54), in consequence of which they were banished to Ceylon. Jainism was the State creed in the time of the Gangas, of some of the Rāṣṭrakūtās and Kalachuryas, and of the early Hoyasalas. Also of the minor states of Punnāta, of the Sāntaras, the early Changālvas and the Kongālvas, as testified by their inscriptions. But the Chōla conquests in 1004, the conversion of the Hoyasa king in 1117, and the assassination of the Kalachurya king in 1167 were severe blows to its influence. In an endeavour to accommodate itself to the age, Jīna is described in 1151 as the Universal Spirit who is Śiva, Dhātri (Brahmā), Sugata (Buddha), and Vishnu (Tm 9); and for a generation following we find (Ck 21, 13) chieftains who were supporters of all the four creeds,—Māheśvara, Jaina, Vaishnava, and Baudhā.

Lists of the Jain hierarchy and the succession of Jain gurus are contained in the following inscriptions, arranged according to date: SB 1, Nr 35, Sh 64, SB 47, 45, 54, Dg 90, SB 40, 42, 105, Ng 76, Cn 149, Ak 1, TN 105,
SB 108, Nr 46. The first is of the (?) fifth century; the remainder are of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, except the last two, which are of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The greatest detail for the early period is supplied in SB 105, which gives the names of the Tirthankaras, the Ganadharas, the Kēvalis, the Śrutakēvalis, the Daśapūrvadharas, the Ekaśāṅgadhāras, and Āchārāṅgas. It then continues, through Kundakunda, Umāsvāti or Griddhrapinchha, Balākapinchha, Samaṇabhādra, Śivakōti, Dēvanandi or Pājyapāda, Akalanka, etc., to Arhadbali, who formed four divisions of the Sangha,—the Sēna, Nandi, (Tridivēśa or) Dēva, and Simha sanghas. The others contain some of this information, but not in a connected manner, and each one branches off at a certain point to give a succession relating to the immediate object of the inscription. There is none which is more interesting or which conveys more valuable information than SB 54, interspersed as it is with chargaris or quotations of the first importance in corroboration of the narrative. Its date is 1128, and its object is to record the death of Mallishēna-Maladhāri, who was a disciple of Ajitasēna, and who gained a great name in his day among the Jains. Nr 46 also contains much historical information relating to the sixteenth century in recounting the successes of the Jain orator Vādi-Vidyānanda.

According to Sk 186 there were no Brāhmans in the South in the time of Mukkanāṇa Kadamba, the third century. Having sought diligently for them throughout the region and finding none, he went without delay to the North, and from the Ahīchchatra agrahāra (said to be in the Bareilly District) procured a number of Brāhman families (see also Nj 269) whom he settled in the agrahāra of Sthānakundūr (Tālguṇda), to the north of Belgāmi (Shikārpur tāluq). From his family sprang the royal Kadamba line, as related in the Tālguṇda pillar inscription (Sk 176). On the other hand, it seems that there must have been some Brāhmans before, for the Sātavāhana grant of the first or second century on the Malavalla pillar (Sk 263) was made as a Brāhman endowment. But they
may have left the country, as those above-mentioned from the north are said to have attempted to do. In the east, tradition attributes the introduction of Brāhmans to Mukunti Pallava, who is also of the third century. It is evident from the Tālgunda pillar inscription that Brāhman professors had gained a great reputation in Kāñchi, the Pallava capital, when Mayūrasarmma, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, went there at about that period in order to complete his studies.

