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## TWO EMPIRES TOWARDS THEIR FALL



FROM the days of Pericles to the time of Chamberlain and Cecil Rhodes, Empire has been a problem. Solutions have successively been attempted with varying degrees of success, and these have lasted just as long as the *status quo* could be maintained. The problem is in its nature a compromise between two antagonistic principles, *i.e.*, the interests of individual states *versus* the common interests of a large number of communities. Between the older and the modern solutions of this Empire-problem one broad feature of distinction is noticeable. In ancient times success depended upon personality; but we might flatter ourselves that in more modern times it depends upon abstract system rather than personality though this latter feature still plays a prominent part. So in India from the days of Chandragupta, nay even from the days of Yudhishtira, to those of Mahadaji-Scindia, Empire has been a problem and Empire-builders have been many—far too many for raising a permanent structure. Personality here played a much more prominent part than the interests of the parties. Hence it is that through history, India both North and South, has been an ever-shifting mosaic of states, and, as success depended upon personality, this problem here assumed the appearance of a rise and fall of dynasties of Emperors without ever materially altering the even tenour of life of the individual states composing the Empire for the time being. Empire-builders here set about demanding an acknowledgment of supremacy in a formal fashion—either by sending out a horse, as in the As'vamêdha or by demanding submission by generals having been sent out as in a Râjasûya—not very materially different from the demand for earth and water of the Persian monarchs.

Such in fact had been the case with respect to South India during the first millennium after Christ, and there have been successively the Ândhra, Ândhrabhritya, Châlukya and Râshtrakûta Empires in succession in the Dekhan; and the Chera, Chôla, Pandya and the Pallava Empires in the further South of Peninsular India. About the middle of the eleventh century after Christ India South of the Vindhyas was divided into a number of states of varying extent and importance; but only into two Empires, each of

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which had a multitudinous following of states whose fealty to the Empire consisted in their personal attachment to or admiration of the Emperor, and the more or less imminent danger of being over-run by the rival power with which their sympathies were at variance. The Empires were the Chālukya and the Chōla. The latter comprised practically the whole of the Madras Presidency with more than half of Mysore; the former including in it the Bombay Presidency South of the Vindhya, nearly the whole of the Nizam's Dominions and the North-West corner of the Mysore Province with the Bellary District and the adjoining tracts of land on the East. Fortunately for the Empires and unfortunately for history, these were under very capable rulers, each aspiring to sole Empire at the time. The Chālukya Empire had got out of the swaddling clothes of a new foundation and was in full imperial career under Āhavamalla Somēsvara otherwise Trilōkyamalla—the Chōla Empire had reached the meridian of her glory under Rājendra, the Gangaikondā Chōla, the hero of the Kanarese Rājasēkharavilāsam, the majestic ruins of whose capital at Gangaikondas'olapuram to-day attests the grandeur of his Empire. His conquests included places on the banks of the Ganges and the Irawaddy, where in the ancient capital of Burma, Pagan, there is a Vishnu temple built for the *nanadesis* (foreigners) that might go there.

Rājendra died and was succeeded by his eldest son Rājādhirāja in 1035 A.D. A new succession is the opportunity for the outlying provinces of the Empire to throw off the imperial yoke patiently borne because there was no way out of it, and he had to contend against rebellions in Ceylon, in Malabar and in the extreme South. This situation was taken advantage of by Āhavamalla Somēsvara who advanced into the Mysore country. Rājādhirāja let Somēsvara alone for the while and when he had put down opposition everywhere else he marched upon the Chālukya frontier. Kolippākka on the Banavāse frontier was the Cilician and the Syrian gates of the Mysore country and the capture of this frontier outpost figures largely among the glorious achievements of Rājendrā. The result of this move on the part of Āhavamalla Somēsvara eventually led to the epoch-making battle of Koppam in 1052. A.D. This battle put a check to Chola aggression northwards and the region between the Tungabhadra and Palar became the bone of contention between the rival empires ever after. From out of this debatable land was to rise in the course of the century the independent kingdom of

Mysore. Rājādhirāja fell fighting in the battle and his brother Rājendra who was bringing up reinforcements retrieved the fortunes of the day and was crowned in the field of battle; but the result nevertheless was seen in the diminution of Chola influence in this particular region. The Pandya rulers of Uchchangidoorga and their relatives the Hoysala Governors of Gangavādi exerted themselves to destroy the Chola hold upon the Southern and Eastern Mysore, later on in the century.

Rājendra, the victor on the field of Koppam, had continued the glorious career of his brother and father and died about the same time as Āhavamalla. The deaths of these two great rulers introduced an element of discord into the empires, which eventually led to their downfall.

To understand the nature of the complications thus introduced, we have to go back upon a generation or two of South Indian History. Āhavamalla and his immediate predecessors have had one single object before them constantly; namely the keeping back of the advancing tide of Chola aggression. In this Āhavamalla was in the main successful. The title Āhavamalla, the great in war, was well-deserved by him and he carried on successfully the wars with the Cholas bequeathed to him by his predecessors (1). He, it was, that either founded (or enlarged) the Chālukya capital Kalyāṇi in the Nizam's Dominions and he shifted to it the head-quarters of the Empire from Yātāgiri also in the Nizam's Dominions (30 miles, south of Malkhed) (2). In his attempt at holding the southern frontier against the Cholas, he was ably seconded by his sons Somēśvara and Vikramāditya, the Viceroys respectively of Banavāse and Gangavādi. When Āhavamalla died in 1068 A.D. (3). (Mar. 29th) he was succeeded naturally enough by his eldest son Somēśvara, Bhuvanaikamalla, but unfortunately for the Empire, his younger brother Vikramāditya was certainly more capable of bearing the burdens of Empire. The other sons of Āhavamalla, Jayasimha and Vishṇuvardhana Vijayāditya, were more inclined to support Vikramāditya rather than Somēśvara. During Āhavamalla's lifetime

(1) Satyās'rya and Jayasimha were respectively, rivals of Rājārāja and his son Rājendra. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I. Part. II. 433.

(2) Fleet 450. Ibid. Sh. 20. a. Epi. Car. VII. "Jayasimha Devar Vinga Vijaya Kataka Jamanvitam Lila Vilāsadind Etagirila Neleviḍinola, &c."

(3) Sh. 136, Epi. Car. Vol. VIII. Shimoga Pt. I.



these young princes were already given important viceroys and were made to regard themselves "Pillars of Empire." As their respective titles would shew—Somēśvara, Vikramāditya and Jayasimha appear to have been sons of the same mother, the Ganga Princess (4) as the Vikramānkadēva Charitam appears to warrant and as inscriptions (5) of Somēśvara II himself would lead us to believe; while Vijayāditya was possibly their half-brother. While investing Lakshmana as Governor of Banavāse in return for valuable services rendered to the Empire Somēśvara says "Junior to me is Vikrama, to him is Singhi junior; to me, to Vikrama, and to Singhi you are junior and all the rest are junior to you."

But from the titles of each of these princes Mr. Rice would infer that Vikramāditya was the son of a Ganga Princess, Jayasimha of a Pallava-Nolamba Princess and Vijayāditya of an Eastern Chālukya Princess. This is not a necessary inference, the titles of these princes being explained by the mere facts of their conferment upon the princes by the ruling Emperor. Such investitures have been the fashion among the Chōla Emperors their contemporaries. Rājādhirāja, Rājendra and Vīrarājendra in succession made it a point to hold investitures of the sort and a number of titles importing authority over foreign states have been bestowed on Chōla Princes of the Blood.(6)

Āhavamalla Somēśvara left behind him four sons, the eldest succeeding him, while the second had cherished imperial ambition for sometime at least.

To understand the situation among the Chōlas, we have similarly to go back upon the rise of their power. The Chōla power rose from the ashes of the Pallavas the earliest conquests of the Chōlas having been the Tondamandalam re-named Jayanigonda Chōlamandalam and Kongu. One of the mightiest and the most statesman-like exploits of the great Rājārāja (985-1016 A.D.) was the conquest and the subsequent conciliation of the Eastern Chālukya dominions of Vengi, *i.e.*, the Telugu country. To attach this to him permanently he married one of his daughters Kundavaiyār to the Chālukya Vimalāditya. This was followed in the next reign by a more important marriage—more fruitful of consequences

(4) Dr. Fleet thinks she was a Pallava Princess, K.D. 440. Note 3.

(5) Sh. 136. Vol. VII. Epi. Car.

(6) *Vide* the inscriptions of these in Vol. III, Pt. I, South Ind. Ins.



to the Empire. Rājendra, the Gangaikonda Chōla, had a daughter Ammanga Dēvi, who had been given in marriage to the Eastern Chālukya Rājarāja, probably her own cousin. The offspring of this happy union was a Rājendra Chōla to become famous as Kulōtunga, the upraiser of the fame of the two families. This grandson of Gangaikonda Chōla had married the daughter of Rājendra the victor over Āhavamalla at Koppam—and when this Rājendra died, the son-in-law aspired to the Chōla Empire although there was a brother and at least a number of sons of Rājādhirāja. This ambition, unwarranted though it appears, seems to have had some support among the royal family. This in fact was the discordant element in the Chōla Empire. About 1070 A.D., therefore, Somēsvara Bhavanaikamalla was the Emperor of the Chālukya dominions while his younger brother Vikramāditya was an aspirant to the imperial position. In the Chōla Empire Rājendra was succeeded by his younger brother Virarājendra while Rājendra Chōla of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty was equally an aspirant to the the Empire, which brought him within an ace of losing his own patrimony of the Chālukya Kingdom. These transactions, we shall now take up in some detail.

