THE
MAHAMANDALEŚVARAS
UNDER THE CĀLUKYAS OF
KALYĀṆI

BY
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Life-member, Berondas of India Society
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College, Bombay

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INTRODUCTION

An account of the Western Cālukyan Empire, nay, the history of ancient Daksināpatha cannot be complete without a detailed notice of the great feudatory kingdoms. These kingdoms were ruled by the important Māhāmanḍalēśvarian families who were the hereditary governors of provinces. Though subordinate to the Imperial dynasty, they exercised the supreme sway over the districts and possessed certain rights which fell but little short of complete independence.

The history of these Māhāmanḍalēśvaras, though it presents an important and interesting chapter in the annals of South India, is a subject most neglected by historians. Dr. Fleet is the only pioneer who stressed the importance of the study of these great families. He sketched the history of some of them in the light of the epigraphs that had been discovered some forty years ago, and showed the way for further research. It is, however, important to remember that Dr. Fleet finishes the whole narrative within only one Chapter of his Kanarese Dynasties. Moreover, as he had confined himself to the Bombay Karnatakā, he left out of consideration the Māhāmanḍalēśvaras of Southern Karnātaka thus leaving the sketch incomplete. Within the last few decades many inscriptions bearing on this subject have been brought to light: still no comprehensive work dealing with it has been attempted by anybody. A careful detailed study of these dynasties is quite necessary for a complete understanding of the history of the great Cālukyan Empire.

It has been my endeavour to present a continuous and comprehensive narrative of the principal Māhāmanḍalēśvaras and to give a picture of the people and their times. In doing so, I have availed myself of all the inscriptions, so far published, pertaining to the subject. In the course of the investigation on the Internal History I felt more and more the need for a study of the valuable literary treasures of Old Kannada. Hence I devoted some of my time to Halegannada Literature. I have also derived much useful information from the two Sanskrit sources, the Vīkramaṁśaka-
deva-charita and the Manasollāsa. As the English translations of the inscriptions in the Epigraphia Carnatica are not complete, it fell on my way to examine them in original Kannada. In other cases also, I always preferred to go to the original in order to avoid the mistakes which the translators sometimes commit.

As I have confined myself to the linguistic province of Karnataka, I have left out of consideration the Silahara Mahāmāṇḍulaśvaras, who ruled over parts of Maharashtra and the Konkan, as being outside the scope of my undertaking. The reader will not also find an account of the Hangal and the Goa Kadamba feudatory dynasties in this thesis; because the history of these Kadamba Houses has been ably written only recently, by Professor Moraes in his famous Kadamba Kula. The Professor, having been appointed the Springer Research Scholar by the University of Bombay, has undertaken to write the history of the Sāntara Mahāmāṇḍalaśvaras. As this book is already under preparation, I thought it expedient not to include the Sāntaras in the body of my thesis, with a view to avoid unnecessary duplication of work.

It is quite likely that new historical material might have come to light after I wrote the book in 1933. As I had not gone through such material, I had no occasion to revise the manuscript.

I have to thank my friend Prof. G. S. Dixit of the Fergusson College, Poona for reading the proofs of a part of the book.

I take this opportunity to express my deep debt of gratitude to my Vidyaguru the Rev. Father H. Heras, S. J. under whose guidance I prepared this thesis. My grateful thanks are also due to Professor Kundangar of Kolhapur for kindly deciphering some Gutta inscriptions and sending transcriptions of two lithic records which he himself recently discovered.

Dinkar Desai.
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CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN OF THE SINDAS.

Regarding the origin of the Sindas, not much light has been thrown upon it till now even by eminent scholars like Dr. Flect or Mr. Ricc. But Mr. C. V. Vaidya in his *Downfall of Hindu India* has advanced his own views on the subject. He remarks: "The part of the country ruled by those Sindas is collectively called Sindëvâdi Nâd in inscriptions. This clearly shows that these Sindas were Marathas, though they ruled over a Kanarese speaking territory. (As stated in Vol. II, however, the distinction between Marathas and Karnâṭakas is illusory and not of race but language)". From this extract, it is apparent that Mr. Vaidya believes that the Sindas were Marathas and that their mother-tongue was Marâṭhi.

To examine his statement, it cannot be clear to any sensible reader that the Sindas were Marathas only because they ruled over "Sindëvâdi Nâd", which even according to Mr. Vaidya extended over parts of Karnâṭaka. In the first place, the country of the Sindas is never called "Sindëvâdi Nâd" as Mr. Vaidya puts it. It is always mentioned as Sindavâdi Nâd, and not as "Sindëvâdi Nâd". This would undoubtedly suggest that Mr. Vaidya was not careful in reading the inscriptions. It may, however, be maintained by some that the change which Mr. Vaidya made is so slight that it would not make much difference, so far as the historical aspect of the question is concerned. But in our opinion the change, though very slight indeed in the eyes of superficial observers, is of such a nature that it may mislead even great scholars regarding the origin of the Sindas. And in fact it seems to have misled Mr. Vaidya.

(1) Vaidya, *Downfall of Hindu India*, p. 287.
himself when he thinks that the mother-tongue of the Sindas was Marathi because they called their country "Sindēvādi" (the Marathi equivalent of Sindavādi), a name which would bear beautiful analogy with such modern Marathi names as Ambēvādi and Kāndēvādi. Sindavādi Nāḍ, on the other hand, is a purely Kannada term, both the words 'vādi' and 'nāḍ' being common to all the Dravidian languages including Tamil.

As regards his view that the Sindas were a Marathi family speaking Marathi, it seems to be untenable. It can be shown that the family belonged to the Dravidian stock and its mother-tongue was Kannada. It is, however, necessary to know what Mr. Vaidya means by the term "Maratha." He remarks in one place that the Marathas "were a blend of the Aryan with the Nāga-vamsa," a Dravidian race. But in a Marathi article, which the learned author has recently contributed, he maintains that the Marathas belong to the Aryan stock. It is thus apparent that Mr. Vaidya contradicts himself, which clearly shows that he has only hazy notions regarding the origin of the Marathas themselves. We, therefore, dismiss his view as unworthy of further consideration.

A survey of the early history of the Karnāṭaka is necessary in order to decide whether the Sindas were Dravidians or Aryans. It must, however, be said at the very outset that the Sinda inscriptions claim that the family was originally sprung from the Nāga race. The Bāgadage branch of the Sindas had the figure of a nāga or hooded-serpent on their banner. It is now universally admitted that the Nāgas were a powerful Dravidian people.

(1) Vaidya, History of Medieval Hindu India, II, p. 326.
(2) Vaidya, Maharashtra Desh Va Marathi Bhasha, Bharat Itihas Samshodhan Mandal, XIII, p. 3.
(3) Ep. Car., VII, HL, 50, 20, 98, 25; XI, Dg, 43; Ep. Ind., III, p. 230; IX, p. 316, etc.
whose original home was in the south of India. They appear to be men of high capacity which quality enabled them to form into a ruling race from very early times. From the Mahābhārata (Ādi-parva), we know that the Nāgas were the powerful hereditary enemies of the Pāṇḍavas. Nāga worship was extensively practised by the early inhabitants of Karnāṭaka. Even today we find numerous culligies of the cobra set up in every village or town for public adoration. Ceremonial offerings are made to the living cobra in all parts of Dravidian India. As early as in the second century A. D., we have a Śatavāhana inscription at Banavāsi which tells us that the king's daughter named Nāgaṣṭri made a gift of a Nāga. Among the early dynasties of Karnāṭaka, the Śekarukas claimed to have belonged to the lineage of the Bhujagēndras or serpent-kings. The Ālukas or Ālukas also seem to have been a division of the Nāgas, as Āluka is an epithet of Śekas, the chief of the serpent race. The Śekavaras, who began their rule in the seventh century in the Kadur District, had the serpent-flag (phuni-dhava) and the lion crest. Kṛṣṇavarman I of the Kadamba Kula who ruled in the fifth century is said to have been of Nāga descent. Jinadatta, the founder of the Sāntara line, is recorded to have married a Nāga virgin. Dr. S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar tells us that a class of Śatavāhana officers, who gave themselves Nāga names and symbols in their records, were associated with the western part of Mysore. This was indeed during the days of the Śatavāhanas who ruled over

(2) Ind. Ant., VII, p. 106.
(3) Ep. Car., VI, Cm, 95
(4) Fleet, Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, Ind. Ant., VII, p.34.
(6) Aiyangar, Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture, p. 139.
Dekkan from B. C. 73 to about A. D. 2181. The old division Nāgarakhandā of the Banavāsi province was undoubtedly the hereditary territory of some ancient Nāga tribes of Karnāṭaka. The first component of the name Nāgaru, being Kannāḍa genitive plural masculine, points distinctly to its denoting the territory of the Nāga people. In the face of these facts, it can be no longer maintained that the Nāgas were not the original inhabitants of the Kannāḍa country.

The Sindas claim that they were of the Phairavamśa, which evidently shows that they formed a section of the Nāgas who in turn were an important element of the great Dravidian race. Native legend, which was busy with giving out a satisfactory but imaginary origin of the word "Sinda," naturally weaved some fanciful stories which later on found a prominent place in inscriptions. Thus for instance, the Dāvanagere inscription records:

"From the union of Śiva and Sindhu was born a son, to whom Bhava with affection gave the name Saindhava with the king of the serpents as his guardian. Saying that unless his son drank tigress' milk he would not become brave, the husband of Gaurī of his goodness created a tigress, and drinking her milk the child grew in the world. Moreover, Paramāśvara directed the goddess Mālūti to aid his son in war and gave him a second name of Nīḍudūla Sinda. Being told that Karahāla the Vīgāpiṣṭha was his abode, that king took possession of it, driving out the groups of kings thereby the might of his arm. Thus he became powerful among the kings of the earth, and being constantly praised in the world as brave, generous and of famous origin, he made illustrious the descent of the Sinda-vamśa throughout the world." The Bhairanamaruṇī epigraph gives a slightly different version of the mythical origin of the family.

(1) Bhandarkar. Early History of the Dekkan, p. 36.
(2) Ep. Car., VII, Ht., 20, 25, 50, 98; XI, Dg. 43;
(3) Ep. Car., XI, Dg. 43.
It states that, from a desire to behold the earth so beloved by the sons of men, there came from the lower regions the serpent-king, Dharaṇendra; and to him there was born at Ahicchatra (literally snake-umbrella) in the region of the river Sindhu, a son Niḍudōla Sinda. The serpent king gave him into the charge of the tigress and on his attaining manhood made him king of the country. Sinda then married a Kadamba princess, and by her had three sons from whom the Sinda family was descended.

In the first account we are told that Niḍudōla Sinda, the founder of the family, was born from the union of Śiva and Sindhu and was guarded by the serpent-king, whereas the second account states that Niḍudōla (long armed) was born to Dharaṇendra himself. At any rate, it is plain that Niḍudōla was connected with the snake-king, a statement which would evidently suggest that the Sindas were a Nāga family. The marriage of Niḍudōla with the Kadamba princess further indicates that the founder of the Sindas was the native of Karnāṭaka which was then ruled by the famous Kadamba kings.

Besides the Sinda dynasty that flourished in the Kannada country, there was a branch of the same family, holding its sway over Cakrakotā Maṇḍala in the Central Provinces. This dynasty claims to belong to the Chinda or Chinda branch of Nāgavamśa. The word Chinda is identical with the Kannada word Sinda. Dr. Barnett is of opinion that the word Chinda is the same as Chanda, which is mentioned as one of the thirty-six Agni-Kulas in Cānd-Bardai's Prithvirāj Rāso. He concludes by saying, that the Sindas were originally a family sprung from Nāga tribe in the Central Provinces or thereabouts, whence some of them migrated to Karnāṭaka.

(3) Ibid., IX, p. 181; X, p. 37.
(4) See Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 269.
But Dr. Barnett forgets that the Chindas of Cakrakōṭa come to our notice much later than the Sindas of the Kannāḍa country. The records of the Cakrakōṭa Nāga-vanśni kings are dated from the eleventh century onwards, whereas the earliest reference to the Sinda country in the Karnāṭaka is in the fiftieth century under the name of the Sindadhiya-Rāṣṭra. And in 730 A.D., the Sinda-viṣaya itself is mentioned in an inscription found in the Kaḷūr District in the heart of Karnāṭaka. It is, therefore, quite possible that the Chindas of Cakrakōṭa were the descendants of some members of the Kannāḍa Sinda families, who had migrated to the Central Provinces from their original home Nāgarakhand which lay in the centre of Karnāṭaka.

Even supposing that the Chanda family mentioned in the Rāṣo refers to the Sindas, there is no reason to disbelieve the nāga origin of the Sindas. The Rāṣo, as we all know, is a work of the twelfth century. Hence it cannot profess to give the true origin of the Sindas who rose to prominence long before it was written. Moreover, if the Sindas were really of the Agūkula origin (which is based on legendary tales), they would not have left out the fact in their inscriptions, as they were great lovers of legendary origin.

When it is thus proved that the Sindas were the original Dravidian inhabitants of Karnāṭaka, it is natural to think that their mother-tongue was Kannāḍa, the Dravidian language of the province. If we assume with Mr. Vaidya that the Sindas spoke Marathi, we cannot explain how they called the founder of their family by a pure Kannāḍa name Niḍūḍōla. Moreover, the names such as Ācūgī, Permāḍī and Cāvūṛśa, which were borne by the members of the Sinda family, are purely Kannāḍa in origin. The use of the Kannāḍa script and language in their records further indi-

(1) *Car., VI, Kd, 162.
(2) *Ibid., Mg, 26.
eates their Karnāṭaka origin. Not even a single member of the Sinda family is called by a Marāṭhi name; and not even a single inscription is recorded in Marāṭhi language. In the face of these facts which speak for themselves, it would be simply ridiculous and absurd to maintain that the Sindas were the ancestors of the modern Marāṭhas and that their mother-tongue was Marāṭhi.
CHAPTER II.

NANNIYA SINDA.

An inscription from Hoḻalkere, dated in A.D. 967, mentions a certain Karasiga Nanniya Sinda, the earliest member of the Sinda race of whose time we have a record. Here he appears not as a Mahāmanḍalēkāra, but only as an official under the Rāstrakūta king Kṛṣṇa III (A.D. 940–967), who is called Akālavariṣṇa-deva in this inscription. Long before Kṛṣṇa III ascended the throne, the Sindas, by their war-like qualities were known in the Dekkan. They then seemed to have been in charge of that part of the country which extended over parts of the Bellary and Citaldroog Districts.

The fact that the Sindas had hereditary rights over this portion of Kuntala is evident from the name Sindavāḍi which they gave to their country. The Sindas must have fallen on evil days under the suzerainty of the Rāstrakūtas. When Kṛṣṇa II (A.D. 880–911) conquered the whole of the North Western part of Karnāṭaka, he seemed to have deprived the Sindas of their country, and handed it over to his own officials. This inference is supported by a lithic record at Mancēḷa in the Bellary District, dated in A.D. 893, which says that Kṛṣṇa's officer Mahāsāmanta Matyānappa was ruling the Sindavāḍi One-Thousand. From this time onwards, Sindavāḍi continued to be administered under the Rāstrakūta sovereignty through their own feudatories and governors. Thus in the reign of Govinda IV (A.D. 918–933), his Mahāsāmanta Kannara is mentioned as governing over the province of Sindavāḍi One-thousand. Coming to the reign of Kṛṣṇa III, the contemporary of

(2) South Ind. Ep., 1916, No. 512 (Appendix B).
(3) Ibid
Nanniya Sinda, we find Sindavadi in the charge of Kannayya, the governor of Kadalbalige.¹

Despite the eclipse the Sindas suffered during the Rastrakuta ascendency, they still retained their hereditary qualities of a ruling race. They must have tried to assert themselves under the powerful foreign domination, and their efforts bore fruit in the long run. The later Rastrakuta kings decreed it wise to take the Sinda scions into their confidence by appointing them to responsible posts in the government. Nanniya Sinda was undoubtedly one of such officials who took service under Krishna III.

But Nanniya Sinda, as we have already seen, was not occupying the place of a high official such as the governor of a province. The Hojakere inscription, above referred to, mentions him as only a subordinate of a certain Sudrakayya who was the governor of Kadalbalige. Sudrakayya is here called Samudhigata Pancamahā-sabda Mahāsāmantha, champion over fleeing armies, master of Andhra-mandala and bhujanga (i.e. paramour or lord) of Ujjeni.

Nanniya Sinda is recorded to have granted a certain tax in favour of the god of the Siddatēsvāra temple built by one Siddilanka-Karna in the year 967 A.D., having made it to one Divyalinga Bhatāra.² This grant is interesting for the fact that it refers to the city of Lökayata (Lokayatavolalu). The stone bearing this inscription is in Kalla-Khambadahalu in the boundary of Gundēri and Malēnahalli. The Gundēri referred to as a Lökayata city is still in existence. The Lökayatas were a sect of atheists who followed the doctrines of Carvāka. Madhavacārya reviews their system in the opening chapter of his work the Sarvadarsana Sangraha.

Nanniya felt proud to be born in the Sindakula of whose individuality he seems to have been conscious. He-

ends the grant by saying that "this dharma of the Sindas, whosoever is of the Sinduwamśa should maintain". It is really interesting to note that Nanniya, who comes to our notice as a donor under the Rāstrakūtas, was the ancestor of the Belgutti Sindas who in course of their history produced such distinguished rulers as Śivara-deva II.

(1) Ibid., XL, Hk, 23.
CHAPTER III.

JĀTARASA.

Jātarasa was the contemporary of the Cālukya king Taula II who ruled from A. D. 973 to 997. Besides a Dāvarṇagore inscription of A. D. 992, no other epigraph records the name of this Sinda. Jātarasa is styled the Mahāśāmanṭa, and was ruling the Kaḍambalīge One-Thousand province. He was entitled to the honour of pancha-mahākhaḍa, which explicitly implies that he was a very faithful and worthy official who deserved this honour newly conferred upon him. In fact, he is mentioned as the governor of Kaḍambalīge under Taula II who is called Āhavamallīḍāva in this inscription.

Be it noted that the rise of the Sindas was gradual. We have seen in the last chapter that Nānniya Sinda was only an ordinary person under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III. Only a few years later we see Jātarasa as the Mahāśāmanṭa of the Kaḍambalīge province.

Jātarasa was the scion of the same family to which Nānniya Sinda belonged. The records associate both the names with the province of Kaḍambalīge which seems to have been the place of their permanent habitation.

Jātarasa is the first member of the Sinda family to assume the title and office of Mahāśāmanṭa. Though the term literally means a feudatory chief, it should not be supposed that he really enjoyed the status of such a chieftain. Mahāśāmanṭa was a honorific title bestowed on provincial governors under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Cālukyas. It does not in any way carry the right to bequeath the province to the governor’s descendants, a right which was enjoyed by the feudatory chieftains.

(2) Ep. Car., XI, Hk. 23 and Dg. 114.
of ancient Karnāṭaka. The term used to denote a full-fledged feudatory chief was Mahāmanḍalēśvara, and not Mahāsāmanāta, though the latter epithet was rarely used to indicate the former meaning.1 Similarly, the word arasū (king), used after the name Jāta, should not be understood in its literal sense. Arasū was again a honorific termination often indicating the high status enjoyed by an official. Nevertheless, this term arasū applied to Jāta testifies to the gradually enhancing influence of the Sindas.

The restoration of Cālukyan supremacy by King Taila II, after a lapse of about two centuries and a quarter, seems to have been a blessing to the Sinda race. With the splendour and prosperity of the Cālukyas, increased the glory of the Sindas. Throughout the period of Rāṣṭrakūta predominance, the Sindas were a disappointed and dejected people. It appears that they fully sympathised with Taila II in his cause of re-establishing Cālukyan supremacy. Soon after defeating the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the person of the king Kakkala and thus retrieving the Cālukyan fortunes, Tailapa must have taken the Sindas into his confidence; and with their support set on task of placing the recovered dominions on a firmer basis. It was perhaps this policy that actuated Tailapa to appoint the Sindu chief Pulikāla to the governorship of the Bāgadūgo Seventy District.2 It is to be noted, in this connection, that Pulikāla is styled Raṇarāṅga-sīṅga (a lion on the battle-field), which may perhaps suggest that he distinguished himself in the work of defeating the last Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kakkala. This would also lend further support to the inference that the Sindas made common cause with Taila II. The appointment of Jātarasa to the governorship of Kadambaligre province was the outcome of the same policy pursued by Āhavamalladēva.

Jātarasa was a Śaiva by faith. That he was a liberal supporter of Śaivism is borne out by the fact that he granted

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1 Ep Car., VII, Sk. 316.
to Brahmarāsi-pāṇḍita of the Īsāna-tīrtha the customary
dues of Pullani and those of the villages Sirīgore, Posavūru,
Śawapūru and Kirugēri. Brahmarāsi Pāṇḍita appears to
be a Kālāmukha teacher, as the names ending in rāsi were
generally borne by the members of that sect. The Śaivism
taught by the Kālāmukhas was of the catholic type and did
not break away from the traditional Vedic faith.

Nothing else is known about Jātarasa. Ho, by occupy-
ing the post of a Mahāsāmanta, entitled to the five big drums,
made it easier for his descendants to rise to the distinguish-
ed position of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara.

CHAPTER IV.

KAYAVĪRARASA.

Kayavīrarasa is the first known Sinda of the Belgutti House to assume the title of Mahāmanḍalēśvara\(^1\). We possess a viragol of his reign dated in 1064 A. D., which speaks of him as “ruling the kingdom of the world” (ṇīthu-virājya jageyullire).\(^2\) But unfortunately, the epigraph does not mention the extent of his kingdom. Nevertheless, judging from the place where the inscription was discovered, it may be presumed that he ruled over the surrounding parts of ancient Belagavatti in the Nāgarakhandā Seventy.

Kayavīrarasa was undoubtedly a subordinate of the Cālukya king Sōmēśvara I who reigned from A. D. 1042 to 1068, though the epigraph fails to mention the overlordship of any emperor. The very fact that he is styled a Mahāmanḍalēśvara is a sufficient indication of his being a feudatory chief of some king or other. This overlord-king cannot be any other person than Sōmēśvara I. Records tell us that the province of Banavasi, which included the territories of Kayavīrarasa, was under the suzerainty of Sōmēśvara I from as early as 1046.\(^3\) Moreover, as seen in the last chapter, it was mainly due to the Cālukyas that the Sindas were able to rise to the position of the great feudatory families. Considering all this, it can be said without any fear of contradiction that Kayavīra Sinda was a subordinate of Sōmēśvara I.

It was during the reign of Kayavīra Sinda that his southern neighbours the Sāntāra Kings, Vīru-Sāntāra and his son Bhujabala, had to struggle very hard in order to “free their kingdom from those who had no claim to it”.\(^4\) The

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(2) Ibid.
reference, says Mr. Rice, may be to certain Cālukya princes Bijjarasa and his brother Gōna-Rāja who are stated to have been in full enjoyment of the Sāntalīge Nād in 1042 A. D. At any rate, it is plain that the times of Kayavira Sindā were somewhat troubled. This fact is borne out by the Sikārpur inscription of Kayavira above referred to. It commemorates the death of a certain Biyagōpa who died in the act of recovering the cows from the hands of the enemies. Unfortunately, that portion of the inscription bearing the names of the raiders is worn out. Two conjectures are however possible. It may be that the enemies against whom Biyagōpa fought were the robbers who wore all the more active and powerful, especially in such troubled times as of a political disturbance. Secondly, there is the probability of Kayavira Sindā being involved in the Sāntāra politics. As the struggle was between the Cālukya princes and the Sāntāra kings, it is natural to presume that Kayavira joined the former side. If this view is accepted, we have every reason to believe that the cattle-raid against the Sindā territory was one that was led by the Sāntāra Kings. However, this matter cannot be finally settled in paucity of materials both on the Sindā and Sāntāra sides.

Nothing is known of Kayavira as a ruler; but there can be little doubt that he manifested all the necessary qualities of a successful Mahāmandalēśvara. That he bore genuine admiration for warriors and patriots is evident from the grant of certain lands which he made to Iḥaṭa, the son of the fallen hero Biyagōpa.

The reign of Kayavira marks a very important stage in the annals of the Belgutti Sindas. He was the first scion of the family to rise to the dignified status of a Mahāmandalēśvara, and thus to transmit to his posterity a kingdom which.

(1) Rice, Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions, p. 139.
(3) Ibid
increased in influence under succeeding reigns for nearly two hundred years.

We do not possess any more information about this ruler, as there are no inscriptions which speak about him, excepting the one already referred to.
CHAPTER V.

PIRIYA CAT'TARASA.

We do not know who succeeded Kayavira Sinda as the Mahāmaṇḍalīśvara of Belgutti. After the Śikārpura virāgal of Kayavira dated in 1061 A. D., there is not even a single Sinda inscription for a period of fifty-six years until we come to the reign of Caṭṭarasa. (This Caṭṭarasa should be distinguished from Piriya Caṭṭarasa, the subject of this chapter).

Nevertheless, this gap of more than half a century can be filled up only by a careful study of the Sinda records of the later period. Thus, the Dāvanagere inscription, dated in 1164 A. D., of the reign of Īśvara Dēva II Sinda informs us that in his line many kings ruled the kingdom, and that among them Piriya Caṭṭarasa was celebrated, whose wife was Dūrabārasī. Their son, continues the record, was Īḻgarasa and his son was Caṭṭarasa. The same facts are repeated in two other records that come from Honnāli Tālukka, the first dated in 1180 A. D. and the other in 1227 A. D. Caṭṭarasa, mentioned in these inscriptions, must be the same Sinda person who is said to have been ruling in A. D. 1117 as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI. The father of this Caṭṭarasa was one Īḻgarasa, according to the epigraph of Īśvara Dēva II above referred to. We may, therefore, naturally infer that Īḻgarasa lived about the end of the eleventh century. This cannot be otherwise; because Caṭṭarasa the son of Īḻgarasa, as already stated, was ruling as king in 1117 A. D., and from the details given in his record it can be inferred that he was not a minor in that.

1 Ep. Car., XI, Dg. 43.
2 Ibid., VII, H I, 50.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., VII, Sk, 816.
5 Ep. Car., XI, Dg. 43.
year. Even assuming that Caṭṭarasa was only twenty in A.D. 1117, we get 1097 as the year of his birth. Thus the date of Jogaaras can be definitely settled.

Again reverting to the Dāvaṅagere inscription of Isvara Dēva II, we learn that the father of Jogaaras was Piriya Caṭṭarasa, the subject of this chapter. Piriya Caṭṭarasa must have, therefore, lived at the end of the third quarter of the eleventh century, say in 1075 A.D. As seen in the last chapter, Kayavira Sindha was ruling as a Mahāmanḍalēśvara in 1061 A.D. Considering all this, we are reasonably inclined to suppose that Piriya Caṭṭarasa was the successor of Kayavira. But the question whether he was the son of Kayavira cannot be answered in the present stage of research owing to paucity of materials.

The Dāvaṅagere inscription calls Piriya Caṭṭarasa a victorious and illustrious king who brought together many districts under one authority. One Honnāli epigraph says that he was a mine of bravery who conquered his foes and thus attained fame. Another inscription applies to him the epithet "hero." These are evidently indications of his increasing authority and his vigorous personality. It is quite possible that he extended the limits of his kingdom. The inscriptions highly extol his qualities. They are unanimous in declaring that Piriya Caṭṭarasa was noted for valour and prowess and was almost cradled in the art of warfare. He is called "a very lion in bravery."

The military success attributed to Piriya Caṭṭarasa does not seem to be a mere poetic exaggeration, if we judge him by his times. It was in his reign that the Colas led an invasion against the Cālukeyan Empire, and are even said to have surrounded and besieged Gutti with an immense army. As Gutti is situated to the north of Bēlagavartti,

(1) See the Sikarpur Inscription 316 (Ep. Car., VII)
(2) Ep. Car. XI, Dg. 43.
(3) Ibid., VII, Hi. 50.
(4) Ibid., VII, Hi. 20.
(5) Ibid., XI, Dg. 48.
the capital of the Sindas and only at a distance of a few miles from it, it may be presumed that Piriya Çaṭṭarasa had to fight against the Tamil invader. Çaṭṭarasa seems to have played his part well, as the inscriptions above referred to testify to his conquest over enemies. This inference is further corroborated, when we are told that Vira-Cōla was beaten back by the Cālukya Emperor Somēśvara II in a fierce battle which gave him no rest.²

Piriya Çaṭṭarasa was indeed a successful ruler, and it stands to his credit that he was proudly remembered and praised by his successors even after a period of about a century and a half, as in the Honnāḷi inscription of A. D. 1222.³

The real name of this ruler appears to be Çaṭṭarasa—and not Piriya Çaṭṭarasa. The appellation Piriya means the senior. As all the three inscriptions which speak of him were composed after the time of his grandson, his namesake, there is every reason to believe that the adjective piriya was used only with a view to distinguish the grandfather Çaṭṭa from his grandson bearing the same name.

(1) Ibid., VII, Sk. 136.
(3) Ibid., VII, Hl. 20.
CHAPTER VI.

JÖGARASA.

Jögarasa was the son and successor of Piriya Caṭṭarasa. He ascended the throne in about 1100 A. D. No inscription of this king has come down to us, and therefore the little we know of him is derived from two Honnäli and one Dāvanaagara records of his descendants.

His mother was Dörabbe Arasi who was a highly accomplished woman. Both the Honnäli and the Dāvanaagara inscriptions declare that she was skilled in many fine arts and was a "very ocean of good qualities." One Honnäli epigraph calls Jögarasa an illustrious king, which indicates that he was of some importance.

We said above that we do not possess any grants of this king. From this it is also possible to deduce that his reign was a very short one. This inference is also supported by the Dāvanaagara record, above referred to, which states that Jögarasa was a young king who ruled the kingdom wisely. This would have us believe that he died in the prime of his life.

(1) Ep. Car., Dg. 49; VII, Hl. 20 and 50.
(2) Ibid.,
(3) Ibid., VII, Hl. 50.
(4) Ibid., XII, Dg. 43.
(5) Ibid., VII, Hl. 50.
CHAPTER VII.

CAṬṭARASA.

Caṭṭarasa was the son and successor of Jāgarasa.¹ We have no means to settle when precisely he came to the throne. However, the fact that his father's reign was a very short one and that the only record of Caṭṭarasa, that has come down to us, was issued in 1117 A.D., may lead us to infer that A.D. 1106-7 was probably the year of his succession.

It was only in the time of this ruler that the Sindas of Belgutti began to grow in such great importance and power that they came to be counted among the first class feudatory chieftains of the day. Caṭṭarasa, in fact, enjoys all the titles and apppellations which his ancestors did not possess. He is the first known person of the House who appears with his own flag (the Niladhvaja of the Sindas), crest and emblems. What is more, he was entitled to be heralded in the public with the specific musical instruments of mallaṇa and tūrṇa. To quote his full title, he was "the Samadhigata Pancamāhāsabda, the Mahāmanḍālēśvara, boon lord of Karahāṭapura, obtained of a boon from the goddess Mālaci having a blue flag, and the sounds of mallaṇa and tūrṇa, the Sinda sun, of the Phaṇirājavanśa, having the crest of a tiger and deer (Vyūgrha-mṛgyu tānchana), the Mahāmāndalika." This full title, which he bequeathed to posterity, is undoubtedly the indication of his having attained the status of a full-fledged Mahāmanḍālēśvara.

Caṭṭarasa is mentioned as the feudatory of Vikramāditya VI in A.D. 1117², when the great minister the Danḍanāyaka Govindarasa was in charge of Banavāsī Twelve

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¹ Ep. Cur., VII, Hl, 30 and 50; XI, Dg. 43.
² Ibid., VII, Sk, 316.
Thousand as the provincial governor\(^1\). That Caṭṭarasa was under the control of Gōvindarasa is manifest from the former’s grant, above referred to. Gōvindarasa was entitled Ramaranga Bhairava\(^2\) and was a Brahmana of the Vastiṣṭa gōtra and appears to have been minister for peace and war.\(^3\)

The record of Caṭṭarasa associates him with the government of only Edovaṭṭa Seventy Nāḍ.\(^4\). But it should not be supposed that his authority was limited to this division only. For we do not possess any more inscriptions of this reign, which would have perhaps helped us in determining the extent of his kingdom beyond Edovaṭṭa Seventy.

The times of Caṭṭarasa were remarkable in the history of Karnāṭaka, which then witnessed the growing power of the Hoysalas under their great king Viṣṇu-vardhana. In the year 1116, the Pāṇḍyas of Uccangi were attacked by the Hoysalas and the result was that the Pāṇḍyas were defeated at the battle of Dummē\(^5\), and the conquest of Uccangi was soon completed by Cāma-dēva, the general of Viṣṇu-vardhana\(^6\). After reducing the Pāṇḍyas, Viṣṇu-vardhana started to lead predatory excursions into the Kadamba territories. The two inscriptions, assigned to 1120, describe him as “the capturer of Ganga-vāḍi, Noḷamba-vāḍi, Uccangi and Hānumgal”\(^7\). The Hoysala expedition on Hānumgal is interesting as regards the Sindas of Belguṭṭi. Though the territory of the Sindas lay nearer from the capital of the Hoysalas, Viṣṇu-vardhana does not seem to have invaded it inspite of his agressive spirit. This only speaks well of the Sindas who, with their warlike qualities and unbounded fidelity to the Cāḷukyas, could not be so easily provoked even by a monarch like Viṣṇu-vardhana.

\(^1\) Ibid., VII, Sk. 316.  
\(^2\) Ibid., VII, Sk. 311.  
\(^3\) Ibid., VII, Sk. 102 & 137.  
\(^4\) Ibid., VII, Sk. 316.  
\(^5\) Ibid., VI, Cm. 99.  
\(^6\) Ep. Car., VI, Cm, 29 and 30.  
\(^7\) Ibid., V, Cm, 212; VI Tk, 76.
It may be that the crushing defeat, suffered by Viṣṇuvar-dhana at the hands of the Yēlburga Sinda chieftain Ācūgi II, kept him away from attacking the Belgutti kingdom, lest it would provoke the Yēlburga lions, Ācūgi II and his son Āṃga, who belonged to the same Sinda stock as the rulers of Belgutti.

Among the officers of Caṭṭarasa, the prabhu of Hēbbāla, and the pergade Galimayya's son Sarvāṇya Soṭṭi is mentioned. He is said to have made a grant of land to the Kāḷāmukha teacher Rudrasakti Paṇḍita, disciple of Kriyāsakti Paṇḍita, for the repairs of a certain temple and for providing food and cloth for the students and ascetics of that temple.

In this connection, it will not be out of place to say a few words about the Kāḷāmukhas who then flourished under the liberal patronage of kings, chieftains and their officials. Kāḷāmukhas were great educationists who founded mathas and agraḥāras. Learning was then in high repute; charity for educational purposes was almost proverbial; and building temples and providing for the maintenance of schools and religious centres seems to have been at its height during this period.

Nothing else is known about Caṭṭarasa. The year of his death cannot be definitely settled, though it looks probable that he died in about 1123 A. D.

(3) Ibid.
CHAPTER VIII.

ĪŚVARA DĒVA I.

We are not in possession of any material to ascertain as to who succeeded to the Sinda throne after Caṭṭarasa. We do not have even a single Sinda inscription for a period of forty-seven years until we come to A. D. 1164, when Īśvara Dēva II was ruling in the Belgutti line. Nevertheless, a Honnāḷi inscription, dated in 1175 A. D., states that a certain Īśvara Bhūpa Sinda “ruled the earth” and that he was the father of Mallidēva who in turn was the grand father of the then reigning Īśvara Dēva II. This Īśvara Bhūpa, mentioned in the inscription, appears to be the successor of Caṭṭarasa. But whether he was the son of Caṭṭarasa cannot be settled in paucity of materials.

No other inscription of the Sindas mentions the name of Īśvara Bhūpa. This fact is of great significance. It must be remembered, in this connection, that many inscriptions of later Sindas do refer to other Sinda kings who ruled prior to Īśvara Bhūpa (Īśvara Dēva I) and at times even speak of them in high terms. The very absence of Īśvara Bhūpa’s name in these records is evidently an indication that he was a personage of little importance and therefore was not noticed even by his descendants.

CHAPTER IX

MĀCA AND MALLIDĒVA I.

Īnvara Dēva I had three sons, Māca, Mallidēva, and Ayharasa1. Māca, who is also called Lakha Nṛpāla in one place, was the eldest2, Mallidēva was the second son3 and Ayharasa, who is also known as Harasa, was the youngest4. Māca Nṛpāla must have acted as Yuvardāja in the life-time of his father according to Hindu traditions.

We are very unfortunate in not possessing any records of this king. Hence no details of his reign are forthcoming. Nevertheless, Māca seems to have been a successful ruler in view of the fact that his name appears very often in the later records of the Sindu kings5. One of these epigraphs tells us that Māca Nṛpāla, once “charging forward on one horse and attacking and dispersing the massed cavalry of the enemies' force”, became famous6. The reference may be to a fight that ensued between him and the Hoysalā forces. The Sindas must have then troublous times in protecting their territory against the rising power of the Hoysalās in the south. Their position was rendered still more critical by the declining influence of the Cālukyas to the south of Tungabhadra during this period. We are told that Narasimha (Hoysalā) was carrying on raids on Banavāsi province7, which included the Belgutti kingdom. And only a few years after Mācarasa's death, the Sindas are mentioned as the feudatory chieftains not of the Cālukyas but of the Hoysalās8. Mācarasa's charging the cavalry above

(1) Ep. Car., VII, Hl. 25 and 45
(2) Ibid., VII, Hl. 20, 50; XI, Dg. 43.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid.
(5) Ibid., XI, Dg. 43; VII, Hl. 20, 25 and 50.
(6) Ibid., VII, Hl. 20.
(7) " V, Bl. 193.
(8) Ibid., VII, Hl. 98.
referred to clearly shows that he was obliged to fight with the Hoysala king. He is, however, credited with having succeeded in dispersing the enemy’s force.

That Māca Nṛpāla was a powerful warrior-king can be gathered by a Dēvaṇagere record\(^1\) which extols his military abilities. It speaks of him as a great soldier who won victory in many battles. It is said that he shone on the earth like the sun on account of his wonderful skill in the art of warfare. Caṭṭalādēvi, the senior queen of Māca, is described as a very beautiful woman devoted to her husband.\(^2\)

Mācarasa’s reign was a very short one. He seems to have died without any issue. For a record dated in 1075 describes his brother Mallidēva as a king who ruled in the Belgutti line.\(^3\)

Mallidēva was the younger brother of Māca\(^4\). No inscription of his reign has come down to us. What little we know about him is derived from some later records which do not yield any historical information. A Honnāḷi epigraph, dated in 1222 A. D., states that Mallidēvarasa’s praise was “spread in all the world”,\(^5\) which only means that he was of some importance. The fact that the successor of Malli-dēva is mentioned as a feudatory of the Hoysalas conclusively proves that Malli-dēva was not able to stem the tide of the Hoysala invasion which began in the reign of his brother Māca.

Mallidēva was, however, fortunate in having his younger brother Ayharasa to assist him in the administration of the country. Ayharasa appears to be a very able and worthy person who served his brother very faithfully till the end. We are told that what Balarāma was to Kṛṣṇa, Bhimasēna

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(1) *Car.*, XI, Dg. 43.
(4) *Ibid.*, VII, Hl. 20, 25, 45, 50;
(5) XI, Dg. 43.

" VII, Hl. 20.
to Dharmarāja and Lakṣmaṇa to Rāma, Ayharasa was to his brother Mallidēva, on account of his single-minded devotion, purity of behaviour, courtesy and above all courage and bravery\(^1\). He was so widely known for his liberality, says the epigraph, that he was called \textit{akhiladānavinūdi}\(^2\).

Mallidēva died in about 1160 A. D., and was succeeded by Īśvara Bhūpa II, the grandson of Ayharasa. This plainly shows that he was a very old man of about ninety at the time of his death.

\((1)\) \textit{Ep. Car.}, XI, Dg. 43.
\((2)\) \textit{Ibid.}\)
CHAPTER X

ĪŚVARA DĒVA II.

Īśvara Dēva II succeeded Mallidēva I, the brother of his grand-father Ayharasa, both his father Rāya and grand-father Ayharasa having died before Mallidēva. He was, therefore, only in his teens when he ascended the throne. His coronation seems to have taken place in about A. D. 1160, as the earliest inscription of his reign is dated in A. D. 1164.

Īśvara Dēva must have showed the signs of a successful ruler even before he became king. Hence his coronation was celebrated with great pomp and dignity, and the subjects were delighted to see an efficient promising youth at the helm of their affairs. At his coronation, says the inscription, the sounds of the drums and conches roused up Uragāndra (the king of the serpents) who, saying "This is an exaltation of my line ho! I must see this", ..........at once came there with haste, the jewels of his head appearing like a great illumination. And with full affection, Suranadi (Gangā), Rudrāṇi (Pārvati), Šambhu (Śiva) and Hēramba (Gaṅgēśa) came and blessed Īśvara Dēva to have long life and good fortune. "He who rejoices in the Kaustubha, who is like a cloudy sky in the hot season, and warmth to the body in the cold season, who reposing in the ocean is ever carrying on the three seasons,......that Hari, may he grant to king Īśvara the attainment of his desires." The epigraph continues with further praises, saying that with a signet ring of the serpent-jewel on his hand, with his powerful arms, body and sword, king Īśvara of the Sindakula appeared to his enemies like a terrible dragon ready to swallow them.