The earliest form of the Brāhman faith was connected with the worship of Śiva, who was, it is asserted, doorkeeper to the Mahāvalis or Bānas (Sp 5. 6). But Vishnu, in his Vāmana or Dwarf incarnation, deprived Mahā Bali in two strides of all his possessions except Pātāla, which was left to him. And Krishna, who is another form of Vishnu, also found means, in a war against Bāna, to overcome Śiva who sought for the Bānas. It is difficult to separate the worship of Śiva and Vishnu in subsequent periods. They continued to be jointly recognised in all parts, and the united form Harihara, composed of Hari (Vishnu) and Hara (Siva), was a symbol of their general equality in religious estimation. Of Harihara, Dg 25 in 1224 says: "The celebrated Śiva acquired the form of Vishnu, and Vishnu acquired the great and famous form of Śiva, in order that the saying of the Vēda (that they were one: see Dg 36) might be fully established." Kēśava or Vishnu, again, is identified as follows in the fourteenth century (Bl 3) with the chief object of worship in all the sects: "He whom the Saivas worship as Śiva, the Vēdāntins as Brahmā, the Bauddhas as Buddha, the Naiyāyikas as Kartta, the Jainas as Arha, the Mīmāṃsakas as Karmma."

The worship of Śiva was from an early period specially associated with an ancient teacher named Lakulīsa, who apparently can be traced back as far as the first century (JRAS, 1907, p. 419). His name frequently recurs in our inscriptions (see Si 28, Sk 126, 107, 104, 108), and his creed and sect are referred to as the Lākulāgama (Ak 62), Lākulāmnāya, Lākula-samaya (Sk 107), etc. But there must have been a
succession of gurus of the name. For Si 28 in 943 says that Lakulîśa, fearing lest his name and works of merit should be forgotten, became incarnate in the muniṇātha Chilīka. And Sk 126 records a grant made in 1036 to a Lakulîśavara; perhaps he was the same as the one mentioned in a grant of 1020 in Mēlpâdi in North Arcot (SII, iii, 27). Sk 107, of about 1078, describes a Vālmiki-muni as being (?) a hand to Lakula. Sk 94 in 1094 praises Śrīkantha-pandita as himself Lakulîśa, while Sk 98 in 1103 says that his son Sōmēsvara-pandita caused the Lâkula-siddhânta to blossom; and Sk 92 and 96, of 1168 and 1179, compare the rājaguru Vâmasâkti with Lakulîśavara or Nakulîśavara. But farther, Tp 12 of 1285 speaks of Lakula’s new samaya. As hitherto generally known, Lakulîśavara was the founder, in about the eleventh century, of the Pâṣupata sect, and this was at Kârâhana in the Lâṭa country, which Dr. Bühler identified with Kârvân in Barôda. The Lakula of our inscriptions belongs to the period between 1054 and 1156, and is generally mentioned in connection with the Kâlâmukha sect, who are described as a branch of the Śakti-parshë in the Mûvara-kōneya-santattî of the Parvatâvali (II 10, Sk 107, 114, 316, Bl 117, Sk 104, 108). There is a list in Ck 35 of a succession of gurus of the Agastyaśvara matha at Śrīparvâta, all whose names end in śakti.

The Śaiva reformer Śankarâchârya opposed the Jains and revived Śiva worship in the eighth century, when also he founded the Śrînârî matha in the Kâdûr District (Sg 11). But in the middle of the twelfth century took place the Vira Śaiva revival, a revolt against Brâhmanism, promoted by Basava, the minister of the Kâlaçhurîya king Bîjjâla, which resulted in the establishment of the Jangama, Śivâchâra, or Lingâyït faith, the popular religion to this day of the Kannada-speaking peoples. Into this great numbers of Jains were merged, while Jain images and temples were converted to Linga use. Ck 21 mentions the Shôdasâr or Sixteen, a special class of Lingavantâs. The Keladi kings, the Changâlvas, the
VISHNU WORSHIP

Bhairarasu- Woḍeyars, the Coorg Rājas, and other smaller states, professed the Lingāyit creed, which was also adopted by the Mysore Rājas in conjunction with the Vaishnava faith of their origin.

The revival of Vishnu worship was due in great measure to the Vaishnaya reformer Rāmānujāchārya, also called Emberumānār, who, at the beginning of the twelfth century, took refuge from Chōla persecution in the Mysore country, where he converted from Jainism the Hoysala king Bhṛti-Dēva, thenceforward called by the name Vishnuvardhanā. Rāmānuja established the Yatīrāja maṭha at Mēlukōte (see Sr 64), and received a large tract of land on both banks of the Kāvērī near Seringapatam, named the Ashtagrāma or eight townships. For the management of his affairs he appointed the Fifty-two. These were Śrīvaishnavas, and his first disciples.