The Chōla Emperor Virarājendra had the following among his titles which he probably assumed as a result of his achievements against the Western Chālukyas, *vis.*, Sakalabhuvanās'raya, Srimēdhinivallabha, and Mahārājādhirāja. He assumed also another Rājās'raya, which before him had been borne by Rājarāja, the Great. Two others by the former of which alone he was spoken of by the Western Chālukyas, (7) were Vira Chōla and Karikāla. In one of Rājendra's inscriptions we find a brother of his by name Vira Chōla on whom he conferred the title Karikāla, and if these two persons, Virarājendra the Emperor and Vira Chōla the Prince, could be identified as the Mysore inscription would justify Virarājendra was a brother of the two brothers Rājādhirāja and Rājendra the heroes of Koppam. This along with "the twenty-third year of (my) father (ḡuā), who was pleased to conquer the Eastern Country, the Gangā and Kaḍāram" of the Gangaikonda-solapuram inscription of the 5th year of Virarājendra would solve another puzzle of Chōla genealogy. This quotation refers to the great conqueror Gangaikonda Chōla, Rājendra the son and successor of Rājarāja, the great. His conquests of territories

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(7) Sh. 136, Epi : Car : Vol. VII.



on the banks of the Ganges and the Irawaddy have now happily been placed beyond a doubt, thanks to the researches of Messrs. Venkyya and Kanakasabhai Pillai (8), by the identification of Nāccavaram with the Nicobars and Pappālam which according to the Mahāvams'a of Ceylon is a port of Ramañña *i.e.*, the Talaing country portion of Burma. Thus then the known facts so far clearly point to Virarājendra as the younger brother succeeding the elder, although according to the Kalingattuparaṇi and a few inscriptions (9) we have to accommodate a Rajamāhendra between the Victor at Koppam and his successor brother Virarājendra. Either it is that Rajamāhendra died a *Yuvaraja* without independently reigning or he was set aside; but the latter conclusion does not appear to be warranted, as this Virarājendra had an elder brother in the person of Alavandān *alias* Rājarāja and as will appear Virarājendra himself was associated with his brother Rājendra in his expeditions into the Chālukya territory—Rajamāhendra, the son of Rājendra then died soon after his father and Virarājendra ascended the throne.

For three generations the Chōlas and the Chālukyas were contending for mastery in Peninsular India. The Rāshtrakūṭa Krishna III ably seconded by his feudatories the Gangas had brought the rising Chōla power low indeed. As these Rāshtrakūṭas themselves were subverted the opportunity for the Chōlas arrived and the father and son, Rājarāja and Rājendra, took the tide at the flood. While the father conquered and organised the younger, the son, went on advancing the Chōla arm into the Mysore country, took possession of Eastern and Southern Mysore and advanced the Chōla frontier to Yeḍatone nād 2000 in the West and Kollippākkai on the Banavāse frontier in the North-East, Laṭṭalur, Kollippākkai and Henjēru (Penjēru) having been the gates of the Chālukya Empire from the South. This was regarded as of so much importance that the warden of this frontier was a marked official, often a relative, of the Chālukya Emperors. In 1060 A.D. a Raṭṭa named Singaṇa Dēva was ruler of this part of the country.

"A dweller at his lotus feet (of Trailōkyamalla), entitled to the five big drums, Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, (lord of) Laṭṭalūr, ornament of the Yaduvams'a, chief of Kollippākkai, determined champion over the chief of Penjēru (Henjēru), an elephant to the lotus-garden of the Chōla and Laḷa feudatories, the door of the Southern

(8) Article in the "Madras Review," November 1903.

(9) Alangudi Ins. of Rajaraja II. page 191. South Ind. Ins., Vol. III. Pt. II.

region, (10) the Kālakūṭa poison to hostile kings, his father-in-law's lion, the Mēru of the Rattas—with these and all titles the Mahāmandalēśvara Singaṇa Dēva, was ruling the kingdom (composed of) the Uchchangi thirty, the Sūlengal seventy, the Maṇḍali Thousand, the four Choḷa villages, with the stones and treasures, the thousand force and others, putting down the evil and upholding all."

Having done this great work when Rājendra laid down this earthly authority and position, the troubles rose up all over again, as a succession is the occasion for enemies. The next rulers in succession had the wars to be fought over again; but then these were only in the farthest frontiers. Ceylon, Madura and Malabar were easily brought back to a sense of allegiance, but not so this Tungabhadra frontier where it was not a question of allegiance but of mastery. The wars were, therefore, prolonged and continued almost from year to year. Invasions and counter-invasions were the order of the day. The Choḷas had taken occasion once to plant a pillar of Victory at Kolhāpuram (Kolhapur). The great battle at Koppam in 1052 did not pronounce finally. Either party claimed the victory though the advantage certainly lay with the Choḷas. The Chālukyas continued to appoint governors of Gangavāḍi (with head-quarters first at Balgāmve and then at Halēbīḍu) although the Choḷas had the territory certainly under them. When, therefore, Vīrarājendra came to the throne about 1062-1063 A.D. he had to be very active on this side. From his inscriptions it appears that he five times fought the Chālukyas in the region of the Tungabhadra in three of these he fought against Somēśvara Āhavamalla (1044-1068 A.D.) Rājendra was crowned on the battle-field of Koppam in 1052 A.D., and an inscription of the 12th year of his reign is known, although this ought to be, according to Prof. Kielhorn's calculation, the eleventh year. This would take us on to 1063 A.D. but this need not be the case, as with respect to the Choḷas there was always overlapping of reigns owing to the practice of Yuvaraja's being associated in the administration by the reigning monarch. (11) The first achievement of Vīrarājendra was the beating back of Prince Vikramāditya from Gangavāḍi. "(He) drove from the battle-field in Gangap-pāḍi into the

(10) (See Shikarpur 323, Ep. Car. VII. Kollippakke, the door of the South).

(11) In this case, however, the Yuvaraja was Rājamāhendra and not Vīrarājendra.



Tungabhadra the Mahāsāmastas, whose strong hands (wielded) cruel bows, along with Vikkaḷan who fought under a banner that inspired strength." In 1056 A.D. Vikramāditya was ruler of Gangavāḍi 96000, Banavase 12000 with Harikēśarin of the family of the Kādambas of Hangal, as his subordinate in charge of the latter district. (12) In 1058 A.D. Kaḍambalige Thousand is placed under Chālukya Ganga Perumaḍi. Two years later, Trilōkymalla, Chālukya, Ganga Perumaḍi Vikramāditya Dēva was ruling the Gangavāḍi 96000. These inscriptions at Dāvanigere (13) are borne out by the Shikarpur inscriptions. (14) According to these later he was Viceroy, with headquarters at Baḷligāve (Baḷagāme), of Gangavāḍi, with Banavāse, Sāntalige and Nōḷambavāḍi. During the fifties of the eleventh century A.D., Āhavamalla had one of his sons Somēśvara Bhuvanaikamalla, governing in the Bellary District and another governing practically the whole of the Mysore Province, with, of course, deputies to help him. Later on Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya was governor of Nōḷambavāḍi 32000 (Eastern Mysore) with the title Vengimandālēśvara (15) and head-quarters at Kampili (Kampli) and Jayasimha, ruler of Banavāse alone. Thus it is clear that in a war with the Chōḷa all these Princes would figure and so the Chōḷa inscription has it. Since the first achievement of Vīrarājēndra is against Prince Vikrama, it is clear that after the battle of Koppam the Chālukyas were slowly working their way up to Gangavāḍi. Vīrarājēndra naturally had to push back Vikramāditya during the years 1055-1060 A.D. This achievement would fall within the period of the reign of Rājēndra, as according to Prof. Kielhorn's astronomical calculations Vīrarājēndra ascended the throne in 1062-1063 A.D. This together with Rājamahēndra's (16) (son of Rājēndra) having fought against the Chālukya Āhavamalla would indicate that Vīrarājēndra did not come to the throne by any act of usurpation on his part.

(12) Fleet : Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I. Pt. II. p. 440. note 4 ; also Ind. Antiquary (IV. 103).

(13) Nos : 153 and 140. Epi : Car. Vol. XI.

(14) Nos : 83 and 152 Epi : Car : Vol. VII.

(15) Not because he was son of an Eastern Chālukya Princess but he had charge of the Vengi frontier ; and wars with Vengi were his Province.

(16) South Ind. Ins., Vol. III, Pt., II, p. 191, Epi. Indica. Vol. VI, pp. 20-24.

Virarājendra apparently had two objects in view now : (1) the keeping back of this Chālukya aggression which was always possible and which was quite a real danger at the time ; and, (2) his active interference, with a view to achieve this, in the affairs of the Vengi kingdom of his brother-in-law, who died about this time. The Telugu country safe on his side, the Chālukya advance in the South would be impossible. These objects of the Chōla naturally led to great activity on these very frontiers. Hence the appointment of a frontier warden, a royal Prince, with his headquarters at Kampli at the salient angle between the Chōla and the Vengi country. The second exploit of Virarājendra, therefore, is a successful invasion of the Circars, to prevent Vikramāditya gaining a hold upon the country. How Vikramāditya's intervention was brought about is not detailed in any of the inscriptions which have it that :—"He (the Chōla Emperor) attacked and destroyed the irresistible, great and powerful army which he (Vikkalan) had again despatched into Vengai-nādu ;" This must have been brought about somewhat in this wise. The Eastern Chālukya Rājarāja, the son-in-law of the Gangaikonda Chōla, died and had at least a son Rājendra better known Kulōttunga and a daughter Kundavvai ; but we see that the Vengi country passes into the possession of Vijayāditya an uncle of Kulōttunga, through the good offices of Virarājendra. This disputed succession ought to have brought Vikramāditya upon the scene. But Virarājendra was nevertheless victorious at last and placed his nominee Vijayāditya of the Eastern Chālukya family, (not of the Western Chālukya family as was hitherto supposed) upon the throne, after a battle at Vijayawāḍi (Bezwada).