(1) Ep. Car., XI, Dg. 43. (2) Ibid.
This description is indeed full of exaggeration and poetic fancy. Still it is of considerable importance, as it conveys us an idea of the manner in which the people entertained high hopes in their new king. A clear glimpse of the political situation of the Dekkan during this period makes us believe that it was a time when powerful chieftains like Īśvara were needed to protect their own petty states from the aggressive and ambitious spirit that pervaded the political life of Karnāṭaka.

Thus, the period to which Īśvara Dēva belonged was one of great political strife and confusion throughout the province. The Kālacūryas under Bijjaḷa had subverted the Cālukyas and usurped their kingdom in A. D. 1156. The Hoysaḷas were getting more and more powerful, and the Kadambas of Hāṅgal were trying to the best of their ability not to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Kālacūryas. In the midst of this struggle, as we have already noticed, Mallidēva died and was succeeded by Īśvara Dēva II.

We are, however, not so much concerned with the situation of the whole of the province as with the politics of Banavāsi Twelve Thousand, in which was included the Nāgarakhaṇḍa Seventy, the kingdom of the Belguṭṭi Sindas. As soon as Bijjaḷa completed his usurpation, he appointed one Māyidēvarasa as the governor of Banavāsi for the collection of the regalia, such as the kejunka and vadḍarāvula.1 The next notable figure in the galaxy of Kālacūrya governors was Kāsimayya who is mentioned in the records of about 1160. 2 Māyidēvarasa was the governor of Banavāsi in A. D. 1158. 3 It is thus apparent that, by the time Īśvara Dēva Sinda ascended the throne, the Belguṭṭi dynasty had acknowledged the suzerainty of the Kālacūryas. This is evidenced by the Dāvaṇagere inscription of 1164, which.

mentions Īśvara Dēva II as the feudatory of king Bijjala of whom it says that “his mighty arms a refuse for the circle of the earth, the black serpent his sword, nourished on the breath of hostile kings, his wealth satisfying the desires of the learned, his fame adorning the ears of the elephants at the points of compass.” Īśvara Dēva is here described as a follower (anuvarti) of his contemporary, the Uccangi king Vira Pāṇḍya, which fact would perhaps suggest that the former was an admirer of the latter.

Īśvara Dēva II was perhaps the greatest chieftain of the Belagutta House. During his reign he extended the influence of his family beyond the narrow limits of his hereditary kingdom. Only a few years after his coronation, he is described as ruling at Hallavūr, which is on the Tungabhadra river. It can be easily identified with the modern Hullū in the Dhārwār District. It looks as if Bijjala bore genuine admiration for young Īśvara Dēva on account of his administrative as well as military qualities. With Bijjala as a favourable king as his suzerain and with his own abilities, Īśvara Dēva lost no time in extending his dominions both in the north and in the south. As early as in 1164, he seems to have added a large portion of territory to his kingdom as far north as Hariharā, in which place we have one of his inscriptions dated in that year. That Īśvara Dēva was not only a conqueror but also a wise statesman can be made out of his having founded a second capital at the strategic point like Hallavūr, so that he might be able to protect the newly-acquired northern districts of his expanding kingdom. We are told that he was ruling in peace and wisdom several nāḷas from Hallavūr, “an ornament of the earth”, delightful with woods, situated on the bank of the Tungabhadra.

(1) Ep. Car., XI, Dg. 43.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ep. Car., XI, Dg. 43; Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, p. 60.
"whose waters are tinted with sandal." The letters bearing the names of these northern nāils are unfortunately too much defaced to be certain about them.

Another record of A.D. 1165 also describes him as a Mahāmanḍalāśvara ruling at Haḷlavīr over several small districts in the Banavāsi and Sāntalīge provinces as a feudatory of the Kālacūrya king Bījjala. This epigraph is of great importance, as it was discovered at the temple of Kallēśvara at Niḍāṁgile in the Hāṅgal Tālukā of the Dharwār District, a village which formerly belonged to the Kādambas of Hāṅgal. How Īśvara Dēva II was able to annex this part of the country to his kingdom at the expense of the Hāṅgal Kādambas is a fascinating study.

It must be said at the very outset that the period to which Īśvara Sinda belonged witnessed the weakness of the Kādamba Mahāmanḍalāśvaras of Hāṅgal. The Kādamba king Kīrti Dēva, who ascended the throne in or about A.D. 1151, was not so powerful a monarch as to successfully repulse the Kālacūrya invasion. Records show that the Kādambas were made to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Kālacūryas in about 1162. Īśvara Dēva seems to have taken advantage of the weakness of the Kādambas, and encroached on their territories. His way to success was made still easier by the Sāntāra king Jagadēva, his southern neighbour, who had just then acquired a considerable part of the Hāṅgal kingdom. This happened in 1160 A. D. Kīrti Dēva Kādamba, however, soon succeeded in repulsing the Sāntāra king. We are told in an inscription of 1163 that he marched against Jagadēva and in course of time laid siege to

(1) Epi. Car., XI, Dg. 48.
(2) Carn. Deśa Inscriptions, Vol. II, p. 97; referred to by Dr. Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, p. 577.
(3) Epi. Car., VIII, Sb. 179; referred to by Prof. Moraes, Kādamba Kula, p. 137.
(7) Ibid., VIII, Sb. 177.
Andasura, the fort of the Sántāras, which was very close to Hombuja, their capital. This siege is referred to both in the Kadamba and the Sántāra records.¹

The absence of Kirti Dēva from his own kingdom afforded a very favourable opportunity to the ambitious Sinda chieftain Īśvara Dēva to extend the western frontier of his kingdom. Accordingly, he must have laid a campaign against Hāṅgal in 1164 and must have acquired a portion of it. This is evidenced by the fact that the above mentioned record of Īśvara Dēva was set up in the temple at Niḍanēgilo in 1165. Īśvara Dēva also took advantage of the defeat of the Sántāras at the hands of Kirti Dēva. It would appear that he encroached on the northern districts of Sāntalige One Thousand, bordering on his kingdom. For we have seen that Īśvara Dēva was ruling over some small districts of Sāntalige province in 1165.

The Sántāra king Jagadēva, who was thus deprived of his northern nāḍs by Īśvara Dēva, was apparently connected with the Hoysalas, as he is called Jagadēka-Vīra-Hoysala Sántāra Māradēva.² It was thus quite natural that the Hoysalas would come in conflict with Īśvara Sinda sooner or later. In fact, a viragal assigned to 1166 A.D. refers to a fight that ensued between Mahāmāṇḍalaśvara Īśvara Dēva Sinda and a certain Mahāpasāyitu (great master of robes) of Vīra-Narasimha Dēva Hoysala.³ We are told in it that Īśvara Dēva, being angry with Arakere Nāḍ and having ordered a raid, entered Malevūr and captured Hanpisige.⁴ Arakere Nāḍ seems to be the territory lying east of Hallavūr on the other side of the Tungabhadrā. Malevūr mentioned in the viragal can be identified with the modern Malebennūr. It appears that Arakere Nāḍ was a newly acquired district to the Sinda kingdom, and hence the people rising in revolt

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² Ibid., VI, Koppa, 10.
³ Ibid., VII, Hl. 98.
⁴ Ibid., VII, Hl. 98.
against Īśvara Dēva sought the help of the Hoysala officer mentioned above. Unfortunately, the viragal is silent about the results of this fight. We do not know who won the battle. Nevertheless, the titles such as Sīnda-Gōvinda, champion over adulterers, and the Pātāla-cakravarti applied to Īśvara Dēva at the beginning of this hero-stone would have us believe that Īśvara Dēva was able to repulse the Hoysala force and thus to maintain the possession of Arakere Nāḷ.

This viragal is also important in the sense that it gives us an idea of the composition of the army in that period. The very fact that the stone was set up to commemorate the heroic death of a certain warrior Kāmōja, the son of goldsmith Rāmōja, is evidently an indication that soldiers were drawn from all castes including goldsmiths.

The Sāntāras were determined to carry on raids over the Sinda territory in order to get back their lost districts. That hostilities however broke in A.D. 1172 is evidenced from two viragals which are dated in that year. The first of these viragals says: “When the Mahāmanḍalēśvara Īśvara Dēva was in the residence of Belāgavarti ruling in peace and wisdom the kingdom of Kdivaṭṭe-nāḍ in Ballāre of Banāvāsi-nāḍ, the Muduvalla Thirty and Narivalige Forty, when the king of Sāntalige-nāḍ coming by way of raid, entered Ḥaṭṭīvūr and Soraḷḷūr and carried off the cows,—Mallaya Dāsaya’s son Chilaya and Mattala Mallayya’s son Kātaya these two brothers, seeing it, without holding back, sprang forward, attacked, shot arrows, and like a destruction by Yama, slaying many, capturing the archers, drew their daggers and piercing the horse, recovered the cows, and gained the world of gods.”1 The second viragal records: “When...Īśvara Dēvarasa was in the residence of Belāgaṽarti—when the king of Sāntalige, Singi Dēva, coming on raid, entered Ḥaṭṭīvūr and carried off the cattle”2. These

(1) Ep. Car., VII, Hl. 27.
(2) Ibid., 26.
raids, though a great nuisance to Īśvara Dēva, do not seem to have been successful in achieving their object in view. For we are told by a later record found at Rānebennūr that Īśvara Dēva was ruling over several districts in the Sāntalīge province.²

The next year, that is A. D. 1173, witnessed a great event in the history of Karnāṭaka. In that year Narasimha having died, his son Ballāla II, whose reign vied in glory with that of his grand-father Visnupūrdrāhana, ascended the Hoysaḷa throne.³ He lost no time in carrying on his expeditions against various chieftains and thus enhancing the influence of his dynasty. In 1173 A. D., he sent an expedition against the Cangāḷa king and triumphed with the aid of an officer named Mādayya Nāyaka. After subduing the Cangāḷas, Ballāla Rāya directed his attention to the north. Before starting for the conquest of Ucangi in 1176, he seems to have made Īśvara Dēva acknowledge his suzerainty. This inference is supported by an epigraph dated in 1175, which states that a certain Toḍupiyā Duṇṇāyaka, who is described as "a dweller at the lotus feet" of Ballāla Rāya, was holding the Beḷagavarti-nāḍ, evidently as the governor of it over Īśvara Dēva Sinda who is mentioned as the ruler.⁴

Īśvara Dēva Sinda, however, soon succeeded in throwing off this Hoysaḷa yoke, and acknowledged the overlordship of the Kālacūryas, his former suzerains. This was partly accelerated by the expedition of Vira Ballāla to conquer the powerful Pāṇḍya chieftains, who were then the masters of the celebrated fort of Ucangi. When Ballāla Rāya with all his forces was engaged in reducing Ucangi-dūrga, Īśvara Dēva with the support of Rāya Murārī Sōvi

(2) *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 577.
(4) Ibid., VII, Hl. 20.
(5) Ibid., 45.
Dēva was able to drive out the Hoysala governor from his kingdom. This, in fact, is evidenced by an inscription of 1176 A.D., which says that Mahāmaṇḍalāsvara Īśvara Dēva was ruling the Nāgarakhaṇḍa Seventy as a feudatory of Kālacūrya Bhujabala Cakravarti Sōvi Dēva¹.

Īśvara Dēva spent the rest of his years in faithfully serving the Kālacūrya suzerains and in enhancing their influence to the south of Tungabhadrā. Sōvi Dēva died in about 1177 A.D., and was succeeded by his brother Sankama. There seems to have been some trouble in his reign, for his Sēnādhipati Kavaṇayya, the governor of Banavāsinād, is said to have been proved himself the “upraiser of the sovereignty of the Kālacūryas.”² He apparently, with the active support of Īśvara Dēva Sinda, put down certain of the feudatories and probably also some of the more troublesome independent neighbours, among whom must be classed the rulers of the Veṇūdrā Cōleya, Hoysala and Koṅkaṇa countries, mentioned in the Honnāḷi grant of Īśvara Dēva.² That Īśvara Dēva was a strenuous supporter of the Kālacūryas and that he had lent his great services for the preservation of Kālacūrya supremacy is amply proved by the above mentioned grant, which explicitly states that the Sīndāṉavaya was the cause of the growth of the wealth of the minister Kavaṇayya and of all the rest of the Kālacūrya kingdom.⁴ This Kavaṇayya should have been a great minister; for he is said to have had under him over seventy-two officials.⁵ He is said to have been descended from Baṅkarasa of Baluhara in the Sāgara country, and had an younger brother named Mahādēva Daṇḍanāyaka⁶. Among Kavaṇayya’s titles, Gaṇḍa-penḍāra and Gaṇḍaragāva⁷ may be mentioned.

(2) Ibid., Hl. 50.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid.
(5) Ibid.
(6) Ibid.
(7) Ibid., Dg. 44.
Both śvara Dēva Sinda and minister Kāvanayya seem to have played important part in the Kālacūrya-Hoysala conflict that is referred to in an inscription, assigned to 1179 A. D.¹

śvara Dēva, who had advanced in age in 1180 A. D., was assisted in the government by his sons Pāndya-
dēva and Malli-dēva, two promising youths in their teens. We are told that these sons, acting under their father's orders, were administrating the nāys, won by śvara Dēva by his own arm and inherited from his ancestors.² The list of these nāys, forming the territory of śvara Dēva, is unfortunately somewhat defaced. They arc: "The Bīdvāṭe Seventy, the ( Nari ) galige Forty, the Balāve Seventy, the Hoḷalūr in Sāntalīge, the Muduvara Eighty, the Yoḍasuleya Seventy; in Kaḷambalīge-nāy the Kollige Seventy; the Fifty-six Bāda to Seventy, the Thirty Arakere, the Nujavolalu Twelve, the Attigeri Twelve, the Elambēru Twelve." It is said that the kingdom of these nāys being united under him, śvara Dēva was ruling in peace and wisdom from the residence of Belagavarti, the joy of the Laksni of the Banavāsi country.³ The extent of his kingdom will be brought home to the reader, when we say that the inscriptions of his reign are found in the three modern districts of Simoga, Citaldroog and Dhārwār.

Among the officials of śvara Dēva, was the customs ḍhaggade Hariyappayya who is recorded to have made a grant from the customs in 1172 A. D. for the offerings of the good Yōgēśvara of Harihara.⁴ Another was Bamma Gāvunḍa of Beḷagavarti who was occupying that post in 1175 A. D.⁵ Then we have a Nālprabhu Gāmṇḍa whose headquar ters were Cikka-Māguṇḍi.⁶

(1) Ep. Car. VI, Mg 33.  (2) Ibid., VII, Hl. 50.
(3) Ibid., VII, Hl. 50.  (4) Ibid., XI, Dg. 61.
(5) Ibid., Hl. 45.  (6) Ibid., VII, Sk. 206.
The reign of Īśvara Dēva was a crescendo of success. It may be safely affirmed that he made the right use of all the opportunities presented to him by the disturbed conditions of his times. It is true that Īśvara Dēva failed in 1175 to stem the tide of the Hoysaḷa invasion. But the very next year, he prevailed successfully against the Hoysaḷa governor, and was thus able to throw off the aggressor's yoke. He extended his kingdom both to the north and to the south at the expense of the Hānagal Kadambas and the Sāntāras. Furthermore, he successfully resisted the Sāntāra inroads which were made with a view to récovcr the lost districts of Sāntālige.

Īśvara Dēva's brilliant reign extended over a period of about twenty-five years. Having come to the throne in 1160 A. D., his reign may be regarded as one of struggles for the protection of the Beḷgutti kingdom which was on its decline at the time of his coronation.

Reading the inscriptions of Īśvara Dēva, one feels that he should have been an active prince blessed with warlike qualities. He kept on a friendly intercourse with the Kālacūryas, whom he gladly accepted as his overlords. This only shows that he was a wise politician. Those times were such that it was not possible for a minor chieftain like Īśvara Dēva to enhance the influence of his House without being backed by a powerful dynasty like the Kālacūryas.

Besides being a skilful soldier, Īśvara Dēva was an efficient administrator. He was also responsible for the diffusion of learning among his subjects. It was for this reason that he made frequently endowments to seats of learning. We have it on record that he once made a grant of land to the Brahmins of an agrahāra, which he had himself established.\(^1\) Grants made by him to the professors of this college are also registered.

Iśvara Dēva, though a Śaiva by birth, was not merely tolerant to other faiths, but was active in helping the cult of Harihara, which was then introduced with an idea of reconciling the rival sects, the Vaiṣṇavas and the Śaivas. This is testified by one of his grants which records his liberal endowments to the god Śankara-Nārāyaṇa of the southern Gange-Vārānasī. Another of his epigraphs ends with an obeisance both to Śiva and to Nārāyaṇa.

Iśvara Dēva died in about 1185, having fully realised his plans. He also established on a sound footing the power of the southern Sindas which lasted after him for a period of about seventy-five years. His very titles, "The Sindas-Gōvinda, champion over adulterers, Pāńjya-cakravarti, a saw to those called kings, an elephant-goad to the titled, treading the mountains into a heap, champion over the hill chiefs, fierce in war, Niśāanka-malla, a sun to good warriors, a Nārāyaṇa," are evidently indications of his greatness, which entitles him to be reckoned among the most powerful chieftains of Sindavarmā.

(2) Ibid., VII, H1, 45.
(3) Ibid., 26.
CHAPTER XI.

MALLIDĒVA II.

Īśvara Dēva II had four sons, Pāṇḍya-nṛpa or Pāṇḍya Dēva, Mallidēva, Rāya and Vijaya. 1 The second son Malli Dēva succeeded his father, his older brother Pāṇḍya Dēva having died before Īśvara Dēva II. The Sinda inscriptions of this period do not say when precisely he came to the throne. However, the fact that the latest date for Īśvara Dēva afforded by the epigraphs is A. D. 1180 2 and that the earliest record of Mallidēva II was issued in 1187 3 may lead us to infer that A.D. 1184-85 was probably the year of his accession.

Mallidēva was not allowed to enjoy peace from the very beginning. Soon after he came to the throne, Vijaya Pāṇḍya of Uccangi began to carry raids on the Sinda territory. A vīragul dated in 1187 A.D. records that when Mallidēvarasa was ruling the kingdom, Pāṇḍya joining with Čattanṛpāla and having suddenly sprung upon Nelivarti, carried off all the live cattle 4. Mallidēva, with the aid of his commander Caṭṭaya Nāyaka, was able to repulse the attack, though the latter lost his life in the attempt 5. We are told that Caṭṭaya Nāyaka, pursuing after the enemies, drove them off and pursuing through the great army, recovered many cows. 6 Mahāmāṇḍalakesvara Mallidēva bore genuine admiration for his general Caṭṭaya on account of his bravery. It is recorded that he made grants of land to Caṭṭaya's children, to be continued in the family for ever 7.

(2) Ibid., VII, Sh. 276; VII, Hl. 50.
(3) Ibid., VII, Hl. 35.
(4) Ibid.
(5) Ibid.
(6) Ibid.
(7) Ibid.
Vijaya Pândya having died soon after this raid, Mallidēva was allowed to rule in peace.

Troubles, however, broke out in the northern part of the province. Añhavamalla Kālacūrya was succeeded by his younger brother Singhaṇa Dēva in 1183 A.D.¹ He was not as capable a ruler as he ought to have been. This gave an opportunity to Cālukya Sōmēśvara IV and his followers to subvert the usurping Kālacūrya line. That Sōmēśvara soon succeeded, with the active support of his general Bāma, in re-establishing the Cālukyan supremacy is evidenced by the Aṃṇīgāri inscription, dated in 1184-85 A.D.¹, which says plainly that Bāma, who was “a fire of death to the Kālacūryas”, seized the whole earth for the purpose of making the Cālukyas lords of all the world².

The disappearance of the Kālacūryas from the history of Karnāṭaka left the Sinda chieftain Mallidēva II in a very critical position. He had only one alternative before him. It was to acknowledge the suzerainty of Sōmēśvara IV, in order to protect the integrity and semi-independence of his kingdom from the powerful hands of Vira Ballāḷa II. Thus, Mallidēva was only too glad to transfer his allegiance to Sōmēśvara IV. In fact, an inscription dated in 1189 refers to Sōmēśvara as his overlord and describes Mallidēva as “a dweller at his lotus-feet”³. The Kadambas also followed suit. Kāma Dēva Kadamba is mentioned as a feudatory of Sōmēśvara in a record dated in 1189 A.D.⁴ But Sōmēśvara IV did not long exercise his suzerainty. New enemies such as the Yādavas in the north and the Hoysalas in the south⁵ completely absorbed the whole of the Cālukyan Empire.

⁴ Ibid., VIII, Sb, 179.
⁵ Ind. Ant., II, p. 299.
Thus, Mallidēva II automatically became independent as soon as Sōmēśvara IV ceased to exercise his suzerainty. This is shown by an inscription of Mallidēva dated in 1195 A. D., where he is mentioned without any overlord. But later on, Mallidēva had to pay a very heavy price for his temporary compulsory independence.

Mallidēva was not, however, troubled by any political power for a short period of five years, that is, from 1190 A. D. to 1195. It is presumable that during this period he was getting ready in order to resist the expected attacks from Vira-Ballāla II who, after defeating the Yādavaśī in 1191 A. D., was the most powerful king in the Karnāṭaka. The decisive-victory of Vira Ballāla over the Yādava king, Bhillama determined, at least temporarily, that the Hoysalas should be supreme in the southern part of the Dekkan. Thereafter, Vira Ballāla turned his attention to subdue the two Mahāmanjulēśvarīan Houses, namely, the Kadambas of Hāngal and the Sindas of Belgutti, the hereditary enemies of his family.

Of these two powers, the Kadambas of Hāngal were undoubtedly the stronger enemies. Vira Ballāla, therefore, seems to have divided his forces into two. The larger under his personal command was meant to invade the Kadamba territory, while the smaller force, which probably consisted of only foot-soldiers and cavalry, was entrusted to one of his generals who had to work under the orders of Ballāla's warlike queen Umā Dēvi.

Thus, when Vira Ballāla was engaged in wars against the Kadambas, Umā Dēvi began her persistent attacks against the Sindas. Both the contests commenced simultaneously in A. D. 1195. A viragal of 1195 refers to the battle of Eraṭṭapallī which, we believe, was fought between:

(2) Ibid., VIII, 9b. 140.
(3) Ibid., 439 and VII, Hl. 51.
the Sindas and the Hoysalas, though the name of the anti-
Sinda party is not mentioned. It seems that the Hoysala
force was defeated on this occasion. We are told that
one Kallēya Nāyaka, being ordered by Mallidēva, attacking
the enemy and aiming at and piercing those who opposed
them, created alarm in the army. Thus when they were in
perfect confusion he fell upon them and drove them off.
It is also said that he slew many before he died on the
field 1.

Umā Dēvi returned with her army the next year, and
Mallidēva had to fight again. The viragal states that
Umā Dēvi’s warriors, suddenly coming with horses and
seizing the cows, were defeated. She was repulsed by
Mallidēva’s force under the general Caṭṭaya Nāyaka, who
however was killed in the battle. It is expressly stated that
Caṭṭaya Nāyaka, with great bravery, attacked the enemies
and drove them back. 2 As regards the heroism of the
general, the viragal says: “At the bidding of king Malla,
with whom was Boppā Dēvi, Caṭṭaya fought among the body-
guards and pursuing the enemies with his sharp sword, so
that all the world applauded, gained the release from
transmigration to Svarga”. 3 The viragal ends with
further praises of Caṭṭaya’s valour. It is thus apparent
that the Hoysala force did not succeed this time also.
Nevertheless, Mallidēva lost many of his best warriors
among whom the body-guard Kēśava Nāyaka’s son Mallaya
and Jēḷara Sōmayya’s son Appuga were distinguished 4.
The fact that we possess four memorials preserving this
event amply proves that it was a bloody fight causing
immense loss of life on both sides.

2) Ibid.
3) Ibid., 37.
4) Ibid., 38, 39, 40.
Despite this defeat the warlike queen Umā Devi was persistent in her attacks. Accordingly, she returned again the next year apparently with a large force. We are told that she was so successful at the beginning that she was able to make a raid on Bṛğagavartī itself, leaving her camp on the banks of Kuvaḍī river. She was almost nearing victory when suddenly the national militia of the Sinda kingdom came out in a body, gave battle and defeated Umā Devi, just when she was seizing the cattle of the village Kaṣṭīge.

Mallidēva's army pursued Umā Devi and inflicted a severe defeat on her near Vodḍanaķakore. We are told that the Sinda soldiers fought bravely, "slaying many, seizing the archers, drawing their daggers and stabbing the horses." Among the military officers who died in this battle, Malaya's son Cilaya and one Muḍanamayya are mentioned. A viragal was instantly set up to commemorate their death. Thus, we have seen that Umā Devi's force was defeated on each occasion; but she seems to have obtained a lot of booty.

Nevertheless, Mallidēva Sinda was not destined to maintain his independence any longer. The same year, that is, in 1193 A.D., Mallidēva was made to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Hoysaḷas. How was this done when Umā Devi was repeatedly defeated?

As we have already seen, Vīra Bāllāla II was preoccupied with wars against the Hāṅgal Kadambas in the north, and was therefore not able to lead an expedition in person against Mallidēva Sinda. It was for this reason that a part of his force was set apart under Umā Devi for the conquest of Belgutti kingdom. But when Bāllāla II saw that

(1) Ep. Car., VII. Il. 28.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid.
Umā Dēvi was defeated on all occasions, he appears to have determined to take personal part in the conquest of the Sindas lest they would grow stronger, intoxicated by their success against Umā Dēvi. What is more, Vīra Ballāḷa II was also defeated and repulsed by the Hāngal Kadamba king Kāma dēva in his attempt to reduce the fort of Hāngal. This was in A. D. 1196. He must have, therefore, realised that he would require all his force to bring the Kadambas under subjugation. But this was not possible, as long as his army was divided under him and his queen Umā Dēvi. The only alternative now left to him was to conquer the Sindas first, and then to direct all his attention towards the Kadambas. Hence Vīra Ballāḷa must have gathered all his forces under him and invaded the Sinda territory. Mallidēva was not so powerful a monarch, like his contemporary Kāma Dēva Kadamba, as to successfully stem the tide of the combined Hoysaḷa invasion. He, however, was defeated and was forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of Vīra Ballāḷa. This is evidenced by an inscription, dated in 1198 A. D. which describes Mallidēva Sinda as a Mahāmaṇḍālēśvaras under Vīra Ballāḷa II. What is more, Mallidēva was deprived of his northern districts. We are told that in 1200 A. D., Vīra Ballāḷa was in the residence of Vijaya-samudra which is called Rājadhani and is said to be on the Tungabhadrā. It is evidently the same as the Vijayapura or Ḥallavūr of other records, the northern capital of the Belgutti Sindas. Vīra Ballāḷa was residing at the same place in 1205, 1209, 1210 and 1211 A. D. From this it is crystal clear that Vīra Ballāḷa had annexed Ḥallavūr after Mallidēva's defeat.

(1) Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, p. 563.
(3) Ibid., V, Hn, 139; Cn. 172.
(4) Ibid., V, Cn. 244.
(5) Ibid., V, Cn. 181, 172, 244 and Ak. 40, 137.
Mallidēva II, however, continued to rule as a feudatory of the Hoysalas till the end. For an inscription dated in 1204 A. D. informs us that he was a subordinate of Vīra Ballāla Ī

Thus, the reign of Mallidēva was disturbed by wars. The times were such that it was not possible for the Sindas to resist for a long time the attempts of the Hoysalas at establishing their hegemony over the Dekkan. That is the reason why Mallidēva, who fought so bravely against Umā Dēvi, had to submit to Vīra Ballāla Ī in 1197 A. D. The inscriptions throw some light on the political conditions of the time. For instance, we read in one epigraph the description of a Sinda official who is said to have been "a plunderer of everything of which fierce feudatories are proud".

Among the officials of Mahāmanḍalēśvara Mallidēva Sinda, some are mentioned. One of them was Suīka-vēgūle Dēvaṇṇa of the customs department, who was holding the office in 1189 A. D. The inscription refers to his pious deeds and good qualities. He had an elder brother called Perumala who is also said to have been serving under Mallidēva. Their father was Mikkara Saṇḍi Pūṇḍita of the Kāṇvagōtra and their mother Hōnnavē. We are told that Mahāmanḍalēśvara Mallidēvarasā, sending for this "generally praised" Dēvaṇṇa of the herjjunka, made a grant of Bṛngāriyahaḷḷi in 1189 for the services of the god Siddēśvara. On this occasion Dēvaṇṇa was directed to release the customs dues and to free the grant from artisan's tax, oil mill tax, partnership tax, biravaṇa, the family tax, herjjunka, koṭavisa and handara-hana.

Sandhīvigrāhi Śantiyāṇna, who is said to have been famous as a minister for peace and war, is mentioned in an

(1) Ep. Car., VII, Hl. 7,
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid., 46.
inscription of 1198 A.D.

His son was Ḫa who held the
same office after his father. The wife of Ḫarāja was
one Sōviyakka. Another official of some note was a certain
Mallidēva, the Gāvunda of Gaggana-Hasavūr. He is men-
tioned as making a grant of land and money for the eight
manner of ceremonies of the god Ḫivaradēva.

A feudatory of Mallidēva Sinda worthy of mention is
referred to in one record. He is spoken of as entitled to
the five big drums and as a crest jewel of great feudatories.
He was apparently a loyal supporter of his master Mallidēva.
He is described by the titles "plunderer of everything of
which fierce feudatories are proud, hunter of eleplants, an
elephant-goad to hostile feudatories, a lion in splitting the
skulls of the rutting eleplants his enemies". It is said
that he, being born in a good and exalted family, was a
protector of dharma. An incident which testifies to his
great bodily strength and valour is fortunately preserved in
the epigraph which says: "On its coming in bewilderm-
ment to the forest and sporting on a hill, by the power of
his arm he captured a great rutting elephant for the Cā-
lukya emperor (undoubtedly Sēmēśvara IV), who in return
for his ready aid gave him the name of Sēvanta as an ele-
phant-goad, and thus became known in his family as Sēvan-
ta-Buva." His younger brother was Sēmanta-Rāma, a
very "Bhima in war". Rāma had a son called Rācamallia
who was known for his skill in wrestling. We have it on
record that Mahāmandalēśvara Mallidēva and Sēmanta-Buva
made grants of land in favour of the god Rāmanātha.

Among the minor officers, Sāṅka Gāvunda of Ayyanūr
is mentioned. He set up a Nandi in the immemorial agra-
hāra of Nalavaṭṭi. One Dēvarasa of Belagavarti

(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid., VII, El. 7.
(4) Ibid.
(5) Ibid.2
is said to have repaired the temple of Rāmēśvara in the year 1204. Another officer with the designation Sāvanta set up the god Rāyēśvara in Cikka-Bēgūr in the name of his father Rāya-dēva, and also made a grant to that god and the god Saṅgamēśvara of Kuruva. The customs officers, Virūparaya and Nākaṇṇa, who were ruling the customs of Edavaṭṭe and Ballēve pāḷs, are referred to as remitting the customs duties of the village Ranganāthadēvarapuradahalli. Other names are the Nāl-prabhu Haḍavaḷa Kalleya, Nāḍa-heggade Candayya, Sāmanta Rāmayya, Bhoppa-Gāvuṇḍa, and Māca-Gavūṇḍa of Manali.

Mallidēva's reign which began in 1185 A. D. seems to have ended in about 1205. The last inscription of his reign dated in 1204 probably marks his last date.

One epigraph gives Boppā Dēvi as the name of Mallidēva's queen.

(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid.
(5) Ibid.
CHAPTER XII

ĪŚVARA DĒVA III.

On the death of Malli Dēva II, his son Īśvara Dēva III ascended the throne of Belgutti. This event probably took place in 1305 A.D., for the last inscription of Malli Dēva is dated in 1304, and the first epigraph of Īśvara Dēva III is dated in 1206.

We have already noticed in the last chapter that Malli Dēva II was forced to give up the northern nāḍis of his kingdom to Vira Ballāla II. Consequently, when Īśvara Dēva III came to the throne, he had to rule over only a small territory surrounding Belagavarti, the capital.

Vira Ballāla II, having thus obtained the northern half of the Sinda kingdom, entrusted it to the charge of his intelligent queen Umā Dēvi who is described as ruling from Hallavūr in 1209 A.D. This was a bitter humiliation to the proud Sinda chiefstain Īśvara Dēva III, who was a rising youth at the time of his coronation. It appears that he was imbued with a deep-seated hatred against the Hoysala dynasty, the hereditary enemy of Sindavaṇḍa. He remembered the glorious days of the Cālukyan Empire and with it the lost splendour of the Sinda race. In fact, one of his early records, dated in 1208, speaks of the Cālukya emperors in high terms, though their rule was a thing of the past. The epigraph says: “Earth having placed the Kuntala country in their hands, they ruled it without anxiety, with all in

(2) Ibid., 7.
(3) Ibid., 25.
(4) Ibid., V, Ak. 40.
creasing happiness". Īśvara Dēva, though dispossessed of a greater portion of his kingdom, was not without hopes of retrieving the losses his father had sustained. He was only waiting for a favourable opportunity which would free him from the intolerable suzerainty of the Hoysala king.

Īśvara Dēva was, therefore, only too glad to see the rising power of the Yādavas in the north. Singhaṇa, the son of Jaiṭugī II of the Yādava dynasty, was a very capable monarch who increased his power to a great extent at the expense of the Hoysalas. The Gadag inscription of 1213 A.D. 2, coupled with the statement in the Paithan grant that Singhaṇa overthrew Ballāla, shows that he succeeded in wrestling back from the Hoysalas all the territory lying to the south of the Malprabhā and the Kṛṣṇa. His efforts were crowned with still greater success in the following two years. His record of 1215 at Beḷagāmpa shows that he had conquered all the territories occupied by the Hoysalas in the neighbourhood of that city. 3 Īśvara Dēva III was not at all slow to take advantage of this favourable political situation. In fact, he seems to have at once transferred his allegiance to the Yādavas and thus became the feudatory of Singhaṇa. This inference is corroborated by an inscription, dated in 1215 A.D., which describes Īśvara Dēva III as a subordinate of "the Yādava Nārāyaṇa, the Praṭāpa-cakräavarti Simhaladēva" 4. When Māyidēva Dāṇḍāyaka, the governor of the Yādavas, was holding the superintendence of Banavāsi-nād, Īśvara Dēva retained the Yādava suzerainty till the end of his life. What is more, he appears to have been a strenuous supporter of Singhaṇa, while a dead enemy of Vira-Ballāla II. That Singhaṇa found an able supporter in Īśvara Dēva is evidenced by a

(2) Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, p. 521.
(3) Ind. Ant., XIV, p. 314.
(4) Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, p. 523.
Sinda record of the latter’s reign, which proudly states that it was out of the Sindānvaya that the growth of Simhala’s kingdom arose.¹

The Hoysala power had suffered great damage in this period owing to the constant struggles with the Yādavas. This had obviously a deliterious effect upon them, which satisfactorily explains how Īśvara Dēva III could free himself from the Hoysala yoke in course of a few years. Moreover Vīra Ballāḷa had much advanced in age and had lost the juvenile vigour that had always attended his early expeditions.

Nevertheless, the ambitious old man seems to have carried on raids against the Belgutti kingdom, though he did not lead them in person. A Sinda viragal of 1215 records: ‘When, with all titles, the Mahāmanḍalēśvara Īśvara Dēvarasa was in Beḷagavarti, ruling in peace and wisdom, one day Malla Setti’s son Kālyya, being ordered by Īśvara Dēva fought in the battle and gained the world of gods.’² It is true that the viragal does not mention the name of the enemy against whom the battle was fought. But it may be rightly presumed that it was the Hoysala force that was carrying on expeditions against Īśvara Dēva. For there was no other political power, then left in the neighbourhood of Belgutti, so strong as to invade the Sinda territory. The Sāntāras, the southern neighbours of the Sindas, had now fallen on evil days. They had lost a considerable portion of their territory, and had transferred the centre of their Kingdom southwards to Kaḷasa in the Muḍagere Tālukā.³ Kāmadēva, the Kadamba king of Hāngal, was no doubt a powerful monarch. Though he was successful in subjugat-

² Ibid., 41.
³ Ibid., VI, Mg. 65.
ing the Śāntāras, the Āḷūpas and the Gōa Kadambast, he dared not to oppose Īśvara Dēva Sinda. At any rate, a Sinda viragāl of 1216 A. D. shows that the Bēdas were making raids on Beḷagavarti kingdom. And we know that the Hoysalā kings enlisted local robber tribes of the Bēdas in their army. It is thus apparent that Vira Ballāja was bent upon bringing back Īśvara Dēva Sinda to his allegiance.

But to know how far his efforts were crowned with success, we have to study the Sinda records that have come down to us. It is said in one of these inscriptions that a certain fight took place in the Beḷagavarti fort itself in the year 1215 A. D. But the viragāl does not say anything about the result of this fight. The very fact that the enemy was successful in entering the fort shows that the Hoysalās were almost nearing victory. But as ill-luck would have it, they appear to have been repulsed. For we learn from another viragāl that in the next year the Sinda kingdom was threatened by the Hoysalās who now returned with a larger Bēda force. How was it possible for Īśvara Dēva to prevail so successfully against the Hoysalā army which was almost on the point of victory? The obvious reason for this seems to be that the Yādava general Māyi Dēva Daṇṇāyaka, who was then the governor of Banavāsi-nāḍ, hurried to the support of his ally Īśvara Dēva and pursued the Hoysalā force. A Sinda viragāl dated in 1215 A. D., mentioning the name of Māyi Dēva Daṇṇāyaka, lends support to our presumption. It states that when Malla's son Īśvara Dēva was gaining great merit, a hero, ( whose name

(1) Carn. Desa Inscriptions, Vol. II, p. 605; referred to by Dr. Fleet,


(3) Ibid., 42.

(4) Ibid., 48.

(5) Ibid., 44.
is unfortunately worn out) fighting bravely, drove off the enemies and entered with his horse the abode of svarga.

The next year witnessed a greater conflict, which was at last decided in favour of the Sindas and the Yādavas. We are told that the Hoysalas came with a large Bēḍa force and began looting the Sinda territory. Paṭṭa Sāhāṇi Cinnā, who assumed the generalship of the Sinda army, was a great soldier and a faithful servant. Though he lost his life in the attempt, he is said to have inflicted a crushing defeat on the raiders who took to their heels. "Paṭṭa Sāhāṇi Cinnā, like an angry Yama, pursued them", says the vīragal. "Hastening after them, on coming in sight of the Bēḍa force, he shouted, and charging on his horse which was as fleet as the wind, he played at ball with their heads, and performing astonishing feats, received the cows, and made feast for the kites". "Who had a servant like Cinnayya was to Īsvara Dēva?", asks the composer. "Thus having successfully carried out his master's orders, he went to svarga". Īsvara Dēva, approving of the incalculable services of his general, made a grant of land as a dīnagaria vṛtti (or servant's means of livelihood) to his son and to his younger brother Yaṅkayya, to be continued to children's children.

Being encouraged with this success, Īsvara Dēva Sinda set on the task of extending his kingdom, and thus to recover all the districts which formed the part of the Sinda territory during the distinguished rule of his grand-father Īsvara Dēva II. Fortunately for him the times were very favourable. Vīra Ballāla II was now an old man with lost vigour. Moreover, we are told that he, being on a tour of victory, was in 1818 in his camp at Nīḍugal-durga in Sīrē-Nāḍ, the extreme north-eastern part of what is now

(1) Ep. Car., VII, Hl. 44.
(2) Ibid., 48.
(3) Ibid.
known as Mysore State. Thus Īśvara Dēva was left free to pursue his policy of aggression in the western part of Mysore. As regards the Kadambas of Hāngal, the north-western neighbours of Belgutti kings, their illustrious king Kāma Dēva died in 1217 A. D., and was succeeded by Malli Dēva who was not as powerful as his predecessor. We have already noticed that the Sāntār kings were very weak during this period. What is more, the Yādavas of Dēvagiri were not only in good terms with the Sindas, but their general Māyi Dēva Danāyaka, who was then in charge of Banavāsi province, found in Īśvara Dēva a good supporter of his policy.

It looks as if the Yādavas and the Sindas of Belgutti formed a secret alliance against the Kadambas of Hāngal, who had not acknowledged the suzerainty of Singhāña. Accordingly, Īśvara Dēva began cattle raids on the Kadamba territory. Lifting neighbour's cattle was one of the causes of ancient warfare in the Kurnāṭaka. We have already seen that this was the basis of many a war between several powers in the Dekkan. In fact, cattle-lift was nothing short of a call to arm. We are told that Īśvara Dēva III of Belagavarti, with various chieftains and with the Nāyakas of the Sāntālīge district, together with ten thousand men and a thousand horses, descended on Abbalūru (modern Abālūr in Dharwār District), which was then included in the Hāngal Kadamba kingdom, and seized the herd of penned-up cows. Bira Gauḍa of Abbalūr at once called the local militia and gave orders to fall upon the enemy. Two brothers of carpenter's caste by name Mācha and Gōma displayed wonderful bravery on this occasion. "While the valiant Badiga Māca", says the viragal, "having rained blows on the array of horses that he drove away, was still attacking them, and

(2) Moraes, Kadamba Kula, p. 149.
while Gōma, having started fiercely at them, was shooting arrows, the whole of the hostile force immediately fell down in all the directions. What words can I use! If you consider, it surpasses all comparison!! Meeting them in the most terrifying manner, Māca, the son of Kātoja, plunged recklessly into the hostile force, and pierced many of them in such a way that the bravery of these two brothers was a wonder to the earth. Māca and Gōma fought in battle with many people, and killed numbers of them, and went with great fame to heaven”.