Bitter animosity continued to exist against the Jains, and in 1368 (as already related above, p. 113) they complained in a body to the Vijayanagar king Bukka-Rāya of the persecutions to which they were subjected by the Vaishnavas. The king summoned before him the leading men of both sects, and after inquiring into the matters in dispute, decided that no difference could be allowed as regards their liberty to follow their respective ceremonials. He then took the hand of the Jains, and holding it in the hand of the Vaishnavas, decreed that the Jains were free to carry out their customary ritual, and that equal protection would be given to both sects (SB 136). This decree was to be set up at all Jain bastis by the Vaishnavas, who were not to look upon the Jains as in a single respect different. And, from a fund which the Jains would annually raise among themselves, the Vaishnavas were to appoint twenty men as a body-guard for the Jain image of Gomaṭa at Śravana-Belgola, and were to repair such Jain temples as had been ruined. This was actually done at Kallēha (Kalya in Māgadi taluq), as witness the copy of the decree set up there (Ma 18).

The Śrīningarī maṭha had assisted in the foundation of the

1 His original name is said to have been Iśliyālvān.
Vijayanagar empire in the fourteenth century, and furnished the first minister to the kings, who in consequence liberally endowed it (Sg 1). From the Vira-Saivas, who had largely superseded the Jains in the west, the latter were exposed to violent opposition. For instance, Bl 128 states, in 1638, that an over-zealous Lingāyit official had stamped a linga on the pillar of the principal Jain basti at Halebid. The Jain merchants remonstrated on this with the Śivāchāra high priests, and an agreement was come to that the Jain priests of the basti should first offer the usual Śaiva salutation of ashes and betel leaf, and then perform their worship and other ceremonies according to their own custom. This decree was engraved on stone by order of the minister of the Belūr kingdom. On the fall of Vijayanagar in 1565, the Śringeri matha fell for a time to ruin, but in the next century was restored, and its endowments were renewed by the Keladi kings (Sg 5, 11, 13), who also established and endowed Śivāchāra mathas all over the Shimoga District.

The Rājas of Mysore likewise established agrahāras for Brāhmans (see Kg 37, Yd 54, Sr 64, Yd 58), and erected or added to temples (see Bn 118, Ch 86, Nj 1). Of Doddā-Dēva-Rāja it is said (Kg 37) that temples of the gods he had made, was making, and would continue to make. The Varāha (or Boar) which was lost in the Yavana invasion, Chikka-Dēva-Rāja brought from Śrīmushna (in South Arcot) and set up with devotion in Śrīrangapattana or Seringapatam (Ch 92). It is now in Mysore, having been removed there at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Of Muhammadan records, Sk 324 is one of the principal. This informs us that in 1632 the Bijapur Sultan, Muhammad Ādil Shāh, son of Ibrāhim Ādil Shāh, erected the fort on the hill at the Māsūr Madag tank as a sign of victory in the attempt to repel the wicked infidels and to establish the auspicious Islām. Si 66b is a memorial to Malik Rihān, Subahdar of Sira, dated 1651. DB 31 contains an interesting inscription of the time of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb
Ålamgir, dated in 1691. Si 66a records the erection of the big mosque at Sira in 1696. Ht 19 is a Mughal grant in the time of Dilāvar Khān, Navāb of Sira, dated 1745.

There are some grants by Haidar All to Musalmān fakirs in 1763 and 1767 (Cp 146, 16, 114). Of Tipu Sultan’s inscriptions, one of the most characteristic is Sr 159 at the Elephant gate of the Seringapatam fort, the date of it being 1791. Those at the Gumbaz in Ganjam, the mausoleum of Haidar and Tipu, are of interest (Sr 23, 24, etc.). My 54 relates to the construction of a dam in the Kāverī in 1797.