The next great achievement was his great victory at Kūḍal Sangamam over the entire body of the Chālukya forces. This place is at the junction of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra, just the region wherefrom the Chālukyas would hope to bar the northward and north-eastward progress of the Chōla. "The enemy, full of hatred, met and fought against (him) a third time, hoping that his (former) defeats would be revenged. (The King) defeated countless Sāmantas, together with these (two) sons of Āhavamalla, who were called Vikkalan and Singanan at Kūḍal Sangamam on the turbid river. Having sent the brave vanguard in advance, and having himself remained close behind with the kings allied to him, (he) agitated by means of a single must elephant that army (of the enemy), which was arrayed (for battle), (and which) resembled the



northern ocean. In front of the banner-top he cut to pièces Singaṇan, the King of warlike Kosalai, along with the furious elephants of (his) vanguard. While Kēsavadandanāyaka, Kēttarasan, Mārāyan of great strength, the strong Pōttarāyan (and) Irāchcheyan were fighting (he) started :—" Follow Mūvēndi, (who wears) a garland of gold ! and cut to pieces many Sāmantas, who were deprived of weapons of war. Then Maduvaṇan who was in command fled ; Vikkaḷan fled with dishevelled hair ; Singaṇan fled, his pride and courage forsaking (him). Aṇṇalan and all others descended from the male elephants on which they were fighting in battle, and fled ; Āhavamalla too, to whom they were allied, fled before them. The king stopped his fast furious elephant, put on the garland of victory, seized his wives, his family treasures, conches, parasols, trumpets, drums, canopies, white chamaras, the boar banner, the ornamental arch, the female elephant (called) Pushpaka, and a herd of war-elephants, along with a troop of prancing horses, and amidst (general) applause put on the crown of victory, (set with) jewels of red splendour." (17) This was the battle of Kūḍal Sangamam and I have quoted the inscription in full to give an idea of how battles were fought in those times. While the Chāḷukya records mention in general of the prowess of the Chāḷukyas, they do not give us circumstantial details of any particular battle against Vīrarājendra in person. Bilhana's Vikramānka dēva Charitam no doubt depicts Prince Vikramāditya as conducting expeditions towards the South and credits him with the occupation both of Kanchi and of Gangaikondas'olapuram. This is not during the reign of Vīrarājendra but after his death, as we shall have to relate. That he invaded Vengi is no doubt likely, but even here the result is entirely different from what the panegyrist would have us believe. Before the close of his 4th year, *i.e.*, prior to the death Somēsvara I, Vīrarājendra had conquered other chiefs. (18)

But inscriptions of his fifth year, the year of the death of Somēsvara Āhavamalla, have it that the Chōḷa Emperor, having defeated the Kōraḷas at Ulagai and defeated and imprisoned the Paṇḍyas (Kaṇṇiyas) and Chāḷukyas, the king overthrew several

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(17) No. 20, South Ind. Ins., Vol. III, Pt. I.

(18) The chiefs of Poṭṭappi (Kālahasti) ; Vāran of Kōraḷa ; the younger brother of Jananātha of Dhāra and the Paṇḍya Prince probably one Vīrakēsarin son of Srivallabha.

chiefs among whom figure the Ganga and Nolamba chiefs. When he retired to Gangaikondas'olapuram, he received an autograph letter from the Châlukya Somêsvara challenging the Choḷa king to meet him once more at Kûḍal Sangamam. Virarâjendra accepted this, and marched to the appointed place Kandai. Not finding the Châlukya Somêsvara there, he waited a month and then putting to flight such of the Châlukya army as had been there to watch him and having erected a pillar of victory on the Tungabhadra inscribed upon it an account of his conquest of Raṭṭapâḍi 7½ lacs.

Then he "appointed the liar, who came on a subsequent day, as Vallabha (Châlukya King), and tied (round his neck) a beautiful necklace." These transactions have to be accounted for in this wise: The fifth year of Virarâjendra was the year of the death of Somêsvara Âhavanmalla, who passed away by drowning himself in the Tungabhadra, from an attack of a malignant fever. This would account for his absence from Kuḍal Sangamam. His death brought matters to an issue between the two brothers Somêsvara II and his younger brother Vikramâditya of whom the latter was the more distinguished in the recent transactions. It was then that he appeared somewhat belated at the Choḷa camp and negotiated successfully for Choḷa help in the event of his attempt to gain the throne as against Somêsvara. The treaty was sealed, of course, by the marriage of the Châlukya Prince with the daughter of the reigning Choḷa. Though some of the Choḷa inscriptions give a ludicrous character to this particular transaction, that this was the real import is amply clear from these inscriptions themselves, while the Vikramânkadêva Charitam gives naturally enough a glossed version of it in favour of the hero Prince Vikrama. This done Virarâjendra marched into the Vengi country. "Having moved (his camp) he declared :—" (We) shall not return without regaining the country of Vengai, which (we had formerly) subdued. You (who are) strong, come and defend (it) if (you) are able!" That army which was chosen for this expedition, drove into the jungle that big army, which resisted its enemy on the great river close to Viś'ayavâḍi (Bezwaḍa), and which had for its chiefs, Jananâthan, the Dandanâyaka Rajamayan, whose must elephants trumpeted in herds, and Mûpparasan.

"His elephants drank the water of the Godaveri. He crossed over Kalingan, and beyond it despatched for battle his invincible army as far as the further end of S'akkaragottam (Chakra-kotta)."

"He re-conquered the good country of Vengai and bestowed



it on Vijayādityan, whose broad-hand held weapons of war and who had taken refuge at his lotus-feet."

This last affair, as has been explained already, is the outcome of a disputed succession in the Vengai country. After the death of the Eastern Chālukya Rājarāja (1060-1061 A.D.), Kulōttunga (Rājendra) ought to have succeeded, but this succession appears to have been disputed. The Kalingattupparani has it that the wife of Gangaikondā Chola took up the dear child when it was born and from the signs upon its feet predicted his uplifting of both the families in fame. This was nothing more, probably, than the pious grandmotherly wish for the advancement of her grandson. It is very probable that the child was brought up in the grandfather's house with all the paraphernalia of Empire surrounding the young Prince. Thus it was made possible for his uncle Vijayāditya to make a successful attempt to place himself on the throne of Vengai, as we find the inscriptions of Kulōttunga, in the early years of his rule, only in the Southern end of his paternal dominions, *i.e.*, the territory round about Madras. In his difficulty Vijayāditya probably sought the strong arm of Virarājendra to whom a friendly Vengi was of paramount importance. This would, *inter se*, be detrimental to the interests of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi. Hence all the warlike transactions between the rival powers, in regard to Vengai in which neither was directly interested. Returning from this victorious expedition to Gangaikondasolapuram Virarājendra assumed the paramount title of Rājādhirāja or, as other inscriptions have it, Rājādhirājan Rājarāja—"as was the custom of the family."

Inscriptions of the sixth year of Virarājendra, as also those of his seventh year, add another engagement between the contending powers at Kūḍalsungamam, for the third time, when Virarājendra "burnt Kampili before Somēsvara could untie the necklace which he had put on, and set up a pillar of victory at Karaḍikkal." This Somēsvara is correctly identified by Dr. Hultsch, with Somēsvara Bhuvanaikamalla, the son of Āhavamalla and the elder brother of Vikramāditya and Jayasīmha, who was according to Dr. Fleet sometime governor of the Beluvola, Purigere, &c. country earlier; but "on a third occasion, he burnt the city of Kampili *before Somēsvara could untie the necklace which he had put on* and set up a pillar of victory at Karaḍikkal." The untying of the necklace refers to the untying of the necklace of Yuvaraja to assume the higher one of reigning sovereign, rather than, as Dr. Hultsch considers, to the incident having taken place in the lifetime of

Somēsvara I. In an inscription at Shikarpur (19). Somēsvara II assumed the royal insignia on the fourteenth day after the death of his father, as is the Hindu custom even now ; and the inscription 83 of Vol. III of South Indian Inscriptions implies that Virarājendra acted promptly after the death of Āhavamalla, for the Shikarpur inscription has it that the Choḷa king thought of taking advantage of the change of rulers and exclaiming, " A new reign ; a kingdom fit only for a hero ; now is the time to invade it ; I will surround Gutti and besiege it.' The inscription, of course, has it further down that Vira Choḷa turned his back after a cavalry skirmish between the vanguards. If this interpretation is correct these events must have taken place in 1068 A.D. Before next year Virarājendra added to his laurels by the over-sea conquest of Kaḍaram in the Talaing country of Burmah.

All this time of active warfare, we have evidence of Virarājendra transacting business of a civil character. Whenever he was at Gangaikondasōḷapuram, his capital, his secretaries were busy bringing papers and despatches which he disposed of promptly. It is a pity that there are no inscriptions to give us a hint as to how he arranged for this civil business while he was engaged in war. From the few inscriptions of his time, we have, he shews himself to have been an active monarch who acted up to his responsibilities and when he passed away about the year 1070 A.D., he left behind him a compact kingdom to his son Adhirājarāja, but the opportunity for Kulōttuuga now arrived after having waited for over eight years.