From this extract it is quite clear that Īśvara Dēva was bound to retire to his own territory leaving the raid.

The viragal is also important in as much as it says that the Nāyakas of Sātalige district were in the army of Īśvara Dēva. Sātalige is the same as Sāntalige, the original kingdom of the Sāntāras. We have already noticed that the Sāntāras were very weak during this period. It is therefore quite possible that Īśvara Dēva, with the support of the Yādava general Māyidēva, encroached on the Sāntāra territory and thus extended the southern borders of his kingdom. The Nāyakas mentioned in the above record were undoubtedly the local chiefs appointed by Īśvara Dēva to rule over this newly acquired district.

Īśvara Dēva seems to have continued to make incursions into the Kādambā country, though there is no evidence to that effect. Despite the aggressive policy of the Sindas and the Yādavas, Kādambas of Hāngal did not acknowledge the supremacy of Singhaṇa during the life-time of Īśvara Dēva. In fact, the Kādamba inscriptions of this period do not refer to any king as their overlord. On the contrary, all the records invariably style the Kādamba king “the Kādamba Cakravarti”.

(1) Ep. Car., VIII, Sb. 188; referred to by Prof. Moraes, Kadamba Kula, p. 151.
But one of the immediate results of these constant raids was that brigandage and lawlessness grew in the Kadamba country. It is needless to say that the Sinda and Yādava armies marching about the kingdom laid waste the fields and severely crippled the agricultural industry. The people who were thereby thrown out of employment naturally took to the familiar resources of rapine and plunder. Inscriptions are abounding in the country which recount the outrages committed by the brigands.

The reign of Īśvara Dēva’s predecessor had witnessed the end of the Pāṇḍya kingdom of Uccangi. In A.D. 1220 we find the Pāṇḍya-nāḍ under the Hoysalas who it is said had thrashed the Pāṇḍya kings on the field of battle. But Vīru Ballāḷa II having died in 1220 A.D., Īśvara Dēva Sinda made it his policy to extend the limits of his kingdom on the Pāṇḍya side also. As a matter of fact, he is described as ruling the Uccangi thirty among other nāḍs in 1220 A. D.

A Honnāḷi inscription discloses the fact that Īśvara Dēva III had at least two queens; they were Caṭṭale, the mother of Keśava, and a certain Dēvi, (whose name is not legible) the mother of Sovale and Kuḷale.

(2) Ibid., XI, Hk. 56.
(3) Ibid., VII, Hk. 20.
(4) Ibid.
CHAPTER XIII

KĒŚAVA DĒVA II.

Kēśava Dēva was the son of Īśvara Dēva III and of his queen Caṭṭule. We cannot say in pycnicity of materials when precisely he came to the throne. However, the fact that the latest date of Īśvara Dēva afforded by the epigraphs is A. D. 1223 and the earliest record of Kēśava Dēva is dated in 1232, may lead us to infer that A. D. 1227–28 was probably the year of his succession.

We possess only one record of Kēśava Dēva’s reign. The conflict between the Yādava governors and the Kadambas of Hāṅgal continued in the reign of Kēśava Dēva. But there is every reason to believe that Kēśava Dēva did not follow in his father’s foot-steps, in so far as his policy towards the Kadambas was concerned. To obtain an explanation for this change of political affairs, we have to get into touch with the relations of the Yādava governors of Banavāsi-nāḍ with the Sinda chieftains.

We have already noticed that in about A. D. 1216, Māyidēva Daṇṇāyaka was holding the superintendence of Banavāsi-nāḍ. Māyidēva was a notable figure in the galaxy of the Yādava governors. His policy was to bring the Kadambas of Hāṅgal under the suzerainty of Singhaṇa, with the active help of the Sinda chieftain Īśvara Dēva III. But before Māyidēva’s efforts were crowned with success, he ceased to hold the office of governorship. The successor of Māyidēva was one Vaṅkarāvuta who is referred to as carrying on the government of Banavāsi in 1222 A. D.

Vaṅkarāvuta seems to have attained considerable success in his attempt to increase the Yādava influence to the south of the

(1) Ep., Car., VII, Hl. 20, 45.  
(2) Ibid., 20.  
(3) Ibid.,  
(4) Ibid., 44, 48.  
Tuṅgabhadra. That Ṣivara Dēva III Sinda was a strenuous supporter of Vaṅka is evidenced by a record of 1222, which states that the Sindakula was instrumental for the growth of Simhala’s kingdom.¹

The next figure in the galaxy of the Yādava governors was Honna Bommi Šetti. He is mentioned as holding the superintendence of Banavāsi-nāḍ in 1232 A.D.² It seems that Honna Bommi Šetti was not at all popular with the Sinda chieftain Kēśava Dēva. As a matter of fact, the governor was so much hated by Kēśava Dēva that we have it on record that one day he marched upon Honni Bommi Šetti². We are told that when Honna Bomma in anger came with a large army and horse-men to drive out the Sindas, the Sinda general Bomma, in accordance with Kēśava Dēva’s orders, attacked him and slew “the whole of the boasting enemy’s force”.³ It was this hostility that made Kēśava Dēva to change his policy towards the Yādavas and consequently towards the Kadambas. It is quite probable that Kēśava Dēva, having freed himself from the Yādava yoke, joined hands with the Kadamba king Mallidēva in the latter’s attempt to maintain his independence. This inference is supported by the fact that the successor of Kēśava Dēva was an independent king fighting against the Yādavas, and that the Hāṅgal King Mallidēva did not accept the suzerainty of the Yādavas till 1239 ⁴, the probable year of Kēśava Dēva’s death.

We said above that we possess only one record of this king. From this it is also possible to deduce that his reign was a short one. He seems to have ruled for a period of ten years, that is, from 1228 A.D. to about 1238. Nevertheless, this short reign is remarkable in as much as it threw off the Yādava allegiance and declared independence.

(3) Ibid. (4) Ibid.
(5) Ibid. VIII, Sb. 319.
CHAPTER XIV.

BĪRA DĒVA.

Bīra Dēva, also known as Harabīra, was probably the son of Kēśava Dēva. He ascended the throne in about 1239 A.D., and continued the struggle with the Yādavas which his predecessor had begun. His reign, therefore, was full of wars. Consequently, all the five records we possess of him are viragals.

- Bīra Dēva was an unfortunate prince. The year of his succession witnessed an important political event which had a bad effect on the Belgutti kingdom. That year marks the final submission of the Hāngal Kadamba king Mallidēva to the Yādavas.1 A viragal of 1239 records that Sinhahan-Dēva’s (Singhaṇa’s) Nāyakas came with 30,000 horse and captured the hill fortress of Gutti, burnt the nād, “and marched along with their booty openly displayed”.2 We have already seen in the last chapter that Mallidēva Kadamba and Kēśava Dēva Sindha had formed an alliance against the Yādavas. Mallidēva having yielded to the Yādavas, Bīra-dēva the successor of Kēśava Dēva, was forced to fight single-handed against the army of Singhaṇa in order to maintain his independence.

Hostilities, however, broke out early in 1244 A.D., A viragal of this year refers to the battle that was fought between Bīra Dēva and a certain Lakhanapāla on the plains of Haṭṭivīr.3 Lakhanapāla seems to be the same person called Lakṣmīpāla, who is mentioned as an officer of Singhaṇa Dēva in a Sorab inscription of 1242.4 The events of this battle are described in the viragal. It records: “When...Bīra Dēvarasa was in Belagavatti, ruling the

(1) Fleet Kanarese Dynasties, p. 523.; Moraes, Kadamba Kula, p. 151.
(4) Ibid., VIII, Sb. 425.
kingdom with his strong arm—Lakhanapāla Kalidēva having raided,—in the battle of Haṭṭivūr, when the angry Lakhanapāla’s horsemen were charging and his army like a roaring ocean were coming on, seeing the terrified king and his chieftains preparing to go forth with an ocean of army to meet them, he attacked the (enemy’s) force beforehand, and driving them back, slew many in an astounding manner,—Aicuga". Then follows a graphic description of the battle-field. It is said that the mighty brave Aicuga fell upon the horses and the army like a thunderbolt, and throwing them down, slew the force. It may, however, be concluded that Bīra Dēva was able to repulse the enemy, though Aicuga lost his life in the attempt.

The Yādavas returned with a larger force the next year. We are told that Bīra Dēva was in the residence of Kallise, instead of being in Belagavarti, when the rival army invaded the country. The Yādava force was led by two great generals of Singhana, namely, Bappula and Śridhara Daṇḍayaka. It is said that the former, with all his officers and battle array, having besieged Kūḍali, the latter joined him in the fight. That Śridhara Daṇḍayaka had a large force at his command is evidenced by the fact that he is described as “the great minister, master over seventy-two officials, master of all wealth, collector of Sēvuṇa's battle array”. Kūḍali was apparently a fort of great strategical importance, commanding the road to Belagavarti. It was situated on the confluence of the rivers Tuṅgā and Bhadrā, and was of considerable strength on account of its being surrounded by the waters of these two rivers. The viragal states that a certain Babbara-bāha Bannya of Sētu on the Sinda side, “piercing and cutting down with one stroke,” fought bravely displaying his valour. The record is silent as to the result of this war. But it is quite likely that the Yādavas succeeded on this occasion.

A later inscription of 1947 A. D., which represents Bira Dēva as still fighting the Yādavas on the plains of Nēmaṭṭi, pointedly indicates that the latter were successful in reaching that town which was only about five miles from Belgutti on the road to Kūḍali.

After reducing the fort of Kūḍali in 1245, the Yādava army marched against the Sinda capital. But it was not so easy a task to reach it, as the Sinda force was giving battle on almost every place of strategical importance. One of these battles is recorded in a viragal of 1146 A. D. It was fought between Dēkarasa and the ministers Meḍimuya and Śrīdhara. In A. D. 1147 the Yādavas, however, reached the famous town of Nēmaṭṭi where ensued the last great fight between the Sindas and the Yādavas. We are told that Bira Dēva now called all his subordinates to his court and held an assembly of the “braves”. When they were thus deliberating as to what was to be done, the Paṭṭasahāni Gaṅgēya Sāhanī’s son-in-law Ēcaya, says the viragal, gave his word as follows: “When the enemy’s army, with all the forces, comes and attacks with fury, so that the royal inspectors are taken prisoners with my dagger stabbing choice horses and notable chiefs, I will throw the enemy’s army into confusion.” In consequence of this pledge, he was presented with the umbrella which was the stake.

The Sinda generals, namely, Dēkarasa and Cēlaṅgi Biraya Nāyaka, with all their forces united, advanced into the plain of Nēmaṭṭi. On hearing this, the great Yādava minister Meḍimuya Nāyaka and Śrīdhara Dēva marched forth with all the attendants of the line in Koppalu, and attacking them, drove them back. “Then the enemy’s force, getting mixed up with the force collected on the field, attacked them so that they had no time to cook”. Thereupon, says the composer, “What can say of him who gave such a novel promise to Bīrarasa?—The host at

(1) \textit{Ep. Car.}, VII, HI, 55.
(2) \textit{Ibid.}, 58.
(3) \textit{Ibid.}, 55.
that moment, like a last deluge, like a last fire, like Kāmāri's fury, being chased and fleeing, Ėcāṇa stood, and as he had said, "A slaughter of the enemy with this dagger will I make," so he did. Many he gashed and tore to pieces, many he split and cut into pieces, many he seized alive by the head, the brave Ėcīga of a dagger, the hero in war. Choice horses and noted chiefs he stabbed, and distinguished himself, as the rain of flowers was falling upon him, he gained sagga (heaven)"

The viragal, of course, does not claim victory, though it highly extols the bravery of Ėcīga. However, there is every reason to believe that the Sindas were completely crushed and that Bīra Dēva who was in charge of a reserve force, descending to the battle-field, was slain. For we have no mention of Bīra Dēva in later records. What ultimately became of the Bolgutti Sindas does not appear. The conquest and death of Bīra Dēva closes the last chapter in the history of the Bolgutti House. But certain descendants of the Sinda line appear to have been holding offices in the Government in parts of the Šimoga District till the end of the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

(2) Ibid., VIII, Sb. 209, 291, 295.
CHAPTER XV

LAST TRACES OF BELGUTTI SINDAS

The dynasty of the Sindus of Belgutti practically ended with Bīra Dēva. After his death which occurred in about A. D. 1247, the kingdom passed over to the Yādavas. For a period of about forty years after 1247, no epigraphic record throwing any light on the history of the Sindus has as yet come to notice. But a Sorab inscription, dated in 1289 A. D., informs us that a scion of the Sindu family by name Madhukarayya was holding the office of Nāl-prabhu under the Yādava king Rāmadēva Rāya (Rāmcandra), who is here styled "Yādava Nārāyaṇa, the Bhujabala-praṇītha-pratīpa-cakravarti".1 From this it is apparent that the Sindus had lost their kingdom by the time Madhukarayya took service under Rāmcandra. The fact that Madhukarayya was a direct descendant of the Belgutti line is manifest from his titles "the Sinda-Gōvinda, Śītagara-gaṇḍa, Pāla-cakrāvari, born in the Bhujagendra-vamsa". It will be remembered that these titles were first assumed by Ḥsvara Dēva II, the greatest king of the Belgutti line.

In 1312 we come across another Sinda officer named Kāmayya, who is mentioned with the usual titles of the Belgutti Sindas. After referring to the Yādavas, the inscription begins: "Be it well. When the Sindhu-Gōvinda, the Pāla-cakrāvari born in the Bhujagendra-vamsa (with other epithets), the Nālprabhu, the great nāga general, Kāmayya, having attacked Sātēyanahalli, burnt it and carried off the plunder. Taṅkapādaḷa Bommayya attacking them, slew Kāmayya's brother-in-law, many men and horses, and distinguishing himself, gained the world of Gods".2

(2) Ibid., 295.
It may be inferred from the above extract that Kāmayya was holding the responsible military post of a general, besides the administrative office of a Nāḷprabhu. The attack on Sātēyanahalli was perhaps a raid against the Hoysala territory. For records tell us that the conflict that broke out in 1305 between the Yādavas and the Hoysalas continued for some years.¹

We have no more information about the descendants of the Belgutti family.

The Sindas of Belagutti.

(2) Nanniya Sinda. (968-992)
(3) Jarāraṇa. 992-?
(4) Kayavirasaṅsa. C. 1061-1075
(5) Piriya Cāṭṭarasa. C. 1075-1100
(6) Jūgāraṇa. 1100-1117
(7) Cāṭṭarasa. 1117-1125
(8) Iśvara Dēva I. 1125-1150

Māca Mallidēva I Ayharasa
9) 1150-1154 1154-1169 Rāya

(10) Iśvara Dēva II. 1169-1185

Pekiṣḍēva Mallidēva II Rāya Vijaya
(11) 1185-1204

(12) Iśvara Dēva III 1204-1227.

By Dēvi

Stāvaka Kalale (Daughter) (Daughter)
(13) Kūśaṇḍēva 1227-1238

(14) Bira-dvēa or Harabira 1238-1247.

Note:—Figure in the bracket denotes the number of the chapter.
PART II

THE SINDAS OF YELBURGA
CHAPTER I

EARLY HISTORY OF SINDAVĀDI

The districts of Kisukāḍu Seventy, the Kālavāḍī Three-hundred, the Bāgāḍage Seventy and the Nareyamgal Twelve were collectively called the Sindavāḍi-nāḍī. The name means “the country of the Sindas”. It is true that the territory held by the Kurugūḷ Sindas in Bellāry District was also known by the same name. As we are here concerned only with that part of the country under the Yelburgā Sindas, we conveniently identify it with the kingdom of the Yelburgā dynasty for our present purpose.

Of the four districts making Sindavāḍi, Kisukāḍu Seventy is the most important, so far as its early history is concerned. The ancient capital of this district was the town of Kisuvoḷal or Paṭṭadakisuvoḷal, the existence of which under the name of Kisuvoḷal is carried back to A.D. 602, when it was only an ordinary village. The ancient temples and inscriptions of Paṭṭadakal prove it to have been a place of great consequence. In fact, it was the seat of administration for a period of many centuries upto the time when the Yelburgā Sindas founded Erambarage.

The early history of Sindavāḍi is almost identical with that of the Kisukāḍu Seventy and the Bāgāḍage Seventy, which later on formed the most prominent districts of the Sinda kingdom. The existence of these two districts under their names and as Seventy districts is carried back to about A.D. 910 when they were under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rule. We are told that Kṛṣṇa II, who reigned between A.D. 878 and 912, gave the Kisukāḍu Seventy and the Bāgc (Bāgāḍage) Seventy, along with the Puligere Three-hundred and the Beḷvola Three-hundred, to the Western Ganga prince Būtuga

(1) Ind. Ant., XIX., p. 20.
II, as a dowry of his wife Rēvakānimmadī, the eldest sister of Kṛṣṇa III. And in about A. D. 950, Kṛṣṇa III confirmed Bātuga in the possession of the above mentioned four districts and also gave him the Banavasi. Twelve-thousand as a reward for killing the Cōla king Rājaditya. In A. D. 997 Kisukādu was in the administrative charge of the Mahāsāmanta Tailapanānekakāra under the Western Cālukya king Taila II; and the same person was still holding it in A. D. 1005 under Irivabodhanga Satyāśraya. During the first half of the eleventh century, it was administered along with some neighbouring districts by the famous princess Akkādevi, first under her elder brother Vikramāditya V, then under her younger brother Jayasimha II and lastly under Śomēśvara I. It was in the reign of Vikramāditya the great that the Sindas of Yelburgā extended their influence, and accordingly came to be the masters of that part of Kuntala, which consequently assumed the name of Sinda-vādi-nāḍ.

(2) Ibid., VI, pp. 53, 57.
(3) Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, p. 186; Ep. Ind., VI, p. 254.
(4) Ind. Ant., XXX, p. 265.
(5) Ep. Ind., XV, p. 76.
(6) Ind. Ant. XVIII, p. 275.
(7) Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, p. 204.
CHAPTER II

BEGINNINGS OF THE DYNASTY

The Yelburga branch is not only the most important branch of the Sinda race, but also a very prominent dynasty among the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras of ancient Dekkan. But as to the origin of this dynasty, we have no information in the inscriptions of the Yelburga family. The genealogical list commences very abruptly with seven brothers, namely, Ācugī I, Nāka, Śīṅga I, Dāsa, Dāma, Cāvunḍa I and Cāva, the name of whose father is not stated. The records give no hint of the mythological origin or of the hereditary title and insignia of their family. Thus we are not in a position to say anything definitely as to the beginnings of this renowned dynasty.

Nevertheless, some interesting information of the Sindus of Bāgāḍage (modern Bāgalkōṭ) is furnished by a stone inscription at Bhairūnanamaṭṭi in the Bāgalkōṭ Tālukā of the Bijāpur District. As the hereditary territory of the Yelburga Sindus included Bāgāḍage Seventy among other districts and as the Bāgāḍage Sindus ruled prior to the Yelburga Sindus, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the later dynasty took its origin from the former.

(1) As to the identification of Bāgāḍage with modern Bāgalkōṭ, Dr Fleet writes:—"Bāgāḍage Seventy is plainly identical with Bāgalkōṭ in Bijāpur. I have only recently obtained the means of localising precisely the position of this district, and of determining the town from which it took its name. That town is Bāgalkōṭ in the Bijāpur District. It had long been known to me that the rustics call this place "Bāgalkōṭa," the popular examination of which is that some Nawāb assigned it to his wife for pin money (lit. for bangles, bāṅgaṭ). And I have a suspicion, but no more, that it might be the ancient Bāgāḍage or Bāgāḍige. All doubt has now been removed by my examination of an inscription on a stone which stands in the court yard of the Tālukā Kachārī at Bāgalkōṭ, and was brought I understand from the neighbouring village of Kārkal, and which mentions "the famous capital, Bāgāḍageya-kōṭa." Ep. Ind., II, p. 170.

The record refers first to the reign of the Western Cālukya king Taila II and to the year A.D. 990 when, it says, there was a Sinda prince named Pulikāla, belonging to the family of the serpents. It then proceeds to give Pulikāla's genealogy. After describing the origin of the Sinda race, the record seems to state that thirty-one princes in succession ruled Bāgaḍage District and that then there was born a famous prince named Sinda. His descendant was a certain Kammara or Kammayyaraśa who was ruling Bāgaḍage Seventy. This Kammara was the father of Pulikāla who has the date in A.D. 990. The son of Pulikāla was the Mahāśāmanta Nāgāditya who is described as an ornament of the family of the serpents, "lord of Bhōgāvati, the best of towns," lord of the banner of the hooded serpents Ananta and Vāsuki and Takṣaka, a very Kāmadēva with his tiger-crest, an ornament of the Sinda family. Nāgāditya was ruling as a distinguished feudatory of the Western Cālukya King Jayasimha II who reigned from A.D. 1018 to 1042. The record furnishes for Nāgāditya the date of the Śakasamvat 255 corresponding to A.D. 1033–34.

Nāgāditya is recorded to have granted to a priest a field measuring one thousand matāras by the measuring rod of Paṭṭiya-Maṭṭāūra, (modern Haṭṭi-Mattūr in the Karajgi Tālukā of the Dhārwar District), which implies that the village Haṭṭi-Mattūs was in his kingdom. This would naturally have us believe that Nāgāditya was a powerful feudatory who was able to extend his territory beyond the limits of Bāgaḍage. It is quite probable that he was the founder of the Yelburgā branch. We know from the same record at Bhairenamattaṇi that Nāgāditya had a son called Polasinda by his wife Poleyabbe-arasi. Polasinda's son Śāvya was the contemporary of the Cālukya king Sōṃśvara II who ruled from 1069 to 1076. It is thus apparent that

Polasinda lived circa 1050 A. D. The seven brothers, who are the earliest known members of the Yelburgā branch, also lived about the middle of the eleventh century, as we shall presently see in the following chapters.

From the above facts it can be presumed that Nāgāditya was also the father of those seven brothers. It may be that he had a second wife, the senior queen being Polcyabbarasi, the mother of Polasinda. If it is so, it is again probable that by his younger wife he had Ācugī I. and his six brothers. Nāgāditya must have naturally appointed Polasinda as the Yuvārāja and instructed him to rule only the ancestral district of Bāgaḍage. The non-hereditary portions which seem to have been acquired by Nāgāditya himself were perhaps handed over to Ācugī and his brothers. The non-hereditary territory thus entrusted to the charge of the seven brothers was undoubtedly the original kingdom of the Yelburgā Sīndas. It is thus plain that, though the first ruler of the Yelburgā Sīndas was Ācugī I, the originator of the dynasty was Mahāsāmanā. Nāgāditya, the illustrious king of the Bāgaḍage family.
CHAPTER III.

ĀCUGI I.

The earliest king of the Yelburgā branch, of whom we have some definite historical information, is Ācugi I or Ācugidēva or Āca. He was not the founder of the dynasty. By the time he ascended the throne, the Sindas of Yelburgā must have firmly established themselves as a ruling family. For the Paṭṭudakal inscription clearly states that Ācugi was possessed of stability equal to that of the mountain Mandān.1

Ācugi appears to have been a great soldier. Born in the powerful Sinda race, “he possessed of an arm that was very violent in conquering the hostile rulers of the earth.” 2 Nevertheless, it will be remembered that he was not an independent emperor who could successfully wage wars with the “rulers of the earth”. What the inscription means is that he, being a faithful and powerful feudatory of the Cālukya, was a pillar of strength, ever ready to fight for the Cālukyan supremacy. “Being of unequalled courage, he attained in the very presence of the Cālukyan king the pinnacle of greatness among those who sound the trumpet of their firm determination”.3

The records describe him as a chieftain of outstanding ability. He was “the foremost of rising warriors”, says the Narēgal inscription, “and the most excellent of chieftains, performing achievements that enhanced the glory and the prosperity of the Sinda race”.4 Another epigraph calls him a glorious king who was esteemed the glory of the Sindakula,

(2) Ibid., p. 233.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid.
who broke down the courage of the hostile chieftains, who was a very Purandhara in respect of his might and who was possessed of unequalled prowess, which may be taken to imply that he was not in the least inferior to other Mahā-
maulalēśvaras of his time.

Ācugi is described in the Narāgal inscription above referred to as "acquainted with many accomplishments" (nānākulākāvidun).

There is no further mention of this ruler in the Sinda records. It is possible that when he died his son Bamma was an infant. For we are told that after Ācugi's death, his brothers were looking after the administration of the kingdom.

(2) Ibid., p. 233.
CHAPTER IV.

CĀVUNDA AND HIS BROTHERS.

The younger brothers of Ācugī I were king Nāka, king Singa, king Dāsa, king Dāva or Dāma, king Cāvunda and king Čāva "who were resplendent, being eminent in respect of their good qualities". Among these brothers, king Cāvunda, though the fourth, was undoubtedly the most distinguished. The record states that he was impetuous in war. The might of his arm excelled in causing fear to all his enemies. He was the abode of the goddess of fame.

We have no evidence to show that Cāvunda or any of his brothers actually reigned as crowned kings. It is true that they are all called nṛpas (kings), which only implies that they were the members of the royal family. As kingship was hereditary, none of the brothers seems to have succeeded Ācugī. The real successor to the throne was Bamma, the son of Ācugī. It is possible that Bamma was only a minor, as suggested in the last chapter, when his father died.

Cāvunda and his brothers appear to have been acting as regents to their nephew. They must have discharged their trust faithfully and efficiently, as the records testify to their military ability. King Nāka, says the Paṭṭadakal inscription, was a very wielder of the thunderbolts towards the mountains which were the arrogant and brave hostile kings.


(2) This practice is still prevalent in the Karnāṭaka. For example, not only the members of the royal family of Mysore, but also the members of that ruling community are all called by the designation arasu or king.

Similarly, king Simha and king Dāsa are described as abounded with the valour of fierce demeanour.¹

Of Dāva or Dāma we have no information beyond the bare mention of his name. This would perhaps explain that he was not taking any active part in the government of the country.

We are informed that king Cāva earned the name Cārudatta for his unbounded liberality.² This Cārudatta was perhaps the character of this name in the drama of Mrcāhakaṭika. It is not unreasonable to suppose, in this connection, that the play was so popularly known in those days that Cārudatta perhaps became a proverbial name.

(2) Ibid.
CHAPTER V

BAMMA

Bamma was the son and successor of Ācūgi I. The Paṭṭadakal inscription tells us that he received wealthy presents from his emperor whose name is not disclosed. Nevertheless, we learn from the Nīḷagundi inscription that king Singa the brother of Bamma and the Cālukya emperor Śomēśvara II were contemporaries. This statement further seems to imply that Bamma was the feudatory of Śomēśvara II who reigned from 1069 to 1076 A.D. or of his predecessor.

It is clear from the lithic records that Bamma was as distinguished a ruler as his father had been. The Nārāgal inscription pays a high tribute to his kingly qualities. King Bamma, says the epigraph, "was glorious, becoming through the might of his arm the favourite of the lovely woman Absolute Sovereignty, being preeminent among kings who are formidable in battle".

Bamma was not only a brave warrior but also a patron of learning and literature. We are informed that he, being a "very ocean of good qualities, was foremost among those who had acquired as an ornament of their ears the commendations of learned men".

It is quite possible that Bamma died without an heir, for he was succeeded by his brother Singa II.

(2) Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, p. 574.
(3) Fleet, O. C. XI, p. 233.
(4) Ibid.
CHAPTER VI

SINGA II

Bumma was succeeded by his brother Singa. At Nīḍagundi in the Rūṇ Tālukā of Dhārwar District, there is an inscription which mentions a Mahāmanḍalesvara Singaṇa who, in the month of Bhādrapada (August-September) falling in A. D. 1076, was ruling the Kisukāḍu Seventy as a feudatory of the Western Cālukya king Somesvara II. This person Singaṇa, according to Dr. Fleet, was the same as Singa II of the Sinda dynasty.

Among the contemporary Mahāmanḍalesvaras of Bumma, mention may be made of the Raṭṭa chieftain Kamakārakara II (1069 to 1087 A. D.), of Jayakēśi I (1050-1080 A. D.) the Kadamba king of Gōḍa, of Śantivarman II (1073-1089 A.D.) the Kadamba king of Hāṅgal, of Vinayāditya Tribhuvanamalla Hoysala (A. D. 1047-1100) and of the Pāṇḍya chieftain Pallamāṇḍa Pāṇḍya of Uccangi (1076).

There is no further mention of this ruler in the Sinda records. Singa was evidently the last king to rule over the small territory called the Kisukāḍu Seventy, which in the reign of his successor expanded into a wider kingdom.

In this connection, we have to make a few remarks about the Kisukāḍu Seventy district. It was a small territory of which the chief town was Paṭṭada Kisuvolal in the Bāḍāmi Tālukā of the Bijāpur District. In respect of the history of that Seventy division, the existence of the district under the name Kisukāḍu and

(2) Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, p. 574.
(3) Ibid.
as a Seventy district is carried back to about A. D. 949-50 by a stone-record at Ātakūra¹. That record tells us that the Rāstrakūta king Kṛṣṇa III gave the Kīṣukādu Seventy, along with other districts, to the western Ganga prince Būtuga II as a reward for killing the Cōla king Rājāditya.

¹ Ep. Ind., IV, pp. 53, 57.
CHAPTER VII.

ĀCUGI II.

Ācugi II, the illustrious son of Singa II, ascended the throne when the great Cālukyan emperor Vikrama was ruling from Kalyāṇa. Ācugi's name also appears in the forms of Āca, Āci and Ācama. Ācugi is the most powerful and renowned member of the Yelburgā Sinda family. It is evident from the inscriptions that the power of the Yelburgā Sindas reached the pinnacle of its greatness during the reign of this glorious monarch. The records speak of him as the trusted feudatory of Vikramāditya VI. The inscriptions further show that he was a powerful defender of the Cālukyan Empire.

The Narēgal lithic record of Permādīdeva II describes Ācugi as the abode of merit. He "was possessed of an acquaintance with the science of arms that was renowned in the world". He is called the best of chieftains.

Ācugi II will be ever remembered in the history of South India as the saviour of the Cālukyan Empire, which at the close of the glorious rule of Vikramāditya VI was attack[ed by the Hoysalas from the south, by the Gōḷ Kadambas from the west, by the Karāḍ Śilāhāras from the north and by the Uccangi Pāṇḍyas from the east. It was only through the instrumentality of Ācugi that the emperor Vikrama was able to hold these refractory Mahāmandalēśvaras in check.

The Narēgal inscription above referred to says that at the command of the "Universal Emperor Vikrama", Ācugi-a very lion in war, shining like the hot-rayed sun and sound,

(2) Ibid., pp. 234, 244, 251, 269.
(3) Ibid., p. 233.
ing his war-cry, pursued and prevailed against Poysala, took Gove, put to flight Laksma in war, valorously followed after Pandyas, and seized upon the Konkana. The same thing is repeated in another epigraph from the same place. The records also state that he gave Gove and Uppinakatte to the flames.

The Hoysala king repulsed by Acugi was undoubtedly Visnudhara who ruled from about A.D. 1107 to 1137. An inscription from Gadag tells us that in about 1117 A.D., the Hoysala Visnudhara invaded Uccangi and the Belavola country, and carried his arms successfully so far to the north as to bathe his horse in the waters of the Krishnapurna, that is, the river Krish. To quote the inscription, "Commencing from his own abode, and invading the whole earth as far as Belavola, he washed his horse in the Krishnapurna". According to another epigraph, the Hoysala, under the immediate leadership of a Danadanayaka named Gangaraja, claimed to have inflicted a serious disaster in a night attack on the army of Vikramaditya VI when it was encamped at Kannagala. The Gadag inscription above referred to adds that, recognising that among all princes the Hoysala was the most impracticable to deal with, the Calukya king Vikramaditya VI treated Visnudhara with just the same respectful behaviour as Visnudhara displayed towards him. When the Hoysala thus carried his arms as far as the Krsna, he seems to have been in conflict with the Sinda chief the brave Acugi.

The Hoysala expedition does not seem to have been quite as much successful as the records of his own family claim. For we have already seen how the loyal feudatory

(2) Ibid., p. 244.
(3) Ibid., p. 269.
Äcugi pursued and prevailed against the refractory Mahā-
manḍulēśvara. The defeat of Višnuvardhana at the hands of Äcugi must have naturally enhanced the reputation and
influence of the Sinda prince even beyond the boundaries of
the empire.

The Hoysala invasion was a signal for the ambitious Mahā-
manḍulēśvaras of Vikramāditya VI to rise in revolt
against their emperor and to throw off the Cālukyan yoke.
Accordingly, many of the subordinate chiefs took advantage
of this political disturbance to proclaim themselves as inde-
pendent monarchs in their own kingdoms. The Gōā Kadam-
ba king Jayakeśī II seems to have aimed at a higher position
and styled himself the "Konkaṇa Caḥravarti" or the
Emperor of the Konkan.¹

This proclamation of Kadamba independence did not
last long. After defeating the Hoysalas, Äcugi, at the
command of the emperor, took Gōve, gave Uppinakaṭṭe
to the flames and seized upon the Konkaṇa². From this
it is evident that the Gōā king defeated by Äcugi was Jayakeśīn
II, the greatest monarch of the dynasty. Thus the punitive
attempts of Jayakeśī to establish his independence ended in
a dismal failure owing to the timely help rendered by the
loyal feudatory chieftain Äcugi.

Uppinakaṭṭe, which Äcugi gave to the flames, can be
identified with the modern Sānikaṭṭe in the Kunta Tālukā
of the North Kanara District, which was then included in the
domain of Jayakeśī. The term "Uppu" in Kannada
means salt, and the term "Uppinakaṭṭe" means the place
where salt is being manufactured. The fact that modern
Sānikaṭṭe is the biggest salt manufacturing centre in the
whole of Karnāṭaka further corroborates our statement
regarding the identification of this place.

¹ Fleet, Inscriptions Relating to the Sinhavamsa Chieftains, J.B.
² Ibid., p. 269.
The Pāṇḍya king whom Ācūgi caused to retreat seems to be the Uccangi Mahāmāndalēśvaras Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya who had the name Irukkavēla. He was ruling the Nōlambavādi province under Vikramāditya from about A. D. 1090 to 1124.¹ The Sinda inscription recording the retreat of the Pāṇḍya king would have us believe that Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya took advantage of the Hoysala invasion to raise disturbances in his own kingdom. But the Pāṇḍya records, on the other hand, describe Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya as a faithful feudatory who is said to be the rod in Vikrama’s right hand.² The Dāvanagere inscription tells us that he brought the whole earth under the suzerainty of king Vikrama.³ Nevertheless, it will be wrong to suppose that the Pāṇḍya chief did not rise in revolt against his emperor. Vikramāditya VI was a great diplomat. Immediately after the Pāṇḍya disturbances were quelled by Ācūgi Sinda, Vikrama must have proceeded leniently with the Uccangi feudatory. Thus the differences between them were very soon and permanently made up. Hence the Pāṇḍya chieftain is described as a loyal feudatory. The reason for this seems to be that Vikramāditya bore genuine admiration for the Mahāmāndalēśvaras who were noble and warlike. It was also a stroke of diplomacy on the part of the emperor. He was then in need of loyal feudatories, especially in the Bellāry District, to assist him against the rising power of the Hoysalas. This diplomatic policy of Vikrama is made clear on more than one occasion. For instance, when the Gōṅ Kadamba chieftain Jayakēśi II was defeated in his attempt to declare independence, Vikramāditya not only proceeded leniently with him, but further strengthened his alliance by marrying his daughter to Jayakēśi.⁴ Ācūgi, by

(2) Ibid. 139, 90.
(3) Ibid., XI, Dg., 3.
defeating the Pāṇḍyas, once again laid Vikrama under a
depth debt of obligation.

The Paṭṭadakal inscription of Cāvunḍa II informs us
that Ācugi repulsed a certain Bhōja who invaded his terri-
tory with a big army. This Bhōja must be Bhōja I of the,
family of the Silāhāras of Karāḍ, whose date according to Dr.
Fleet was shortly before A. D. 1110².

In recognition of his great conquests and in apprecia-
tion of his yeoman services, Ācugi II was styled
Tribhuvanamalla Kēśarī or the “lion of Tribhuvanamalla-
dēva”³. These conquests of Ācugi naturally secured for
him a paramount influence among the Mahāmaṇḍalē-
śvaras of the Dekkan. Ācugi is also called by the title of
Malavaramārī², which means the slayer of the Malavas. The
Malavas were the people living in the wooded country
lying on the Western Ghauts.

Ācugi is described as a “very handmill for grinding
the wheat which was the race of Jaggu” and as the conqueror
of the lion of Hallakavadikē.⁶ The name Jaggu cannot be iden-
tified in paucity of materials. Hallakavadikē seems to be the
same as the Kāvaḍi-dvīpa,⁵ which was then in the posses-
sion of the Gōṅ Kadamba chieftain Jayakēśi II.⁷ This

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(2) Fleet, Kanaraas Dynasties, p. 574.
(3) Fleet, O. C., p. 247.
(4) Ibid., p. 234.
(5) Ibid., p. 249.
(6) The records of the Silēhāras show that the hereditary kingdom of
the Northern Silēhāras comprised the island of Salsette to the north of
Bombay, and the adjoining territory commonly known as Kavaḍidvīpa or
Kapardikādvīpa; while that of the Southern Silēhāras consisted of the
Konkan Nine Hundred, namely, the major portion of the present territory
of Gōṅ and the Iridige country, which probably included the Sēvantavēdi
State and the Ratnēgiri district. Of Fleet, Kan Dynas, p. 538.
statement in the inscription repeats in different words the fact of Jayakēsi’s defeat at the hands of Ācūgi II.

The Pațṭadakal inscription of Cāvundā II states that Ācūgi made the kings of Kalinga, Vanga, Māru, Gurjara, Mālavā, Čēra and Cōla subject to his sovereign, so that he might say to them, with such a command as is used in the case of those who are subject to compulsory and unpaid labour, “Walk on, O Slave.” “In Ācūgi’s surpassing brilliance”, continues the epigraph, “they were all burnt up, so that not one king’s town remained to be enumerated in the districts of Kalinga and Vanga”. These successes beyond the boundaries of the Cālukyan empire attributed to Ācūgi seem to be fancies and not realities. For instance, it is impossible that he could completely annihilate the kings of Vanga. Nevertheless, there is every reason to believe that Ācūgi was employed as a general of Vikramāditya on some of these distant expeditions. If so, it will not be unreasonable to suppose that Ācūgi led expeditions against the kings of Mālavā and Gurjara. Records speak of Vikramāditya crossing the Narmadā and conquering kings on the other side of the river.²

Ācūgi’s government included the Kisukādu Seventy, the Nareyangaal Twelve, the Kēlavādi Three-hundred and the Bāgadage Seventy³, the last of which we also find in the possession of his son Permālidēva towards the close of the reign of Vikramāditya¹. These provinces, except the hereditary territory of Kisukādu Seventy, must have been acquired in the conquests achieved by Ācūgi. The extent of his kingdom will be brought home to the reader

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(2) Fleet, Kanarase Dynasties, p. 453.
(4) Ibid., p. 236.
when we give the modern names of these ancient provinces that comprised his kingdom.

The Kisukāḷu Seventy. The country lying round Kisuvolā or Paṭṭada Kisuvolā, which is the modern Paṭṭadakal in the Bāḍāmi Tālukā of the Bijāpur District.

The Kēlavāḷi Three-hundred. This evidently took its appellation from the ancient name, differing slightly from the modern name of the present Kalavadi, Kolvaḍi, or Kelodi, about 10 miles to the north of Bāḍāmi.

The Bāgalkōṭ or Bāganige Seventy. The country lying round the modern Bāgalkōṭ, the chief town of the Bāgalkōṭ Tālukā of the Bijāpur District.

Narēgalal Twelve. This was a group of villages, included in the Belvolā Three-hundred, of which the chief town was the modern Narēgal in the Rōn Tālukā of the Dhārwār District.

All these districts were collectively called Sindavāḍi-Nāḍ.

Inscriptions also tell us that Ācugi II took many forts, resisted those who defiled with pride, attacked and pursued kings and took possession of their territories. He is described as the mightiest of chieftains of his time and as a very Gaṇḍabhārṇaḍa to hostile chieftains.

That Ācugi was a great soldier is manifest from his wonderful conquests described above. Being resolute in war, he was "first of warriors and kings" and naturally had "the odour of musk". He "was endowed with surpassing

(2) A fabulous bird with two heads which preys on the flesh of elephants.
(3) Fleet, C. C., p. 250.
(4) Ibid.
courage.” ¹ “How shall we liken the arrogant crowds of chiefs to king Aca”, asks the Paṭṭadakal inscription.

Açugī is described as a great chief whose attained the honour of the Pancamahāśabda.² It is interesting to note that this Mahāmandalēśvarīan privilege of being authorised to be heralded with the five musical instruments is for the first time conferred on the Sindha ruler of the Yelburga branch, a fact which further explains that Açugī, by his strength, courage and wisdom, raised the Yelburga dynasty to the position of a first class feudatory power in the Karnāṭaka.