Of Christian records, an old inscription has been found at Ånekal, surmounted by a cross, and referring to the Kumbara one or Potters' dam. Its date is uncertain. But Dominican friars are said to have built a church there in 1400. A stone or stones are also said to have existed at Kānkānhalli recording a grant to the “sannyāsī of Rome.” Nr. 46, of about 1530, in relating the successes of the Jain disputant Vidyānanda at various royal courts, says that he destroyed (alidu) the European faith (Peringiya muta) of the Viceroy (or Agent—Kāryya) of Śriranganagarā or Seringapatam, who must, it would thus seem, have been a Roman Catholic Christian.

Of special religious ceremonies, one of the earliest mentioned is the aśva-mūḍha or horse-sacrifice, which was a royal rite symbolic of supreme power. The Kadamba kings claim to have performed many horse-sacrifices. Accordingly, the Brāhmans of Tānagundur are said (Sk 178) to be residents of 144 villages acquired as donations for the 18 horse-sacrifices of king Mayūravarma. The king Krishna-varma (? fifth century) is expressly stated (Bl 121) to have performed the horse-sacrifice. The Chalukya king Pulikeši I performed the horse-sacrifice in the sixth century (Kl 63, Gd 48, etc.). A much later instance is that of the Chōla king Rājādhirāja or Jayangonda-Chōla in the eleventh century, who is also said (Dv 75) to have performed the horse-sacrifice. Other sacrifices mentioned are the vāja-pēya (Cn 167), performed
in the sixteenth century for the Vijayanagar kings Nrisimha and Krishna-Rāya; and the agnishtōma (Mb 62) performed in the seventeenth century for the chief of Sugatūr. The Mysore king Kanṭhīrava-Narasa-Rāja is said (Ag 64) to have revived the performance of the ekādaśi-vrata, like Ambarisha and all the other kings. The Brāhmans of Sthānakundūr are described (Sk 176) as drinking soma juice, and those of Kellangere are called (Ak 117) 200 ornaments of soma drinkers.

An interesting term is that of ghatika-sthāna, which seems to indicate a place of public assembly for Brāhmans. It has been translated by Professor Pāthak as "religious centre"; and Professor Kielhorn has written an article suggesting that it was something like a Brahmapuri. The name occurs in Sk 176, where Mayūrasarmma, on going to the Pallava capital for completing his studies, is said to have frequented every ghatika. In Si 23 of 1167 the Nonambesvara temple is said to be the great ghatika-sthāna of the city of Henjeru. On the other hand, Sk 197 of 1182 describes ghatika-sthānas as supports to dharmma and mines for enjoyment (bhōga). Cn 178 of 1442 contains the statement that a ghatika was established in a certain place "in accordance with the saying (or directions) of Uttanka in the Sāma-vēda."

There are a few references to rarer religious sects. Thus, Hs 18 records a grant in about 450, by the Kadamba king Mrigēśavarmma, as made to an Ātharvani Brāhman. The grant in Sk 281 was made to Kāśmir Brāhmans. Then Gb 61 of 812 mentions the Yāpaniyanas, a Jain unorthodox sect, who had the appearance of Digambaras, but followed the observances of the Śvētāmbaras (El. iv. 338). And Hl 23 of 968 describes one of the places where the grant was made as a Lokāyata city. The Lokāyatas were an atheistical sect, followers of the doctrines of Chārvāka. Certain tenets and sectarian terms of the Lingāyits are set forth in Kg 49, in connection with the erection of a matha for the Tōṇṭadāsvāmi. The essentials are detailed which constitute a primeval bhakta, and a primeval jāṅgama.
Attention may be drawn to some notable donations. Bl 121, of about 420, describes a merchant as the donor of a thousand cows. Kg 33, of 1663, mentions a Brähman who was known as the donor of a crore of virgins. Nl 88 records a grant for feeding 12,000 ódeyars or Lingáyit priests in the Gangádhará temple at Sivaganga on a certain anniversary day. A singular statement is that in Sb 18, which speaks of the Vijayanagar king Dêva-Râya II as having become after his death a mahárâjika or demigod, reminding one of the apotheosis of the Roman emperors.
MYSORE AND COORG
showing the principal places connected with the inscriptions.

Scale of Mls.
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