One more point deserves mention here before we close the account of Virarājendra. There is a Tamil Grammar by name Virasōḷyam written by Buddhāmītra, with a commentary by the author's disciple Perundēvanār. It is called Virasōḷiyam from the patron of the author who was born at Ponparri in Malaikūṭṭam. This Mr. Venkyya would identify with Ponpetṭi in the Paṭṭukōṭṭai Talūka, as this would bring him near Tōḍi, of which Buddhāmītra is said to have been lord by his pupil the commentator. That the patron whose name has been associated with the Grammar is none other than Virarājendra is borne out by references to and quotations of inscriptions of Rājendra Chola I and those referring to the battles of Koppam and Kuḍal Sangamam—no inscription of a later time is mentioned and the name of Virarājendra as the author's patron is found in the text of the Grammar itself. This would make another



landmark in Tamil literary history and would give the clue to many a knotty point in the literary chronology of Tamil.

The death of Vīrarājendra in 1070 A.D. marks another stage in the struggle between the Chōla and Chālukya powers. It has already been pointed out that Prince Vikramāditya had entered into an agreement with Vīrarājendra on the Tungabhadra ; but the death of his powerful ally and father-in-law made him halt in his course towards achieving the usurpation that he must now have planned already. We have noticed before that the disputed succession at Vengi brought both the Chālukya and the Chōla upon the scene, but the Chōla had the best of it in the fight and Vengi was yet faithful to the Chōlas under Vijayāditya. Kulōttunga who all this period had, perhaps, been governing, either in his own name or, as it appears more likely, as a Viceroy of the Emperor, the territory in the middle including in it the region embracing Tiruvorriyūr, Tirvālangādu in the Karvētinagar Zamindari and Kolar (20). Vikramāditya took a measure of the situation at a glance and set about putting his neighbourhood in good attitude for his crowning act. Prince Rājendra Chōla was likely to strike in for the Chōla Empire and it was of immense importance to secure the Chōla succession to his brother-in-law, who had already been associated with father Vīrarājendra. This he did and we have the ruler Adhirājarājendra in succession to his father. We have inscriptions of his third year, while Vīrarājendra's dates run into the year, 1070 A.D. So Adhirājarājā would have ruled independently for but a part of a year. According to the Vikramānka Dēva Charitam Vikramāditya installed his brother-in-law, and the Kalingattupparaṇi and Vikkīrama Sōḷa-nulā mention a king between Vīrarājendra and Kulōttunga. This apart, an inscription of the third year of Vīrarājendra mentions the Magistrate Rājarājamūvendavēlan and the Senāpathi Rājarāja Paranripārākshasan alias Vīras'ōḷa Iḷangō, met at Kānchipuram and held an enquiry into the administration of a grant made in the eighth year of Vīrarājendradēva. This same Sēnapathi Rājarāja Paranripārākshasan alias Vīras'ōḷa Iḷangō figures in the same capacity under Kulōttunga in an inscription of his second year (*i.e.*, 1072) at Tiruvorriyūr. Thus then it is clear that Adirājarāja succeeded his father but had only a short reign as in the same year. Rājendra Chōla alias Kulōttunga also ascended the throne of the Chōla Empire.

(20) This I infer from the fact that the earliest inscriptions of Kulōttunga are found in this reign ; but this might not have been the case.

This unsettled the arrangements of Vikramāditya who had to bide his time, and it is probable as the Vikramānkaḍēva Charitam has it, that he was on the best of terms, in the meanwhile, with his brother Somēśvara.

Leaving Vikramāditya aside, we have to consider the position of the other young Prince whose name bulks out so largely in the South Indian Politics of the time, *vis.*, Rājakesarivarman Rajēndra Chola alias Kulōttunga Chola. It has already been pointed out that he was the grandson of the Gangaikondā Chola and that it was probable that he was brought up in his grandfather's house, whether he was actually adopted by him or no. There was in fact no reason for the adoption as the grandfather appears to have had a number of sons, who were, (at least one of them was) associated as lieutenants of the great conquering Chola. One would naturally expect this Rajēndra to succeed his father, when he died in 1061-62 or the next year. In all the transactions about the appointment of Vijayāditya VII as Viceroy of Vēngai, we do not hear of the name of Kulōttunga, and this would suggest that this young ambitious prince did not regard it as a matter of much moment to him whether he was Viceroy of Vēngi or not. His ambition was imperial and not viceregal, in this resembling his great contemporary Vikramāditya, who for many years had practically the whole of the Southern half of his father's and brother's Empire under his control. There is yet another reason for this non-chalance. This seems to be the main reason though it appears to have escaped the notice of the expert editors of these inscriptions, Dr. Hultzsch and Mr. Venkyya. The earlier inscriptions of Kulōttunga have it that as Yuvaraja he accomplished two great feats:—(1) the capture of elephants at Vairāgaram—and (2) the capture of the fortress of Chakrakōṭṭam. His inscriptions take us on to his 49th year as Emperor and so he must have ascended the throne, a comparative young man. Then he might have been Yuvaraja to his father the Eastern Chalukya Rajaraja I or his grandfather and uncles. If he had been at Vēngi all the while, Vijayāditya's succession could not have been possible, altogether setting aside his nephew; but granting that he was at Vēngi, where was this Vairāgaram and what is the achievement of catching elephants? If again he was even ousted by Vijayāditya his uncle, the fact of his accession to the Eastern Chalukya dominions, specifically stated by the Piṭṭapuram Pillar Inscriptions and the copper-plate grants, is not borne out by any of his inscriptions, all



of which are dated as from 1070 A.D. the year of his accession to the Chola throne. There appears to be only one explanation for all this. Vaiyārāgīram is probably Vajraprākāra (Kampheng-p'het) in the upper course of the Menam in Siam, and it is here that as the Chola Yuvaraja, along with his grandfather that he distinguished himself. In fact his early inscriptions have it that "(He) gently raised, without wearying (her) in the least the lotus-like goddess of the earth residing in the region of the rising sun." (அருக்க னுதையத் தாசையிவிருக்கும் கமலமனைய நிலமான் தன்னை முன்னீர்க்குனித்த வன்னாள், திருமாலாதிக்கேழலாகி எடுத்தன்ன யாதும்சலியாவகையினி தெடுத்த தன்குடைநிழல் இன்புற இருத்தி). This land of the rising-sun cannot well be the country of Vengi, and if Rājendra II.'s conquest of part of Burmah is accepted, as it must now be, this would only mean that Rājendra Kulōttunga distinguished himself as a prince in the Eastern exploits of his grandfather either during Rājendra Chola I.'s lifetime or under Virarājendra when he conquered Kaṭṭāram. This would also satisfactorily account for the idea of the Paṇḍitha Chola (Rājendra, the Gangaikonda Chola) having been his father according to the Kolingattupparani (xiii. 62). According to the researches of Col. Gerini Vajraprākāra was a town of importance in the kingdom of Swankhlōkh-sakōttari in Central Siam about this period before the overthrow of Thai dynasty. (21) There is still the mention of his rule over Vengi to be explained. This is easily done by the mere fact that he was the legitimate heir whoever else had been Viceroy (and Vijayāditya claimed to be nothing else) and when Kulōttunga became Emperor he did not wish to assert his claims to or make a boast of what was certainly a much inferior position.

If this view of Kulōttunga's earlier position be correct, then his achievement against Chakrakōttam against the ruler of Dhāra might be the accomplishment when Virarājendra despatched an army into Kalingam and across into Dhāra after his last expedition into Vengai. The Kalinga ruler at the time was Rajaraja whose wife Rajyasundari, daughter of the Dramiḷa (Dravida) King Rājendra

(21) *Vide* Siamese Archæology, I. R. A. S., 1904, pp. 233-ff.

Note also: வரர்கடற்றீவாந்தரத்துப் பூபாலர் திறைவிடுத்த கலஞ்சொ டிசுனிது முறைநித்ப.

South Ind. Ins, No. 76, Vol. III., Pt. II. p. 169. l. 4.

Chola was the mother of the Kalinga ruler Anantavarman Chôda Ganga (22). This Rajendra Chola, Dr. Hultzschi suspects, is identical with Virarajendra. Be this as it may, it is probably in this invasion that Kulottunga found occasion to distinguish himself against Chakrakottam.

This view of the early life of Kulottunga differs from that of Dr. Hultzschi and Mr. Venkyya, who infer it was only a question of usurpation on the part of Vijayaditya, assisted by Virarajendra. This would accord very ill with Kulottunga's position in the interim. If he had remained anywhere in the Chola Empire, Virarajendra would have taken steps to keep him out of ever aspiring to the throne. Nor does he figure among the Western Châlukya relations with Virarajendra. It appears, therefore, that he was biding his time as did Vikramaditya for nine years to work his way up to the Empire.