 Açugī was a wise administrator who peacefully governed his newly acquired territories. He was a man of exceptional ability and was responsible for the peace and prosperity that flourished in his kingdom. The records make special mention of his administrative qualities. It is said that he was a very jewelled mirror for the embellishment of the lovely woman the art of government, a Jñānavāhana in the quality of all-embracing compassion, and a very Brahma in respect of the multitude of his acquirements.³ He is recorded to have governed wisely and made the people happy.⁴ In another epigraph, he is described as the beloved of the lovely woman Fortune, the abiding place of all happiness.⁵ He is said to be a mine of truth⁶ and governing his kingdom with punishment to the wicked and protection to the good.⁷

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(2) Ibid., pp. 243 and 250.
(3) Ibid., p. 243.
(4) Ibid.
(5) Ibid., p. 234.
(6) Ibid., p. 250.
(7) Ibid., p. 251.
Äcugi also appears to have been a patron of letters. We are told that he took great delight in supporting literary men.¹

The Kudikoppa grant of Äcugi refers to one of his officials named Bamma, who was the superintendent of the Estimates Department. The wealth of this liberal Bamma, says the record, became an ornament to him through the publicity of his charities.² To describe the religious actions performed by this official, it is recorded that he made perpetual grants to temples.³ We are told that he was glorious in being esteemed to be ever more and more the well-known abode of fame and the good and spotless worshipper of Mallēśvara.⁴ Bamma was a great favourite of Äcugi. It is said that the king, regarding him with affection and confirming his acts, gave him whatever he asked for.⁵ This only shows that Äcugi was assisted in his government by faithful and trustworthy officers.

Mahādēvi, the queen of Äcugi, is described as a virtuous wife of spotless conduct, abounding with pious actions.⁶ She “acquired the fame of being called the best among the consorts of such chieftains as are the most excellent in the world”.⁷

Äcugi was known to be intent upon the observances of religion.⁸ He is recorded to have made endowments to the Mallēśvara temple of Kiru-nareyangal.⁹

Äcugi II died in about A. D. 1124 and was succeeded by his son Permādīdeva.

(2) Ibid., pp. 251-252.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid., p. 252.
(5) Ibid.
(6) Ibid., pp. 234-235.
(7) Ibid.
(8) Ibid., p. 234.
(9) Ibid., p. 251.
CHAPTER VIII.

PERMĀĐIDĒVA I.

Permāḍidēva I, the eldest son of Acarī II, succeeded his father as the king of the Sindavāḍi-mañā. He probably came to the throne in or about A.D. 1175. The Narēgal inscription describes him as born to Maidevi and king Acarī. We have four records belonging or purporting to belong to the time of Permāḍi, whose name also appears as Perma, Penna, Permanardi or Hemmādi. The Köṭikoppa inscription expressly describes him as a feudatory of Permāḍi Jagadēkamalla II and shows that he was consequently called Jagadēkamalla-Permāḍidēva.

Yelburgā, the capital of the Sindas, is mentioned for the first time in the grants of Permāḍi I, who is described in them as ruling the Sindavādi province from his capital Rāmbirage, (Erambarige or the modern Yelburgā) with the diversion of joyful conversations. It is to be noted, in this connection, that Rāmbirage was not the original capital of the dynasty. Paṭṭadakal or Paṭṭadakisuvōlkī, the most ancient town in the Kīsukādu Seventy district, seems to be the original seat of government. The ancient temples and inscriptions at Paṭṭadakal prove it to have been a place of great consequence from at least the beginning of the seventh century A.D. when it first rose to importance. It was perhaps Permāḍidēva I who transferred the capital from Paṭṭadakal to Rāmbirage.

Permāḍi was a worthy son of a great father. The records claim that he besieged Caṭṭa and took his head with a

(2) Ibid., p. 256.
(3) Ibid., p. 236.
sword, alarmed and pursued a certain Jayakēśi, seized upon the royal power of Poysula who was "the foremost of fierce rulers of the earth", and acquired the reputation of being himself proof against all reverses. Going to the mountain passes of marauder Bittiga, plundering him, besieging Dōrasamudra, and pursuing him till he arrived at and took the city of Belupura, king Permādi drove him with the help of the sword. Permādi is reported to have seized in this war the enemy-soldiers and brought them as captives with decisive cheers.¹

We have seen in the last chapter how Ācūgi II inflicted a serious defeat on the Gōa Kādamba king Jayakēśi II. Neither Ācūgi nor the emperor Vikrama lived long after bringing back Jayakēśi under the Cālukyan supremacy. After their death, Jayakēśi turned to be an aggressor and even attacked the Hāngal Five-hundred, as is evident from an inscription which includes this province in his kingdom.² In all probability, Jayakēśi now once more attempted to make himself independent of the Cālukyas. Hence we find that Sāmakṣara III deputed his faithful feudatory the Sinda chieftain Permāḍidēva I with instructions to proceed against Jayakēśi and to bring him back to allegiance to the Cālukyan power. It is thus clear that the king Jayakēśi defeated by Permāḍidēva I is no other person than Jayakēśi II, the Kadamba king of Gōa. This disaster inflicted upon the Gōa king was the first achievement of Permādi after he came to the throne.

But the greatest achievement of Permādi is undoubtedly his success against the Hoysala king Bittiga or Viṣṇuvar-dhana who then proved to be a serious menace to the Cālukyan supremacy to the south of the river Tungabhadra. The growing power of Viṣṇuvar-dhana is evidenced by a Kaḍur inscription of A.D. 1160, which says that "the lion

(2) Ep. Ind., XIII, p. 323.
of the Hoysala king’s valour, having sported in plunder at Talakād, attacked the lofty elephant Uccangi, calmly marched by Banavāsi, with daring seized Belvola, and sprang forward with joy to the Perddore (river Kṛṣṇa) unshaken, planting his foot on Hānumgal." 1 This Hoysala invasion, however, caused no lasting injury to the Cālukyan power. The emperor commanded the brave Sinda chieftain Permāḍīdēva I to proceed against the powerful king of southern Kārnāṭaka. Permāḍī’s southern campaigns, as claimed by the records, seem to have been crowned with complete success. For he not only drove the Hoysala back to the south of Tunga-bhadrā, but also went on plundering the country till he besieged Viṣṇuvardhana’s capital Dīrāsamandra itself and took the famous city of Bēlupura.2 In this campaign Permāḍī acquired the reputation of being a proof against all reverses.3 It was no small achievement to repulse so powerful a monarch as Viṣṇuvardhana. Permāḍī had to face many difficulties, as is evident from the record which expressly states that he acquired success only after overcoming all the obstacles. Moreover, Viṣṇuvardhana seems to have been assisted by his own feudatories, as the Sinda inscription says that Permāḍī seized in war the friends of kings who joined king Bṛttiga in his invasion.4 Unfortunately, the names of these kings are not mentioned in the record. However, while studying the history of Kārnāṭaka, we are made aware of the southern conquests of Viṣṇuvardhana who is reported to have had subjugated some chiefs such as the leader of the Tōḍas and the king of the Kōṅgāḷvas.5 We have, therefore every reason to believe that the “kings” who joined Bṛttiga were none but the above-mentioned chiefs.

(2) Fleet, Inscriptions Relating to the Śrīvāṃśa Chieftains, J. B. B. R. A. S, XI, p. 244.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid.
(5) Ep. Car., VI, Oh. 83.
Among the persons defeated by Permāḍi, Kuśākharānka and Caṭṭa cannot be identified in the present stage of historical research. It may be that they were generals commanding the armies of Permāḍi’s rivals, namely, the Kadambas and the Hoysalas.

We have seen that both Permāḍi I and his father Ācārī were faithful and powerful feudatories who had rendered immense service to their masters, thus protecting the integrity of the Cāḷukyan empire. It was due to them that the tide of the Hoysala invasion was successfully stopped for a period of two generations. The Hoysala kings first obtained a permanent footing to the north of Tungabhadra only after the downfall of the Cāḷukyan empire during the reign of Visṇuvardhana’s grandson Vira-Dallāḷa. It is thus clear, that the two great chieftains of the Sindaṃsas, namely, Ācārī and Permāḍi were responsible for holding the Hoysalas in check for some time.

The growing influence of the Sindas under Permāḍi’s rule is evident by one of his Narāgul grants which proudly says:

"The kings of the Sinda race,—who were the devoted adherents of the Cāḷukyan family, who were the preceptors of excessively valorous deportment, who were specially fit for war, whose pure and renowned actions were worthy to be praised throughout the world, who were the bravest men on the earth, who were well acquainted with those sciences that should be learned by unrivalled warriors, and who were possessed of fierce courage,—were resplendent."

The long reign of Permāḍi was one of internal peace and happiness. There are epigraphical descriptions which give us some idea of the agricultural prosperity of the country in his time. The district of Nareyangal was famous for the cultivation of fruits. "Very lovely is it with its flower-

gardens which diffuse many divine odours, with its cool tanks which confer the most exquisite pleasures, with its numberless groves, and with its rice and other juicy grains, the fragrance of which pervades the region."

Permāḍī I like his father was a monarch of outstanding ability. As regards his military strength, we have already seen how he was instrumental in driving out Visṇuvardhana to the mountain pass of Vālaḍi. "Conquering the cities of his brave foes, vanquishing numbers of kings intoxicated with pride, possessed of many countries acquired by his arm, menacing the fierce dawning might of hostile kings, avoiding that sin which springs from the influence of the Kali age, performing great achievements against his enemies whose thunderings were silenced, a very sun to disperse the darkness which was the great chieftains,—such was Permāḍidēva." Making indeed due allowance for poetic exaggeration and fancy, we cannot escape the conclusion that Permāḍī was a military genius. It is said that he was a very Trinātra in the art of destroying forts. He was well versed in the science of arms, and skilled in mounting and training restive horses to perfection. He always commanded the army in person, and hence the records describe him as the leader of the battlefield.

The Kōdikoppa grant of Permāḍī would have us believe that in ancient days there were craft and merchant guilds even in small towns like Kiru-nareyangal. We are told that some one thousand sellers of betel leaves and nuts, acting together, gave for the angabhūga of the god Śrī Brahmeśvaradēva one visa on each load of a beast of burden of betel-leaves of Kiru-nareyangal that had been cut, and two


(3) Ibid., p. 236.

(4) Ibid., p. 236.

(5) Ibid., pp. 235, 245.

(6) Ibid., pp. 236, 245.
kāgīnis on each head-load of betel-leaves. One oil-mill was also set apart for the perpetual lamp of that same god. The guilds of the Ugura Three-hundred and the Eloya-Bhōjagaru Five-hundred-and-four, acting all together, set apart one pāna on each agriculturist. A merchant corporation of one hundred and four merchants, the chief of whom was the Ūrṇīleya of Umacige, is also mentioned. All this speaks very well of the commercial prosperity of the Sindavāḍi-nāḍ during the reign of Permāḍī I.

Permāḍīdēva was quite a tolerant monarch. It is said that he was manifesting his tenderness in making deeds of gift to every religion whenever any religious occasion presented itself¹. He caused to be built a beautiful temple in the southern part of Nareyangal². The family priest of Permāḍīdēva was a Kālāmukhi Brāhmaṇa by name Vāma-śakti³. Permāḍī is said to have been taking special care in the act of preserving the ancient faiths⁴. Men wondered at king Permāḍī, says a record, on account of his pious actions which were among other things his pure deeds, his ablutions, his worship of the gods, his sacrifices, the numbers of vows, and the respect paid by him to Brāhmaṇas, to religious preceptors, and to holy men. He himself was acquainted with the sacred writings treating of religion⁵.

Permāḍīdēva must have possessed a fine personality, as is evident from the records which describe him as a very Kāmādēva among chieftains⁶. Besides being a military genius, he seems to have been a qualified administrator. Hence the records inform us that he was as conversant as Cāṇakya with the many expedients of the art of government⁷. We are also told that Permāḍīdēva was a highly accomplished monarch who took great delight in enjoy-

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(1) Elst, Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains, J. B. B.
R. A. S., XL, p. 236.
(2) Ibid., p. 237.
(3) Ibid., p. 257.
(4) Ibid., p. 236.
(5) Ibid., p. 235.
(6) Ibid., pp. 245 and 235.
(7) Ibid., pp. 235 and 245.
ing the sentiments of poetry and singing. It is said that he used to hold assemblies "that were made charming by listening to many excellent new poems." King Permā was a very *kalpa* tree in respect of his liberality to panegyrists, says the *Paṭṭadukkal* inscription. Another epigraph states that he was praised by poets, by wits and by orators. He was "the receptacle of a number of good qualities" and had for the ornaments of his ears the listening to the Šaiva traditions. He was the support of all learned men and the preceptor of inexhaustible benefits to them. The record continues to say that king Permādi was a very Sankrāndūna in enjoying all objects of enjoyment and a very Ravinanda in respect of his complete liberality.

It follows from the above that Permādi was a great patron of letters. His court must have been an academy where poets were holding assemblies to recite their new poems. Permādi's love for learning was so great that he is called a second Bhōja, a prince who, according to tradition, was a great patron of learning.

We do not know when Permādi died. But the fact that there are no more inscriptions of this ruler after A. D. 1144 would perhaps suggest that he died after issuing this grant, probably in A. D. 1148 or thereabout. As he left no issues, the kingdom passed on to his younger brother Cāvunda.

Thus passed away a victorious ruler who was adorned with the title "the sun of the white lotuses of the Sindahula".

(2) Ibid., p. 235.
(3) Ibid., p. 270.
(4) Ibid., p. 236.
(5) Ibid.
(6) Ibid., pp. 255 and 270.
CHAPTER IX

CĀVUNDA II.

Cāvunda II, who was also known as Vīra-Cāvundarasa, was the younger brother of Pērmāḍiḍēva I. We have five records of the time of this ruler. It is not possible to fix the exact year of his coronation in the light of the inscriptions so far discovered. Nevertheless, we have seen in the last chapter that there are no records of Permāḍi I after A.D. 1144. The earliest inscription of the reign of Cāvunda II gives him the date of A.D. 1151. It is thus clear that he succeeded to the throne somewhere between 1144 and 1151.

The period to which Cāvunda belongs was remarkable for the great political change that took place in the Dekkan. The power of the Cālukyas was rapidly declining and many of the feudatories, who were all the while loyal to the imperial dynasty, became powerful and arrogant. Chief among such subordinates was Kālacērya Bijjala who was the vassal of Jagadēkamalla II. Records reveal that he was the dāṇḍaṇāyaka of Tailapa III. An inscription at Belgāmi dated in A.D. 1155 states that Bijjala was then governing “all the provinces”, which implies that he was the ministerial head of the administration. The position of the dāṇḍaṇāyaka, however, helped Bijjala much to accomplish his desire to deal a death blow at the Cālukyan supremacy. When Bijjala was thus waiting for an opportunity to oust the weak emperor, the Kākatēya prince Prōla, father of Rudraḍēva, attacked Taila from out-

(1) South Ind. Ep., 1939-29, p. 43, No. 33 (Appendix E).
(3) South Ind. Ep., 1939-29, p. 43, No. 33 (Appendix E).
(4) Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, p. 100.
side. The Anamkonda inscription tells us that "in an instant he made captive in war the glorious Tailapadeva, the ornament of the Câlukyas, who was skilled in the practice of riding upon elephants, whose utmost thoughts were ever intent upon war, and who was mounted upon an elephant which was like a cloud in size. This blow from the outside was accompanied by still more serious internal troubles.

Bijjala, as we have seen, was the commander-in-chief of all the forces, and practically the most powerful person in the empire. Bijjala used the army to deprive Taila of his kingdom. He took possession of a part of the kingdom in A.D. 1156, and completed his usurpation in A.D. 1162.

What was the policy directed by the Sinda Mahâmanâdâleva towards this act of usurpation? Two inscriptions of A.D. 1179 and 1180 found at Râpâ and Sûdî respectively tell us that, by a wife named Pcaladèvi, Bijjala had a son Vajradèva and a daughter Siriyâdèvi. The daughter was married to the Mahâmanâdâleva Cavunḍâ II of the Sinda family. Cavunḍa was thus the son-in-law of Bijjala. We have no evidence to show when this marriage took place. Nevertheless, it may be presumed that Siriyâdèvi was married to Cavunḍa before Bijjala completed his usurpation. We are told that Bijjâladèva, the son of Cavunḍa by Siriyâdèvi, was governing the Kisukâdu seventy district in 1169 A.D. Bijjâladèva could not be a minor in 1169, as he was ruling the district without the help of any officer. Even assuming that he was a boy of about twelve years

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(1) Ind. Ant., XI, p. 17.
(2) Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, p. 53.
(3) Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, p. 462.
(5) Ind., p. 477.
only, we get the year 1157 which may now be taken as the year of his birth. It is thus apparent that Siriyādevī was married to Cāvunḍa before Bījāla completed his usurpation.

The fact of Cāvunḍa’s marriage with Siriyādevi is of utmost importance, in so far as Cāvunḍa’s attitude towards Taila III was concerned. Did Cāvunḍa stand by the side of his emperor? Or did he assist his own father-in-law Bījāla, so that he might be politically free? These are the questions which the historian has to answer.

The Paññadakal inscription of Cāvunḍa II, dated in the month of Jyeshṭha falling in A.D. 1163, mentions him as a feudatory of Taila III.¹ This clearly shows that Cāvunḍa, in spite of an intermarriage with the Kālačāryas, did not acquiesce in Bījāla’s usurpation, but entertained hopes from the first for a restoration of the Cālukyan sovereignty.

By remaining loyal to Taila III, Cāvunḍa not only proved himself worthy of the trust reposed in the Sinda chieftains by the Cālukyan Emperors from time to time, but also displayed his talent as a far sighted statesman. Cāvunḍa must have realised the fact that the well established supremacy of the Cālukyas was responsible for the growing prosperity and influence of the Sind race. From the time of Cāvunḍa’s grand-father the Sindas were the most favourite feudatories of the Cālukyas, who freely allowed the Sindas to become more and more influential. Both the dynasties, the imperial and the feudatory, were acting together with so much of mutual confidence that the strength of one was considered the strength of the other. It was this motive that prompted Cāvunḍa II to remain loyal to his emperor up to the last.

But at last when Cāvunḍa lost all hopes of a restoration of the Cālukyan sovereignty, he seemed to have declared independence. The Hirṃamṇur record of Cāvunḍa dated in A.D.

1169 mentions no paramount sovereign, which clearly implies that he had assumed the status of independence by this time.

Among the contemporary Mahāmanḍaleśvaras of Cāvunḍa II, mention may be made ofĪśvara Dēva Sindra of Belagavarti, Kārtavīrya III Raṭṭa of Saundatti, Vīra Vikramāditya I Guttā of Guttal, Vijayāditya Silāhāra of Karāli, Śivacītta and Visuvacītta Kadambas of Gōa, and Kirti Dēva Kadamba of Hāngal.

Cāvunḍa was undoubtedly a powerful Mahāmanḍaleśvara. He possessed a strong army. It was perhaps due to Cāvunḍa's military strength that Bijjala was not able to bring him to his allegiance. After completing the work of usurpation, Bijjala adopted the policy of subduing the feudatory families and of bringing them under his supremacy. Among the feudatories thus subjugated, the Raṭṭa Mahāmanḍaleśvara Kārtavīrya III was one. It is stated in a record of A.D. 1165 that Bijjala, "having subdued all kings, was ruling the world with the one umbrella of sole sovereignty." But the Sinda chief Cāvunḍa II was not a weak monarch like his Raṭṭa contemporary to fall a prey to Bijjala's powerful army. That is the reason why the Sinda inscriptions proudly state, though with some exaggeration, that "if the hostile kings with the proclamations of their titles opposed king Cāvunḍa, they were straightway ingloriously put to flight and so departed without the honourable decoration of their entrails (torn out in a glorious death) and without enjoying the embraces of the arms of the nymphs of heaven (who are the reward of such as die bravely)."  

(1) South Ind. Ep., 1927-28, p. 20, No. 4, (Appendix E),
(2) Carn. Desa Inscriptions, Vol. II, p. 60; referred to by Dr. Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, p. 476.
(3) Ibid.
It follows from the above extract that Cāvuṇḍa II was not an aggressor. But at the same time it can be safely inferred that he was a powerful monarch who could defend himself against those who wanted to oppose him. Unfortunately, the inscription does not mention the names of the "hostile kings." Nevertheless, judging from the times, it may be presumed that the extract quoted above refers to none else but Bijjaḷa who had then assumed the status of a powerful aggressor.

Cāvuṇḍa was a wise statesman. In order to protect his kingdom from the Kālucārya monace, he seems to have followed the plan of appointing his own sons as governors of various districts. The Paṭṭadakal grant of his reign mentions his chief wife Dēmuladēvi and his eldest son Ācūgi III as governing as his representatives the territory surrounding the ancient capital of Paṭṭadakisuvolal.\(^1\) Similarly, the Aihole inscription records that his two sons by Siriyāḍēvi were entrusted with the administration of the Kisuṅkāḍu Seventy, the Bāguḷage Seventy and the Kālavaḍi Three-hundred.\(^8\) It should be noted, in this connection, that Siriyāḍēvi unlike Dēmuladēvi had no connections whatsoever with the administration of the country. This would perhaps suggest that Cāvuṇḍa II could not naturally repose full confidence in Siriyāḍēvi, as she was the sister of Bijjaḷa.

Cāvuṇḍa II is described as a successful ruler. The Aihole inscription mentioned above speaks of his brilliant achievements and attainments in the following terms: "Victorious is he, the king who excels in impetuosity,—who is the stage for the dances of the dancing girl who is the goddess of victory who has conquered (in) the battlefield; who has broken the pride of arms of his enemies;"


\(^{8}\) Ibid., p. 277.
who excels in the virtue of generosity; whose mind contains all knowledge."\(^1\)

Kings of ancient Kārnāṭaka were culturally bound to patronise learning and literature. Hence the records speak of almost every ruler as a patron of letters. It will be wrong to suppose, as some scholars do, that it was only a convention to describe every monarch as a lover of learning. The very existence of a vast body of Kannāḍa literature, belonging to the period of our study, bears an eloquent testimony to the fact that a king's court in those days was a resort of literary luminaries. Čāvuṇḍa's court was not an exception to this rule. It is said that he "associated with learned men of various kinds."\(^2\) Another inscription says that he "bestowed gold in abundance upon excellent learned men and good poets."\(^3\)

Čāvuṇḍa II was a typical ruler of his age in regard to his attitude towards religious grants. The Arasibidī inscription informs us that Čāvuṇḍa, at the instance of his learned queen Dāmuladevi, made a gift to Nēnicandra Panḍitadeva, the disciple of a Nuyakīrti Siddāntadeva of the Mūla-Saṅgha, the Kundakundānvaya, the Dēsiya-gaṇa and the Pustaka-gaccha.\(^4\) Similarly, an epigraph that comes from Hirēmanṇur registers a grant of land made by Čāvuṇḍa II at the request of Dāsabōva, the adhisēḍayaka of the Jainesale.\(^5\) Both these endowments to Jain teachers by a Śaiva ruler only illustrate the liberal attitude of ancient Kannāḍa kings towards all religions.

During the reign of Čāvuṇḍa II, the Sinda territory seems to have been extended beyond the limits of the four here-

(2) Ibid., p. 277.
(3) Ibid., p. 271
(5) Ibid., 1927-28, p. 20, No. 4, (Appendix E).
ditary districts. The Paṭṭādakal inscription speaks of Cāvuṇḍa as ruling the Kīsukāḍu Seventy, the Bāgaḍage Seventy, the Kēlavāḍi Three hundred and “several other districts.” These “several other districts” were most probably acquired by Cāvuṇḍa himself during the confusion that then arose on account of the Kālacūrī usurpation. It is not possible due to paucity of materials to identify the newly annexed districts. Nevertheless, it can be gathered that the Kunṭige Seventy was one of these divisions. For we learn from the Uṇacēri record of Cāvuṇḍa’s time that under his orders a gift was made by Hēggadē Śāvarāyya from his camp at Kunṭige, the chief town of Kunṭige Thirty division, which was thus apparently included in the Sinda kingdom.  

Dēmaladēvi, the elder wife of Cāvuṇḍa, is described as a “very Pārijāta tree (in respect of her liberality) to her attendants, a very cow of the gods to (gratify) the many desires of excellent people and friends, a very mother of those who begged of her”. She is further represented as “the female swan of the lotus pool which was the heart of king Cāvuṇḍa”. She was perhaps a very beautiful lady. The inscription describes her body, arms, eyes, face, curls upon her forehead, and breasts with apt similes and calls her a very Rati in respect of her charms. Dēmaladēvi was a learned lady and was responsible for the diffusion of learning among her subjects. It is said that she, with her husband, used to make gifts to teachers.

Cāvuṇḍa II died in C. 1170 A. D. after a reign of about twenty years.

(4) South Ind. Ep., 1928-29, p. 43, No. 33, (Appendix E)
CHAPTER X.

BIJJĀLA AND VIKRAMA.

Records at Aihole¹, Rōn² and Südi² show that, by the wife Siriyādevī, daughter of the Kālačūrya king Bijjāla, Cāvunḍa II had two sons named Bijjāla and Vikrama or Vikkayya. Siriyādevī is described as the virtuous wife of king Cāvunḍa II. She is spoken of as a very Arundhati in devotion to her husband, a very Bhārati in wisdom, and a very Kati in beauty.⁴ Her sons Bijjāla and Vikrama, without any title, were governing the Kṣukāḍya Seventy, the Bāgaḍage Seventy, and the Kālavādi Three-hundred in the Virōdhin Samvatsara corresponding to A. D. 1169-70 cited as the ninety-fourth year of the era of the Western Cālukya king Vikrāmādiya VI.⁵ It is to be noted that they were governing these districts as governors during the lifetime of their father.

As seen in the last chapter, Cāvunḍa II died either in A. D. 1170 or a year or two later. Besides Bijjāla and Vikrama, Cāvunḍa II had two other sons, namely, Acuğı and Permaḏī by his senior wife Dēmalādevī.⁶ During the lifetime of Cāvunḍa, Acuğı and his mother were governing at Paṭṭadakisuvolūla as the kings’s representatives.⁷

(4) Ind. Ant., IX, p. 98.
(7) Carn. Desa Inscriptions, Vol. II, p. 231; referred to by Dr. Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, p. 576,
After the death of Čauṇḍa II, there must have been a dispute as to the succession between Bijjala and Vikrama on the one side and Ācugi and Permādi on the other. This quarrel for succession for the Sinda throne must have naturally afforded a very good opportunity for the Kālacūrya king to bring the Sindas under his allegiance. As the Kālacūryas were the near relatives of Bijjala and Vikrama, it may be safely presumed that the Kālacūryas actively assisted them against their half-brothers, and thus secured for them at least the greater part of the Sinda kingdom, if not the whole of it. This presumption of ours is supported by epigraphical evidence. An inscription from Rōṇ, dated in the month of Āśvina (September–October) falling in 1179, says that at the capital of Erambarage, Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vikrama was ruling the Kīsukādu Seventy, as a feudatory of the Kālacūrya king Saṅkama. Again the Katgēri inscription of A. D. 1179 informs us that Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Viṇu-Bijjalaḍēśvarasa and the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of the Sinda family were jointly governing the Kīsukādu Seventy, the Bāgadage Seventy, Nareyaṅgal Twelve and Kēlavādi Three-hundred and Kīrividi Thirty, accepting the sovereignty of the Kālacūrya king Saṅkama. Similarly, another epigraph which comes from the same place also tells us that Bijjarasa and Vikramāditya of the Sinda family were governing Bāgadage Seventy, Kīsukādu Seventy, Hambarage Twelve, and Nareyaṅgal Twelve. It is crystal clear from these records that Bijjala and Vikrama obtained the whole of the Sinda kingdom, and that too under the sovereignty of their uncle Saṅkama, thus ousting their half-brothers Ācugi III and Permādi II.

Saṅkama died in or about A. D. 1181, and was succeeded by his younger brother Āhavamalla. Āhavamalla does not seem to have been so powerful a monarch as his brother

(1) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1923–24, p. 50, No. 151, (Appendix E.)
(3) *Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 488.
Saṅkama. Accordingly, during his reign the Sinda brothers Bijjula and Vikrama freed themselves from the yoke of the Kālacūrya kings and declared independence. It is really interesting to note that the Sinda independence was regained by the same persons who had lost it only a few years back. The fact that Bijjula and Vikrama ruled as independent monarchs is evidenced by a Sinda inscription from Sūlībhāvi which does not mention any paramount sovereign.¹ This epigraph is dated in the Viśwaśu Sūvatsara corresponding to A.D. 1185–86. Again the Danacanattī grant of 1187 A.D. mentions Bijjula and Vikramadeva as ruling over the Kīṣukāḍu Seventy, Būgadāge Seventy, Kēlavāḍi Three-hundred, Narayangal Twelve and Kīrvidi Thirty, without recognising the supremacy of any paramount power.²

The reign of these Sinda brothers was remarkable for the great political events which completely changed the history of Karnāṭaka. The sons of the Kālacūrya king Bijjula were not as capable as their father. This gave an opportunity to the Cālukyan king Sōmēṣvara IV and his followers to subvert the usurping Kālacūrya line. With the help of the Danavandayaka Brahma, Sōmēṣvara IV was able to restore the Cālukyan power for a time. This work of restoration seems to have been completed by A.D. 1185. For one record at Anpigere, dated in A.D. 1184–85, says plainly that the position of Sōmēṣvara IV was secured for him by Brahma, and adds that the latter, “a fire of death to the Kālacūryas”, seized the whole earth for the purpose of making the Cālukyan lords of all the world.³ The same fact is further corroborated by some Hoysala inscriptions.⁴

The restoration of the Cālukyañ supremacy seems to have proved fatal to the Sinda independence. We have already seen that Bijjala and Vikrama were ruling as independent kings in A. D. 1187. But an inscription at Konñūr in the Bijāpur District mentions Bijjala Sinda as a subordinate of the Cālukyañ king Sōmēśvara IV. Unfortunately, the date of the record is not legible. It can, however, be inferred that the Sinda brothers had completely lost their independence somewhere between A. D. 1187 and 1190. An inscription discovered at Meluköyuram in the Bellāry District and dated in 1184 A. D. tells us that one Padmiñēva, the son of the above mentioned famous general Brahma, and his maternal uncle Vatsarāja were jointly ruling the whole of the eastern country, including the Sindavādi province. Sindavādi province referred to here is not the Sindavādi of the Yelburgā branch. That portion of the Bellāry District which was under the rule of the Kurgōd Sindas was also called Sindavādi. The inscription in question refers to this eastern Sindavādi. The very fact that these powerful officers of Sōmēśvara IV were in charge of the north-eastern country in A. D. 1184 would naturally suggest that it were they who were instrumental in bringing the Yelburgā Sindas under Cālukyañ allegiance. Thus, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Bijjala had accepted Cālukyañ supremacy somewhere between A. D. 1187 and 1190.

The latest inscription we have for Bijjala is the above mentioned Konñūr epigraph of the reign of Sōmēśvara IV. What became of him afterwards or when he died is not known.

It seems that after the death of Bijjala Sinda, his younger brother Vikrama was not allowed to retain the whole of Sindavādi-nāḍ under his rule. Vikrama’s half-brother Ācugi III, who was deprived of the share of his father’s (Cāvunṭa II) kingdom, was waiting for an oppor-

tunity to have his due. He now seems to have sought the aid of Sömëśvara IV in order to establish himself as a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara. The efforts of Ācūgi III appear to have been met with complete success. For we learn from an inscription at Kalakupana-guḍḍa that Ācidēva Sinda was ruling as a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara the southern part of Sindavādi-nāḍ in the year A. D. 1196 under Sömëśvara IV.¹

Vikrama, however, continued to rule the northern districts for many years to come, excepting the short period at the close of the twelfth century which was marked by the Hoysalā invasion of the Sindavāḍi province. It must be remembered that Vikrama ruled all these years as a subordinate either of the Cālukyan Emperor Sömëśvara IV or of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, according to the political circumstances of those disturbed times. Inscriptions, dated in 1189 A. D. and found in the Bijāpur and Dhārwar Districts, show that Bhillaṇa, the Yādava king had by that time secured the northern and eastern portions of the Cālukyan kingdom.² Other inscriptions, dated in 1172 A. D. and found in the Dhārwar and Śimogā Districts, show that before the end of that year the Hoysalas under Viru-Ballāla II had made equal encroachments from the south. It would seem that in the course of a few years, the Yādavas were acknowledged as the sovereigns of North Karnāṭaka, while the Hoysalas that of South Karnāṭaka. Accordingly, Vikrama Sinda had to accept the supremacy of the Yādavas in order to retain his position as a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara. It has been expressly stated in a Rōṇ inscription of A. D. 1220 that Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vikramāditya of the Sinda family was ruling as a feudatory of the Yādava king Śīṅghānadēva.³ This is the last record we have for Vikrama Sinda. What became of him afterwards we do not know.

² Fleet, Karnāreś Dynasties, pp. 518–19.
Among the officers of Bijjala and Vikrama, was a certain Sūvana-dāṇḍanātha who held the office of pradhāna in A. D. 1179. The officer, who was actively assisting Sūvana in the administration of the country, was one dāṇḍanāyaka Tikkārasa who was the adhikāri of Bāgaḍage-nāḍ.  

Both Bijjala and Vikrama are recorded to have made grants to temples. The Śūlibhāvi stone registers the gift of land made by Vikrama Sinda for feeding Brāhmans in the temple of Kāsvadēva at Arasīyabīḍu. Both the brothers were actively helping the educational institutions to flourish. For instance, they are reported to have made the grant of one entire village, namely, Suggivāḍa to the 500 Mahājanas of the Mahāgrahāra of Kaḍakere.

(1) South Ind. Ep., 1928-29, p. 50, No. 151, (Appendix E.)
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid., 1937-38, p. 22, No 32, (Appendix E.)
(4) Ibid., No. 65, (Appendix E.)
(5) Ibid., No. 151, (Appendix E.)
CHAPTER XI.

ĀCUGI III AND PERMĀDI II.

Ācugi III and Permādi II were the sons of Cāvunḍa II by his senior queen Dēmaladēvi. The Paṭṭadakal inscription of the reign of Cāvunḍa II says that Dēmaladēvi and her son Ācugi were governing the territory, as regents, from Kisuvoḷal or Paṭṭadu-kisuvoḷal, that is, Paṭṭadakal, which was the most ancient historical town of Kisukāḍu district.¹

There is an interesting description of Kisukāḍu and the town Kisuvoḷal in this inscription. If it is in any extent typical of the peace and economic prosperity that the districts enjoyed during the rule of Cāvunḍa II, it ought to be worthy of note. After observing that the district of Kisukāḍu was like a forehead of the lovely woman who was the country of Kuntala, the composer of the inscription says:

"In it the city of Kisuvoḷal, which might be called its jewelled diadem, is very beautiful, even Vāsuki can never properly praise the country that surrounds that town. Is there any holy place on the surface of the earth that surpasses Kisuvoḷal which was the place of the coronation of Nṛga, and Nahusa, and Nala, and Pūrūrava, and other kings? With its groves that are carefully tended, with its pellucid tanks set round with flowers, with its sacred river called the Malahari, with its fertile fields, with its beds of water-lilies, and with its swarming cuckoos and parrots and cakāra birds and cranes and geese, Kisuvoḷal is truly very charming."

Making some allowance for poetic exaggeration, the description shows that the country enjoyed the blessings of peace and happiness.

Dëmaladëvi and Ācugidëvå, “having deliberated on the continuance of the pious grants that were made by former kings”, are reported to have allotted three hundred māttaras of land to the god the holy Viśvēśvaradëva of Kisuvalal for the purpose of aṅgabhōga and raṅgabhōga of the doity.¹

Dëmaladëvi and Ācugidëvå seem to have considered the happiness of the agriculturists as their own happiness. We are told that they once granted to the agriculturists of Kisuvalal privileges and contributions, cattle and rent-free lands, houses and taxes.²

After the death of Cûvûḍa, Ācigidëva III and Permaḍi II were removed from the administration of the kingdom by their half-brothers Bijjula and Vikrama. The way in which it could have been done is already suggested in the last chapter. The elder brother Ācugi seems to have struggled very hard for many years to regain his lost share. But his efforts were met with success only when king Sômēśvara re-established the Câlukyan supremacy in the north. We have the good fortune to possess an inscription, dated 31st October 1196 A. D., which says that Ācugidëva Sinda was ruling the southern part of Sindavådi as a Mahāmaṇḍalëvara under Sômēśvara IV.³ This would only suggest that it was due to Sômēśvara that he was raised to the position of a feudatory chieftain.

But Ācugi was not destined to enjoy peace any longer. At the close of the twelfth century, the powerful Hoysala monarch Vrûc-Ballâja II led his campaigns against the Yâdava king Bhillama, pushed to the north of the Dharwâr District, defeated Brahma, the general of Sômēśvara IV,


(2) Ibid.

and Bhillama and his ministers Jaitasinha. It is certain that Ācugi lost his kingdom in this great confusion.

The last date we have for Ācugi is the 31st October 1196 A. D. We cannot say in paucity of materials when exactly he died. Of his younger brother Permādī, we have no information beyond the bare mention of his name.

CHAPTER XII.

THE END OF THE DYNASTY

With the glory of the Cālukyas, passed away the glory of the Simdavamsa chieftains. The closing years of the twelfth century witnessed the bloody war between the Hoysalas and the Yādavas. Somēśvara IV, who had re-established the supremacy of the Cālukyas in about A.D. 1185, soon lost it owing to his defeat at the hands of the Yādava kings. The weakness of Somēśvara was a signal for the ambitious Hoysala king Vīra-Ballāla II to invade the northern part of Karnātaka. When Vīra-Ballāla II led his northern campaigns, the Sinda kingdom was divided into twain, the northern portion being under the joint rule of Bijjala and Vikrama, while the southern district was administered by Ācūgī III. How this came to be we have already explained in the last chapter. The fact that the Sinda chieftains were then ruling as the subordinates of Somēśvara IV is manifest from an inscription of A.D. 1196 which states that Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Acīdēvarasa Sinda was a feudatory of Somēśvara IV. It cannot, however, be said with any certainty that Somēśvara was still retaining his supreme position so late as A.D. 1196. It may be that the faithful Sinda chieftain Ācūgī III still entertained hopes of a restoration of Somēśvara to his former position, and hence continued to acknowledge his sovereignty in spite of his (Somēśvara) being reduced to a second-rate power in the Dekkan.

Records show that the Hoysala king Vīra-Ballāla II defeated both the Yādava king Bhillama and the Cālukyan king Somēśvara IV. This was in or about A.D. 1911. After defeating them, Vīra-Ballāla marched against the Mahē-

mandalesvaras and other rulers who now formed themselves into a very powerful league. The Sindha chieftains must have necessarily been the prominent members of this hostile host, combined against the invader. It is said that though the Yadava king came with as many as 200,000 infantry armed with thunder-bolts, and 12,000 calvary, conspicuous with high saddles and jewelled breast-plates, Vira-Ballala on his one elephant charged the Yadava king's army, put them to flight and slaughtered them from Sarasur to the bank of the Krsnaveni river. When a host of hostile kings, including the Sindas, combined against him, he suddenly besieged and took the forts of Brambarage, the stronghold of the Sindas, Viratana Koṭe (Hanugal), Gutti, Dolittige, Ratlapalli, Sarasur, and Kurugodu. The reduction of Brambarage was probably effected between A.D. 1193 and 1197. In about 1194 A.D., Lokkigundhi in the Dhawar District became the temporary capital of Vira-Ballala, and from there he appears to have moved on to Brambarage in about 1195 A.D. A record of A.D. 1195 mentions Vira-Ballala as then reigning at Brambarigeya-Kuppa, evidently in the course of his campaigns. Again an inscription from Arasikere, dated in A.D. 1196, states that Vira-Ballala was in the residence of Brambarage. From Brambarage he reduced the forts mentioned above. Some of these did not yield easily. Lokkigundhi was defended by Jaitugi, the Yadava king, and seemed invulnerable with high ramparts and lofty bastions on which were mounted astonishing flung staves. The fact, that, Vira-Ballala was able to reduce many of the forts from Brambarage clearly shows that he not only took possession of the most important city of the Sindas, but

(1) Ep. Car., XI, Dg. 25.
(2) Ibid., Dg. 25.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ep. Car., V, Bl. 204. and Ak. 5.
(5) Ibid., V, Ak. 104.
(6) Ibid., V, Bl. 204.
also occupied it completely. This could have been done only by driving the Sinda chieftains out of Sindavādi province.

From this time onwards the Sindas of Yelburgā ceased to exist as a prominent ruling family in the Dekkan. It can be said that the great chieftains of the Sindavamsa, who had held the Hoysalas in check up to this time, now succumbed to the conquests of Vira-Ballāla II. The northern boundary of the Hoysala kingdom under Vira-Ballāla thus extended, was evidently the Malprabhā and the Kṛṣṇā where the Malprabhā joins it.¹

The kingdom of the Sindas, which extended on both sides of the Malprabhā, came to be divided, the northern half being included in the Yādava dominions, while the southern half was under the Hoysala supremacy. Thus the Sinda chieftains, who had once struck terror in the hearts of the Hoysala kings now fell on evil days. But the time for the final disappearance of the dynasty was yet to come.

The Yādavas, who were assisted by the Sindas against the Hoysalas, were naturally considerate towards the Sinda chieftains. They seem to have raised the dynasty to its former position of feudatory chiefs. Vikrama Sinda is said to have been ruling as the subordinate of the Yādavas in the early years of the twelfth century.² The Yādavas, whom Vira-Ballāla II had so valiantly fought and beaten, again made attempts to press towards the south during the reign of Naraśimha II, the successor of Vira-Ballāla. Consequently, a great battle was fought on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra evidently between A. D. 1215 and 1220. This battle was so sanguinary that, we are told, the Tuṅgabhadra was filled to the banks with stream of blood. The Yādava army was

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¹ Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, pp. 503–504.
apparently done to death almost to a man. Despite this success there is reason to believe that Narasimha II lost most, if not all, of the territory north to the Tuṅgabhadra. It is evident that the Yādavas recovered from the defeat and took the offensive against the Hoysalas, and Narasimha just succeeded in keeping them away from crossing the Tuṅgabhadra which marked his northern boundary.

This success of the Yādavas was very favourable to the Sinda chieftain Vikramāditya. It seems that the Yādavas now restored to him even that part of the Sindavūḍi, lying south of the Malprabha which was lost to the Sindas during the invasion of Ballāḷa II. This presumption of ours is corroborated by a newly discovered inscription in the Rūn Tālukā of the Dhārwar District, which says that Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vikramāditya of the Sinda family was ruling that part of the country in A. D. 1220 as a subordinate of the Yādava king Singhaṇḍēva. Vikrama was now an old man of about seventy. This is the last record we have for the Sinda dynasty of Yelburgā. What became of the family afterwards is not known. The probability is that Vikrama Sinda had no issues to succeed him, and hence the province was handed over to one of Singhaṇḍa’s ordinary officials to be administered as a territory directly held by the Yādavas. This inference is corroborated by an inscription found at Nidagundi and belonging to the reign of the Yādava king Singhaṇḍa, which mentions his Mahāpradhāna, the Mahāpāśāyita, Paramanvīkāsin, Bāhattara Niṅgādhīputi, the Sarvādhikāri Vasudēva Nāyaka as ruling in A. D. 1229 or 1233 Erambarage, “which had caused itself to be called the capital or a capital in Kiṣukāḍu Seventy.”

Thus ended the eventful and distinguished rule of about two centuries of the Sinda Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras of Yelburgā,

(2) South Ind. Ep., 1927-28, p. 23, No. 36, (Appendix E)
(3) Ind. Ant., XXX. p, 267.
during which period the Cālukyan Empire reached the pinnacle of its glory under Vikramāditya the great, and also saw its decline and fall in the later half of the twelfth century. The great Sindas, namely, Ācugi II and Permādi I remained a dominant power in the Karnāṭaka for a period of two generations and struck terror in the hearts of the Hoysalas. The name of the Sindavamsa will be ever remembered in the annals of South India, on account of the timely services rendered by Ācugi II and his son Permādi to Vikramāditya VI with a view to protect the integrity of the Cālukyan Empire.

There is, all the same, something pathetic in the fall and the final disappearance of the Yelburga Sindas as a ruling family. A dynasty that counted amongst its members such great names as Ācugi II and Permādi I was unable to stem the successive tides of the Kālacūryas, the Yādavas, and the Hoysalas. The downfall of the Cālukyas proved fatal to the Sindas. But the greatest blow that weakened the resisting capacity of the dynasty was undoubtedly the partition of the Sinda kingdom after the death of Cāvuṇḍa II.
THE SINDAS OF YELBURGA

Unnamed Ancestor.

(3) Acugi I 1060–1061
(4) Nāka
(4) Singa I
(4) Dāsa
(4) Dāma
(4) Cāvunda I
(4) Cāva
1061–1069

(5) Bomma
1069–1072

(6) Singa II
1072–1100

(7) Acugi II
1100–1124

(8) Permādi I, 1124–1147.
By Dēmalādevi

(9) Cāvunda II, 1147–1169.
By Siriyādēvi

(11) Acugi III, 1162–1169 (Yuvarāja)
1168–1196

(11) Permādi II
(10) Bijjala
1169–1190

(10) Vikrama
1169–1220

NOTE: Figure in the bracket denotes the number of the chapter.
PART III
MINOR SINDA DYNASTIES
CHAPTER I.

THE SINDAS OF KURUGŌDU.

The Sindas of Kurugōdu are an important branch of the famous Sindavamśa. Kurugōdu is a village in the Bellāry Tālukā of the Bellāry District. That it was once a famous town with a hill-fort of great strength and repute is evident from the various inscriptions that have come down to us. Thus, for instance, a Sinda epigraph of Rācamalla II speaks of it in bombastico terms: "The stronghold of Kurugōdu puts to shame the strongholds of the oceans on the right and left, surpassing strongholds of woods and hills on the adjoining sides." It is said to hold in check the Cōlas, Gurjaraṇas, Lāṭas, (people of southern Gujarāt) Pāṇḍyas and Telugus. Besides possessing a strong hill-fort, it was the capital of Ballakundō-nāḍ over which the Sindas ruled.

Udayāditya is the first king of this line known to us. He is given a date falling in the year to A. D. 1045. The records mention him as a Śāmuna of Trailōkyamalla Nānni Nōlamba Pallava Permadideva, "lord of Kānci, the best of cities", who was himself a feudatory of the Western Cālukya Emperor Sōmēsvara I. Dr. Fleet has indentified Permadideva with Jayasimha III, the third son of Sōmēsvara I.

Barmadēva was probably the successor of Udayāditya. This we conclude from the Talakallu inscription which belongs to the reign of Sōmēsvara I. Trailōkyamalla Nōlamba Pallava Permadideva continued to be a feudatory of the Cālukyas during the reign of Barmadēva also. He is stated to have been ruling the Kōgaḷi 500, the Kādambalīge 1000

(3) Ibid. (4) Ibid.
(5) Ep Ind., IV, p. 214.
and the Ballakundé 300, the last being the province of the Kurugódu Sindas.\textsuperscript{1} He was ruling over the Ballakundé-nád in the sense that he was the immediate superior of Barmandéva Sinda who is mentioned as a subordinate of Permádídeva.\textsuperscript{2}

In 1146 we come across two Sinda princes, namely, Immaḍi Bhima and his younger brother Rácamalla I, who were jointly ruling the Ballakundé-nád\textsuperscript{3}. The very adjective Immaḍi, which means the second, is a clear indication that a king by name Bhima had ruled in the line prior to Bhima II. But unfortunately no record of Bhima I has come down to us.

Immaḍi Bhima, the elder brother, seems to have been a nominal ruler, while the younger brother Rácamalla I was the real head of the state. This we conclude from the fact that all the Sinda inscriptions, which were composed either before or after 1146 A.D., speak of Rácamalla in high terms, while they do not even refer to the name of Immaḍi Bhima. Thus, of Bhima we have no information beyond the bare mention of his name.

Rácamalla I was undoubtedly a powerful king. He is described as "a darling of Earth, exceedingly valorous, beloved of victory, beloved of Fortune."\textsuperscript{4} The earliest date we have for him is in 1141 A.D., when he is mentioned as a feudatory of Jagadékamalla II\textsuperscript{5}.

That Rácamalla was raised to the position of a first class feudatory chieftain is evident from the Kurugódu epi-graph which speaks of him as a Mahámaṇḍaléśvara possessing the tokens of royalty, namely, stately horses, brilliant yakhair fans, and white umbrellas.\textsuperscript{6} He is also said to have established for his descendants a prosperous rule, which is

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{South Ind. Ep.,} No. 523 of 1914.
\item \textit{Ibid.}
\item \textit{Ibid.,} No. 211 of 1913.
\item \textit{Ep. Ind.,} XIV, p. 276
\item \textit{South Ind. Ep.,} No. 86 of 1913.
\item \textit{Ep. Ind.,} XIV, pp. 282 and 283.
\item \textit{Ibid.,} 283.
\end{enumerate}
evidently a further indication of his having raised the
dignity and influence of his dynasty. We are told that
Rācamalla was "a man of noble courses, blest of nature......
victor over the companies of foes, steady in duty,......and a
master of the whole series of arts."¹

Rācamalla seems to be a great patron of Śaivism. It is
said that amidst the wondering admiration of the earth he
was treating most bountifully the good votaries of Śiva by
gratifying them with all gifts of kine, land, gold, food, drink,
etc.² We further learn that in the course of his pious and
glorious reign he was favoured with an epiphany of the
god Śiva and his attendant spirits, and he accordingly
rose to exceedingly high estate in life, and after death was
translated to Śīkṣāya in Śiva's heaven.³

We have no more information regarding this king
except that he married Śoṣvaladēvi, who bore him a son
Iruṅgula.⁴

The last date for this ruler, according to a Kurugōḍu
Sāsana, is in A.D. 1173.⁵ But Dr. Fleed has shown that
this date is irregular.⁶ By a study of other Sinda records
we now come to the conclusion that the above date is not
only irregular but absolutely misleading. For we learn
from an epigraph dated in 1149 that Rācamalla II was the
king of Kurugōḍu in that year. We have already seen that
both Rācamalla I and his elder brother Immaḍi Bhīma were
ruling in 1145 A. D. It is thus apparent that Rācamalla I
must have died between 1146 and 1149.

We do not know as to who succeeded to the Sinda
throne after Rācamalla I. Nevertheless, there is every

¹ Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 224.
² Ibid., pp. 282-283.
³ Ibid., p. 277.
reason to believe that Iruṅgula the son of Rācamalla, having predeceased his father, Rācamalla II the son of Iruṅgula became the king. Another conjecture is also possible. It may be that Iruṅgula died soon after his coronation, leaving behind him no inscriptions of his short reign. It is, however, certain that if at all Iruṅgula ruled, his reign extended over a period of only three years, that is, the possible period between the death of his father and the accession of his son.

Rācamalla II was the son of Iruṅgula and of his wife Baladēvi, also known as Ėcaladēvi. He was perhaps the greatest king of the dynasty. It appears that he was still in his teens when he ascended the throne. He was, however, fortunate in finding in his faithful minister-general Lakhēya Nāyaka an able supporter of his kingdom. An inscription of 1149 A.D. calls this officer as “the supporter of the kingdom of Immadī Rācamalla,” who is here mentioned as a feudatory of the Cālukyan Emperor Jagadēkamalla II.

Soon after Rācamalla II became king in 1150 A.D., the Cālukyan Emperor Jagadēkamalla died and Taila III succeeded to the imperial throne of Kārnāṭaka. He being a weak monarch, a serious blow to the Cālukyan power was soon dealt by the Kākatēya prince Prōla, father of Rudradēva. It appears that Rācamalla II took some active part in this conflict and was able, with the help of his general Bēcarasa, to distinguish himself despite the fact that his over-lord Taila was defeated. It is for this reason that Bēcarasa is styled “the destroyer of the Telugus,” the reference being to the Kākatēya prince who was an Āndhrite.

(1) Ep. Ind. XIV, p. 276
(2) Ibid., p. 283.
(3) South Ind. Ep. No. 69 of 1904.
(4) Ind. Ant., XI, p. 17.
This blow from Āndhradēśa was soon followed by still more serious internal troubles that arose in Kārnāṭaka itself. The Kālacūrya Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Bijjala, who was the commander-in-chief of the Western Cālukyan force, took advantage of the weakness of his master Tailapa, and consequently deposed him, thus usurping the imperial throne. Bijjala completed the work of usurpation in A. D. 1162.1

This usurpation of the Cālukyan supremacy had great consequences on the political history of the Dekkan. In the general confusion that must have prevailed during the overthrow of the Cālukyan power, some of the great feudatory families made an attempt to proclaim independence. Among those who made a bid for independence, was the Goa Kadamba king Pernūdi-deva who now styled himself "Koilapya Cakravarti".2 But the Kālacūryas proved too powerful for many other chieftains like Rācamalla II. It is, however, clear that Rācamalla was forced to accept the sovereignty of the Kālacūryas in the course of a few years. We learn from two Kurugūḍu inscriptions that Rācamalla was a feudatory under Rāya Murāri Sūvidēva,3 who ruled from 1167 to 1177.

We have shown in a previous chapter that the Sinda families were always faithful to the Western Cālukyan Emperors. In fact the glory of the Sindas was largely due to the suzerainty of the Cālukyas. It was, therefore, quite natural that Rācamalla II was anxiously waiting for an opportunity for the revival of the Cālukyan power. Records, however, show that Tailapa's son Sōmeśvara IV was able to recover a great part of his ancestral kingdom in the early

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(1) Carn, Desa Inscriptions, II, pp. 148, 165; referred to by Dr. Fleet, Kanarase Dynasties, p. 462.
(2) Fleet, Kanarase Dynasties, p. 462.
(3) Moraes, Kadamba Kula, p. 201.
(4) South Ind. Ep., Nos. 55 and 58 of 1904.
part of A. D. 1183.¹ Räcamalla II seems to have lost no time in transferring his allegiance to his former masters. In fact, he was perhaps the first Mahāmanḍalēśvara to do so. We are informed by one of his Kurugōḍu inscriptions, dated in 1181 A. D., that he was the subordinate of Śomēśvara IV in that year.²

There is every reason to believe that Räcamalla II, under his favourable overlord Śomēśvara IV, enhanced the influence of his dynasty. The above mentioned inscription of 1181 tells us that his kingdom was continuing in increasing security. By reading this epigraph, one feels that Räcamalla was a great ruler, who established internal peace and prosperity in the country. As to the economic conditions then prevailing in his kingdom, the record says: "Adorned with pure creeping plants, eager bees, and rice-crops, never a village failing; with gangas, yecom, wealthy and charming persons never a village failing; with temples of gods, never a village failing; with worthy votaries, never a village failing—the mid-country of Ballakunḍe is delightful, in truth like the spring".³ As regards the commercial prosperity of the town Kurugōḍu, the epigraph gives the following hyperbolic account: "The wealthy make naught of Wealth-giver (Kubēra); the jewellers there laugh at the Lord of the Ocean (Varuṇa), the rulers resemble Manu famed among men; it is verily like Bhōgāvati". Making indeed due allowance for poetic fancy, one cannot escape the conclusion that Ballakunḍe was a happy country under the efficient rule of Räcamalla II.

Räcamalla was a wise administrator who seems to have studied the science of government. We are told that he was "renowned in the Nandana-park of

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¹ Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, p. 463.
² Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 265.
³ Ibid., p. 275.
polity". In this task he was ably assisted by his ministers and generals who were men of exceptional ability and who were greatly responsible for the peace and prosperity that flourished in the country during the reign. The inscriptions make special mention of two of these officials, namely, Bēcarusa and Rēcarāja. The former, who is described as the "crest-jewel of the ministers", was the "Manager of his Lord’s affairs", the High Minister and the Bearer of the betel-bag. The latter was the head of the finance department.

That Rācamalla Sinda was the greatest among his predecessors is evident from the title "the Gōvinda of the Sindas", which was accorded only to him.

We do not know as to when Rācamalla died and what became of his successors, if at all he had any. The records are silent even about Sōma who is mentioned as his younger brother in an inscription of 1181 A. D. It can, however, be shown that the dynasty succumbed to the Hoysala conquest in about 1191 A. D. After the short rule of Sōmeśvara IV, the Yādavas in the north and the Hoysalas in the south became the two predominant powers in the Karnāṭaka. Not being satisfied with what they had obtained, both these powers grew more and more ambitious and accordingly came to conflict. The final decisive battle between them was fought in A. D. 1191, which resulted in a victory for the Hoysalas. We are told that the army of the Yādavas consisting of two hundred thousand men with twelve thousand cavalry was pursued by Vira-Ballāla from Soraṭur to the banks of the Kṛṣṇavēni, and was there destroyed. The record adds that Vira-Ballāla II reduced the forts Erambarage, Hāngal, Guttī, Bellīṭṭige, Soraṭur and

(1) Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 276.  (2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid., p. 283.  (4) Ibid., p. 276.
Kurugōḍu, the last being the well-known hill-fortress of the Sindas of Ballakundé-nāḍ.

It thus seems that the territory of the Kurugōḍu-Sindas was absorbed by the Hoysala kingdom at least for a period of about thirty years. This is corroborated by an inscription, found in the Bellāry District, which mentions Vīra-Ballāla II as ruling over that part of the Kuntala in A. D. 1218\(^1\). It is, however, plain that this branch of the Sinda family never revived their kingdom, and hence came to an end.

(1) *South Ind. Ep., No. 52 of 1904.*
CHAPTER II.

THE SINDAS OF BĀGAḌAGE.

The Sindas of Bāgaḍage\(^1\) were a branch of the celebrated Sindavamśa. They bore all the titles that are usually given to the kings of this family. For example, Savyarasas, one of these kings, is described as a “Mahā-mandalēśvara who had attained pāñcamaṇḍaśuddha, the supreme lord of the Bhogāvati, the best of towns, whose right arm is skilful in protecting the Brāhmaṇas of the town Ahicchatra; the sun of the Sindas; a most devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara; the lord of the banner of hooded serpents, a very king of nāgīṇas in human form”\(^2\).

The Bhairanamaṭṭi inscription\(^3\), disclosing the existence of this dynasty, is very important inasmuch as it professes to give the origin of the Sinda family. The same story of their origin is recorded in some other Sinda epigraphs such as the Daṇvagere inscription 43 and the Honnāḷi inscription 50. But the Bhairanamaṭṭi record is the most important of them all inasmuch as it gives us an additional information which is of great political significance. We are told that “when the long-armed lord Sinda joined his hands and closed his eyes (in respectful request), the lord of the Kadambas through affection gave him his daughter and he having taken her, during the time that he lived in dalliance with that charming woman, there were born three sons from whom there sprang those who were born as kings in the most exalted race of the Sindas”. This blood connection between the Sindas and the Kadambas, which is mentioned in no other epigraph, leads us to the

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\(^1\) Bagadage is the modern Bagalkot in the Bijapur District.


\(^3\) Ibid., p. 260.
inevitable conclusion that the Sindas from the very beginning were considered as a ruling tribe.

The fact that the Sindas of Bāgaḍage were the most ancient of all the branches is evident from this epigraph, which states that thirty-one kings in succession governed the Bāgaḍage district after Niḍudāl (long-armed) Sinda, the originator of the family. Then there was another prince named Sinda.

In this lineage of the Sindas of Bāgaḍage, "which came without a break" from the long-armed Sinda, there was a certain Kammara or Kammayyarasa. His wife was Sagarabbe Arasi, whom the record describes as an ornament of good qualities. We have no more information about this king.

Pulikāla was the son and successor of Kammara. He was born amidst the praises of the world, says the above-mentioned inscription. He is styled "the ornament of the family of the serpents" and "a very Nārāyaṇa among the Sindas". He was the subordinate of the Western Cālukya king Tnaila II who ruled from 973 to 997 A. D. The Bhairāṇamataṭṭi inscription furnishes him with a date in A. D. 990-91.

Nāgāditya, Nāgatya, or Nāgātiyarasa was the son of Pulikāla by his wife Rēvakabbe. He is the first scion of the House to be raised to the dignity of a Mahāśāmaṇa, entitled to the honour of paṇcamahāśabda. He was also entitled to be decorated with three golden umbrellas. He was the feudatory of the Cālukyan Emperor Jayaśimha II, who reigned from 1018 to 1042 A. D. We have it on record that Nāgāditya made two grants of land, one to the god Sindēśvara and the other to the deity of Puradakēri. The second gift was made in the Śaka year 955, coupled with A. D. 1033. Nāgāditya seems to have possessed a beautiful personality, as the record calls him a Kāmadēva.

(1) Ep. Ind., III, p. 236.
To this "brave king" Nāgāditya and to Poleyabbe Arasi was born Polasinda, "an ornament of the Sinda race." As regards the chronology of this king, it may be inferred that he was a contemporary of Jayanāṁśīma II. The fact that Polasinda's son was a subordinate of Śomēśvara II (1069–76) would support our inference.

The next king of the Bāgāḍage line was Śeṣya, the son of Polasinda. It is said that he was pure by both lines of descent; for his mother was Bijaḷādēvi, daughter of the Khāṇḍava Mahāmāṇḍalaśvara.1 Śeṣya's rasa is the first member of the House to assume the dignified title Mahāmāṇḍalaśvara, which is a clear indication of his having attained the status of a first class feudatory chieflain. He must have been a good soldier, for the epigraph describes him as "a very Śalada in the art of using sword". Śeṣya was the subordinate of the Cālukya Emperor Śomēśvara II (A.D. 1069–76). It is said of him that he was a "kaluhaṁsa (bird) whose feathers were shrubbed by the play of the feet of Bhuvanakamalla-dēva".

We have no more information of this line. As the Bāgāḍage Sindas ruled prior to the Yelburga branch, it may be that they were the ancestors of the founder of the later dynasty, whose territory included the Bāgāḍage Seventy district also.

(1) Ep. Ind., III, p. 235; Khāṇḍa seems to be a family or territorial designation rather than a personal name. And, in fact, the dictionaries give the word Khāṇḍa as the name of a region.
CHAPTER III.

THE SINDAS OF THE PRATYANDAKA FOUR-THOUSAND PROVINCE.

The Sindas of Pratyandaka are one of the many offshoots of the celebrated Sindavamsa. The only copper-plate charter that we have of this dynasty is found at the village Tiḍagundi, twelve miles from the town of Bijapur. Bhīma, a king of this family, bears the epithet "the governor of the Pratyandaka Four-thousand country."¹

Dr. Fleet identifies the Pratyandaka Four-thousand country with the modern Phaltan State, and adds that it was a considerably larger territory than the present Phaltan State. According to him, it was appropriately bounded on the north by first the Nira, and then the Bhīma, as far as some point near Paṇḍharpūr, on the south bank, in the Shōlapur District, where it would meet the Maṅgalavēḍtaka territory. On the south, it was very appropriately bounded for the most part by the Mān or Mān-gaṅgā river, which rises above fourteen miles to the south of Phaltan, and flows into the Bhīma between Paṇḍharpūr and Maṅgalvēḍhēm.

It should, however, be noted that the governorship of Pratyandaka, attributed to the Sinda king Bhīma, is a mere hereditary title and nothing more than that. Hence it cannot be taken to indicate that king Bhīma ruled over that part of the country. We are not unfamiliar with such hereditary titles in the history of ancient Karnaṭaka. For instance, the Sinda kings of Belgutti bore the title "lord of Karahatapura" among the epithets. We find this title accorded to the kings of that line even so late as 1189 A. D.² What is to be noted, in this connection, is the fact that the

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² Ind., Ant., XXX, pp. 381-82.
³ Ep. Cor., VII, Hl. 46.
Belgutti chieftains never ruled the Karahāṭapura (modern Karād in Satāra District), though the founder of the original Sinda dynasty did. Again the Raṭṭas of Saundatti called themselves as the rulers of Laṭṭalūr, a town which did not exist in their kingdom. Similar is the case with many dynasties of ancient Dekkan. Bearing this in mind, it may be safely presumed that Bhīma did not rule over the Pratyanḍaka Four-thousand Province.

This dynasty of the Sindas was in possession of a considerable portion of the territory in the Bijāpur District. We know from their inscription that it included the village of Takkalika, the modern Takulkee, about twenty-five miles south-west of Tiļagundī.

The first king of this House of whom we have some information, is Bhīma. He seems to have been a great soldier, as the epigraph speaks of him as a king "of incalculable dread in the fields of battle." As regards the chronology of this king, it may be safely maintained that he ruled in about A. D. 1032. The same record gives a date in 1082 for Bhīma's grandson Muṇja. Thus coming back to two generations before Muṇja we get the above date for Bhīma.

Sindarāja "of renowned fame" was the son and successor of Bhīma. He is described as "a favourite of the mighty fortune of Victory gained in battlefields," which is evidently an indication of his having attained some military success.

The successor of Sindarāja was his son Muṇjarājadēva. The above mentioned copper-plate charter refers to his reign. Muṇja is spoken of as a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, "dependent on the lotus feet" of Tribhuvanamalladēva Vikramāditya VI. That Muṇja was an important subordinate of Vikrama is evident from his having attained the honour of paṃcamahāšabda. Some of his epithets are "the supreme lord of the city of Bhogāvati, born in the serpent-chief's race, the frontal ornament of the Nāga family, the sun of
the lotus the Sinda family, the submarine fire of the Guṇa-
kas." The Guṇakas referred to here cannot be identified
in the present stage of historical research.

The inscription of Muṇja purports to record the sale of
twelve villages sold by him to one Kaṇṇasāmanta. Of both
the vendor and the purchaser a large number of birudas
are enumerated. The latter is also described as being a
worshipper of the feet of Tribhuvanamalladeva, which sugg-
est that he owed allegiance to the Cālukyan king. He
is further described as a devotee of Śiva and was married to
a daughter of the Lātas. Kaṇṇasāmanta was also entitled to
the honour of pañcamahāsabda. The grant is silent as to
the province or residence of Kaṇṇasāmanta. It appears
that he was identical with the Raṭṭa Mahāmanḍalēśvara
Kaṇṇakaira.

It is interesting to note that the deed of sale was com-
pleted in the presence of Muṇja's chief-officer, "the illus-
trious" Kambhayya, Madhukari Nāyaka the Sundhi-
vigrahi, Bhammayya Nāyaka, and Nimbaya Nāyaku,
and it was written by Nannapai, the deputy of the Sundhi-
vigrahin. The mention of the Minister of Peace and War
only explains that Muṇja was a feudatory of the first rank,
possessing the important right to wage wars without the
permission of the emperor. The sale is stated to have taken
place in the year 1083 A. D.

This is the first and the last record of the dynasty.
What became of the House after Muṇja is not known. It
may be that Muṇja, having died without any issue, his terri-
tory was annexed to the Cālukyan Empire by Vikrama.
CHAPTER IV.

THE SINDAS OF CAKRAKŌTA.

Among the various ruling dynasties of ancient Āndhra-
dēśa, was the Sinda House of Cakrakoṭa-maṇḍala, a country continuous to Vengi, being situated in the present Bastar State. This branch of the Sindas was never a Mahāmaṇḍala-
śvarian House under the Western Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi. Nevertheless, it would not be inappropriate to include it in this thesis, so that the history of the Sinda race may be complete.

The kings of this branch are mentioned as belonging to the Chindaka family. Chindaka is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Kannāda word Sīnḍa. Moreover, the bīrudas of the Karnāṭaka Sindas are strikingly identical with those of the Bastar NāgavamŚi kings. For instance, the famous king Sāmēśvara I is said to have been a Mahārāja, "born of the Nāgavamsa, resplendent with the mass of rays of thousand jewels, the lord of Bhūgāvati, the best of towns, whose crest was a tiger and a calf". Thus, there can be no doubt that the dynasty was not connected with the Sinda families of the Kannāda country. The ṛṇa-grha-śāncana (tiger crest) was common to all branches of the Sīnḍakula; because the original ancestor of the vamsa, which received its name after him, was believed to have been brought up by the king of serpents on the milk of a tigress. While the Bāgaḍage branch had simply the tiger crest and the phani-kēlana or banner of hooded serpents, the Cakrakoṭa branch had a tiger with a calf or child (savatsa), thus depicting probably the story of their origin in a clearer way. The Bastar Sindas were subdivided

2) Ibid., IX, p. 316.
3) See the Chapter on the origin of the Sīnḍavamsa.
into two Houses, the minor of them having the bow and tiger crest and the baner of lotus flower and plantain leaf. One point of striking contrast between the Sindas of Karnataka and those of Andhradéśa is that the latter, to judge from their titles ‘Paraméśvara Parama-bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja’, were independent monarchs without recognising the overlordship of any emperor.

Dhāravarsadéva is the first king of this branch of the Sinda dynasty known to us. We have an inscription of his widow Gunda-Mahādévi who is recorded to have made two grants, one of the village of Nārāyaṇapura to the “glorious god” Nārāyaṇa, and the other of some land to the god Lókēsvara. It should be noted, in this connection, that Gunda-Mahādévi, though a Śaiva by faith, was not only tolerant of other creeds but actively helped them to flourish. The epigraph does not afford any historical information of the reign of Dhāravarsadéva. It is, however, stated that Gunda-Mahādévi was a noble lady of royal birth, which would inevitably suggest that Dhāravarsadéva was matrimonially connected with a prominent ruling family of the day. As regards the chronology of this king, we may safely presume that he lived somewhere between 1050 and 1060, judging from the fact that his son was the king of Cakrakōṭa in 1069 A.D.

Sōmeśvara I was the son of Dhāravarsadéva and of his queen Gunda-Mahādévi. We do not know the exact year of his coronation. He, however, seems to have come to the throne in about 1065 A.D.; for the earliest date we have for him is in 1069.

Sōmeśvaradéva was by far the greatest monarch of the dynasty. The Kuruspāl lithic record of his reign refers to his certain contemporary kings. Most of these kings are

(3) Ibid., X, p. 33. (4) Ibid., IX, p. 316.
mentioned by the names of their countries or capitals, some of them being Udra, Lannji, Ratnapura, Lema, Veangi, Bhadraptana and Vajra. "Owing to the mutilated state of the record," says Rai Bahadur Hiralal, the editor of the inscription, "it is not certain whether Somesvara claimed to have conquered them, but one implication is plain, viz., that they were his rivals". It is, however, stated that, having killed the "powerful king" Madhurantakadeva in battle and having put other kings to trouble, he became, as it were, a junior Narayana by imitating the latter's action in having killed Madhura and a host of other demons. Madhurantakadeva was the king of the minor Sinda House of Cakrakota, who seems to have occupied the territory of which Somesvara claimed to be the hereditary ruler.¹

Somesvaradeva also boasts of having "burnt Veangi like the great Arjuna who fired the Khanda forest."² This was at the most a tit for tat, as we find Cakrakota itself being burnt several times by the kings of the countries on the other side of the Godavari. It should be noted, in this connection, that many a southern king raided this somewhat weak power. The first raid, so far as it is known, appears to have been made by Vijayaditya III of the Eastern Calukya line, who ruled between 844 and 888 A. D. He burnt Cakrakota.³ Then the Cola king Rajeendra (A. D. 1011–33) took Cakrakota which is mentioned as Sakkarakotiam in the record⁴, while one of his successors, namely, king Virarajendra I claims to have crossed the Godavari, passed through Kaliṅga, and advanced against Cakrakota⁵. Next the Cola king Kulottunga, while yet a youth, won his first laurels in a battle by storming Cakrakota. This happened prior to 1070 A.D., which fact is mentioned in the Tamil poem Kaliṅgaṭṭa Parāni, and also in

(3) Ibid., IV, p. 226.
(4) South Ind. Inscriptions, II, p. 108.
(5) Ibid., III, p. 70.
some inscriptions\(^1\). Vikramāditya VI of the Western Cālukya dynasty was the fifth raider, who is said to have conquered Cakrakōṭa as a Piwarāja.\(^2\) This occurred just a few years before 1076 A. D. when Vikrama became king.

Voṅgi, which Sōmeśvara Sinda burnt is the country between the Gōdāvāri and the Kṛṣṇā. The inscription mentions the name Vinačōda\(^3\), who, as we know from other sources, was the viceroy of this country appointed by his father.

Sōmeśvaradēva seems to have added another laurel to his fame by burning the forest of the Vajra country\(^4\). He also claims that he took six lakhs and ninety villages of the Kōsala country.\(^5\) This Kōsala country has been identified with the Daksīṇa-Kōsala which extended from the confines of Berar to Orissa and from Amarakanṭaka to Cakrakōṭa.\(^6\) But it is impossible that this extensive area should contain as many as six lakhs of villages; moreover there is absolutely nothing to justify the boast that Sōmeśvara ever became king of that country. It is possible that he might have raided a part of Kōsala and might have held it in his possession until driven out again. This surmise seems to have been supported by Jajalladēva's inscription.\(^7\) Jajalladēva was the king of Daksīṇa-Kōsala ruling at Ratnapur, and in his eulogy referred to above, he is stated to have "seized in battle Sōmeśvara, having slain an immense army."\(^8\) No details are given as to who Sōmeśvara was, but from synchronistic allusions it is apparent that he was identical with Sōmeśvara Sinda of Cakrakōṭa.

As to the list of the countries already mentioned above, Udra seems to be the old name of Orissa. Lāṇji was a well-

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\(^1\) S-e Ep. Ind., IX, p. 179.
\(^2\) Buhler, Vikramāditya-Charita, IV, 20.
\(^3\) South Ind. Inscriptions, I, p. 51.
\(^4\) Ep. Ind., X, p. 25.
\(^5\) Ibid.
\(^7\) Ep. Ind., I, p. 38.
known tract in the district of Balaghat and Ratanpura was
the capital of the Harihayas in Dakshina-Kosala. Lempa
may be Lavana, the eastern tract of Raipur district, says
Rai Bahadur Hiralal. He further identifies Vajra with
Wairagahr and Bhadrapattana with Bhundak.

Some of the conquests described above brought so much
of fame to Somesvaradewa that he was known as a powerful
monarch even in the distant parts of Southern Karnata. 
For we are told that the great Hoysala king Visnuvardhana
came in conflict with this Andhra ruler. The epigraph tells
us that Visnuvardhana "with the sharpness of his sword
terrified Somesvara, the lord of the mighty celebrated Cakrakita.
" The inscription which refers to this conflict is dated
in 1129 A.D. The reference here, therefore, is only to a
past event, for we know that Somesvara died in about
1100 A.D.

Somesvara I was as efficient an administrator as he was
a great soldier. He ably governed his kingdom till the end
of his reign. In this task he was assisted by his ministers
and generals who were men of exceptional ability. One of
his records describes him as a "store-house of the statesman-
ship". That he possessed striking personality is evident
from the fact that he is compared with the god of love in
point of beauty.

The records give the names of Somala-Mahadevi and
Dharana-Mahadevi, the queens of Somesvaradewa.

Somesvaradewa was succeeded by his son Kanharadewa
in about 1100 A.D. It was in this reign that his grand-
mother Guntha-Mahadevi made the grant of the village Naraya-
napura to the "glorious god" Narayan.

(9) Ibid.
which is the present Narayani, seems to have been an important place of pilgrimage in ancient times. We are told that, it was full of people that came from the various countries to see the deity which is described as “a ferry for crossing the ocean of transmigration and a basket full of the gems of knowledge who opens the bolt of heaven’s door.”

The next ruler of the dynasty seems so be Jayasimhadēva who leaves a record of his reign. As the grant bears no date, it is not possible to settle the chronology of this king in the present stage of historical research. After Kanharadēva there is a blank of about 75 years in the history of the Sindas of Cakrakōṭa. This gap may perhaps be partly filled up by the rule of Jayasimhadēva.

Jayasimhadēva had two wives, namely, Lōka-Mahādēvi and “the great queen” Saśāṇa-dēvi. His inscription is important inasmuch as it throws some side-light on the administrative system of the Bastar kings. The king was attended by five ministers who were called the pāṇca-pradhānas. They included the chief-minister, the grand-warden, the prince in charge of the whisk, and the lord of the intelligence department.

In 1208 A. D., we come across another Sinda king of Cakrakōṭa named Sōmeśvaradēva II who is mentioned with all the Nāgavamsī titles. This Sōmeśvara II is the first king of the House to assume the biruda of Cakravartin or Emperor. This would lead us to the irresistible conclusion that he was recognised as the overlord by some feudatory chieftains. This surmise is supported by the mention of a māṇḍālika named Sōmarāja who was the subordinate of Sōmeśvaradēva’s successor Narasimhadēva. It is quite possible that Sōmarāja was a feudatory under Sōmeśvaradēva also.

(1) Ep. Ind. IX, p. 315. (2) Ibid., X, p. 35.
(3) Ibid., p. 36. (4) Ibid., III, p. 318.
(5) Ibid.
Narasimha-déva was the son and successor of Sómeśvara II.¹ He is referred to as the reigning prince in two inscriptions, the first dated in 1218 A. D. and the other in 1324.² We have no more historical information about the reign of this king.

After Narasimhadeva there is again a blank of about 75 years in the history of the Cakrakoṭā rulers. In the first quarter of the fourteenth century, we come across another king named Hariscandra, who is mentioned as the ruler of Cakrakoṭa.³ His record being brief does not give any clue as to what family he belonged. But the editor of the inscription remarks that "until otherwise proved, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that he was of the same dynasty as the kings of Cakrakoṭa of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, namely, the Chinda or Sinda family of the Nāga race".⁴

The inscription that speaks about this ruler does not tell us in what year he came to the throne. We know, however, from the same record that he died in A. D. 1321, when his "chaste wife Māṇikyadevi entered eternity by entering into fire"⁵. Accordingly, if we give him a rule of twenty-five years, we arrive at A. D. 1259 which might perhaps be the first year of his reign.

There is no further notice of the kings of this dynasty. We said above that there was a minor Sinda house in the Cakrakoṭa Manḍala. The only king of that line who is known to us is Madhukarāntakadéva, the contemporary of the famous Sinda monarch Sómeśvaradéva I. The earliest date assigned to him is in 1065 A.D.⁶

Madhukarāntakadéva seems to be the same person whom Sómeśvara I claims to have killed.⁷ It appears that

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(2) Ibid., pp. 42-43.  
(3) Ibid. X, p. 39.  
(4) Ibid.  
(5) Ibid., p. 40.  
(6) Ibid., IX, p. 176.  
Madhukara, not being satisfied with his own territory, usurped the throne of his relatives, taking the opportunity of Dhāravarsadēva's death which must have occurred in about 1065 as already shown above. But Madhukara soon met a powerful rival in Sōmeśvara I, who having killed the usurper, regained his hereditary kingdom. It is perhaps for this reason that Sōmeśvara is described as having "acquired his kingdom by the force of his own arms".  

The grant of Madhukara mentions the names of three princes, namely, Kumāra Kanhuva-dēva, Kumāra Nāyaka and Kumāra Tuṅgarāja. It also mentions his queen Nāgalā-Mahādēvi. We do not hear anything about these princes in later records. It seems that their territories were absorbed by the increasing kingdom of the major Sindas of Cakrakōṭa under Sōmeśvara I, who was thus responsible for uniting both the Sinda States under one banner.

(2) Ibid., IX, p. 181.
PART IV

THE RAṬTAS OF SAUNDATTI AND BELGĀUM
CHAPTER I.

THE ORIGIN OF THE RAṬṬAS.

The Nāsargi inscription of A. D. 1218 claims that the Raṭṭa princes belonged to the same lineage as Kṛṣṇa III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king who ruled from A. D. 940 to 956\(^1\). The same assertion is repeated in the Haṃnikēri record of A. D. 1257 in that part of it which is connected with the date of A. D. 1208. That part of the record places Kārtavirya III in the continuous succession of Kṛṣṇa III,\(^2\) using a word san-tali, which is often, and quite justifiably translated by "lineage, race, progeny, offspring." These two passages are quite open to the interpretation that Śeṇa II and his son Kārtavirya III were actual descendants of Kṛṣṇa III. Thus we have a claim that the Raṭṭa princes of Saundatti belonged to the same lineage as the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III, and perhaps a claim that they were actually descended from him. As seen above, this claim is put forward only by the records of the thirteenth century; and what is more, the records of the earlier centuries are silent on the point. We, therefore, cannot at present finally decide how far the claim was based upon fact. It is quite possible that it was merely a later invention concocted for the purpose of edification. On the other hand, as the family name of the Mālkhāṣṭa Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty is often presented to us in the form "Raṭṭa,"\(^3\) we cannot deny that the Raṭṭas belonged to the same clan as the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, though their claim of being actually descended from Kṛṣṇa III can no longer be accepted.

(2) Ind. Ant., XXXII, p. 217.
Having indicated the racial relationship between the Raṭṭas and the Rāstrakūṭas, let us now consider the question of nationality of both the families. Eminent scholars like Fleet, Burnell and Bhaṇḍārkār have advanced their own views regarding the origin of the Rāstrakūṭas. But the arguments brought forward by them are in no way convincing. They fail to bring us nearer to the solution. Before trying to put forward our own opinion on the subject, it is pertinent on our part to examine the views expressed by various historians.

Dr. Fleet is of the opinion that since the names Rāthōr and Rāthōḍ are to be derived from the term Rāstrakūṭa, we may connect them with Rajputāṇā and Kanaūj in the United Provinces, which seem to have been the original habitats of the Rāthōr clan of Rajputs.¹ But the fact that the Rāthōrs come to our notice much later than the Rāstrakūṭa families of the Dekkan may lead us to the conclusion that the Rajput Rāthōrs were the descendants of some members of the Dekkan Rāstrakūṭa families left behind in northern India during the northern campaigns of the Rāstrakūṭas. As to the origin of the Raṭṭas themselves, Dr. Fleet suggests that they belonged to some local division of the Redḍi tribe or caste, and adds that the attribution of them to the family of the Rāstrakūṭa kings is based on nothing but the circumstances through which they rose to power.² This view of the learned doctor cannot be accepted unless it can be proved that the Rāstrakūṭas themselves were Redḍis. Because, as we have already explained, it is impossible to deny the claim based on epigraphy that the Raṭṭas of Saundatti belonged to the Rāstrakūṭa clan.