Inscriptions of the 2nd year of Kulottunga lend support to this view, as No. 64, Vol. iii of the South Indian Inscriptions "implies that he felt himself already at that time as a member of the Chola family to which his mother and grandmother belonged, and not as an Eastern Châlukya, because it mentions as his crest the tiger and not the boar." In inscriptions of his first four years he styles himself Râjakêsarivarman Râjendra Chola Dêva while that in his fifth year ascribes to him the title Kulottunga. In addition to the achievements already referred to while yet a Prince only, the inscriptions of his fifth year add that he vanquished the king of Kuntala, that he crowned himself as king of the country on the banks of the Kavery, and that he decapitated an unnamed Pandya king. "Having made the wheel of his (authority) to go as far as the Golden Circle (*i.e.*, Mount Mèru), on the earth, which was surrounded by the moat of the sea, that was (again) surrounded by (his) fame, (the king) newly wedded, in the time when (he was still) heir-apparent (*ilangô*), the brilliant goddess of victory at S'akkarakkottam by deeds of valour and seized a herd of elephants at Vayirâgaram. (He) unsheathed (his) sword, shewed the strength of (his) arm, and spurred (his) war-steed, so that the king of Kondala (Kuntala), whose spear had a sharp point, lost his wealth. Having established his fame, having put on (a garland of victory over) the Northern

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(22) It is quite possible that this Rajendra Chola was the Gangaikonda Chola; or Rajendra Kulottunga as Mr. Venkyya has it in his Report for 1905.



region, and having stopped the prostitution of the goddess with the sweet and excellent lotus-flower (*i.e.*, Lakshmi), of the Southern region, and the loneliness of the goddess of the good country whose garment is the Ponni (Kavery), (he) put on by right (of inheritance) the pure royal crown of jewels, while the kings of the old earth (23) bore his two feet (on their heads) as a large crown." This would be the year 1075 A.D. and the Kuntaḷas here referred to must be the generals of Somēśvara II, particularly his brothers Vikramāditya and Jayasimha, the latter having been at the time Viceroy of Banavāse. This merely refers perhaps to an attempt at intervention on the part of Vikramāditya, as a result of the misfortune to his brother-in-law and the consequent change of rule. But before the 11th year of Kulottunga's reign, he had to intervene with greater vigour in the affairs of the Mysore country. But how this was called for has to be explained before proceeding further.

Somēśvara Bhuvanaikamalla ruled over the Chalukya Empire from 1068 A.D. to 1076 A.D. when his reign came to an end. The only epigraphical information available is that Somēśvara, having got intoxicated with pride after a few years of rule, neglected the government badly and his virtuous brother Vikramāditya overthrew him in the interest of good government and established himself instead. Turning to the Vikramāṅkadēva Charitam again for details we have the following which I extract from Dr. Fleet. (24)

"Bilhaṇa tells us, that, for a time, the two brothers lived in friendly fashion at Kalyāṇa; the younger duly honouring the elder as the chief of his house and his king. Somēśvara, however, fell into evil courses, and even tried to do harm to his brother. Thereupon Vikramāditya left Kalyāṇa, taking with him all his followers, and also his younger brother, Jayasimha III, who, he considered, could not be safely left with the king. Somēśvara sent forces in pursuit, to bring the brothers back. But he was unsuccessful and at last desisted from the attempt. Vikramāditya went on to the Tungabhadra on the bank of which river he rested his army for sometime, with the intention of fighting the Chōḷa king. It appears, however, that for some unexplained reason, he deferred this project in favour of making a triumphal progress through the Southern and Western parts of the kingdom; for, the narrative goes on to say, that having spent sometime in the Banavāse Province, he marched

(23) South Ind. Ins., p. 142, Vol. III. Pt. II.

(24) Bombay Gazetteer, Pt. II. Vol. I. pp. 444-445.

through the Malaya country,—that Jayakēsin, the lord of Konkan, *i.e.* the first Jayakesin in the family of the Kadambas of Goa, came to him and brought presents,—and that the lord of Ālupa made submission and received favours in return. It also implies that he visited Kēraḷa, and inflicted some reverses on the king of that country. He then seems to have taken some definite action against the Chōḷas. But it was stopped by the Chōḷa king, Rājākēsarivarman otherwise called Virarājēndra Dēva I, making overtures of friendship, and offering him a daughter in marriage, on the condition that he retired to the Tungabhadra. Vikramāditya accepted the proposals; and the marriage was duly celebrated. Shortly afterwards, however, the news reached him that his father-in-law was dead, and that the Chōḷa kingdom was in a state of anarchy. He then proceeded at once to Kanchi the Chōḷa capital; put down the rebellion there; and going to Gangakundā, secured the throne for his brother-in-law, probably Parakēsarivarman otherwise called Adhirājārājēndra. He then marched back to the Tungabhadra. But he heard almost immediately, that his brother-in-law had lost his life in a fresh rebellion, and that Rājiga the lord of Vengi,—*i.e.*, the Eastern Chāḷukya king Kulōttunga Chōḷa Dēva I, whose original appellation was Rājēndra Chōḷa—had seized the throne of Kanchi. He at once prepared to march against Rājiga. The latter induced Somēśvara II. to enter into an alliance against the mutual enemy. When Vikramāditya at length reached Rājiga's forces, Somēśvara's army was encamped, with hostile intentions, not far off in his rear. And in the battle which ensued, and in which Vikramāditya was victorious, Rājiga fled and Somēśvara was taken prisoner. The narrative says that Vikramāditya at first intended to restore his brother to liberty and to the throne. But eventually he decided otherwise. He had himself proclaimed king; and then appointing Jayasimha III Viceroy at Banavāse, proceeded to Kalyāṇa and established himself there."

The above is the account of Vikramāditya's Vidyāpati (poet-laureate); and apart from a little glozing in favour of his patron and a certain want of chronological sequence the narration of events is in the main true. A part of this story has already been dealt with before:—Vikramāditya's actual motive and how he entered into treaty with Virarājēndra, what he did to his brother-in-law and how the affair ended. What has to be specially noted here is the last transaction of the narration: how Somēśvara was actually overthrown. It is, very likely, this achievement of Kulōttunga that



is detailed in inscriptions of his fifth and sixth years, *i.e.*, 1075-1076 A.D. It is very probable that Vikramâ's elder brother was an incapable ruler or even worse. There is no doubt that Vikramâditya had distinguished himself even during his father's lifetime: nevertheless, he had carefully prepared his scheme and put it into effect at the psychological moment and thus shewed himself to the world that in diplomacy, he was not behind any body at the time. It was, however, not a cold-blooded deed of unscrupulous usurpation, as it is quite possible that Somêsvara's regime might have brought the Empire to the verge of ruin, seeing they had to reckon with a neighbour like Kulôttunga. In this enterprise Vikramâditya had the support of the viceroys of first rank among his brother's officers, and this could not have been obtained without counterbalancing virtues in him of a sort. Sêuṇa Chandra II of the Yâdava family, the premier Viceroy of the North-west, Jayakêsin Kadamba of Goa; Achugi II of the Sinda family of Yelburga; Eṇeyanga Hoysala of Gangavâḍi, the son of Vinayâditya the right trusty lieutenant of Somêsvara Âhavamalla; and Irukkaḥala, the brother of the Governor of Nôlambavâḍi; all these heartily helped Vikramâditya and were the main pillars of his Empire for the following half a century and more. Thus then Vikramâditya allowed Kulôttunga to boast of a victory while he had to be busy at head-quarters to complete his usurpation. This done, there began the battle royal between the contending nations or rather rulers.

The next war undertaken against the Chôla also appears to have gone against the Châlûkyas. Inscriptions of the 14th and 15th years of Kulôttunga lay claim to having turned back an invasion of Vikramâditya from Nangali (about 6 miles east of Mul-tâzal) *viâ* Maṇalur (other inscriptions have it Alaṭṭi) to the Tunga-bhadra; and to having captured Gangamandalam and Singanam. Having secured his frontier in the north he turned his attention to the south against the Pandyas and subdued the South-western portion of the Peninsula including in his conquests the Gulf of Maṇṇâr, the Podiyil mountain (in the Tinnevely District), Cape Comorin, Kôṭṭaru, the Sahya (the Western Ghats) and Kuḍamalainâdu (*i.e.* Malabar). About this time he appears to have effected conquests in the Malabar country. Viḷiṇam and Salai having been occupied according to the Kalingattuparaṇi and the Vikkiramasôlanula. That this is not a mere high-falutin assertion of a triumph without success is amply borne out by the utter absence of purely Châlûkya inscriptions beyond the Shimoga and the Chitaldroog

Districts, the capitals of the so-called viceroys of Gangavâdi having been beyond the Gangavâdi itself (*vis.*, Belagâmve first and Belur next); and the appointment of particular governors to hold the Southern frontier against the Chola in Northern Mysore.

"Lakshmana becoming lord of the Grêât Banavâsenâd, Vikramanôlamba becoming the lord of Nôlamba-Sindavâdi, Gangamandâlîka (probably Udayâditya) becoming lord of the territory from Âlampara,—Bhuvanaikamalla, in view of their being as a long bar to the South, gave them these countries."(25) Although this arrangement was actually made in the reign of Somêsvara II, there was no material alteration of frontier till about the early decades of the following century. These achievements of Kulôttunga must have taken place about 1085 A.D.

If Vikramâditya moved South, about 1080 A.D., then the opportunity would have been taken advantage of by the Pandyas of the South and Kulôttunga had not only taken steps "to fix the limits of the Southern country," but also had settled some of his officers on the roads through Kottâru to hold the country in check. "While all the heroes in the Western hill country (Kuḍamalainâdu) ascended voluntarily to heaven (he) was pleased to bestow on the chiefs of his army, who were mounted on horses, *settlements on every road*, including (that which passed) through Kottâru, in order that the enemies might be scattered, and took his seat on the throne acquired in warfare."(26)

This war must have taken place soon after Vikramâditya ascended the throne in 1076 A.D. and both the emperors had learnt by 1080 A.D. (or thereabouts) that it was impossible to decide once for all on this frontier and matters were left to settle themselves by efflux of time. During the rest of his reign the Châlukya emperor devoted himself to peace. His reign had a span of half a century and during this long period, Bilhana notices an invasion and even occupation of Kanchi and two invasions across the Narbudda. The occupation of Kanchi was nothing more than the attempted invasion of the Chola Empire which ended in failure. The other two invasions were either active interventions in the affairs of Malva and Chedi or Dhara and Dâhala, where after the death of Bhoja of Dhâra and Karna of Dâhala, there was constant war.

(25) Epi. Car.: Vol. VII., p. 202 of the translation.

(26) *Vide* No. 73, South Ind. Ins., Vol. III, Pt. II, the officer in charge of Kôttâru is a man of the Chola country.