Dr. Burnell is, however, inclined to state that the Mālkheḍ Rāstrakūṭas were Telugus and wore of the same stock as the Redḍis of Andhradeśa.³ This view is

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(3) Dr. Burnell’s view is cited by Edgar Thurston, Castes and Tribes of Southern India, III, pp. 225–226.
propounded without bringing forward any cogent argument. It is now universally admitted that the original place of the Reḍḍis, who are now scattered in the Karnāṭaka and Tamil Nāḍ, was Andhradeśa. If we assume with Dr. Burnell that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were the ancestors of modern Reḍḍis, their original home will have to be located in the Kṛṣṇā-Gōdāvari doab, where they would have first come into prominence. But history tells a different tale altogether. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa expansion never began from the Telugu country. What is more, most of the Telugu country was never included in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire. The Reḍḍis are not known to have distinguished themselves as a military or ruling class in any period of ancient South Indian history. It was only after the captivity of Pratāpa Rudra of Warrangal in A. D. 1323 by the Mahammadan Emperor Ghiyas-u-din Toghluk that the Reḍḍis are known to have founded a kingdom.¹ Under these circumstances, it is not possible to argue that the Reḍḍis are the modern representatives of the ancient Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

Dr. Bhaṇḍārkar says that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family in all likelihood was the main branch of the race of Kṣatriyas named Raṭṭas who gave their name to the country of Maḥārāṣṭra, and adds that they were the real native rulers of the country.² Thus the learned doctor believes that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were the Kṣatriyas of Maḥārāṣṭra. Mr. C. V. Vaidya goes a step further and holds that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhēḍ were a Marāṭhi speaking family, and were the ancestors of the modern Marāṭhā family of Raṭakūṭē.³ As regards the relation between the Raṭṭas of Saundatti and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhēḍ, Mr. C. V. Vaidya holds that the former were the descendants of the latter.⁴ We think that

(1) Imperial Gazetteer, VII, p. 158.
(2) Bhandarkar, Early History of the Dekkan, p. 62.
(3) C. V. Vaidya, History of Mediaeval Hindu India, II, p. 322-23.
(4) Ibid., III, p. 238.

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Mr. Vaidya’s apparent view that the Rāstrakūṭas were a Marāṭhi speaking Marāṭhā family is absolutely wrong. We therefore proceed to show how it is so.

A survey of the early history of Dekkan shows that there were a number of Rathika families ruling over the Dekkan in feudatory capacity since the time of Aśoka. But it is usually supposed that the terms ‘Rathī’ and ‘Mahārathi’ were used to denote a tribal or ethnical stock and that the Mahārathi tribe was in power in Mahārāṣṭra only. Both the views are the outcome of fertile imagination based on no historical facts.

We first take up the question whether the terms ‘Rathī’ and ‘Mahārathi’ denote an ethnical stock. The words which occur in the various caves of Kārli, Bhāja, Kānēri, Beṣā, and Nānā-ghāṭ are ‘Mahārathi’ and ‘Mahārathini’. The word ‘Mahārathi’, as used in the cave inscriptions, plainly denotes the fact that it is employed to show the title of the donor. In the same way the word ‘Mahārathini’ denotes the position of the female donor as a wife or daughter of a Mahārathi. Moreover, the term ‘Mahā’ is used only as an honorific prefix to the term ‘Rathī’, just as ‘Maha’ is used in the term ‘Mahāmāṇḍalaśvara’. That it was a practice in ancient times to do so is unequivocally proved by the fact that such titles do occur before the names of males and females who gave anything by way of gifts. The word ‘Mahāśeṇapati’ is used in the Nāṣik inscription together with the term ‘Mahāśeṇapatini’ before a male and a female donor respectively. In an inscription of 1108, we get the female form of Daṇḍanāyaka as Daṇḍanāyakī. Similar is the case with ‘Gaudī’ and ‘Nāyaki’ which occur in two Raṭṭa inscriptions.

(1) *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 94.
These instances are sufficient to show that Rathi and Mahārathi of ancient times are mere titles and not names denoting a tribe. The word Mahārathi simply means a warrior who fights from a chariot. Hence, it is used as a birudā like Mahāśeṇāpati, Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, etc.

As to the country where the Rathis and the Mahārathis were in power, there is definite evidence to show that some of them were occupying certain parts of Karnāṭaka. Lead coins, belonging to the third century A.D. and bearing the legend “Sadakana-Kalayā-Mahārathi”, have been found near Citaldroog in the heart of Karnāṭaka. The Hirahadagall, grant of Dharmamahārūjādhirāja Śivaskandavarman is addressed among others to Rathikas. The Kānhēri records show that Nāgamūlānākā, who was married to a Mahārathi, was the daughter of Hāritiputra Viṣṇukada Cūṭasētakāra, who was a Kannāda prince at Banavāsi. We also know that some of the Mahārathis were Nāga-worshippers, a fact which would suggest that Mahārathis were spread in Karnāṭaka, the land where the nāga-worship was extensively practised by its early inhabitants. Under these circumstances, it can no longer be maintained that the Rathi and Mahārathi families were confined to Mahārāṣṭra only.

In our opinion, the Raṭṭas and the Raṭṭrakṛtṛas were the descendants of some Rathika families that belonged to Karnāṭaka. There is no philological difficulty in postulating the derivation of Raṭṭa from Rathi. As to the term Raṭṭrakṛtṛa, it is the Sanskrit form of Raṭṭa coined for the purpose of ornamentation. If the Raṭṭrakṛtṛas of Malkhēd were the Rathikas of Mahārāṣṭra, we cannot explain how they became the patrons of Kannāda literature at the expense of Marāthi. Amōghavarṣa I was either himself the author or at least the inspirer of Kaṭurāja-mārga, the oldest extant work in Kanna.

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(1) Apte, Sanskrit English Dictionary, p. 304.
(2) Rapson, Catalogue of Indian Coins, p. 57, Plate VIII, No. 233.
(4) Rapson, Catalogue of Indian Coins, p. LIII.
(5) A. S. W. L., V, p. 86.
da. The sigh-manuals of some of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings of the Gujarāt branch are in Kannāda characters. If the original home of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were in Mahārāṣtra, as Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar and Mr. Vaidya would assume, it is difficult to explain how they could be using the script of Karnāṭaka even in Gujarāt. In the face of these facts, it would be simply ridiculous to hold that the Raṭṭas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were the ancestors of modern Marāṭhas speaking Marāṭhi. The ancestors of both the families were the original inhabitants of the Kannāḍa country, where they rose to local importance even as early as in the third century after Christ.

There is also further evidence to prove that the original home of the Raṭṭas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas was in the Kannāḍa speaking locality. Inscriptions of both the dynasties describe their kings as “supreme lord of Latṭanūra or Latṭalūra” as a hereditary title commemorative of the place which the families claimed as their original home. Latṭanūra is a purely Kannāḍa name, the appellation ‘ūr’ at the end of the word being Dravidian in origin. Latṭanūra seems to be the same as modern Lantūr situated on the border of Karnāṭaka. Taking into consideration all these points, we conclude that the Raṭṭas of Saundatti were the original inhabitants of Karnāṭaka, speaking the Kannāḍa language.

The Raṭṭa chieftains of Saundatti, who had attained the honour of pāṇcamahāśabda, were heralded in the public by the sounds of the musical instruments called trivali, had the Sindūra-tāmchana or red-lead crest, and carried the Swarṇa-garuḍa-dhvaja or banner of a golden Garuḍa, which device, instead of the crest according to the more usual custom, appears on the seal of the only Raṭṭa copper-plate charter that has come to light.²

CHAPTER II.

BEGINNING OF THE DYNASTY.

We have no information regarding the foundation of the Raṭṭa dynasty. It is, however, certain that the Raṭṭas were raised to the position of a ruling house during the days of the Raṣṭrakūṭa supremacy. An inscription at Kālaśāpur of A. D. 933, of the time of the Raṣṭrakūṭa king Gvīnda IV, mentions a Mahāśāṃanta whom it describes as Laṭṭanūru-pura-paramēśvara and Trivāli-pareghōsana\(^1\). These birudas are in perfect agreement with those of the later Raṭṭa chieftains, from which we safely infer that the Mahāśāṃanta belonged to the Raṭṭa family. He is the first scion of the dynasty known to us. It cannot, however, be settled in paucity of materials whether he was the first of his line to be invested with the dignity of a Mahāśāṃanta. We do not know also the territory over which he ruled. Nevertheless, judging from the place where his record was found, we may presume that he was associated with that part of Kuntala which now roughly corresponds to Gadag Tālukā of the Dhārwar District. It therefore seems quite improbable that his capital was Saundatti, which was not at all in the neighbourhood of Kālaśāpur, the place where the inscription was discovered.

The next king in the Raṭṭa line is one Nanna, the father of Kārtavirya I who lived in 980 A. D. It is said that Kārtavirya I fixed the boundaries of the Kūṇḍi country\(^2\) which after him became the hereditary domain of the Raṭṭas. We have seen above that the first known member of the Raṭṭa family had no geographical relations whatsoever with Kūṇḍi country. The way in which Kārtavirya I was able to occupy almost the whole of the Kūṇḍi province is a pro-

\(^{1}\) Ep., Ind., VII, p. 223, note 5.

blem of great interest in the history of the dynasty. In order to have a full grasp of the subject, it is necessary to trace the history of the Kûndi province during the period of about half a century that extended between 933 to 980.

Certain parts of the Kûndi province, before the whole of it was occupied by the Raṭṭas, were under the rule of the Baisa family, a dynasty which rose to prominence under the Raṣṭrakûṭa king Kṛṣṇa III. Morada is the first member of the family known to us. He is mentioned as the father of Pṛthvīrāma¹, who enjoyed the position of a great chieftain under the Raṣṭrakûṭa king Kṛṣṇa III.² We are told that, previous to his political elevation, Pṛthvīrāma had been only a religious student in the Kārṣya sect of the holy saint Mailāpatīrītha.³ He is described here as a Mahāśāṃanta entitled to the honour of pāncamahāśabda.⁴ It is thus apparent that he was patronised and invested with the position and authority of a feudatory chieftain by Kṛṣṇa III. The fact that Pṛthvīrāma built a temple of Jina in Sugandhavarti (Saundatti)⁵ would perhaps suggest that he made it the place of his residence.

Pṛthvīrāma perhaps rose to prominence on account of his military skill which he must have showed in the war against the Cōlas. It is known to us that Kṛṣṇa III fought and killed Rājaditya the Cōla king, the actual slayer being the Western Gaṅgā prince Būtuga.⁶ In recognition of this, Kṛṣṇa III gave to Būtuga the Banavāsi, the Puligere, the Belvola, the Kisukād and the Bāgēnād districts.⁷ It may be that on the same occasion, Pṛthvīrāma was invested with the power of a feudatory chieftain, with Sugandhavarti as his capital. This surmise seems to be supported by epigraphs which tell us that Pṛthvīrāma was “the beloved of the

² Ibid., p. 200.
³ Ibid., p. 200.
⁴ Ibid., p. 167.
⁵ Ibid., p. 199.
⁶ Ibid.
⁷ Ibid.
goddess Bravery, a very thunderbolt to the mountains which were the hostile chieftains—the best of good warriors", and "a very Rāma in War.""

Paṭṭiga was the son and successor of Prthvirāma.² It is said of him that he was a very Vatsarāja among horsemen.³ Of him all that we are told is that he confronted and defeated a certain Ajavarman,⁴ who was forced to deliver up to him his property, his elephants, his lovely women, and his horses, "giving to him an elephant as a pledge of peace." The reference here to lovely women is perhaps to dancing girls who were employed in the court of Ajavarman. The identity of Ajavarman cannot be known in the present stage of research. We have no more information about this king except that his wife was one Nijikabbe or Nijiyabbe whose virtues are highly extolled.⁵

Paṭṭiga was succeeded by his son Śāntivarma who is mentioned as a feudatory to the Western Cālukya king Taila II in A.D. 980.⁶ He is described as a Mahāsāmanta entitled to the honour of pāñcamahāsābda.⁷ That Śāntivarma was an eminent ruler of the Baisa family is evident from the fact that he is stylized "the son of the white lotuses of the race of Baisa."⁸ His territory was, however, confined to the narrow limits of that portion of the country surrounding Saundatti. It was during this reign that the Raṭṭa chieftain Kārtavīrya II extended his influence over the Kūndī province. Dr. Fleet is of the opinion that Kārtavīrya rose against Śāntivarma and eventually appropriated the entire Kūndī province from that person.⁹ This view of the learned doctor does not seem to be supported by

(1) Fleet, O. C., pp. 200, 209.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid.
(5) Ibid.
(6) Ibid., p. 208.
(7) Ibid.
(8) Ibid.
(9) Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, p. 553.
inscriptions. Śāntivarman is not at all mentioned as ruling the entire Kūndi province, though his capital was Saundatti. True, Kārtavirya I became the “lord of the Kūndi country” according to a record dated in A.D. 980. But this does not in any way mean that he acquired authority over the entire province at the expense of Śāntivarman. If Śāntivarman was really deprived of his kingdom and was thus humiliated by Kārtavirya I, then the inscription of Saundatti, which is dated only five months after the Sogal epigraph and which mentions Kārtavirya as the lord of Kūndi, would not have described Śāntivarman as a great soldier who is said to have been “the destroyer of the strength of others, the conqueror of his foes, a very Bhīma in causing fear to mankind, a very Rāma in the fierce fight, the ruler of rulers, a Bhīrūrṇā of his enemies.” The extract is indeed full of exaggeration and poetic fancy. Nevertheless, it cannot also be the description of a vanquished chieftain. In the face of this epigraphical evidence which testifies to Śāntivarman’s military strength, it would be wrong to assume that he was deprived of his territories.

We have it on record that Śāntivarman built a Jain temple in Sugandhavarti. This epigraph gives us the information that his chief queen was Candikabe, “the ornament of the lovely women the Earth.”


(2) Ibid., p. 211.

(3) Ibid., p. 209.
CHAPTER III.

NANNA.

From Nanna, also called Nannapayya-rāṇa and Kāntēya-bhārada Nannapayya, begins the continuous history of the famous Raṭṭa dynasty which held its sway over the Kūndi province for a period of more than two hundred and fifty years. We have no inscriptions of this king, from which we deduce that his reign was a short one. As regards the chronology of this ruler, it may be inferred that he lived in the third quarter of the tenth century; for his son Kārtavīrya I was ruling as his successor in 980 A.D.¹

No historical facts are available of Nanna's reign. All we know about him is that he was the father of Kārtavīrya I.² It is, however, stated that Nanna was a skilful conversationalist and a man possessing beautiful personality.³

(3) Ibid., p. 217.
CHAPTER IV

KĀRTĀVĪRYA I.

Kārtavīrya I, also called Kaṭṭa, ascended the throne in about A.D. 975. The beginning of his reign witnessed the great political revolution effected in the history of Karnāṭaka by Taila II, who, having defeated the Kāstrakūṭa king Kak-kala, retrieved the Cālukyan fortunes. Taila was an active and ambitious king. He not only recovered the imperial throne but also soon succeeded in bringing many feudatory families to his allegiance. Kārtavīrya was one of these chieftains who was compelled to acknowledge the suzerainty of the new Cālukyan Emperor. The Sōgal inscription dated in A.D. 980 explicitly states that Kārtavīrya was the subordinate of Taila II who is here styled Bhujabala-cakravarti, "the powerful emperor," or "an universal emperor from the strength of his arm." By reading this epigraph one feels that Kārtavīrya was an able supporter of the aggressive policy pursued by his emperor.

King Kārtavīrya laid the foundation of the Raṭṭa dynasty on a firmer basis. In truth, it was he who, by extending his influence, carved out the Kūṇḍi province, and transmitted to his posterity a kingdom which increased in splendour and prosperity under succeeding reigns. This fact was so well remembered by the later Raṭṭa kings that a record, assigned to the closing years of the eleventh century, states that Kārtavīrya I fixed the boundaries of the country of Kūṇḍi. This must have happened prior to A.D. 980; for the Sōgal inscription dated in that year describes him as

(2) Ep. Ind. XVI, pp. 4, 7.
“the exalted ruler of the circle of land of Kūndi,”1 which evidently is an indication of his having obtained the authority over the greater part of that province. It should not, however, be supposed that Kārtavīrya was the ruler of the whole of Kūndi country. We have already shown in a previous chapter that Sāntivarman of the Baisa family, who was the contemporary of Kārtavīrya I, was holding a part of the Kūndi province with Sugandhavarti as his capital. The statement that Kārtavīrya fixed the boundaries of the Kūndi country only means that he secured for himself the greater portion of the province and had the boundaries of that part determined. At any rate, it is plain that Kārtavīrya was the real founder of the Raṭṭa kingdom.

In this connection, it is necessary to state the geographical limits of Kūndi Three-thousand province of the Raṭṭas. From inscriptions we know that the Kūndi country, which now roughly corresponds to the greater part of the Belgāum District and some of the neighbouring territory, included, towards the north, Tērdal2 the head-quarters of the Tērdal sub-division of the Sāngli State, about fifty-six miles almost due north-east from Belgāum. According to Dr. Fleet, the Kūndi of the Raṭṭas was bounded on the north by the Kṛnā and the Dūdhgaṅgā and on the west by a line which left close on the west of Bhōjand, following for a short distance the course of the Vēdgaṅgā, then left the river, and ran irregularly southwards on the west of Nippāni and Saṅkēśwar and the east of Hurli towards Belgāum.3 It is important to remember that Sugandhavarti, which in course of time became the capital of the Raṭṭas and consequently of the Kūndi country, was in the hands of Sāntivarman during the reign of Kārtavīrya I. The capital of Kārtavīrya was

(1) Ep., Ind. XVI, p. 8.
(2) Ind. Ant., XIV, pp. 21, 25.
(3) Fleet, Notes on Indian History and Geography, Ind. Ant., XXIX, p. 279; Ep. Ind., XVI, pp. 7, 8.
perhaps the town of Sōlu, Sōval or Sōl which is mentioned in the record found in that place. It was the chief town of the division known after its name, and is represented by modern Sōgal which is about twelve miles north-west of Saundatti.

Kārtavīrya I seems to have patronised the Kannāda poet Kamālāditya who wrote the Sōgal inscription in A. D. 980. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the emperor of Kārtavīrya, namely, Tula II was the patron of the ‘poet-emperor’ Kannā who has bequeathed to us the sublime kāvyā called Gudāyuddha.

(1) Ep., Ind., XVI, pp. 7, 8.
CHAPTER V.

DĀVARI AND KAṆṆAKAIRA I.

Kārtavīrya I was succeeded by his eldest son Dāvari or Dāyima. No historical details are available about him, and there are no records of his reign. The Saundatti inscription of Kārtavīrya II describes him as "the Mēru of the Rattas," and says that his reign was full of glory, brilliance and fame. "His power and his pleasing energy, in many ways, set his mark upon the world; how shall I describe him in the circle of the earth?" asks the composer of the epigraph. In another record it is expressly stated that in king Dāvari his people had a good ruler.

We may suppose that he died in about A.D. 1015, whereupon his younger brother Kaṇṇakaira ascended the throne of Kāṇḍi.

Of Kaṇṇakaira I, also called Kaṇṇa, we have no records and hence no historical facts. It is, however, stated that he was a king of liberal disposition, which perhaps indicates that the people were taxed lightly. As regards the chronology of this ruler, it may be inferred that he died in or about 1030, for the earliest inscription of his son's reign is dated in A.D. 1040.

(2) Ibid., p. 218
(3) Ibid. (4) Ibid., p. 201.
(5) Ibid., p. 218
CHAPTER VI

ERAGA.

Kaṇṇakaira I was succeeded by his eldest son Eraga or Eraga.¹ In the Maṇṭūr inscription dated in 1040, Eraga is mentioned as the subordinate of the Western Cālukya king Jayaśimha II² who reigned from A. D. 1018 to 1042. The times of Jayaśimha are important in the sense that the Cōla occupation of Nolambavāḍi province was ended by him.

King Eraga seems to be a very successful ruler. The epithet Siṅgana-Garudā (Garuda of Siṅga or Jayaśimha) accorded to him³ evidently indicates that he was an able supporter of Jayaśimha II in his imperial policy. Such titles in the ancient history of Karnātaka are so important that they usually bear indirect references to some great political event, especially a war. In fact, such birudas coined after an emperor’s name were conferred upon the feudatory chieftains very occasionally. It was not possible for an ordinary Māndalika to possess them, unless he had distinguished himself by virtue of his military genius displayed by him on a critical occasion when the empire itself was in danger. We have seen elsewhere that, when the Hoysalas, the Gōz Kadambas and the Pāṇḍyas threatened the very integrity of the Cālukyan Empire at the close of Vikramā’s reign, it was Ācugi II, the great chieftain of the Sindavamśa, who saved the whole situation, by defeating all of them.* In recognition of his great services, Ācugi was granted the title Tribhuvanamallaḥēsarīn or the lion of Tribhuvanamalla-ḍéva Vikramaditya VI.

(1) Fleet, Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum, J. B. B. R. A. S., X. pp., 201, 218
(2) Ind. Ant., XIX, p. 165. (3) Ibid.
(4) Fleet, Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamśa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, pp. 234, 244.
We, therefore, rightly believe that the biruda 'Śiṅgana-Garuḍa' accorded to Eraga is an indication of a similar service rendered by him to his emperor Jayasimha II. This surmise of ours seems to be supported when we are told that the Mahāsāmantaśa and the Māndalikas of Jayasimha once proved hostile to him and that he was saved from their treachery by Daṇḍanāyaka Kālidāsa, his chief minister.¹ Who these feudatories were we are not able to say with certainty at the present stage of historical research. Nevertheless, our opinion is that Śaṣṭha-dēva II of the Gōa Kadamba line, who had made himself a very powerful chieftain by annexing to his kingdom almost the whole of the Southern Silāhāra territories and a part of the Northern Silāhāra districts,² perhaps rose in revolt against his overlord Jayasimha II. This he could do in about 1039 A. D. when Jayasimha was busily engaged in fighting the Cōlas, who under Rājādhirāja burnt Kampili, the provincial capital of the Cālukyas.³ At any rate, it is plain that Jayasimha II was once in a serious trouble which he overcame with the help of his minister. It is quite possible that Eraga also rendered some meritorious service on this occasion, and earned the admiration of his overlord who, in recognition of it, must have bestowed the biruda on his faithful vassal.

The Manṭur inscription states that Eraga was the sun of the Raṭtas, a hero in the clash of enemies, a very sun among brave men and one who destroyed the armies of heroes.⁴ We may deduce from these remarks that he fought successfully with his neighbours and extended the boundaries of his kingdom. These conquests probably resulted in the annexation of a part of the Southern Silāhāra territories, most of which was then newly acquired by the Kadamba king Śaṣṭha-dēva II. This fact, however, should not lead us

(2) Moraes, Kadamba-Kula, pp. 172–173.
(4) Ind. Ant., XIX, p. 155.
to conclude that Eraga always acted in the offensive. Far from it. The same record describes him as one who "protects his country," which shows that he had to contend with aggressive enemies. The fact that Eraga was a successful ruler in his external policy is evidenced by his very hindus 'Raṭṭa-Nārāyang, Raṭṭa Mārtāṇḍa and Siṅgana-Guruja." These are evidently indications of his increasing authority and his vigorous personality.

The inscriptions highly extol the personal accomplishments of Eraga. They are unanimous in declaring that he was well versed infine arts. The Manṭūr record calls him the car-ornament of the Goddess of learning. (Sarasvatī Karṇa-Kṛṣṇālam), while both the Saundattī records that refer to him state that he was acquainted with the science of music. What is more, one of them declares in somewhat exaggerated phraseology that king Eraga was "a very lotus-born in respect of his acquaintance with all incomparable accomplishments ".

The Manṭūr epigraph referred to above mentions the Uroḍhya Madhusūdanayya of that village who is said to have acquired for a tank a liberal grant from king Eraga.

(1) Ind. Ant., XIX, p. 165. (2) Ibid.
CHAPTER VII.

AṆKA.

When Braga died, his son Sana I was a child. Hence his younger brother Anka ascended the throne of Kūndi. This event seems to have taken place in about 1045. By the time Anka became king, the famous town of Sugandhavarti had come in the possession of the Raṅgas. We have seen in a previous chapter that during the reign of Kārtavirya I, the founder of the Kūndi kingdom, Sugandhavarti was the capital of Śāntivarma, the last known king of the Baisa family. It seems likely that some near successor of Śāntivarma having no issues, the entire province of Kūndi came to be appropriated by some Raṅga king. When precisely this event happened we have no means to settle. However, the fact that Sugandhavarti is mentioned as the capital of Anka in an inscription of A.D. 1149 may lead us to infer that it was the famous king Braga who first obtained it in about A.D. 1141, a few days before the death of Jayāśimha II. The establishment of Sugandhavarti as the Raṅga capital marks an important date in the annals of the Kūndi province.

The period of Anka’s rule was full of troubles, as the Cōlas made incessant inroads in the Cālkukyan dominions. That the Raṅgas were exposed to their formidable attacks is evident from the fact that the Cōlas are said to have penetrated so far north as Kidrāpur, thirty miles east by south of Kolhāpur. Here on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā a great battle was fought in about 1050 A.D. It was apparently a deci-

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(2) Ibid., p. 172.
(3) See Ep. Ind., XII, p. 298.
sive battle, and hence we do not hear for a time the Cōla attempts against Sōmēśvara I, the Cālukyan Emperor. King Aṅka, who was the feudatory of Sōmēśvara I, must have had a trying time. The Saundatti record describes him as a fierce fire to his enemy and as the sun of infinite glory, and further asks "who is bold enough to withstand king Aṅka in war?" We may deduce from these remarks that Aṅka was successful in driving out the Cōlas from his kingdom, without the country being much plundered. In fact, this inference seems to be supported when we do not come across any epigraphical references to the Cōla ravages in Kūndi province, whereas we do come across them in connection with the neighbouring provinces.

(2) Ibid., p. 218.
CHAPTER VIII.

SENA I.

Sena I, also known as Śri-Kālasena, was the son of Ėraga. We said in the last chapter that Sena was a child when his father died. Ańka, the uncle and predecessor of Sena, having died after a rule of twenty years, the latter succeeded to the Raṭṭa throne in about A. D. 1065. As Ańka had no issues, Sena's succession to the throne was entirely undisputed.

No inscription of this king has come down to us. The little we know of him is derived from the Saundatti lithic record of his younger son Kārtavīrya II. He was the contemporary of Sōmēśvara I and Sōmēśvara II.

Sena I is described as “having his body thrilled with the embraces of the lovely woman Bravery.” This remark, together with similar praises, clearly shows that he was a warrior of some repute. The second part of the praise, namely that he was “acting as a torch to guide mankind by reason of his truth, would undoubtedly suggest that he was not only a warrior but also an efficient and impartial administrator, who was looked upon as a model ruler by his subjects.

We said above that we do not possess any grants of this king. From this it is also possible to deduce that his reign was a very short one. We would have had at least one grant if he had ruled for a longer period.

We have no more information about this king except that his wife was Mailaḷadēvi.

(2) Ibid., pp. 201, 218.
(3) Ibid., p. 218.
(4) Ibid., p. 201.
CHAPTER IX.

KANṆAKAIRA II.

Sena I having died in 1068, his son Kanṇakaira II, also-called Kanṇa, began ruling in conjunction with his younger brother Kūrtavīrya II. In this chapter we restrict ourselves to Kanṇakaira, leaving Kūrtavīrya II to be dealt with separately in the next chapter.

The Tiṅgandi copper-plate grant of A.D. 1082 describes Kanṇakaira as one "who touches the breasts of the woman of Lāṭa". This perhaps suggests that he was married to a daughter of the Lāṭas. If so, there is reason to believe that he, along with Jayakēśi I the Kadamba king of Gōa, led an expedition into the Lāṭa kingdom, and on this occasion was perhaps offered a princess after the conclusion of peace. The statement in a Kadamba record that Jayakēśi "killed the pride of the best of the Lāṭas" supports our view that both Kanṇakaira and Jayakēśi led an inroad into their territories.

The above inscription describes Kanṇakaira as "the beloved of the fortune of heroes, the god of death to hostile forces, the hurricane to scatter the mass of cloud—mighty chieftains, the lion to the elephants—hostile chieftains, the hunter of chieftains, the fresh essence of the god of love, the passion of warriors, the champion of Rēvaṇadēva, the instructor of what is beneficial to his master". It may be inferred from the last epithet that Kanṇakaira was a great statesman whose advice was sought even by his emperor. Rēvaṇadēva referred to in the above extract may be identified with Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rēvarasa, with the title "lord of Māhiṣmati, the best of towns", governing in the neighbourhood of Kembhāvi. The remark that Kanṇa was the champion of Rēvaṇadēva implies that he rendered disting-

(1) Ep. Ind., III, p. 311.
(3) Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, p. 439.
ushed services to his neighbour. It is further said of him that he was "of unshaken firmness,—the unique friend of good men, Dharma’s son in righteousness, Rādha’s son in truthfulness, a Rēvanta in the management of horses, a lion in prowess". These praises, though marred by exaggeration, should not be supposed as empty boasts of the writer who composed the inscription. For the epigraph was written by a deputy of the Sandhivigrahin of Mahāmāndalēśvara Munja of the Sindavamśa, altogether a different family.

It is interesting to note that Kaṇṇa is the first chieftain of the Raṭṭa dynasty to assume the title of a Mahāmāndalēśvara. This information is supplied to us by the Koṇṇār inscription dated in A.D. 1087. He was raised to this position somewhere between 1082 to 1087. This we deduce from the Tidgundi copper-plate of 1082, in which Kaṇṇa is mentioned as merely a Sāmanta or Mahāsāmanta.

Kaṇṇakaira II seems to have died in about A.D. 1090, though we have no direct mention as to when or where his death occurred. He seems to have been an able ruler. The kingdom under him enjoyed the blessings of peace, and gave abundant opportunities for building temples and providing for their maintenance. We have it on records that king Kaṇṇakaira made liberal grants to temples. He was a serious student of religion and philosophy. His religious preceptor Kanaka-Prabhasiddhāntadeva, being acquainted with the three Vēdas and versed in all the sacred writings, was famous throughout the country. The times being peaceful, fine arts must have received special attention at the hands of both the ruler and the ruled. Thus, for example, Kaṇṇa himself is said to have been skilled in dancing, music and other allied arts.

(2) Ibid. 
(4) *Ep., Ind.*, III, p. 311. 
CHAPTER X.

KĀRTAVĪRYA II.

Kārtavīrya II was the younger brother of Kaṇṇakaira II. Both the brothers seem to have ruled conjointly from the very beginning, that is, from A.D. 1068. Kaṇṇa, as remarked in the last chapter, having died in A.D. 1090, Kārtavīrya II became the supreme ruler of the Kūḷi Three-thousand country.

Kārtavīrya was a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI for the greater part of his reign. The very fact that he was recognised as the joint ruler by his brother Kaṇṇa speaks well of the former's ability as a governor and the latter's statesmanship as a king. Kārtavīrya appears to have been taking active part in the administration of the country even in his father's life-time. What is more, he proved himself so worthy of the task entrusted to him that he eventually came to be popularly known by the title Sēnana Śīṅga, "the lion of Sēna." Sēna I was the father of Kārtavīrya. Thus, it was his own merit that enabled him to share the authority of kingship with his elder brother, though he was not legally entitled to it according to Hindu traditions.

That Kārtavīrya II was more popular than his brother among his subjects is borne out by a Saundatti inscription which extols his qualities in higher terms than those of his brother Kaṇṇa. We are told that Kārtavīrya was a very ocean in profundity and a very Mandāra in majesty. The latter part of the remark indicates that he had a very power-

ful and attractive personality. In another place, he is compared to Kānadēva in point of beauty.1

It is of interest to note that Kārtavīrya is the first chieftain of the dynasty to be described with such hereditary titles as “the great chieftain who has attained the pañca-muhāsahasras, the best lord of Laṭṭanūrapura, he who is sung to with the musical instrument called trivali, the owner of the banner of the Golden Garuḍa.”3

Records unanimously speak of this king as a great soldier and a just ruler. He was “a warrior in the right sense of the word, full of daring, the lion of Sēna.”2 Again, we are told that he was “fierce in war and as brave as Vṛkōdara (Bhima) in fighting with his enemies”.4

We have seen in the last chapter that the joint reign of Kaṇṇa and Kārtavīrya enjoyed the blessings of peace, which is so essential for the cultural and commercial development of a people. Like Kaṇṇa, Kārtavīrya too is recorded to have made liberal endowments to temples.5 It is said in one place that Goṅka, at the command of Kārtavīrya, erected a temple called Goṅka-Jinālāya in the centre of his capital Tēridāla, and established under his master’s (Kārtavīrya’s) auspices an image of “the glorious” Tīrthaṅkara Nēmināṭhu.6

The Tērdaḷ inscription records that the northern part of the Kūṇḍi kingdom owed a substantial part of its cultural prosperity to the patronage of Goṅka, a subordinate chieftain of Kārtavīrya. He was entrusted with the government of Tēridāla Twelve District. Goṅka was a great patron of

(1) Fleet, Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum, X, p. 201.
(2) Ibid., pp. 201–217; Ind. Ant., XIV, pp. 23–24.
(4) Fleet, O. C., p. 217.
Jainism. The epigraph would have us believe that he contributed a good deal to the advancement of that creed. In fact, he is called the virtuous champion of Jainism.1 “Causing a shining Jaina temple to be erected at Təridaḷa, he raised the triumphant banner, and hung on the tusks of the elephants of the quarters a string of letters announcing to the world the greatness of his process”.²

Kārtavīrya ruled for a considerably long time. Up to A. D. 1090 he was ruling conjointly with his elder brother. One stone record at Saundatti, which describes him as a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara and a feudatory of Somaśvara II, is assigned to about A. D. 1069 by Dr. Fleet.³ The earliest date we have for Soma II, the son and successor of Kārtavīrya, is A. D. 1096.⁴ This would perhaps show that Kārtavīrya died in 1095 or thereabout after a reign of about twenty-five years.

Bhāgalādēvi, also called Bhāgalāmbikā, was the wife of Kārtavīrya. She is described as “the mother of the universe, the first of good people shining as the lovely woman of the bosom of Kaṭṭā”⁵—(Kārtavīrya).

(1) *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 22.
(2) Ibid.
(5) Ibid., p. 219.
CHAPTER XI.

SENA II.

Sena II was the son and successor of Kārtavīrya II. The earliest date in A.D. 1096, cited in the twenty-first year of Vikramāditya VI, is furnished for him in one of the Saundatti records. Thus, the period to which Sena belongs is an important one in the history of Karnāṭaka which then saw the acme of Cālukyan greatness as well as the increasing influence of the Hoysalas under Viṣṇuvardhana the great.

The Kōṇur inscription mentions Sena as the subordinate of Jayakarṇa who, as the eldest son of Vikramāditya VI, was invested with a share in the imperial government as Vīvarāja during the lifetime of his father. Jayakarṇa was the Cālukyan viceroy according to inscriptions found in the Bijāpur and Belgaum Districts and the Nizām's Dominions, dated in 1102, 1120 and 1121 A.D. respectively. He was in charge of the central parts of his father's kingdom. As no inscriptions of his reign have been found after 1121 A.D., Dr. Fleet has rightly suggested that he died before his father.

The chief political event of Sēna's reign was the rise of the Hoysalas who, under Viṣṇuvardhana, drove the Cōḷas out of Talakāḍ and defeated, as we have seen elsewhere, Vikramāditya's troops at Kaṇṇāgaḷa near Hāssan. In order to protect his Empire from the aggressive policy of Viṣṇuvardhana, whose independence was virtually recognised, Vikramāditya appointed efficient commanders all over the Empire who were instructed to work in full harmony with

(2) Ibid., p. 202
(3) Ibid., p. 293
(4) Ibid., p. 287; Carn. Desa Inscriptions, I, pp. 416, 577, referred to by Dr. Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, p. 455.
(5) Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, p. 455.
the provincial viceroy and feudatory chieftains. One such
commander was Cāmañḍa styled a Daḍanāyaka of Jayakārṇa who was in charge of the Kūndi province, which was
then ruled by Sēna II. One who reads the Komnūr inscrip-
tion referred to above feels that Cāmañḍa was a powerful
commander of the forces, who in conjunction with Sēna II,
had rendered distinguished services to the Cālukyan Emperor.
It is said of him that he was "the favourite of the lovely
woman Great Fame, the staff of whose arm was the lovely
Woman Victory, and a very mace in dealing death in war."

Towards the end of Vikramādiṭṭya's reign in about 1117
A. D., the Hoysālas, the Gōa Kadambas, the Pāṇḍyas and
the Karāḍ Silāhāras rose in revolt against their emperor, who had then much advanced in age. But no lasting injury
was done to the integrity of the Empire owing to the timely
help rendered by the Sinda chieftain Ācūgī II. It was
through the instrumentality of Ācūgī that the Empire was
saved, and due credit must be given to the brave Sinda
chieftain for that. But at the same time, the historian can
hardly believe that a mere chieftain, however powerful he
might have been, could bring to bay single handed four
Mahāmāṇḍalaśvaras named above. We are, therefore inclined
to believe that the Raṭṭa chieftain, who was holding the
central part of the Cālukyan Empire, had his due share in the
act of quelling the disturbances, so far as they affected the
Kadamba and Silāhāra territories, adjoining the Kūndi king-
dom. This view of ours is confirmed when we are told that
Sēna's "arm was an excellent staff for the game of striking
the pitch-balls that were the heads of his proud and brave
enemies" and that "his prosperity was the cause of happi-
ness of all mankind."

(1) Fe(st.), Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and
(2) Ibid., pp. 234, 244, 269.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid., p. 294.
That both Sēna II and the Daṇḍanāyaka Cāmanḍa rendered meritorious services to the Empire in that critical juncture is further evidenced by the extract which says: "While Cāmanḍa, being, like a lordly elephant, the delightfull and brilliant lustre of his auspicious and strong right hand, taming with his prowess the infuriated female elephants that were the hostile warriors, was abiding in his assembly, and while king Sēna, governing the earth with awards of severe punishment to the wicked and protection to the good, was ruling most excellently."

It must be admitted that Sēna II was one of the great rulers of the Raṭṭa family. It is perhaps for this reason that the later records open the Raṭṭa geneology only from Sēna II. Thus, the two Belgāum inscriptions,² namely, the Kulhōli inscription³ and the Nēgarī inscription⁴, all belonging to the reign of Kārtavīrya IV, open with the mention of Sēna II, whose qualities are properly extolled in them. "O Sēna, king esteemed the first among good warriors and chieftains in the path of war: how can we wonder at thy success?"⁵ says the Nēgarī record. Sēna must have proved himself both popular and successful as a ruler. It is said that all people praised him, saying in their joy, "This is the husband of the Earth, which has now indeed a lord".⁶

In ancient Karnātaka the king was not only the head of the State but was also recognised as the head of the Society. It was this popular conception of kingship that almost compelled our ancient rulers to become liberal patrons of art, literature and religion. Sēna, true to this ancient ideal, must have spent a considerable portion of the State’s income in advancing the cultural aspect of the people. Hence he, "enjoying the embraces of the goddess of knowledge", possessed a large court in whose midst he shone 'with a.

(6) Ibid., p. 251.
lustre like that of the sun." Sêna, we are told, was a great friend of the learned men and was very liberal to them. In another place, he is called "the granter of boons to good people." 

In the administrative sphere Sêna II was equally fortunate. We are informed that he was endowed with the qualities of the regal attributes of power, wisdom and perseverance, which are so essential in the case of a successful ruler. Sêna is also described as the husband of the lovely woman Authority, which evidently indicates his stronghold on the minds of the people.

The Kalhôli inscription discloses the name of Laksânu-dêvi, the wife of Sêna II.

Towards the close of Sêna's reign, that is, in A. D. 1129, we come across a Raṭṭa Mahâsâmantâ named Aûki-dêva who is mentioned in the Khânapur inscription. This person, though a Raṭṭa, was not very closely related to the ruling line. Because none of the records discloses his place in the Raṭṭa genealogy. Moreover, as he is styled only a Mahâsâmantâ, he cannot be the successor of Sêna II by whose time the Raṭṭas came to be possessed the highest feudatory title Mahâmanḍâlaśvara. At any rate, it is plain that he was a Raṭṭa scion who must have been either a minor feudatory or a high official of Vikramâditya's successor Sômâśvara III.

Sêna's rule extended for a long period of about thirty-five years. His reign, on the whole, was a prosperous one. He was evidently a great king of the line. Though distracted by political disturbances in the middle part of his reign, he conferred the blessings of peace on his kingdom.

CHAPTER XII.

KĀRTAVĪRYA III.

With the accession of Kārtavīrya III or Kaṭṭama to the Kūndi throne began a new epoch in the annals of the Raṭṭa family. Though we do not know the exact year of his coronation, it may be safely presumed that he became king in about 1130. It is evident from inscriptions that the power of the Raṭṭas reached its greatness during the reign of this monarch. The records speak of him as a feudatory of the Western Cālukyan Emperors during the first half of his reign. There was nothing noteworthy to be recorded about Kārtavīrya's reign as long as Sāmēsvara III and Perma-Jagadēkamalla II were at the helm of the imperial affairs.

The succession of Taila III to the Cālukyan throne in A. D. 1151 marks a very important stage in the history of the Dokkan and consequently in the annals of the Raṭṭa family. Taila had not been long on the throne when he was eclipsed by one of his high officials Bijjaḷa. Indeed, there is very reason to believe that under Taila III, the Cālukyan power, which had reached its zenith in the reign of Vikramāditya VI, began rapidly to decline. This presented a very favourable opportunity to the more ambitious Mahāmanḍalēśvaras to free themselves of the Western Cālukyan control. The Cālukyan Empire was completely overturned by Bijjaḷa in or about 1162 A. D., when he assumed the full paramount epithets of Samastia-bhuwanāśraya Śrī Pṛthvī Vallabha Mahārāja Mahārādhirāja Paramēśvara Parama Bhaṭṭāraka. There were, however, still a few adherents of Taila III among his Mahāmanḍalēśvaras, while a few more recognised Bijjaḷa and acted under him as feudatory

(1) Carn. Desa Inscriptions, I, p. 547; referred to by Dr. Fleet, Kannarese Dynasties, p. 555.
(2) Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, p. 92.
chiefs.' But Kārtavīrya III, on the other hand, seems to have aimed at a higher status, and hence was enthusiastically engaged in the task of setting himself as an independent power. It was perhaps for this reason that he established a temporary second capital at Nēsurē, a few miles north-west of Sugundhavarti. At any rate, it is plain from an inscription dated in A. D. 1162 that Kārtavīrya III was then ruling from that place. But his efforts towards establishing independence were not crowned with success at least for the first few years. It is known for certain that he was forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Kālacūryas by the end of A. D. 1164. We are informed by a Kāla-
cūrya inscription of 1165 that Kārtavīrya III was a Mahā-
mandalēśvara of Bījjasā who is therein described as reigning over the whole world with one umbrella of sole sovereignty, after having subdued all kings.