His invasion of Bengal and Kāmarūpa (or Assam) are not likely with the Chōlas constantly on the alert, unless these happen to be mere contingents of armies sent to help a friendly power.

Jayasimha who had acted with him and had been rewarded with the viceroyalty of Banavāse, a position which Vikrama himself occupied under his father, revolted and the revolt had been put down evidently; but nothing further was heard either of Jayasimha or of his other brother Vishṇuvardhana Vijayāditya. With this change Vikramāditya effected an important modification of domestic policy, which produced consequences which could hardly have been foreseen by him. He gave important viceroyalties to chieftains with great local influence (27)—sometimes scions of old families and these became founders of the great feudatory dynasties which played such important parts later on. We see this change taking place during the peaceful regime of the great Chālukya Vikramāditya. His Empire extended from the Narbudda southwards to the Tungabhadra; and from the junction of the latter with the Krishna if a line be drawn northwards more or less in a straight line to where the Wardha meets the Godavari and continue up this affluent, we shall have marked the Eastern boundary of the Chālukya Empire. All the East of this from the Southern portion of Ganjam was the Chōla Empire under his great contemporary Kulōttunga, whose Southern limit was Cape Comorin itself except for a small part—the Madura District—which was under the Pandya. The country beyond the Western Ghats to the sea was perhaps under the Chera or Kērala ruler in the same subordinate position as that of the Pandya, though unwilling.

This extensive empire of the Chālukyas was divided into Rashtras, Vishaya and Grāma answering exactly to the Mandalam (province) Nāḍu (division) and Ūr (or township). Hitherto Viceroys were appointed over the larger divisions sometimes over more divisions than one but hereafter it is generally the rule that there is a Viceroy over each of these larger divisions. Over the Vishaya or the district there was a Governor who happened to be a local chief. We hear of Ganga chiefs with head-quarters at Yeḍehalli and of Āsandi in Kadur District. Each village or township contributed the unit of administration and had its own assembly or governor according to its history. Besides the Viceroys of Pro-

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(27) His sons were given only viceroyalties, &c., near head-quarters, e.g., Jayakarna, Bombay Gazetteer, p. 455, Vol. I. Pt. II.

vinces there were great generals, ministers for peace and war. Commissioners of finance and great noblemen in Mahasenapāthis or Daṇḍanayakas, Sandhivigrahins (often there is a higher officer the Hōri Karnāṭa-Lāṭa-Sandhivigrahin or a minister for peace and war of the Karnāṭaka and the Lāṭa territories), controllers of the pannāya, perjjunka and other taxes and lastly the Mahāsaman-tadhipathis—these last being kept at Court perhaps because they were dangerous elsewhere. The Emperor had his capital at Kalyāṇa; but he had also half a dozen other places in important positions often referred to as Rajadhanis or alternative capitals which, to judge for their location, would be for administrative convenience, as also to satisfy the vanity of the ruler for the time being. Kalyāṇa the capital; Banavase and Baḷagamve, the head-quarters of the Southern Viceroyalty; Naḍaviyappaiyanabidu, in the North-east of Bijapur on the frontier of the Nizam's Dominions; Etagiri, the modern Yutagiri, 30 miles South of Malkhed; Vijayapura, the modern Bijapur; Maṇṇeyakere, also in the Nizam's Dominions, and Vikramapura or Arasiabidu. Most of these are head-quarters of viceroyalties, while Etagiri was the old capital of the dynasty. Even Tiruvikramāpura (named after either the Emperor or God Viṣṇu Kamalāvilāsin) was a capital under Somēsvara with the name Arasiabidu (the palace of the queen), perhaps because one of the lady viceroys had her head-quarters there, as we have a number of such during the rule of the Chalukyas (28).

Among the viceroys of Vikramāditya we find the names of a number of chiefs who became later on the founders of the great feudatory families as has been stated already, though for the while their charges often changed. Without following the details of the change of viceroys, the Provinces were: (1) the Yādava territory of Deogiri or as it was known before this, S'ēṇa Dēsa with capitals at Sinnar and then at Deogiri, including in it all the territory in the North-west of the Empire; (2) The Silāharas of Northern

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(28) Akkadevi the aunt of Somesvara I was governing Kisku-kād seventy in 1022, A.D.

The queens of Somēsvara I and some of his successors had small territories to administer, sometimes directly, often by Deputy.

Vikramāditya had six queens. Of whom we have records of four at least in government of small districts or administration of revenues. One of them was governing the capital Kalyāṇa and another had a district, allotted to her for pin-money (Angabōga).

Fleet, Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I. Pt. II.



and Southern Konkan, the country along the coast below Bombay ; (3) The Silâharas of Kolhâpur ; (4) Next come the Kadambas of Goa ; (5) to the East of these their cousins the Kadambas of Hângal in Dharwar ; (6) East of these come the Sindas of Yelburga ; (7) then the Guṭṭas of Guṭṭal in Dharwar ; (8) Next the Râṭṭas of Saundatti ; (9) Banavâse, often under the Kadambas of Hângal, after Jayasimha's rebellion ; (10) the Noḷambavâdi, under the Paṇḍya chiefs of Uchchangidoorg ; (11) Gangavâdi under the Hoysalas, Eṛēyanga and his sons Bellâḷa and Viṣṇuvardhana ; (12) The Tardavâdi round Bjaṇpur. Besides these, there were the vicerealties in the headquarters territory, *vis.*, round Gobbur, Kammara-vâdi and Sitabaldi in the Nizam's Dominions and the neighbouring parts of the Central Provinces ; these three having been under Râshṭrakūṭa (the first two) and the Haihaya chiefs respectively.

Except for the rebellion of Prince Jayasimha, Viceroy of Baṇavâse and the two invasions across the Narbadda before the years 1088-89 A.D., and between that year and 1098 A.D. there was peace throughout the Empire. But the monotony of it was broken by an invasion probably of the Eastern Châlûkya dominions. There are inscriptions referring themselves to Vikramâditya's reign at Drakshârâma and other places beyond his dominions although Bilhaṇa has it that he was for sometime in occupation of Kânci. But towards the end of his reign, the danger to the Empire already shewed itself in the advancing power of a Mysore chief. It has more than once been noticed before that the Southern Provinces of the Empire was the premier vicerealty and it is here that the greatest generalship was called forth. The Hoysalas were making themselves masters in reality of the Gangavâdi 96000, of which they had been nominal viceroys for two generations. Vinayâditya first, then Ereyanga his son, and then the latter's son Viṣṇuvardhana, through the loyal exertions of Ganga Raja, a dispossessed scion apparently of the Ganga family, now turned out the Choḷas and took Talakâḍ, the headquarters of the Choḷa vicerealty on or before 1117 A.D. This enhanced the reputation—not less the resources of the Hoysala and he was advancing his power northwards by attacking Noḷambavâdi and Banavâse. This appears to have been synchronous with the movement of the Kadambas of Goa and the Silâharns of Konkan. The Empire was saved this dismemberment by the watchful activity and energy of the Sinda chieftain Achugi II, who defeated the Hoysala forces under Gangaraja, which had marched up to the Krishnaveni (Krishna

River), in a night attack at Kannegala and chased them to Belur. He then turned in the other direction and chased them across the Western Ghats and took Goa.

This notwithstanding, Vikramāditya continued to rule till the year 1126 or possibly 1127 A.D. He appears to have been a liberal patron of letters and religion. In his Court flourished the Kāsmirian poet Bilhaṇa, who evidently wandered through the country in search of a patron and Vijñānēsvara the author of the Mitakshara system of Hindu Law. In religion, he displayed the usual liberalism of Indian monarchs. From inscription 124 of Shikarpur, we find that as Viceroy he got a Jinālaya constructed at Balligave. His father, be it remembered, died a Saiva. From the founding of Tiruvikramapura and the construction of palaces, temples, &c., near the temple of Viṣṇu Kāmalāvilasin, as Bilhaṇa has it, he probably was a Vaiṣṇava. Nevertheless a Dambal inscription of 1095 A.D. records grants made to the Vihāras of Buddha and Ārya Tārādēvi at that town. That Buddhism had its following is borne out by inscription 170 of Shikarpur, (29) that the great minister, the Daṇḍanāyaka Rūpabhaṭṭayya, who was in charge of the (Vaḍḍarāvuḷa) principal taxes and the 18 Agrahāras, established the Jayanti Bauddha Vihāra in Balligāve and made grants to it and for the worship of Tārā Bhāgavatī, and of the Gods Kēśava, Lōkēśvara and Bauddha with all their attendant Gods, &c., in 1063 A.D. Vikramāditya had at least six wives, perhaps all of them were not alive at once; but of his children, we know of only three: Jayakarna, Viceroy of some territory in the Bijapur Division which he ruled by Deputy; Somēsvara III, Bhūlōkamalla who succeeded him and a daughter Mailāla Devi who married the Kadamba Jayakēsin II of Goa. He started an era from 1076 A.D. known as the Chālukya Vikrama, which did not get into such general vogue as to supersede the Śaka era and went out of use in the course of a century. Usurping the Empire Vikramāditya perhaps rendered a service to it by preserving it from dismemberment for another half a century and we might almost say that he added to it Southern and Eastern Mysore. This same addition it was, that carried with it unmistakeable germs of dismemberment and it will be seen later on that the Hoysala benefactors of the Empire were the chief instruments of its break-up.

Turning now from the Chālukya to the Chōḷa Empire,



Kulōttunga had by his fifteenth year introduced order into the revolted provinces, in the most persistent of which, he even went the length of planting military colonies not in the Roman fashion, but by allotting territory to his officers, who would occupy the settlement at the head of the forces at their command. (30) The next year 1086 A.D. a year before the Domesday Survey, he appears to have undertaken a resurvey of some parts at least of his dominions. This fact is referred to in two inscriptions in the Tanjore District and the unit of measure was the Sripāda (the royal foot) of Kulōttunga. But that such surveys used to be and had been accurately carried out much earlier, is attested by the references to the book (புத்தேயம்) in the Tamil and Kaṭiṭha in the Kanarese countries. (31)

One achievement of Kulōttunga which deserved a whole work to celebrate it in the estimation of his contemporaries and perhaps himself is the conquest of Kalingam for him by his general Karuṇākara Tondaimān of Vanḍai (or Vandalūr). The work referred to is the Tamil poem known as the Kalingattupparaṇi of Jayamkonḍān, who was the Kavichakravarthi at the Court of Kulōttunga as Bilhaṇa was the Vidyāpathi at Kalyāṇa. This conquest of Kalingam is also among the achievements of Vikrama Choḷa. So far as Kulōttunga is concerned there are clearly two invasions of Kalingam referred to. The Tiruviḍamarudūr inscription of his 26th year refers to an invasion of Kalingam, but strangely enough his later inscriptions, which narrate accurately his other achievements, omit it. This would warrant the inference that it was not the achievement which invited the classic of Jayamkonḍān. The next reference to a conquest of Kalingam is in the inscriptions of his 42nd and 45th years. This great conquest therefore ought to have taken place in or before 1112 A.D., while the first one was before 1095-96 A.D. Kalingam figures among places conquered by Rājārāja the great and his son Rājendra. After the death of Rājārāja in 1078 A.D. of Trikalīnga, his son Anantavarman Chōḍa Ganga was on the throne till 1146 A.D. According to the Teki plates (32) of Rājārāja Chōḍa Ganga, Viceroy of Vengi and the eldest son of

(30) This is borne out by his inscriptions being found at Māramangalam and Akkasalai on the site of the ancient Korkai, thus supporting Kulōttunga's claim, to have shut in the Pāṇḍya on the side of the Gulf of Mannar. Epigraphist's Report for 1904, p. 12.

(31) See Govt. Epigraphist's Report for 1900, Sec. 25, p. 11.

(32) Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, pp. 334, et seq.

Kulōttunga, issued in 1084 A.D., the boundary of the Vengi was Mannēru in the Nellore District in the South and Māhēndragiri in Ganjam in the North. This would shew that South Kalingam was already under the Chōlas. While therefore the first invasion might possibly have been to drive out some intruder into this remote frontier which was easy of accomplishment, the next one must have been of a formidable character. This perhaps was the occasion when Vikramāditya penetrated into Vengi (which would account for inscriptions of his reign at Drākshārāma) according to Bilhana after long years of peace. He must have been compelled to retire. We have seen already that Vīrarājēndra marched into Kalingam, and if Mr. Venkyya's identification of the Rājēndra Chōla the father of Rājyasundari, wife of the Kalinga Rājarāja and mother of Anantavarman Chōḍa Ganga with Rājēndra Chōla II be correct, then it is possible that Kulōttunga undertook the grand invasion of Northern Kalingam or Sapta Kalingam, the king of which according to the Kalingattupparaṇi failed to appear with his tribute. This appears to receive support from the fact that the Kalinga Chōḍa Ganga's increase of power during the years 1087 A.D. to 1118-19 A.D. In the Vizagapatam plates of the latter year he assumes titles and a magnificent genealogy which are not found in the plates of the earlier year. He further boasts in the latter of having restored 'the fallen lord of Utkala (Orissa) in the Eastern region,' and the 'waning lord of Vengi' in the Western. (33).

If this be the correct view of the event, then the composition of the Kalingattupparaṇi will have to be brought down to somewhere near 1112 A.D. rather than to a period of about 15 years earlier as was hitherto the case. The credit of this expedition, according to the work, is entirely due to Karuṇakāra Tondamān of Vanḍai (Vandalūr), but the inscriptions of Vikrama Chōla appear to lay claim to some very creditable performance on the part of the Prince. It is very probable that the Prince did bear his share in the glorious achievement of the conquest of Northern Kalingam.

Before bringing the reign of Kulōttunga to a close there is one more event of importance to be discussed which took place during the last year of his reign. It is the conquest of Gangappāḍi for the Chālukyas ostensibly by the Hoysala Chief Biṭṭi Deva helped by his general Ganga Raja. This is recorded in detail only in inscriptions of 1116 A.D. and 1117 A.D. and the conquest could not

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(33) *Vide* Gov. Epi. Rep. 1905, p. 53.



have taken place very much earlier. Ganga Raja claims having driven the Chōḷa army across the Kaveri and having ousted Adiyam and Narasimha Brahma, the General occupied Talakāḍ, the Chōḷa capital on the Kaveri. This was the crowning achievement of a series of enterprises by the Mysore chiefs to shake off the yoke of the Chōḷas imposed upon them over a century, since by another Rājendra Chōḷa. Thenceforward the Chāḷukya boundary nominally at least extended to Kongu, Nangali and Kōyatūr (Coimbatore) in the South. So far as we know at present Kulōttunga's 49th year is the latest, and this would bring his reign to an end in 1118 A.D. just six years before that of his rival contemporary which took place in 1126 A.D.

This half century was a period of consolidation for the Chōḷa Empire, as it was for the Chāḷukya. The administration was carried on on the lines laid down, as in fact it must have been the case even before to a great extent, by Rājārāja the Great. It is this idea of permanent peace that led to Kulōttunga's military outsettlements in the Pandya, and Kēraḷa frontier, as we find a Tanjore General endowing a temple, with the Emperor's sanction, at S'olapuram near Kōttāru near Cape Comorin in the Travancore country now. Except the loss of Southern and Eastern Mysore the Empire remained intact and at peace when he died, surrounded by friendly powers all round apparently except on the Mysore frontier, where further aggression was very carefully checked. The danger when it befell the Empire came from all quarters, as we shall narrate later on, but in the meanwhile that the Empire held together was due to the far-seeing arrangements of the great Chōḷa monarchs of whom, we might say, this was the last. Kulōttunga had three queens, namely, Dina Chintamaṇi (probably Madurantaki, daughter of Rājendra), Ēḷis'aivallabhi and Tyāgavalli. This last was the queen entitled, according to the Kalingattupparaṇi, to issue orders along with Senni (Kulōttunga I). She became chief queen only after 1095 A.D. Hence the latter work must have been composed between 1095 and 1118 A.D.

I have pointed out in my paper on "the Chōḷa Administration," what the rural Government was and described in some detail the actual machinery of the Chōḷa administrations. That these were not the invention even of the great Rājārāja is borne out by the inscriptions at Tiruppārkadal, near Kaveripak (then known Kavidi-pakkam) of dates between Parāntaka I and Rājārāja. We have mention here of a number of village committees in addition to

those already detailed in the above paper:—the tank-committee, the garden-supervision committee and the general committee of management. The new ones are:—(1) the great men for the supervision of wards (Kuḍumbu), (2) the great men for the supervision of the fields; (3) the great men numbering two hundred; (4) the great men for the supervision of the village; (5) the great men for supervising Udāsīnas (ascetics). These committees together with the learned Brahmans (Bhaṭṭar) and other distinguished men of the village constituted the village assembly. We sometimes come across the Grama Kôn (chief of the village). There appear to have been individuals in charge of particular wards of the village. The following is an extract from an inscription at Perumbur near Madurantakam of 1081 A.D. “The above (grant) was ordered by S’attai Govindabhaṭṭar of Irāyūr (in charge of) Srimadhurāntakachchēri; Kuṇṇakūli Sōmayājiār of Uṇṇappāṭṭūr (in charge of) Sri Parantakachchēri; Kāṭṭugai Nārāyana-kramavittar of Nambur (in charge of) Sri Iṇṇumūdisōlachchēri; Sri Krishnabhaṭṭar of Araṇṇaippuram (in charge of) Sri Simhāntakachchēri; Nārāyanabhaṭṭar-Sarvakratuvāṇṇajapeyayājiār of Pippirai (in charge of) Srivirasōlachchēri, &c.....”

I have drawn attention to the re-survey undertaken in 1086 A.D. In the paper above referred to I have had to differ from the late Mr. Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar as to the interpretation of “calculated” and “settled produce” (கணிக்கப்பட்ட and இறைந்திட்ட முனை). (34) That these meant the tax as assessed and that as settled after experience, if not experiment, and that such revisions and reductions of land revenue were known in those days is in evidence in the following extract. “To (the God) Mahādēva of (the temple of) Rajēndra S’olāsvara, which Araīyan Madhurāntakam alias Kulōttunga-S’ola-Kēraḷarajan, the lord of Muḷanjūr in Maṇṇinādu, a district of S’olamanḍalam had caused to be built at Koṭṭāra alias Mummuḍi S’olanallūr, in Nānjinādu (a sub-division) of Uttama S’olavaḷanādu, a district of Rājarāja Pāṇḍinādu, shall be paid, for the expenses required by this God, from the 30th year (of my reign) forty-five and a half, three twentieths, and one fortieth Māḍai, by

(34) These were interpreted as gross produce and the Government demand by the accomplished author of “the Forty-years’ Progress,” but he was so good as to admit in a kind letter that it was possible ‘he was all wrong,’ as he took the information from Dr. Burnell’s Palæography and did not consult the inscriptions first hand.