It was perhaps largely due to the assistance of the Silāhāra king Vijayāditya that Kārtavīrya III was brought under the Kālacūrya allegiance. The copper-plate charter of Bhōja II clearly tells us that it was through the friendship and assistance of Vijayāditya that Bījjaśā attained sovereignty. Though the full bearing of this statement is not clear, it is now definitely known from the Ėkasambi inscription that Vijayāditya pursued a policy of aggressiveness towards the Raṭtas and encroached on the northern part of their territory. We are told that a general of the Silāhāra king erected a temple of Nēminātha at Ėkkasambuge in the Kūndi province—a statement which evidently indicates that some portions of the Cikkōdi Tālukā were lost to the Raṭtas.

(1) Fleet, Canarese Dynasties, pp. 460-461.
(2) Carn. Deza Inscriptions, II, p. 548; referred to by Dr. Fleet, Kanarese, Dynasties, p. 555.
(3) Carn. Deza, Inscriptions, II, p. 90; referred to by Dr. Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, p. 476.
(4) Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, p. 548.
in this reign. In this record, we are incidentally introduced to Kārtavīrya III who, it is said, hearing the fame of the Neminātha temple, paid a visit to the basadi, and made a grant to provide for worship, music and food for ascetics.

Nevertheless, the ambitious Raṭṭa Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara did not give up all hopes of establishing the independence of his family. In fact, he was eagerly waiting for an opportunity to free himself of the Kālacūrya control. This opportunity presented itself when Sūrṣvara IV, with the active assistance of his commander Bamma, began a counter-revolution with a view to retrieving the lost Cālukyan fortunes. Moreover, the successors of Bījaḷa did not prove themselves as capable as he, and thus the way was opened for a Raṭṭa revolt which eventually ended in the establishment of its independence. There is a record at Konṇūr, which describes Kārtavīrya not only as a Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara, but also as a Cakravarti or Emperor. The date of the inscription, which appears to have been that of the reign of Kārtavīrya and not of the Saka era, is effaced and quite illegible. This record which should undoubtedly be referred to a later period than the others, indicates very plainly that at some period after A. D. 1165, taking advantage of the general confusion that prevailed during the decline of the Kālacūrya power and during the time when the Kālacūryas and the Hoysalas were disputing the possession of the southern provinces, Kārtavīrya established the independence of his family. However, the date of the Raṭṭa independence may be fixed somewhere about the year 1179–1180 A. D.

Though Kārtavīrya was so far successful in his attempts, he seems to have somewhat failed towards the end of his reign in maintaining his independence. The Tōrdal inscription discloses this fact when it says that in A. D. 1187, a certain Bhāyidēva Daṇḍanāyaka of the Western Cālukyan

Emperor Somēśvara IV, was the viceroy of the Kūndī province which had been given to him by the king as a reward for defeating certain enemies. It can be easily pointed out that Somēśvara IV owed his success against the Raṭṭas to this Daṇḍanāyaka, the commander of the forces. The inscription records that "the fearless Bhāyidēva, the son of Tējugi, the leader of forces, having bravely defeated those foes who opposed him in the field of battle, and having without disgust, killed the remaining enemies who were timid and of less note, ruled peacefully over the Kūndī Three-thousand province conferred upon him by the lord of Kuntala".8

The foes of Bhāyidēva referred to in the above extract must have been the Raṭṭa king Kārtavīrya III and the Hāṅgal Kalamba king Kāmadēva, both of whom were made to acknowledge the suzerainty of Somēśvara IV. An inscription of Kāmadēva dated in 1189 refers to Somēśvara as his overlord.9 This view is further confirmed by the Tērdal inscription which adds that Bhāyidēva drove away the confederacy of hostile kings10. The confederacy cannot possibly be any other than the one which seems to have been formed by the Raṭṭas and the Hāṅgal Kadambas. The "enemies of less note," who are reported to have been killed by Bhāyidēva, were undoubtedly the petty local chiefs subordinate to the Raṭṭas and the Kadambas. It is thus plain that Kārtavīrya III was not altogether successful in what he accomplished or aimed at. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that he was the first Raṭṭa king who, though for a short period, enjoyed the status of independence, a position which his successors recovered and maintained till the middle of the thirteenth century which witnessed the final disappearance of the Raṭṭa dynasty.

The Tērdal inscription which was set up in A. D. 1187 would have us believe that the Kūndī kingdom was well cultivated under Kārtavīrya’s rule and that the people were

(1) Ind. Ant., XIV, p. 26. (2) Ibid.
happy and prosperous. The Tērīḍal Twelve District, says the epigraph, shone with incomparable and fragrant rice-fields, forests, lakes, tanks, groups of hill forts and forts built in the forest and water, and ditches, with the dwellings of the learned, the temples, and markets. As regards the whole Kūndi Three-thousand Province, we are told that it was "adorned with villages, towns, hamlets, villages surrounded by hills, groups of villages, sea-girt towns, and chief cities, with elegant mansions, palaces and temples and with shining agrahāra-towns." The commercial prosperity of the times is attested to by the fact that there was a class of merchants called the gatrigas, trading on the great road between Tērīḍal and the Palasigē Twelve-Thousand Province. The city of Tērīḍal may be taken as the typical commercial town in Kūndi in those days. It is said of that town that it was "filled with money changers, adorned with much corn, milk, new ornaments, various cloths, with heaps of jewels and a mass of gold." The name of Kārtavīrya III was remembered with pride by the succeeding monarchs of the family. This was mainly due to the fact that he was known as the daring chieftain who aimed at the Raṭṭa independence and who succeeded to certain extent in maintaining it. Thus for instance, the Kalhoji grant of his grand-son Kārtavīrya IV records the achievements of Kaṭṭama in exaggerated language. Kaṭṭama, it says, who was pre-eminent among the lords of the earth and who was skilful in protecting the world, destroyed the multitude of his foes. It further adds that he was "well acquainted with the use of weapons which are the means of amorous dalliance with the lovely woman Victory nourished by kings who prostrated themselves before him through fear."
Padmalādévi, the wife of Kārtavīrya, is described as a woman of great beauty, possessed of many accomplishments. Jainism seems to have found a liberal patron in her. According to one epigraph, she was like Sācidēvi in respect of her faith in the tenets of the Jain religion. According to another she is called a second Pādmāvatī (a tutelary goddess of the Jain church) in fostering the Jain doctrine. A third inscription tells us that she appeared like a second science of polity, causing high success in the triple domain of religion, wealth and love.

(1) Fleet, Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta (Hindustânis of Sundaot) and Belgium, J. B. R. A. S., X p. 229.
(2) Ibid., 230.
(3) Ep. Ind., XII, p. 23.
(4) Ibid., p. 32.
CHAPTER XIII.

LAKŚMĪDEVA I.

Kārtavirya III was succeeded by his son Lakṣmīdeva I. He was also known as Lakṣmaṇa or Lakṣmīdhara. As regards the chronology of this king, it is not easy to settle it approximately. Of his time we have only one stone inscription at Hanḍikēri near Sampagaon. It purports to furnish for him a date in the month Phālguṇa (February-March), falling in A.D. 1309, of the Vibhava Samvatsara, Saka Samvat 1130 (expired). But this date overlaps, and is not easily reconcilable with the earlier dates of his son Kārtavirya IV and Mallikārjuna. The record also bears a second date which falls in A.D. 1257. Dr. Fleit has shown that both the dates are unsatisfactory. He, however, rightly suggests that the whole contents were put on the stone in about 1257, and that some mistake was introduced. We saw in the last chapter that Kārtavirya III was ruling till circa A.D. 1190. The earliest date for Kārtavirya IV, the son and successor of Lakṣmīdeva I, falls in A.D. 1195. It can thus be safely inferred that Lakṣmīdeva I was ruling between these two dates.

The reign of Lakṣmīdeva, though a short one, is remarkable for the great political changes that took place in the Dekkan. During this period, the supremacy of the Cālukyas and the Kālacūryas came to an end, the Yādavas were defeated, and the Hoysalas remained a dominant power in the Karnāṭaka. These political events were not without their

(2) Ind. Ant., XXXII, p. 217.
(3) Ibid., p. 219.
(4) Fleet, Kanaraṇa Dynasties, II, pp. 556.
(5) Curn. Desa Inscriptions, II, p. 581; referred to by Dr. Fleet, Kanaraṇa Dynasties, p. 556.
effects on the Kūṇḍi Province, the hereditary kingdom of Lakṣmīdeva I.

The Hāṇḍikērī stone inscription, referred to above, mentions Lakṣmīdeva as ruling at the capital (rājadhāṇi) Vēṇugrāma which, it says, was in the Kūṇḍi Three-thousand Province. We saw in the preceding chapters that the original capital of the province was Saundatti, which is mentioned in the records by the ordinary name of Savadhavati or Savandhavati and the Sanskrit appellation Sugandhavartin. It is important to remember, in this connection, that the Kūṇḍi Province did not at first include Belgāum, the Vēṇugrāma of the Hāṇḍikērī record. That place was the chief town of a group of villages known as the Vēṇugrāma or Vēṇugrāma Seventy district. This district was in the possession of the Kadambas of Gōa, prior to the accession of Lakṣmīdeva I to the Raṭṭa throne. Thus, the Narēndra inscription of A. D. 1126 explicitly states that the Gōa Kadamba king Jayakēśi II was ruling the Vēṇugrāma Seventy among other provinces.

The fact that Lakṣmīdeva I could venture to take this bold step of making Vēṇugrāma the principal seat of his government is a clear indication that he encroached on the territories of the Gōa Kadambas, whom he was ever ready to face on the field of battle. It was perhaps with a view to strengthening his hold on this newly acquired district that

(1) Ind. Ant., XXXII, p. 218.
(2) Ep. Ind., XIII, p. 223. Prof. Moraes in his Kadamba Kula (p. 192) remarks that Jayakēśi II obtained the Vēṇugrāma Seventy district which according to him was then in the possession of the Raṭṭas. He does not give us any epigraphical evidences in support of his view. His conclusions are mainly based on the fact that Jayakēśi was then ruling over that district. But this cannot in any way imply that he newly acquired that territory from the Raṭṭas. On the other hand, the Raṭṭa inscriptions do not associate their rule with Vēṇugrāma Seventy at any time before Lakṣmīdeva I (1190-1199). In the face of these facts, it can no longer be maintained that Jayakēśi obtained that district from the Raṭṭas.
Lakṣmīdēva transferred the seat of government to Belgāum. His policy in changing the capital was undoubtedly a triumph of his statesmanship. It successfully ended in the act of permanently incorporating the Vānugrāma district in the hereditary possessions of the Raṭṭas. The reason for this assertion is that the inscriptions of the later Kadamba kings, unlike those of their predecessors, do not refer to this district as forming part of their dominions, whereas the records of Lakṣmīdēva's successors speak of them as ruling from the capital of Vānugrāma.¹

We have already seen in the last chapter that the Čalu-kya Emperor Sōmēśvara IV imposed his overlordship over the Raṭṭas towards the end of Kārtavirya's reign. This overlordship could not have been anything but nominal in character, having regard to the unsettled nature of the country in that period and to the rapidly declining power of Sōmēśvara himself. Inscriptions, dated in 1189 A. D. and found in the Bijāpur and Dharwār Districts, amply show that Bhillama the Yādava king of Devagiri had by that time secured the northern and eastern portions of the Čalu-kya kingdom.² Other inscriptions, dated in 1192 A. D. and found in the Dharwār and Śimoga Districts, show that before the end of that year, the Hōysalas under Viṇa-Ballāḷa II, had made almost equal encroachments from the south.³ From epigraphy it would seem that when the Yādavas and the Hōysalas were disputing the possession of southern provinces, Sōmēśvara IV had been driven back to the extreme south-west of his dominions where he sought refuge at Banavāsi.⁴ This state of affairs naturally offered a splendid opportunity for Lakṣmī-
dēva: I: to declare himself independent of the Cālukyan sovereignty. Hence there is every reason to believe that, immediately on his accession to the throne, he threw off the Cālukyan yoke, and thus re-established the independence of his family, a position which his father had enjoyed for a short period.

Epigraphy confirms this inference. The Hanḍikēri inscription of Lakṣmīdēva does not mention any paramount power, a fact which may be taken to imply that he was an independent monarch. But the same record styles him a Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara. This should not, however, lead us to believe that Lakṣmīdēva was still a feudatory chieftain. We know for certain that the bīruda of Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara was accorded to many kings of ancient Karnāṭaka even when they were ruling as independent sovereigns. Kārtavīrya IV Raṭṭa,2 Jayakēśi III Gōa Kadamba,3 Virū-Ballāla II Hoysaḷa,4 who were occasionally styled Mahāmāṇḍalēśvaras, are good instances in point. Similarly, the epithet Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara accorded to Lakṣmīdēva should be taken to have been a merely conventional form.

The continuous Hoysaḷa-Yādava struggle, that almost occupied the whole of the last decade of the twelfth century, was a blessing to Lakṣmīdēva inasmuch as it left him un-interfered in the task of maintaining the Raṭṭa independence. Moreover, the various praises of Lakṣmīdēva’s military strength, mentioned in inscriptions,5 undoubtedly prove that he was too powerful a monarch to be cowed down either by the Yādavas or the Hoysalas.

The Bhōj copper-plate of Kārtavīrya IV tells us that at the marching forth of Lakṣmīdēva, the lord of Śākambharē ate only herbs, the king of Mālavā could not enjoy the

(1) Ind., Ant., XXXII., p. 217. (2) See the next Chapter.
country of Mālavā, the Cōla longed for a safe refuge in the forests on the sea-shore, and the Gurjara found his territory deprived of its inhabitants.¹ These conquests attributed to Lakṣmīdēva are undoubtedly fictitious. It is impossible that he had anything to do with Mālavā or Gujarāt.

Lakṣmīdēva was a wise administrator. Despite the great political confusion that arose in the Karnāṭaka in his reign, he seems to have maintained complete peace and order in his kingdom. We are told that “when Lakṣmīdēva, the lord of earth, was reigning with mighty authority, neither offence nor punishment existed, so skilful was he.”² Descriptions, which are calculated to show the attractive personality he possessed, are abounding in the records. It is said in one place that Lakṣmīdēva so appeared to the eyes of the folk that they said: “Say in truth, is he Kāma, or the Spring-god, or the Moon?”³ It is clear from what has been said so far that Lakṣmīdēva was a great ruler. Consequently, it is not strange, if we find that all the records that speak of him pay rich tribute to his kingly qualities and often indulge in hyperbolic language.

It is one of the glories of the Raṭṭa kings that they patronised literature, with the result that many poets flourished at their court. A good instance of this is furnished by the Belgaum inscription of Kārtavīrya IV which, while describing the attributes of Lakṣmīdēva I, avers that he was “a tree of desire to the multitude of poets”.⁴ The two celebrated Kannada poets Karṇapārya and Nēmicandra wrote some of their works under the patronage of Lakṣmīdēva I.⁵ Both of them mention Lakṣmīdēva’s queen Candalādēvi. During Karṇapārya’s time Lakṣmīdēva was only a Yuvarāja.

(3) Ibid., XIII, p. 32. (4) Ibid.
Lakṣmīdeva was equally fortunate in the domestic sphere, especially in having an ideal wife like Candrikādevī, also known as Candalādevī or Candrikā. She was the daughter of a person named Rāja belonging to a family of Mahāmandalēśvaras who enjoyed the hereditary title of "supreme lord of Kupuṇapura", the best of towns, who claimed to belong to the Yuduvamsa and who were lords of the Hādaraṭage District.¹ One who reads the extracts describing the personal qualities of Candrikādevī feels that she was a highly accomplished woman of great beauty. It is said that she by her own virtue won the approval of the monarch Lakṣmīdeva, "the prince of chivalry."² But strangely enough, some of the records say that she attained victory over a number of serpents in an earthen jar,³ the allusion apparently being to her having undergone some trial by ordeal.


The present allusion is plainly explained, says Dr. Fleet (Kanarese Dynasties, p. 556), by an article on trial by ordeal, among the Hindus, in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. I, fifth edition, p. 380, where, in describing the second form of ordeal by poison, it is said—"The hooded snake called nāga is thrown into a deep earthen pot, into which is dropped a ring, a seal or a coin. This the accused is ordered to take out with his hand, and if the serpent bite him, he is pronounced guilty, if not, innocent."
CHAPTER XIV.

KĀRTAVĪRYA IV AND MALLIKĀRJUNA.

Lakṣmīdeva I and Candrika-devi had two sons Kārtavīrya- and Mallikārjuna, also known as Vīra-Mallikārjuna-deva. The former succeeded to his father’s kingdom in about A. D. 1199. The Raṭṭa inscriptions of his reign show that Mallikārjuna was shortly afterwards associated with him in the government of his dominions. Thus two Belgāum inscriptions of 1204 describe Kārtavīrya as enjoying the Sāmrājya or Empire at Vēṇugrāma in conjunction with his brother who is spoken of as the Yuvarāja, the heir-apparent prince. Again the Bhōj copper-plate grant which is dated in A. D. 1208 mentions Mallikārjuna as Yuvarāja, and says that his brother was enjoying the good fortune of universal sovereignty.

We said in the last chapter that Lakṣmīdeva I, the father of Kārtavīrya, made Vēṇugrāma the capital of his kingdom. By the time Kārtavīrya IV ascended the throne, it became a town of great size and importance, as is indicated by the fact that one of the Belgāum records, dated in A. D. 1201, registers grants that were made by the four thousand Mahājanas of that place. The Raṭṭa inscriptions give us some idea of the splendour of the capital as it existed in the reign of Kārtavīrya IV. "Resplendent with seventy villages, which delighted all mankind with the multitude of their perennial fruits, famous in the world as.

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(3) Ind. Ant., XIX, p. 248.

(4) Fleet, Notes on Indian History and Geography, Ind. Ant. XXIX., p. 230.

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Surapura (the city of the gods) and Bhōgāvati (the capital of Vāsuki, the city of the Nāgas), Vēṇugrāma, having become famous through the excellence of its merits which had thus acquired greatness, became pleasing on account of all its riches and enjoyments".

Kārtavīrya was the worthy son of a great father. It is evident from inscriptions that the power of the Raṭṭas reached the acme of its greatness during the reign of this monarch. As a matter of fact, he was undoubtedly the greatest king of the dynasty. He not only extended the boundaries of his kingdom but also contributed a great deal towards the economic and cultural advancement of his people.

It has been remarked in a previous chapter that Kārtavīrya III had suffered a little loss of his northern territory now corresponding to the portions of Cikkōḍi Tālukā. Kārtavīrya IV, soon after his accession, seems to have made attempts to recover this part of the Kūṇḍi country and to retrieve the hereditary fortunes of his family. The fact that his attempts met with success and that he recovered the Koravalli Kampaṇa is evidenced by the Bhōj copperplate dated in 1208, wherein it is explicitly stated that the district in question was in the possession of Kārtavīrya IV.

The Raṭṭa records of this period describe Kārtavīrya as a Mahāmaṇḍaḷēśvara enjoying Sāmarajya or complete sovereignty, which indicates the position of independence maintained by him. Long epigraphical extracts praising the valour of Kārtavīrya only show that in his time the

(2) Ind. Ant., XIX, pp. 242-43.
Raṭṭa Sāmrājya extended its boundaries and enjoyed peace and prosperity to the fullest extent.

The year 1210 marks a critical stage in the life of Kārtavīrya. By that time Mallikārjuna, who was all along actively assisting his brother in the affairs of the state, suddenly passed away in the prime of his life much to the grief and sorrow of Kārtavīrya. This we conclude from the absence of Mallikārjuna's name in the Raṭṭa records composed after that year. By his brother's death, Kārtavīrya must have lost a great and strenuous supporter of his policy and consequently must have lacked that strong vigour which marked his early career. To add to this, Jaiṭugi I the Yādava king having died in 1210, his son Śīṅghana succeeded him. As soon as Śīṅghana ascended the throne, he embarked on a policy of aggressiveness and began reducing the minor rulers of the Deccan. Accordingly, Bhoja II the Silāhāra king of Karuḍ was soon subdued by him by A. D. 1218.

This success of Śīṅghana, which was regarded as an achievement of rather special importance, was a signal for the Raṭṭa king who was then taking special care for the defence of his kingdom. Despite the untimely demise of Mallikārjuna and the conquest of the Silāhāras by the Yādavas, the great Kārtavīrya proved too powerful a monarch to be challenged even by Śīṅghana, the then rising star of Daksināpatha.

The mention of efficient and well trained ministers and officials in the records amply shows that Kārtavīrya was a great statesman who paid extra attention to the administration of the country. Among such officers, Nimba, the General of the army, and Bicaṅa or Bijarāja, "the crown of the ministers of king Kārtavīrya," were prominent in the early

(2) *P. S. and O. C. Inscriptions,* No. 112.
half of the reign. It is said that in them was seen a course of policy for the advancement of their sovereign's kingdom.1 Of the latter's qualities the inscription remarks: "Owing to his attraction of worthy men, control over those whom he loved, fascinating influence over friends, extermination of the wicked, maintenance of the dignity of all other ministers, and hatred of all evil designs, Bīcāṇa, with these elements of policy, prospered, renowned for fortune, as counsellor of Kārtavīrya".2 As regards the learning of this minister, another epigraph describes him as "the unique crest-jewel of king Kārtavīrya's ministers," and adds that he "acted on earth in such a manner that in his splendid career model courtsey was verily an ornament to peerless learning".3

Vaijana, the younger brother of Bīcāṇa, was another of Kārtavīrya's distinguished ministers. It is recorded of him that he was a "vision of the lore of statecraft" to his lord in times of consideration, "a keen missile of victory" on the field of stern battles, and a minister of amusement in time of sport.4 The father of these brothers was Appaṇa who also held an important post under Kārtavīrya himself. He is described as Śrīkārya, a scribe and as Śrīkaraṇa-gragasya, "worthy to be counted foremost among scribes".5 The epithet Śrīkaraṇa-gragasya is also applied to his oldest son Bīcāṇa, who is further mentioned as Śrīkaraṇādhipa, "chief of scribes",6 and as a minister (sacīva). All this clearly shows that Bīcāṇa succeeded to his father's post and held the position of a minister.

Coming to village officers of Kārtavīrya's reign, we find that they were men of culture and of administrative efficiency. To cite a single instance, it is said of the six

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(2) Ibid., p. 25.
(3) Ibid., p. 33.
(5) Ibid., pp. 33, 34.
(6) Ibid., p. 33.
headmen of Nēsaram. That they were "receptacles of modesty, born in most noble families, possessed of the most exalted piety, the lovers of great Fame, without sin, oceans of the great virtue of liberality towards their friends, devoted to contemplating the lotuses which were the feet of Jina, generous, the glory of learned men." Indeed, the qualities are somewhat exaggerated. Nevertheless, we cannot escape the conclusion that village officers under Kārtavirya were well chosen and properly instructed.

As regards the administrative abilities of Kārtavirya, we have it on record that he was acquainted with the writings on the art of government. It is said that his ministers were omniscient and opulent and that his army and his friends were firmly attached to him.

It is no wonder that under the efficient rule of such a prince the city of Belgaum grew and flourished. Encouraged by Kārtavirya, traders from different parts of Western and Southern India must have flocked to this important trading centre. We have already quoted the description of this city as the capital of the Raṭṭas. One of the Belgaum inscriptions throws considerable light on the economic organisation and commercial prosperity of this great town. It is specially interesting to learn that the merchant community of Belgaum included foreign settlers from Gujarāt and Kēraḷa. But the richest merchants of that city were Karnāṭakis. It is said that all the traders of Gujarāt were headed by Pommaṇa Nāyaka, Ammugi Nāyaka and Parasurām Nāyaka, all of them being Kannāḍigas. We also learn from the same source that

(2) Ibid., p. 258.
(3) Ibid.
(5) Ibid.
Kēralītes were dealing in horses. It may be inferred from this that the Kēraḷa traders imported horses from Arabia and Persia through the ports of Malabār and sold them to Karnataka kings. That the mercantile community of Belgaum carried on a roaring business is evident from the details given in the record. There one could purchase any article he desired. As the Nāsarge inscription puts it, the “city was large and resplendent, as being full of all the means of accomplishing pleasure”.1 The existence of a heterogeneous trading community is a tangible proof of the large volume of trade that was being carried on at Belgaum.

There are interesting descriptions of the Kūndi country, which testify to the agricultural prosperity, peace and contentment the people enjoyed during the glorious rule of Kārtavīrya. Some of the descriptions are typical and worthy of note. For instance, the composer of the Kalhōli grant says: “Pleasing to the eyes is the country of Kūndi, which resembles the orb of the moon, with its herds of cows with their plentiful supply of delightful milk, with the glory of all its grains, and with the pure castes that inhabit it.”2 Another document records that “its abundant fruits and fertile crops ever flourish so as never to fail,”3 and adds that Kārtavīrya’s “pleasing country was possessed of the fruits of all the seasons”.

Kārtavīrya, apart from being an efficient ruler, was a learned man, a generous patron of literature and an intelligent admirer of Kannada poetry. The Kalhōli epigraph rightly describes him as one who fulfils the

(2) Ibid., p. 229.
(3) Ibid., p. 250.
(4) Ibid., p. 252.
desires of learned people, one who takes great delight in listening to the stories of brave men, and one who excels in the art of poetry.¹ The two celebrated Kannada poets Bālcandra and Pārvavapandita flourished in his court. Unfortunately, no work of the former is extant. But we have the good fortune to possess two Belgaum inscriptions composed by this celebrity. From a purely literary point of view both the inscriptions are fine specimens of Kannada Kāvyā style, consisting mostly of well-composed verses. One of these records describes him "as an emperor of the poets of the four tongues" and as "a swan in the lotus-wood of everlasting literature". As regards the sweetness of his style, it is said that his verses were equal to nectar.² The very fact that Janna, one of the greatest poets of Kannada literature and a contemporary of Kārtavirya IV, calls Bālcandra a famous literary figure is more than sufficient to prove that the latter was recognised as a great poet of all-Karnāṭaka eminence even in his own life-time. It was certainly a matter of pride for Kārtavirya to have him in his court.

Pārvavā, the other literary luminary of Kārtavirya’s court, is known to us as the author of Pārvavanāha-Purāṇa, a biography of the twenty-third Jain tīrthaṅkara. He bore many birudas, one of them being Kaviḥulaṭilaham.³ We have it on record that he, by the delightful sentiments that flowed forth from his charming words, was causing erection of hairs of the body through joy to learned men.⁴ The Kalhōli tablet of 1205 was composed by him.⁵

(2) Ibid., XIII, p. 27.
(3) Ibid.
(5) Ibid., p. 239.
(6) Ibid.
The wives of Kārtavīrya were Ecaladēvi and Mādēvi. The former is mentioned as the daughter of an emperor, whose name is not mentioned. It may be that she was the daughter of Bhōja II, the Silāhāra king of Karāḍ, who was styled Pascima-Cakravarti or "the Western Emperor". As the earliest date of Bhōja's reign is A.D. 1190, it is quite possible that he had a grown up daughter of marriageable age when Kārtavīrya was a youth. Ecaladēvi was "esteemed to be very accomplished and possessed of large and rolling eyes resembling Sulōcanā in her behaviour as a true wife". It may be interesting to note that Ecaladēvi, though a Jain, was a devotee of Śiva. Mādēvi, the second wife of Kārtavīrya, was the mother of Lakṣmidēva II, the next king of the Kūndi country.

We do not know when precisely Kārtavīrya IV died. However, the fact that the latest date furnished for him is 1218 and that the earliest date for his successor is 1228, may lead us to infer that he died somewhere in or about A.D. 1221.

(2) Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, p. 549.
(3) Ep. Ind., III, p. 213.
(7) Ibid., p. 240.
(8) Ibid., p. 260
CHAPTER XV.

LAKŚMĪDĒVA II.

Lakṣmīdēva II, the son of Kārtavīrya IV and queen Madēvi,1 succeeded to the throne in about A. D. 1221. As the yuvarāja, Lakṣmīdēva must have been of great service to his father in the political affairs of the State. Hence he received the title bojjana-sīnga or "the lion of his father".2

As there is only one record3 of this monarch, our information about him is not as complete as it really ought to have been. However, from the absence of any allusion to a paramount power in the records, it may be safely inferred that Lakṣmīdēva II was still independent in A.D. 1228 when the inscription was written. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the decline of the Raṭṭa dynasty began slowly but steadily with the accession of this king. The Manōli inscription of the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa II dated in 1222, shows that by that year some eastern portions of the Raṭṭa territory had already fallen into the hands of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri.4 It is important to note, in this connection, that Manōli is only six miles north of Saundatti, the original capital of Kūṇḍī.

If one could infer anything from the proud titles and praises of Lakṣmīdēva,5 it would seem that he put up a stout resistance and did not yield to Siṅghaṇa at least for a period of about ten years. The fact that Siṅghaṇa met a powerful foe in him is evident from the above-mentioned record which

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(2) Ibid., p. 283.
(3) Ibid., p. 260.
(4) Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, p. 558.
describes Lākṣmīdēva as one who curbed the pride of his mighty enemies and as one who was a very Vṛkōdara to the forces of his foes.¹

The success which Lākṣmīdēva attained against Śiṅghāna in the beginning was perhaps largely due to the efficient foreign policy of Municandra, the royal spiritual preceptor of the Raṭṭas. Municandra, like many a sage of ancient and mediaeval India, was a practical politician of no mean order. It is said of him that through his mystic knowledge he became the spiritual preceptor of king Kārtavīrya IV, and through his close acquaintance with the treatises on the use of weapons he became the instructor of Lākṣmīdēva II.² As regards his administrative and military abilities, the record says that Municandra "made the earth all of one standard of morality through his administration and, decorated with arrows, pursued with the excellent might of his arm the hostile kings, being a very lion to the elephants that were his enemies."³ The reference, in all probability, is to Śiṅghāna and his allies. It was perhaps due to his success against the Yādavas that Municandra is described as "the firm sustainer of kingdom of the Raṭṭas"⁴ and as "the conserctor of the Raṭṭa rule".⁵ This inference seems to be further supported when we learn that Sugandhavarti Twelve was the locality of Municandra’s special administration and was governed in accordance with his directions by two able local chiefs named Mallikārjuna and Kesīrāja.⁶ We have already seen above that the Yādava encroachment on the Raṭṭa territory began from the east where stood the important town of Saundatti. Hence it was the locality of Municandra’s special attention.

Despite the wars which Lākṣmīdēva was forced to wage, the country was prosperous and happy under his rule. At

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² Ibid., 274.
³ Ibid., 280.
⁴ Ibid., p. 280.
⁵ Ibid., p. 280.
⁶ Ibid., pp. 280–281.
any rate, it is plain that the king was fortunate in securing an able minister in Municandra. It is rightly said of him that he surpassed all others in his capacity for administration. That this is no empty boast is shown by a description which amply testifies to the agricultural prosperity and contentment of Sugandhavarti district, the area most affected by war.

In spite of all his early success, Lakṣmīdeva must have suffered a very crushing defeat at the hands of Śinghaṇa in or about 1233. It is quite possible that the aged Municandra who began his career under Kārtavirya IV passed away by this time. If so, it is natural to suppose that Lakṣmīdeva was unfortunate in losing him at a time when his services were most needed. The Hoysala-Yādava contest for supremacy, that was being carried on for over half a century in the Dekkan, was at last decided in favour of the Yādavas. Śinghaṇa II forthwith re-started his vigorous campaign to impose his suzerainty over the neighbouring rulers. The Yādava inscription at Harālahalli tells us that Vīcāna, the Viceroy of Śinghaṇa, who had already reduced the Kadambas “who were glorious in the Koṅkaṇa”, the Pāṇḍyas “who shone at Gutti” and the “turbulent Hoysālas” and other kings, also “conquered with ease the Raṭṭas”. As the grant is dated A.D. 1237–38, it is evident that the defeat of the Raṭṭas took place prior to that year. In our opinion the event may be placed in about A.D. 1233. As we have no later mention of Lakṣmīdeva II or any of his descendants, the probability is that he was deprived of his hereditary position, and the province was handed over to one of Śinghaṇa’s ordinary officials. The Cikka-Bagēwādi grant dated in 1249 shows that the Kūndi-dēsa in that year formed a part of the Yādava

(2) See Ibid., p. 281 for the description.
dominions, then ruled by king Krṣṇa.\textsuperscript{1} This is the last mention of the Raṭṭa territory under the name of Kūṇḍi Three-thousand country. Dr. Fleet is of the opinion that by the end of the thirteenth century the name died out and was replaced by some such appellation as the Vānugrāma country.\textsuperscript{2} He further suggests that a reminiscence of the original name has survived even to the present day in the title Mūru-sāvīradāyya, "the Ayya of the Three-thousand," which is the title of an Ayya or Lingāyat priest at Hubli. But this view can by no means be accepted without doubt.

Thus ended the glorious dynasty of the Raṭṭas, which held its undisputed sway over the Kūṇḍi country for a period of well-nigh three centuries. The Raṭṭas were one of the most powerful Mahāmanḍalēśvarian families of the Cālukyan days, the golden age of Karnāṭaka culture.

(2) Fleet, \textit{Notes on Indian History and Geography}, \textit{Ind. Ant.}, XXIX., p. 274.
(3) \textit{Ibid.}, p. 280.
The Raṭṭas of Saundatti

(3) Nanna C. 960–975
(4) Kṛṭavirya I C. 975–1000

(5) Dēvari or Dāyima 1000–1015
(5) Kaṇṇakaira I 1015–1030

(6) Eraka 1030–1047
(7) Aṅka 1047–1064
(7) Sōna I 1064–1068

(9) Kaṇṇakaira II 1068–1090
(10) Kṛṭavirya II 1068–1090 from 1090–1094
(11) Sōna II 1094–1129
(12) Kṛṭavirya III 1129–1188
(13) Lakṣmīdāva I 1188–1199

(14) Kṛṭavirya IV 1199–1221
(15) Lakṣmīdāva II 1221–1233

Mallikārjuna
(only Yuvārāja)

Note:—Figure in the bracket denotes the number of the chapter.
PART V

MINOR FAMILIES UNDER THE RATTAS
CHAPTER I.

THE YADUVAMŚA OF HAGARATAGE.

The Yaduvamśa of Hagaratage was a family of minor chiefs who held a small territory of that name under the Raṭṭas. The Hagaratage-nūḍ as it is called in inscriptions was a Three-Hundred division which extended over parts of the Belgaum and Bijāpur Districts. The Hagaratage chiefs bore the title “The supreme lord of the city of Kupanapura”,¹ perhaps intended to commemorate their original home. Kupanapura seems to be the same as Kopanagura mentioned by poet Nṛputuṅga in his Kavirājamārga as one of the towns forming the boundaries of “Tiruṭa Kannada“ or the kernel of Kannada country.²

Rebba was the first member of this dynasty. King Rebba, says the inscription, was of noble conduct, of great lustre and possessed of fame.³ He was pure of thought and was adorned by wise men.⁴ Rebba’s wife was Holādēvi who is called the chief queen (piriyarasi).⁵

Brahma was the son and successor of Rebba.⁶

It appears that Brahma established the Hagaratage kingdom, founded by his father, on a firmer basis. Hence he is called the supporter of his race.⁷ He was brave, magnanimous and full of pleasing qualities.⁸ That he was a great conversationalist is indicated by the record which asserts that he was “a very pearl-necklace placed upon the breasts of the lovely woman Eloquence.”⁹ Brahma’s wife was Candalādēvi.¹⁰

(2) Kavirājamārgam, I, 37.
(3) Fleet, o. c., p. 232.
(4) Ibid.
(5) Ibid.
(6) Ibid.
(7) Ibid.
(8) Ibid.
(9) Ibid.
(10) Ibid.
Brahma was succeeded by his son Rāja I. He was the father-in-law of Lakṣmīdeva I, the famous Rāṭṭa king who, as we have seen elsewhere, was ruling in the last decade of the twelfth century. Candrikādevi, the daughter of Rāja and the wife of Lakṣmīdeva, was a highly accomplished lady. This matrimonial alliance must have strengthened the political relation between the two families. During the reign of this chief, the Hāgraṭage-nāḍ enjoyed the blessings of peace and prosperity to the fullest extent. It is said that the whole domain was replete with joy, and an unprecedented calmness prevailed the regions.

Rāja I was not only an efficient ruler but also a liberal patron of Jainism. We are told that under his rule “the ocean of Jainism having become full, adorned with spotless deeds, acquired a prosperity that was befitting his name.”

Rāja’s wife, a woman of great beauty, was Mailalādevi, whom the inscription describes as charitable, affectionate and a “very Sarasvati in accomplishments”. It looks as if her equally beautiful daughter Candrike had inherited from her mother the very qualities that later on made her the queen of the Kūṇḍi country.

Simha was the son of Rāja and the younger brother of Candrikādevi. He is described as “churning the ocean which was the band of his enemies with a mountain Mandāra which was his arm.” This information is evidently of no-historical value. His wife Bhāgalādevi is spoken of as “gratifying with her charities sages who abound in good qualities.” The statement that she was causing happiness to learned men is a clear indication of her being a liberal patron of letters.

(2) Ibid., p. 232.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid.
(5) Ibid., 233.
(6) Ibid.
(7) Ibid.
(8) Ibid.
To king Śimha and to Bhāgalādevī was born a son who later on became famous as Rāja II. He was by far the greatest chieftain of the dynasty. It is said that he was a very Vatsarāja in taming wild horses. Rāja II is known to posterity as a great supporter of Jainism. What is more, he led a very simple life unlike many of his contemporaries equal to him in status. The composer of the inscription proudly declares that king Rāja was devoted to the worship of Jīna and to giving gifts to “world renowned” saints, while other kings were addicted to the “forbidden recreations” of gaming, hunting, eating flesh, associating with courtesans, unfair ram-fighting and cock-fighting. His love for Jainism and for art was so great that he is recorded to have erected a beautiful temple of Jīna, “wonderful to be beheld, the diadem of the earth, having three pinacles that are unequalled.” The composer of the record was so much enamoured with the beauty of this temple that he says that even Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva were charmed with it.

Rāja II was not only a lover of architecture but also a patron of literature. He is, therefore, rightly spoken of as the granter of all the desires of learned men. Under his rule, the district of Hagaraṭage was “charming in the earth, being delighted with its wealth, its poets, and its wise men.”

As regards the chronology of Rāja II, he was living in A. D. 1205–6 when the Raṭṭa king Kārtavīrya IV was at the helm of the government of the Kūṇḍi country.

We have no more information about the Yaduvamśa of Hagaraṭage. It may, however, be supposed that the Hagaraṭage chiefs were deprived of their hereditary position in about 1233 when the whole of the Kūṇḍi country was conquered by Śinghaṇa II, the king of Dēvagiri.

(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid.
(5) Ibid., p. 235
(6) Ibid., p. 232.
CHAPTER II.

THE PRABHUS OF KŌLĀRA.

The Lords or Prabhus of Kōlāra were another family of the local chieftains under the Raṭṭas. Kōlāra, the residence of these Lords, can be identified with the modern Kortī-Kolhār on the banks of the Krṣṇā not far from Kalālagi. Kolhār is on the north bank, and just opposite it on the south bank is the small village of Kortī. Hence the former is usually spoken of as Kortī-Kolhār.

Kortī-Kolhār is now only a village, but under the Raṭṭas it seems to have been a place of considerable importance. It is called a nagara or city in an inscription.¹

As regards the origin of the family, we are told that the Lords of Kōlāra sprang from the lineage of Vaśisṭha, one of the seven chief sages.² If this is to be believed as true, it becomes quite clear that the family originally belonged to North India. But the claim for northern extraction cannot be accepted as true in many cases. In fact, there was a tendency among the kings and chiefs of Karnāṭaka to connect their families with North India. Thus for instance, it was in the eleventh century that the Hoysalās, who were purely a Karnāṭaka dynasty, traced their descent for the first time from the Yādavas who were northerners.³ Though at present we do not possess sufficient material which would enable us to draw any definite conclusion, we are inclined to hold that a minor family like the Prabhus of Kōlāra was purely of indigenous origin.

Mādirāja is the first known member of the family, who is expressly stated to have been enjoying the position of a

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² Ibid., p. 277.
³ Ep. Car., VI, Om, 137.
The next Prabhu was Bhūtanātha the son of Mādirāja. The record tells us that he was a famous personage of spotless deeds. But unfortunately no historical facts about him have come down to us.

To Bhūtanātha were born five children, “resplendent with fame” and “worthy of praise in the world.” Among these Mādirāja II, who appears to be the second in rank, was the most distinguished. We are told that he acquired a name through the excess of his glory, so that people praised him as “a fish-hook to the throats of his enemies, most high in majesty.” Mādirāja was a warrior of considerable merit. “Being himself a very sage of thunderbolts in respect of protecting those that fled to him for refuge, the Lord Donkara Mādirāja acquired for himself the title of “an outer shell of a cocoanut towards (in excoriating) those that opposed him.” As Mādirāja was the contemporary of Kārtavīrya IV Raṭṭa, who reigned in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, there is every reason to believe that the above statement, describing the chief’s military achievement, bears allusion to certain fights that took place between Kārtavīrya Raṭṭa and the Yādava king Śiṅghaṇa. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that Kōlāra was on the north-eastern portion of the Raṭṭa kingdom, the frontier nearest to Dēvagiri.