the village of Āndāyakkūḍi in the same Nāḍu. According to (the settlement of) payments (that had taken place in the seventh year after the accession of Rājendra S'ōḷa Dēva), (this) tax was paid instead of the (original) land tax of seventy-nine Kāsu and three-hundred and twenty-four kalam of paddy. The previous name of this village having been cancelled and the name of Rājendra S'ōḷanallur (having been substituted), let it be entered in the revenue register (vari) as a tax free Davadāna from the thirtieth year (of my reign including rents, internal revenue, and small rights such as Urkkaḷanju, Kumarakachchāṇam, the fishing-rent, the tax on looms, the rent of the goldsmiths, Māḍaikūli, Da'savandam, and Kālaḷavukūli)." (35) The Government shewed itself otherwise interested in rural prosperity in the establishment of an agricultural settlement of 24 families at Tiruvāḷlangādu. (36) The Tiruvanaikkāval inscription of the year 1117 A.D. has it that "As these four and three-quarters (vēli) of land had been lying full of holes and sand as uncultivated dry land until the 47th year of this king, we (the assembly) agreed to sell the land to Muṇayan Arumolidevaṇ alias Villavarāyan for a purchase money of  $4\frac{1}{10}, \frac{1}{10}$  good Kāsu current at the time." About this time land was selling in the Udaiyarpalliam Taluka, not very far off at 20 Kasu per vēli. (37) Having dug and reclaimed the  $4\frac{3}{4}$  (vēli) of land, he has to supply for these four and three-quarters (vēli) of land to the temple treasury 23 kalam, two tūṇi and one kuṇuni of paddy by the marakkal called after Rājakēsari; viz., five kalam for each vēli at the rate of dry land, &c....." (38) Such are the few glimpses we get into the revenue arrangements of those days. The standard coin now appears to be the Māḍai, sometimes called Madhurāntakam Māḍai. This was equal to 2 kāsu and to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  kalams of paddy the price of which varied sharply according to locality and to time. The tax Māḍaikūli, as a minor tax, perhaps refers to the seigniorage upon coining. The standard dry measure was the marakkāl either Rājakēsari as above or Arumolidevan, both of the days of Rājārāja; and the Ekanāth measure for ghee or Arumolidevanuḷakku. There is mention also of canals and roads as in other Choḷa inscriptions and the use of the rod of sixteen

(35) P. 162, South Ind. Ins. Vol. III, Pt. II.

(36) No. 65, Vol. III, Pt. II, South Ind. Ins.

(37) P. 152, South Ind. Ins. Vol. III, Pt. II.

(38) *Ibid*, page 171.

spans for measuring land. More than all this Kulóttunga's fame stood high as the "Sungandavirtha Choḷa" (the Choḷa who abolished tolls). That he was regarded with so much gratitude for the act shews that the tax was oppressive and the ruler wise and statesman-like. This one act gave him a place in the popular esteem along with the "good Choḷas of yore."

Kulóttunga's was also the age of great religious and literary revival. In his reign flourished the Vaishṇava Reformer Rāmānuja, who had to betake himself to Mysore to avoid the displeasure of Kulóttunga. Jayamkoṇḍān was his Kavichakravarti and possibly the commentator of the S'ilappadhikāram Aḍiyārkkunallār did not live much later, as he quotes twice from Jayamkoṇḍān, once acknowledging the authority by name and another time by the simple mention Kavichakravarti. This would have been far from clear if much after Jayamkoṇḍān's time as there were other Kavichakravartis in the interim. The Saiva writer Sēkkiḷār author of the Periyapurānam also flourished in his court. While dealing with the literary activity of Kulóttunga's reign we might mention that an inscription of his 18th year (*i.e.*, 1088 A.D.) at Srirangam settles a point or two much animadverted upon recently consequent on the idea of Caldwell who thought that before the twelfth or the thirteenth century A.D. there was not much of Tamil Literature worth the name and that the Vaishṇava Āḷvārs lived about the same time. This inscription refers to the text "Tōṭṭarundiral" of Kulasōkkaṛāḷvār, one of the latest āḷvārs. If his text began to be chanted in presence of God Rāṅgānatha on a festival day he must have lived sometime before at least; but Prince Soḷa Kēraḷa a little earlier than Kulóttunga made provisions for the recitation of this and another set of verses of Tirumangaiāḷvār also. All this before Rāmānuja had made himself the chief of the Vaishṇavas at Srirangam. In spite of this Mr. Gopinatha Rao (39) would have us believe that these were contemporaries of Āḷavandār the great grandfather of Rāmānuja, who died when Rāmānuja had grown up to be a promising young man. It would appear too much of an idiosyncrasy on the part of the Srivaishṇavas to regard Āḷavandār only an Āchārya and his Tamilian contemporaries the Āḷvārs.

The second point raised by this inscription is about Namāḷvār, the author of the Tiruvōymoḷi. Three Srivaishṇava

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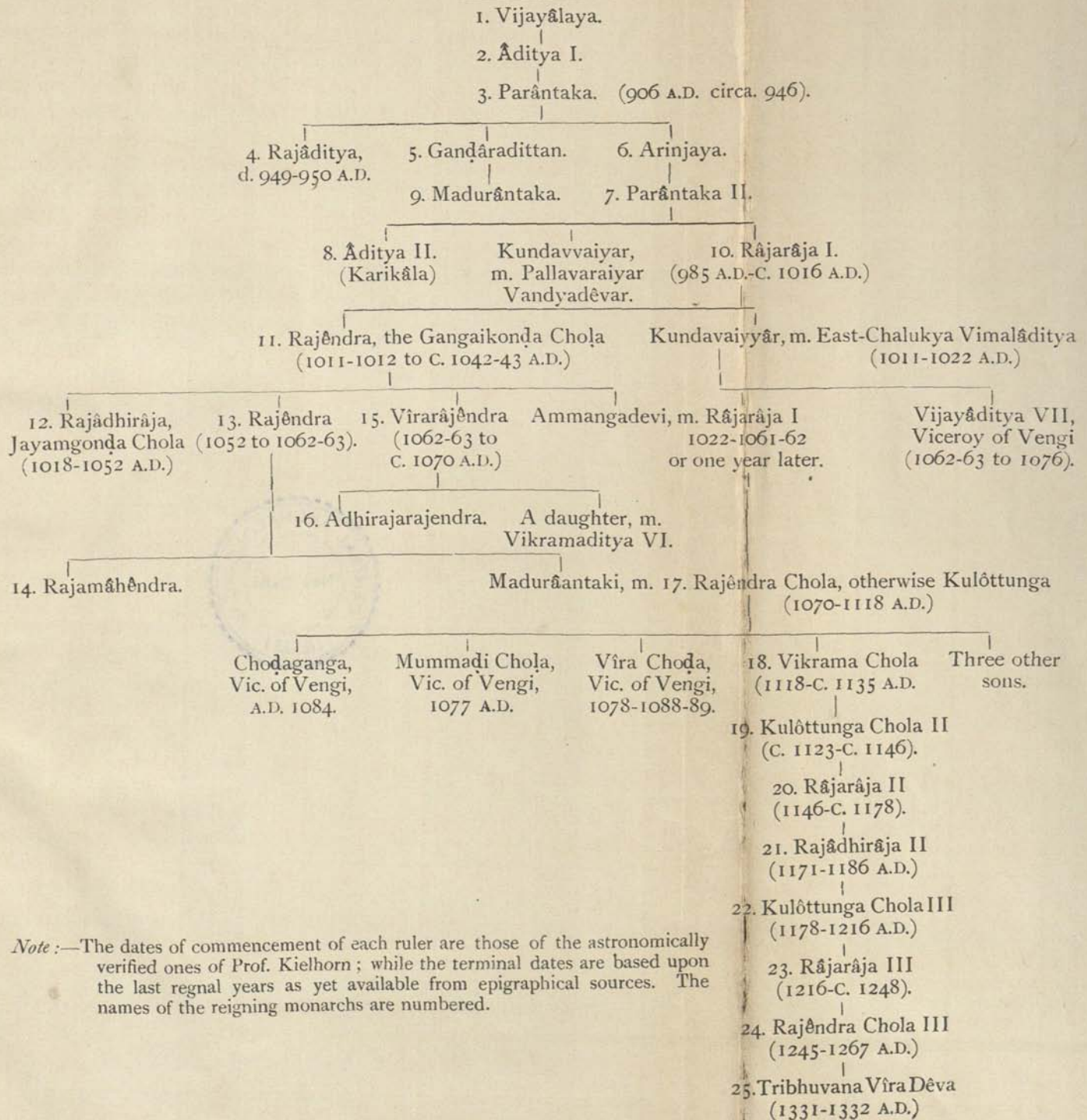
(39) *Vide* articles in the *Madras Review*, for 1905, Feb. and May.



Brahmans are named, Shaṭagopadāsar, Tiruvaḷudinaḍudāsar and Kurugaikāvalan, all names and surnames of Nammālvār. An inscription at Ukkal of the time of Rājarāja I names the God himself Tirvōymolideva. This Mr. Gopinatha considers is not the correct interpretation. Till he gives us the correcter interpretation we shall take it as correct and believe with Dr. Hultsch that Nammālvār lived much anterior to the eleventh century A.D. in which Mr. Gopinatha Rao would accommodate the ālvārs, āchāryas, and all others of that group. This is not the place for a full discussion of this question, which may lie over for separate treatment. I have elsewhere pointed out that this was the period of great activity among the Saiva sects as well and thus we see that the eleventh century was for South India a period of great activity all round.

*(To be continued.)*

## Revised Pedigree of the Cholas.



*Note* :—The dates of commencement of each ruler are those of the astronomically verified ones of Prof. Kielhorn ; while the terminal dates are based upon the last regnal years as yet available from epigraphical sources. The names of the reigning monarchs are numbered.





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