If this can be accepted, it is clear that Mādirāja had to fight with a very powerful enemy. It is also said that “he well protected the sons of the lords that were of equal rank with himself when they sought refuge with him distressed in mind because they had been deprived of their estates.” It is quite possible that Śiṅghaṇa had annexed some of the

(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid.
(5) Ibid.
(6) Ibid.
(7) Ibid.
Raṭṭa frontier-territory to his kingdom at least for a short time and had thus deprived some chiefs of their hereditary positions.

Mādirāja II is reported to have been slain in one of these battles with his younger brothers. The inscription, however, declares that Mādirāja acquired victory before his death.¹

On the death of Mādirāja, his elder sister Bijjiyavve assumed the governorship of Kōlāra, and continued it for a short time until it was made the dowry of Gauri, the daughter of Mādirāja, on her marriage with Mallikārjuna of Banihaṭṭi.²

Bijjiyavve seems to have discharged her functions efficiently, thus bringing credit to the womanhood of ancient Karnāṭaka. It is explicitly stated that she “continued excellently well the supremacy of Kōlāra” and “the magnificence of her younger brothers.”³ Thus, owing to the failure of male heirs in the family the lordship of Kōlāra passed by marriage into the family of the chiefs of Banihaṭṭi.

(2) Ibid.  (3) Ibid.
CHAPTER III.

THE CHIEFS OF BANIHAṬTI.

The chiefs of Banihaṭṭi were perhaps the most important minor family subordinate to the Raṭṭas. Banihaṭṭi now known as Banhaṭṭi is a town in the neighbourhood of Jamkhaṇḍi. The family of the lords of Banihaṭṭi named the *Samasigakula* was a branch of the *Indu-vaṃśa* which originated with the sage Atri.¹ It is said that in the race of Atri were born many Brāhmaṇas, and among them was the founder of the Banihaṭṭi family.² For the same reason as stated in the last chapter, we are not inclined to connect these minor dynasties of Kārnāṭaka with North India. It is, however, worthy of note that the chiefs of Banihaṭṭi were Brāhmaṇas.

The first name mentioned is that of Rudrabhaṭṭa who is described as a poet. It is stated that he received the eighteen villages, of which Banihaṭṭi was the chief, as a reward for his proficiency in the art of poetry from a certain king Kāṇṭha,³ who must have been the first of that name in the dynasty of the Raṭṭas. That Rudrabhaṭṭa was a poet of outstanding merit is evidenced by the inscription. We are told that "he acquired from Sarasvati excellence of speech,"⁴ "Who may be compared", says the epigraph "in the excellence of his poetry and the greatness of his power with that same lord Rudrabhaṭṭa, the members of whose race used to become excellent poets in six months after commencing their studies?".⁵ Kāṇṭha I was a king of liberal

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² Ibid.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Ibid.
disposition. Hence it is no wonder that Rudrabhaṭṭa was presented with as many as eighteen villages.

A wonderful occurrence took place in respect of Rudrabhaṭṭa. It is said that he once pledged a letter of his name as security for a loan of a thousand pieces of gold, and received from the people the appellation “Rudrata” as a substitute for his full name until the day when he redeemed the pledge. This fact clearly shows that people cared much for their names in those days. What is more, they could even find a person willing to give a loan of a thousand pieces of gold on the sole security of a letter of a name.

As regards the chronology of Rudrabhaṭṭa, he was the contemporary of the Raṭṭa king Kāṇḍa I who lived in circa 1030.

After Rudrabhaṭṭa we come across Kalidēva, a person “praised in the earth” on account of his “matchless” strength. He is said to have arisen to an eminence of power through his spotless fame.

Śrīdērā I, the son of Kalidēva, was the next member of the family. His predecessors were merely the landed proprietors of the eighteen villages. Śrīdērā was the first of the family to be invested with the status of a local governor or chieftain. It is clearly stated that “Śrīdērā was resplendent with the supremacy over eighteen villages.”

Mahādēva I was the son and successor of Śrīdērā I. We do not possess any information about him except that the people enjoyed increasing happiness in his days.

(2) Ibid., p. 275.
(3) Ibid., p. 275.
(4) Ibid., p. 275.
(5) Ibid.
(6) Ibid.
(7) Ibid.
The next chief was Śrīdhara II, also known as Siripati. He is described as a brave and proud warrior.¹ Enmity having arisen between him and the people of the city of Gaṇasarōvarā, Śrīdhara was slain at Holavere in the front ranks of battle by the inhabitants of that city.² It is not possible to identify either of these two places due to paucity of materials. On his death, it would appear, the family was dispossessed for a time until his son Mahādevanāyaka recovered the lost possessions.

We are told that Śrīdhara "having become a butt for the arrows of his enemies", his son Mahādeva straightway arose and travelled abroad for twelve years and having amassed wealth purchased the property of his father with the assistance of the king.³ Though the name of this king is not mentioned, there is reason to believe that he was the Raṭṭa king who was then reigning.

Mahādevanāyaka had to fight a severe battle against his enemies before being able to be invested with the family status. He is said to have destroyed his foe "with the vehemence of his anger and with his infuriated elephants".⁴ Just as Paraśurāma destroyed the whole Kṣatriyas, says the inscription, so Mahādevanāyaka destroyed with his elephants the race of his enemies, and performed for his father the customary rites of the gift of water.⁵ He was thus a successful chieftain who is said to have discharged his functions efficiently.⁶

Mahādeva had three sons namely Śrīdhara III, Mallikārjuna and Candra.⁷ Śrīdhara seems to have pre-deceased his father, and hence the lordship was transferred to Mallikārjuna, also known as Malidēva and Mallapa. On the marriage of Mallikārjuna with Gauri, the daughter of Mādi-

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² Ibid.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Ibid.
⁶ Ibid.
⁷ Ibid.
rāja II, Kōlarā became the family residence of the Banīhaṭṭi chiefs. Mallikārjunā was undoubtedly the ablest member of the family. He is described as “the sun of the white lotusos of his family”, becoming the advancer of his race and the increaser of its pure fame.”¹ That he was a liberal patron of letters is evidenced by the inscription which calls him the grantor of the desires of learned men and the men of culture.²

In recognition of his extraordinary abilities, Mallikārjunā was promoted to the rank of a high officer by the Raṭṭa king Lakṣmīdēva II. Thus he became one of the famous counsellors of Municandrādeva, the chief minister in the administration of the Sugandhavarti Twelve.³ With the promotion of Mallikārjunā to this office, the lordship of Banīhaṭṭi and Kōlarā seems to have been transferred to his son Kēsirāja.⁴

Kēsirāja or Kēsavaraṭa, though the second son of Mallikārjunā, became the Lord of the estates in place of his elder brother Mahādēva.⁵ He had also a younger brother by name Mādirāja III.⁶ That Kēsirāja was a successful chief-tain is borne out by his grant which contains a lengthy appreciation of his good qualities. As regards his brilliant achievements, we are told that he “was beautiful in the earth on account of his bravery which was innate in him and not dependent upon the sensations of joy, pride or despair”.⁷ In his private life, Kēsirāja was “perfect in all his deeds” though having his thoughts intently fixed upon the feet of Hara. He led a life of purity and chastity, “destroying not the wealth of others, and having no longing for their wives.”⁸

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² Ibid., pp. 274-275.
³ Ibid., p. 278.
⁴ Ibid., p. 280.
⁵ Ibid., p. 278.
⁶ Ibid., p. 278.
⁷ Ibid.
We are told that Kēśirāja visited three times the god Mallikārjuna of Śrī-Śaila, which is now situated in the Kānnool District of the Madras Presidency. When he visited this place for the first time, he is reported to have taken the following vow at the liṅga shrine: "If ever hereafter disease or other troubles shall manifest themselves among those whom I protect, I will come no more." This vow clearly indicates that Kēśirāja deeply felt for his subjects. Uttering such vows, "Kēśava was prosperous in the earth, the god Mallikārjuna being favourable to him". From Śrī-Śaila he brought back with him a liṅga made out of the rock of the sacred hill, and set it up in a temple of Mallikārjunadēva or Mallināthadēva which he erected in the name of his father by the tank of Nagarakere outside the city of Sugandhavarti, which was then the locality of the administration of Muni-candra, the chief minister of the Rāṇa king Lakṣmidēva II. What is more, Kēśirāja himself constructed the tank of Nagarakere (the city-tank), planted a groove round it, and gave the post of high-priest of the temple to one Liṅgayya who was a Kālāmukha teacher.

Mūḷalādēvi, the wife of Kēśirāja, was a woman of noble qualities and of a religious turn of mind like her husband. She was also known by the names Maṭale and Mali-yavve. Born in a noble Brāhmaṇa family, she became renowned for her pious deeds. "How could other women who hoarded up their riches for themselves", asks the inscription, "be compared in merit with Mūḷalādēvi, the ocean of affability?".

As regards the chronology of Kēśirāja, he lived in A. D. 1129–30 when various grants and titles were made to the

(2) Ibid. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid., pp. 281-282.
(5) Ibid., 285. (6) Ibid., p. 278. (7) Ibid.
temple of Mallikārjuna. We learn that Kēsirāja had a son by name Mādirāja. But he seems not to have enjoyed the position of a chieftain. The whole of the Raṭṭa kingdom, which apparently included the circles of Banihatti and Kōlāra, was occupied by the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa in about A. D. 1233. Thus ended the dynasty which played an important part under the Raṭṭas for about two centuries.

Mādirāja was a Kannāḍa poet of considerable merit. He composed the Saundatti inscription of his father, which is a good specimen of the Kāvyā style.

(2) Ibid.
CHAPTER IV.

THE FAMILY OF THE HALLEYARUS.

The Halléyarus was an important family, the members of which held the position of headmen of a circle of villages under the Raţa King Sëna I. Excepting that the family is said to be a branch of Bālātkārgaun,1 nothing is stated as to its origin. Among the Jaina saints that belonged to this sect Gāmacandra (the moon of the sect) is mentioned.2 After him came the learned Nayanandi who used to fast for a fortnight at a time.3 His disciple was Sridhārya, "the best of ascetics, delighted in many sciences, of great glory, praised in the earth like the Lord of the lovely woman Sri".4

The members of this religious sect held the position of high-priests at Kōndanūru, and were the spiritual preceptors of the Halléyarus.5 Kōndanūru, which was the place of residence of the Halléyarus, is the modern Kōnur, a large village on the Ghataprabhā about five miles north-west of Gōkāk. It seems to have been in old times a place of importance among the Jains. There are still several ruined temples of antiquity, most of which were originally Jaina shrines. What is more interesting, the post of hereditary headman of the village is still held by a Jaina family in conjunction with a Lingāyat family.

Lord Sorigaṅka is the first to be mentioned in the lineage of the Halléyarus. As he is described to have belonged to rājānuvaya,6 there is reason to believe that he came of a

(2) Ibid., p. 295.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid.
(5) Ibid., p. 296.
(6) Ibid., p. 296.
noble house. The statement that Sorigaṅka was the beloved of good poets and kings\(^1\) shows that he was popular both among the literary men and the ruling aristocracy of the land. He seems to have amassed much wealth, a considerable portion of which was spent for the promotion of Jainism and fine arts. Sorigaṅka was the contemporary of Śena II who came to the Raṭṭa throne in about A. D. 1065.

Ballā or Baladēva, Kalla or Kalidēva and Gāmaṇḍa were the sons of Sorigaṅka\(^3\). We are told that all these brothers were learned men\(^2\). What is more, they conversed in elegant diction and "were like the sons of the wind towards the hostile warriors that were lords full of malice\(^4\)." The latter part of the description evidently indicates that they actively assisted their father in the administration of the circle. It is interesting to note that the eldest brother Ballā remained a bachelor while his younger brothers were married. Ballā and Kalla were like Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa\(^5\) the meaning of which is that both of them were very much attached to each other.

Manakāṇgi was the wife of Kalla while Kanaki was that of Gāmaṇḍa\(^6\). The latter appears to have been a very beautiful lady. "The curls of her forehead resembled a number of black bees, her eyes were like the leaves of a lotus, her breasts were like two Cakravāka birds, her lovely waist was like a golden creeper\(^7\). The composer of the inscription compares her with Rati and calls her "the captivating wife of that charming lord Gāmaṇḍa".

Nidhiga, also known as Nidhiyama Nāyaka, was the only son of Gāmaṇḍa and of Kanaki\(^8\). He became the Lord or Prabhu of Koṇḍānurū in about 1085 when Kaṇḍakaira II was ruling over the Kūndī kingdom. Nidhiyama was a great

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\(^1\) Fleet, Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, pp. 296.

\(^2\) Ibid. \(^3\) Ibid. \(^4\) Ibid. \(^5\) Ibid. \(^6\) Ibid. \(^7\) Ibid., p. 297. \(^8\) Ibid.
patron of Jainism. He "abounded in the utterance of blessings which were resplendent with the mental joy of good and worthy people, exceeded the glory the supremest bliss, and was ever liberal towards worthy objects." It is said that he paid much respect to the Jaina saint Śrīdhara of the Balātkāragaṇa. He "brought to perfection the race of spiritual preceptors" and "became a very supporter of Śrī in the lotus which was his heart".

Nidhiyama Nāyaka is recorded to have granted two mallars of cultivated land, twelve houses, one oil-mill and one garden to a Jaina temple that he had built in Konḍanūru in the Śaka year 1009 (A. D. 1087-9) being the Prabhava Sāgovatsara. This temple erected by Nidhiyama seems to have attracted many visitors from all over the Kūndi kingdom. We are told that even the Raṭṭa Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kaṇṭha-Kaira II once came for worship at the temple and made grants to it.

Nidhiga had two sons by name Kalidēva and Baladēva. They had for their teacher the Jaina scholar Vāsupūjya who was well versed in the three Vēdas and the tenets of the science of śāṅkara-vāda.

What became of the family of the Halīyaruś after Nidhiyama is not known.

(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid. (4) Ibid., pp. 297, 298.
(5) Ibid., p. 297.
CHAPTER V

THE NĀYAKAS OF NĪSARIGE.

Those Nāyakas, subordinate to the Raṭṭas, were administering the circle of six villages of which Nīsarige was the chief town. Nīsarige is situated on the Belgāum-Kalāḍgi road about seven miles north of Sampaḷgām.

The Nāyakas in ancient Kārnāṭaka were hereditary headmen of circles of villages corresponding to the Vēṁukhs and Dēśais of later times. The difference between the Nāyaka and the Gauḍa was that the latter was the headman of a single village and was subordinate to the former, while the Nāyaka was the headman of a group of villages. In the case of the Nāyakas of Nīsarige, they were in charge of the Nīsarige circle, and had under them six Gauḍas as headmen of the six villages of which that circle was composed.

From a recently discovered inscription at Śirsāṇgi, it would appear that Habbaṇa or Habbayānāyaka was the first of his family to enjoy the rank of a Nāyaka, and that that rank was conferred on him by the Cāḻukya Emperor Sōmeśvara IV. That Habbaṇa was a great warrior under the Emperor is evidenced by this record which contains very lengthy passages describing his military abilities.¹

Though there is much exaggeration in these eulogies, we cannot escape the conclusion that Habbaṇa was one of the foremost warriors in the Cāḻukya Empire. Ilō is reported to have defeated the Koṅkaṇigas (the people of the Koṅkaṇ) who are said to have taken to their heels.² The reference here is perhaps to some minor chiefs under the Goa Kadambas, who held territory on the Kadamba frontier. The Goa Kadambas were forced by this time to acknowledge the over-lordship of the Hoysalas, and hence they were naturally looked upon by Habbaṇa as the enemies of Sōmeśvara IV, the Cāḻukya Emperor.³

(1) Appendix No. I. (2) Ibid. (3) Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, p. 119.

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The Śirsānāgi inscription of Habbayanāyaka, dated in 1187, does not mention the Raṭṭas. At the same time it calls Somēsvara IV with the imperial title Śrī Pṛthvi Vallabham Mahārājadhī-Rāja Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭārakam Satyā-śraya Kulatilakam. This clearly shows that Habbāna, being under the direct control of Somēsvara IV, was responsible only to him. After the death of Somēsvara IV, which seems to have happened in C. 1200, Habbāna evidently came under the control of the Raṭṭas. The Nēsarige inscription of the reign of Kārtavīrya IV describes Habbaya-Nāyaka as a subordinate of the Raṭṭa king. What is more, Habbāna was only too glad to transfer his allegiance to Kārtavīrya. It is said that he "became with pleasure the servant of the happy king Kārtavīrya" as the bull Nīndi (Viśendrī) became the servant of Śiva, as Garuḍa of Viśṇu and as Māruti of Rāghava.

Habbāna was a brave warrior and an efficient administrator. As regards his impartiality towards the people, it is said that though they might be his friends or his own people, or people whom he disliked, or even kings, he behaved impartially to all and caused mankind to say "Is there any injustice in Habbāna?" The fact that he was considered the foremost of all the Nāyakas is explicitly stated in the record. The inscription discloses the name of Kālavve the wife of Habbāna.

To Habbāna and to Kālavve were born Bāca or Bāca-yanāyaka and Biraya, the former of whom married Māyīdevī. Both the sons seem to have achieved great fame as skilful warriors in the Raṭṭa kingdom. "They were numbered amongst valiant men and were considered heroes."

(1) Fleet, Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti and Belgaum, J.B.P.R.A.S., X, p. 205.
(2) Ibid., p. 253.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid.
(5) Ibid.
(6) Ibid.
(7) Ibid., p. 254.
One who read the description of Bācaya feels that he was a greater soldier than his younger brother. It is said that he once killed so many soldiers in his enemy’s camp that a nasty smell was caused. “Cleaving asunder with his fierce sword the brave breasts of the heroes who came against him in war proclaiming their own titles and praising their own valour, Bācaya, the bravest of mankind, shouting out, while their breasts and their red blood and their flesh were being scattered abroad, tying their entails round his head like a garland imitated in the earth the attitudes of Bhairava”. Though there is some exaggeration in the extract, we cannot escape the conclusion that Bācaya was a powerful leader of his forces. It may be that he rendered some valuable military service to Kārtavīrya IV in defending the Raṭṭa kingdom against the aggressive policy of the Yādava king Śīghaṇa II who had then embarked on an ambitious project of subduing the various Mahāmanḍalēśvaras of Karnāṭaka.

Mayidēvi Nāyaki, the wife of Bācaya Nāyaka, was a learned lady of liberal disposition. Both of them “were living happily together on account of their great munificence, their infinite delight in each other, and their pleasing affection.” A brother of Mayidēvi named Bedaṇa is spoken of as a man of note. From the phraseology of the inscription, it would appear that he too was a Nāyaka of some importance.

We have the good fortune to possess a description of the six head-men of the Nēsarige circle, subordinate to Bācaya. They were the receptacles of modesty, born in noble families, possessed of piety, the lovers of fame and men of liberal turn of mind. Above all, they were learned men suitably qualified to discharge their functions efficiently.

Bācaya Nāyaka and his wife are credited with the erection of three Liṅga temples of Habbēśvara, Māṇikēśvara and Siddēśvara at Nēsarige. It is, therefore, needless to state that they were devout Śaivas. The shrine of Habbēśvara, which was apparently named after Habbaṇa, was the most important so far at least the architectural aspect is concerned. We are told that this temple was as it were “the jewelled diadem of the lovely woman, the earth.” Its construction is said to have brought great renown to Bācaya. The other two temples were caused to be built by Māyīdevi. The priest of the three temples was a Kālāmukha teacher Honnayya “with resolute mind, speech and body”. The inscription further tells us that Bācaya and his wife, following the good path of giving gifts and doing honour to good people, established a multitude of liṅgas.

The importance of these three shrines is amply evidenced by the fact that great gifts of land, titles and duties were made to them at the command of the Raṭṭa king Kārtavirya IV in A. D. 1219. There is no notice of the Nēsarige Nāyakas after Bācaya. The probability is that they were deprived of their hereditary position when the Yādava King Śiṅghaṇa II of Devagiri conquered the Kūṇḍi kingdom in about 1230.

(2) Ibid.  (3) Ibid., 256.  (4) Ibid., pp. 255-256.
(5) Ibid., pp. 256-259.
PART VI
THE PĀNDYAS OF UCCĀNGI
CHAPTER I.

FOUNDATIONS OF THE DYNASTY.

The progenitors of the Ucchāṅgi Pāṇḍyās were sufficiently powerful even before they came to be associated with the province of Nālambatā. This is confirmed by some later inscriptions found in Chitaldroog District. These epigraphs, by recording the achievements of these chiefs before they established themselves as important feudatories under the Western Cālukyas, show that they were men of consequence. The earliest of these chieftains is Maṅgaya, also called Ādityadēva, about whom it avers that he was an ornament of the Yādavakula.¹

Ādityadēva was succeeded by his son Pāṇḍya who bore the title Tēja-rāja. The glory of Tēja-rāja Pāṇḍya, as described in a Hoysala inscription, is as follows: "In protecting the earth an able right arm, a lion to the elephants his enemies, a house of adamant to refugee kings, the favourite of women, a bee at the lotus feet of Harā, destroyer of all his enemies,—such was Tēja-rāja's fame (tēja) in the world. There were no kings who did not flee, no people who did not supplicate him, none who did not retreat when he attacked, no foreign territories,—so extensive was the fame (tēja) of Tēja-rāja."²

This description is undoubtedly conventional and full of hyperbolical phraseology. In fact, it was written many years after the king's death. Nevertheless, we cannot escape the conclusion that Pāṇḍya was a powerful personage who wielded increasing influence. The very title Tēja-rāja accorded to him and the fact that his descendants were all known by the surname Pāṇḍya are clear indications that

he was an able person. Though he is called a king in the record quoted above, there is reason to doubt whether he was really a ruling prince or simply an officer under the Cālukyas.

Cādi-rāja, so called from his subduing the Cādi king, was the son of Trjā-rāja Pāṇḍya. As a matter of fact, Cādi-rāja was the real founder of the dynasty. He seems to have been a powerful general under the Cālukyan Emperor Somēśvara I who reigned from A. D. 1012 to 1068. Bilhana in his Vikramānkhadevacarita tells us that Somēśvara attacked Cādi or Dāhala, the capital of which was Tēvūr or Tripura, and deposed or slew Karna. This victory of Somēśvara against the Cādi king was perhaps largely due to the above general "Cādi-rāja". Karna, the king of Dāhala, was one of the greatest monarchs of the dynasty. Hence the defeat of such a powerful ruler at the hands of the Cālukya General must have enhanced the prestige of the latter throughout the Cālukyan Empire. In recognition of this valuable military service, he seems to have been raised to the position of a feudatory chief by Somēśvara. It is thus apparent that Cādi-rāja, who originally was a general under the Cālukyas, came to be associated with a portion of Nōlamavādi, where he founded a dynasty which in course of time became famous under the name 'the Pāṇḍyas of Ucchāgī.'

It is, however, certain that Cādi-rāja enjoyed greater power than was ever exercised either by his father or his grand-father. It is said of him in exaggerated language that, though a king over the whole circle of the world, he was permanently partial to the Pāṇḍya-country, and so acquired settled fame in the earth by the name Pāṇḍya. It must be remembered, in this connection, that the kingdom

(1) Ep. Car., XI, Dg. 41.
(2) Bühler, Vikramankadevacarita, I, 102-103.
was not called the Pāṇḍya country during the life-time of Cēḍī-rāja. As the inscription making the above statement is dated in 1168, it is clear that the name was introduced somewhere after the death of Cēḍī-rāja.

A Hoysala inscription assigned to A.D. 1100 tells us that Cēḍī-rāja was possessed of all good qualities.¹ "He was the snatcher of victory from hostile kings", and "a moon to the waterlily his own family".² The record further says that overwhelming the host of hostile kings, he with ease became known as Ēhāṅgavira and was adorned with the title Parichhēdi-gaṇḍa, which seems to be a covert allusion to the defeat of the Cēḍī-king. Cēḍī-rāja even in his old age did not lose all the vigour which marked his early career. We are told that he rendered valuable service to Vikramāditya VI by driving out his treacherous brother Sōmēśvara II. To quote the epigraph, "turning back Bhuvanaikamalla (Sōmēśvara II) so that the earth was terrified, he with great rejoicing seized his kingdom and in his own body gave it to Tribhuvanamalla" (Vikramāditya).³

(2) Ibid. (3) Ibid.
CHAPTER II.

IRUKKAPĀLA.

Irukkapāla was the younger brother of Cādi-rāja Pāṇḍya. He, unlike his brother, was not under the suzerainty of the Cālukyas. He took military service under the Cōḷas and married a Cōḷa princess. He so much identified himself with the Tamiḻ Cōḷas that the Arasikerc inscription of Ereyaṅga Hoysaḷa makes the false statement that he and his ancestors descended in unbroken line of the Cōḷa Emperors.

Irukkapāla had a beautiful daughter Mahādēvi who was married to the Hoysaḷa prince Ereyaṅga. It may look strange that Ereyaṅga, who was a loyal feudatory and a powerful general under Vikramāditya VI and a deadly enemy of the Cōḷas, concluded this marriage alliance with Irukkapāla. This marriage perhaps took place at a time when temporary peace was established between the Cōḷas and the Cālukyas.

As regards the military prowess of Irukkapāla, it is said that he was a Bhīma in the battle-field and a destroyer of brave kings. It is strange that Irukkapāla was a loyal general under the Cōḷas, while his elder brother Cādi-rāja Pāṇḍya was a strenuous supporter of the Cālukyas.

(1) Ep. Car., V, Ak, 102 a. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid., II, 327; V, Ho, 65, and Bl. 102, 117.
(5) Ibid., VII, Sh. 64. (6) Ibid., V, Ak, 102 a.
CHAPTER III

PALAMĀṆḌA PĀṆḌYA OR PĀLANTA.

Palamāṇḍa Pāṇḍya, also known as Pālanta, was the son and successor of Cāḍi-raja.¹ We have only one record of his reign and hence what little is known about him is mostly derived from the inscriptions of his successors. He seems to have ascended the Pāṇḍya throne in about A.D. 1075. The Dāvaṇagore inscription of Vīra-Pāṇḍya dated in 1148 calls Pālanta “the crest ornament of the Yadukula”.²

Palamāṇḍa Pāṇḍya was the subordinate of Vikrama- ditya VI. He is the first king of the dynasty to be described as governing over the province of Nōlam-bavāḍi. 32,000.³ He is mentioned by the title Nigalanākamalla Pāṇḍya in an inscription dated in the Cālukya Vikrama year 4, corresponding to A.D. 1079-80.⁴ This is the only record of his reign and also the earliest of the thirteen inscriptions discovered at Bāgali in Bellāry District, belonging to Vikrama- ditya VI.

We said above that Palamāṇḍa Pāṇḍya was ruling the Nōlam-bavāḍi Province as a feudatory of the Cālukyas. But it should not be supposed that he was the ruler of the whole province. As a matter of fact, he seems to have held only a portion of it, now corresponding to the Harapanahalli Tālukā and surrounding parts. We know from other inscriptions that a certain Visṇuvardhana Udayāditya, the son of an Eastern Cālukya princess, was ruling the Nōlam-bavaḍi Thirty-two Thousand in 1064 and 1066, with his seat of government at Kampilī.⁵ Another inscription shows us

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¹ Ep. Car., XI, Dg. 41. ² Ibid.
another Udayāditya ruling in 1072 over the Nōlambavādi Province from Peṅcēru. ¹ He was evidently under the Cōlas, as he had the sub-title Vira-rājēndra as well as Vira-Nōlamba-Pallava-Permānādi. Peṅcēru or Peṅjēru (Heṅjēru) now called Iēmāvatī is situated on the northern border of Sirā Tālukā. Apparently it was at this time the capital of Nōlambavādi. The same Udayāditya appears in another inscription in about 1109, wherein he is styled as the binder of Cōla-mārāja.² It will thus be seen that during Pālanta’s time, the province of Nōlambavādi was split up into two political divisions. The western part was ruled by the Pāṇḍyas under the suzerainty of the Cālukyas, while the eastern part was included in the Cōla dominions.

Palamāṅa Pāṇḍya was undoubtedly a brave chieftain who rendered valuable service to his master Vikrama. We are told that he made himself conspicuous in giving their own kingdoms to both the Cālukya and Cōla kings.³ The reference is undoubtedly to the service he rendered to Vikramāditya against his Cōla enemy. As the province of Nōlambavādi was a part of Karnātaka both culturally and geographically, the Kannāda Cālukyas had better claims to it than the Tamil Cōlas. Hence the composer of the inscription rightly states that Palmāṅa Pāṇḍya secured their respective kingdoms to both the Cālukyas and Cōlas.

With the accession of Vikramāditya VI to the imperial throne and with that of Pālanta to the throne of western Nōlambavādi, began the Cōla-Cālukya wars which in the long run resulted in the expulsion of the Cōlas from Nōlambavādi. The Vikramaṅkadēvacarita states that the Cālukya king overcame Rājīga, while the Tamil inscriptions of the latter report that he defeated the former.⁴ That Vikramāditya should have won some notable victory against the Cōlas is

repeatedly referred to in his Sikārput inscriptions. At any rate, it is certain that the Pāṇḍya feudatory Pālanta was of great service to his emperor in the latter's task of completely conquering the Nōlambavādi Province.

We do not know when precisely Palamāṇḍa Pāṇḍya died. But the fact that the earliest inscription of his son and successor is dated in 1083 naturally leads us to the conclusion that he died somewhere between A.D. 1080 and 1083.

The reign of Palamāṇḍa, though a short one, is of great importance in the annals of the dynasty. It marks the beginning of the Cōla decline in the Bellary District. What is more, it is the period when the kingdom of the Uccangī Pāṇḍyas began to extend its limits beyond the borders of the Harapanahalli Tālukā which had formed the hereditary territory of Pālanta when he came to the throne.

CHAPTER IV

TRIBHUVEKANAMALLA PÀNDYA.

Tribhuvanamalla, whose real name seems to have been Iruk-
avēla,¹ was the son and successor of Palamānda.² He was
undoubtedly the greatest king of the dynasty. He was one
of those actively connected with the final driving away of
the Cōlas from the Nōlaṃhavāḍi 32,000, which took place in
Vikramāditya’s reign. In fact, Irukkavēla took a prominent
part in the Cōla-Cālukya wars.

Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya’s military achievements are
gloriously described in many records. Thus an inscrip-
tion from Cannagiri, which is assigned to A. D. 1083,
tells us that Irukkavēla was a champion cutting on
both sides, defeater of the designs of Rājiga Cōla and a
bee at the lotus feet Tribhuvanamalla-Dēva.³ Rājiga Cōla
is the Cālukya-Cōla king Kulōttuṅga I. Similarly, an inscrip-
tion from Dāvanāgerc dated in A. D. 1121 informs us that
such was the emperor’s confidence in him that he was
considered sufficient to break the pride of Cōla, to harass
Āndhra, to cause Kāliṅga to fail, to frighten and attack
the Aṅga, Vaṅga, and Magadha kings, to conquer Mālavā
in battle, and to trample on the famous Guriṅjara.⁴
There appears to be much poetical exaggeration in this
description. For instance, it is impossible that the Pāṇḍya chief
should have so much of prowess as to frighten and attack
the Aṅga and Vaṅga kings. Nevertheless, there is enough
justification in describing Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya in such
exaggerated phraseology. It seems that Vikramāditya ap-
pointed him as a general against the Cōlas. Irukkavēla’s
conquest of the Cōlas is referred to in many inscriptions. It

(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid., VII, Cl, 33.
(4) Ibid., XI, Dg. 3.
s said that he by his valour brought the whole earth encompassed by the four oceans into subjection to king Vikrama. He is rightly described as the rod in Tribhuvanamalla’s right hand. It is to be remembered that Nolamba-vadi was the battle ground of the Cālukya-Cōla frigths and that it was in Vikrama’s time that the final expulsion of the Cōlas from that area took place. This was done apparently with the active aid of the feudatories under the leadership of Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya.

The statement that Irukkaṭeṭa had sufficient strength to harass Āndhra seems to be based on facts. It is quite possible that he was employed on the Āndhra expedition as a general of Vikramaḍitya VI. The Āndhras here referred to are probably the Telugu Cōla chiefs said to have been captured by Vikramaḍitya VI in his inscriptions found at Drākṣarāma.

Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya was the first chieftain of the dynasty to be called a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara. His full title is ‘Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, Lord of Kuḷambaṇpura, champion in cutting on both sides (parichchēdīgavata), defeater of the designs of Rājiga Cōla.’

Irukkaṭeṭa was distinguished as a great feudatory of his greater Emperor Vikrama. The description of him as “a Mukunda among chieftains, an ornament of chieftains, beautiful among chieftains and as a frontlet of chieftains”, shows the unique position he occupied under Vikramaditya. These terms perhaps also indicate not only that he belonged to the more powerful among the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras, who enjoyed a certain amount of independence and exercised much freedom of action, but also that Irukkaṭeṭa probably enjoyed still greater power than was enjoyed by his peers.

Irukkaṭeṭa Pāṇḍya, though a feudatory, appears to have been appointed the provincial viceroy of the Sāntalige

(1) Ep. Car., XI, Dg. 3. (2) Ibid., 139. (3) Ibid., 3.
(4) Ibid., 139. (5) Ibid., 3.
Thousand towards the close of his reign. An inscription from Dāvaṇagere, dated in 1124, shows him governing the Sāntalige Thousand and various agrahāras in Banavāse-nāḍ, as well as the Nōlambavāḍī Province, and controlling the nidhi-nidhāna-nikṣēpa (mines or banks and underground treasures), the sahasradanīṭa (the thousand force) and other affairs. The statement that he was at the head of many agrahāras in Banavāse-nāḍ leads us to presume that he was at the head of the Department of Public Instruction so far as the Banavāse Province was concerned. It may be that Irukkavēḷa in his old age, when he must have naturally lost much of his military vigour, thought of directing his energies in promoting education and learning. Hence he chose the province of Banavāse for this purpose, as it was famous for its efficient agrahāras. Irukkavēḷa is described as the younger brother of Tribhuvanamalla Vira-Nōlamba-Permādi-Dēva, who can be identified with Vikramāditya's younger brother Jayasimha. How he came to be described as Jayasimha's brother is not evident. Perhaps, as Mr. Rico suggests, "the designation was intended in a complimentary sense as betokening a close intimacy between the Cālukya-Pallava prince Jayasimha and the Pāṇḍya chief".

The Pāṇḍyas as yet had not become identical with Uccaṅgi, the later capital of the dynasty. What is more, no chieftain that preceded Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya is mentioned as ruling the Nōlambavāḍī from any capital. It looks as if the early Pāṇḍyas had not founded a permanent capital and hence no inscription refers to it. It is Irukkavēḷa who is credited with having established the capital of his dynasty at Beltūr, the modern Beḷtūr near Dāvaṇagere. We have the good fortune to possess a description of this capital written in A. D. 1121. "If looked at, the most to be desired in the great Thousand-nāḍ in Nōlambavāḍī was Beltūru."

shining with excellence, a birth place of fortune, agreeable as the land of praiseworthy enjoyment, giving pleasure to all people. ... ... chief in beauty”.

It is evident from what has been said above that Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya was a great ruler. The very title Tribhuvanamalla accorded to him after the title of his Emperor Vikrama is a clear indication of the great services he had rendered to his master. We have also seen that Irukkavēla was not only a faithful feudatory but also a pillar of strength supporting the empire. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that somewhere in about 1115 A. D. he, being intoxicated with his early victories against the Cōlas, aimed at complete independence. We are told in a Sinda inscription that Vikramāditya commanded his loyal feudatory Ācugi II the Sinda chieftain to proceed against the refractory Mahīmānulakṣumaras. Ācugi II “pursued and prevailed against Poysala, took Göve, put to flight Lakṣma in war, valorously followed after Pāṇḍya, dispersed at all times the Malapas, and seized upon the Koṅkaṇ”.

Thus the attempts of Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya to establish independence ended in failure.

Vikramāditya must have proceeded leniently with the Pāṇḍya feudatory, and the differences between them were very soon and permanently made up. The reason for this seems to be that Vikramāditya bore genuine admiration for his Pāṇḍya feudatory on account of his early services and warlike qualities. It was also a stroke of diplomacy on the part of the Cālukya Emperor who was then in need of powerful and loyal feudatories in the south to assist him against the rising power of the Hoysalas. He further seems to have strengthened this alliance by appointing Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya as the viceroy of the Sāntalighe Province.

(1) Ep. Car., XI, Dg. 3.
The defeat of Irukkaśāla at the hands of the Sinda chieftain Ācūgi only shows the declining vigour of the Pāṇḍya prince owing to his old age. Taking advantage of this, the ambitious Viśṇuvardhana marched against Nolambavādi. In the same year in which Tulaṇgad was taken (A.D. 1116), Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya was attacked at Dummec just on the border of Shimoga and Chitaldroog Districts. But the inscription referring to the war does not say which party was defeated. It is only stated that the village Jalaḥalī, which apparently belonged to the Pāṇḍyas, was destroyed by one Mācaña. But the Kudū inscription of A.D. 1160, states that the lion, the Hoysala king Viśṇuvardhana’s valour, having sported in plunder at Talkād, attacked the lofty elephant Uccaṇgi, calmly marched by Banavāse, daringly seized upon Belvola, and sprang forward with joy to the Perddoro (or Kṛṣṇa), planting his feet on Hānugal. Though there is a little exaggeration in this description, it can be safely maintained that the Pāṇḍya chief Tribhuvanamalla suffered some temporary reverses. Again a Nāgamaṇgala record which was set up in A. D. 1178 reports that among other conquests Viśṇuvardhana captured “Vijaya Pāṇḍya’s fortress of Uccaṇgi”. Here the composer of the inscription calls the Uccaṇgi fort as belonging to Vijaya Pāṇḍya only to show that Vijaya Pāṇḍya was the reigning Pāṇḍya king when the tablet was actually written. As this record was composed many years after the event it treats of, we greatly doubt whether Uccaṇgi was really captured. Two inscriptions from Cikkanāyakakanahalli, dated in A. D. 1149, also tell us that Cāma-dēva, a general of Viśṇuvardhana assaulted Uccaṇgi. Even from these inscriptions, it is not quite clear that the fort of Uccaṇgi was actually taken by the Hoysala king. It is again mentioned that the provinces over which Viśṇuvardhana ruled were Kōṅgu, Naṅgali,
Talakād, Gaṅgavādi, Nōlambavādi, Banavāse, Huligere, Halasige, and Belvola. It may be that only some southern portions of the Nōlambavādi Province were annexed by Viṣṇuvardhana to his kingdom.

On the conclusion of the Hoysala-Pāṇḍya war in 1116, Viṣṇuvardhana started leading predatory excursions into the Pāṇḍya territories. Two undated inscriptions describe him as the capturer of Gaṅgavādi, Nōlambavādi, Uccaṅgi and Hāṅugal. This only shows that he had not yet defeated the Pāṇḍyas, but was merely raiding their kingdom. We, however, conclude by saying that Viṣṇuvardhana was not completely successful in his policy towards Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya. The only result of these raids was that a small portion of southern Nōlambavādi was lost to the Pāṇḍyas. At any rate it is difficult to believe, though it is commonly assumed, that the celebrated fort of Uccaṅgi was ever captured by the Hoysalas during the life-time of Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya.

We are told in a Kadamba inscription belonging to Taila II of Hāṅgal that he married a Pāṇḍya princess named Bācalādēvi. She was probably a sister of Irukkavēla Tribhuvanamalla who was the contemporary of Tailapa. This event might suggest a political alliance concluded between the two neighbouring feudatory powers with a view to defending each other's territories. Indeed a glance at the state of affairs in the Karnāṭaka would show that the times of Irukkavēla were very troublous on account of the Cōla-Cālukya wars on the one hand and the growing power of the Hoysalas on the other. As we have already seen, the Hoysalas under Viṣṇuvardhana had risen to prominence and were attempting to impose their overlordship on the neighbouring kings.

(1) Ep. Car, VI, Kd, 80; Cm, 160.
(2) Ibid., V, On, 212, VI, Tk, 76.
(3) Ind. Ant., X, p. 254.
We said above that Tribhuvanamalla Pândya enjoyed greater power than was enjoyed by his peers. It was thus natural that he had some minor feudatories as his immediate subordinates. Some of these feudatories are referred to in his inscriptions. One of the most powerful of these was Mahásámanta Dékarasa. In an inscription found in Déva-
ñagorô Tāhukā, dated in A. D. 1101, he is reported to have made a grant for the god Sūmēśvara of Kodańganúr.\(^1\) Again an inscription of A. D. 1106 tells us that he made a grant of ten per cent of the principle customs duties on arcca-nut, betel-leaf and grain of the agrahāra town Bāḍa for the god Allājēśvara.\(^2\) This work of merit, says the epigraph, the managers of the customs and the fifty Brāhmaṇas should maintain. A Jagālār inscription, dated in A. D. 1111, refers to Mahásámanta Mallarasa who is described as a dweller at Tribhuvanamalla Pândya’s lotus-feet.\(^3\) Besides being a minor chief, he was in charge of perjuṅka (big customs) of the Nōlambavāḍi Province.\(^4\) In the same inscription a certain Pergarde Hēma-śetti who was ruling the Perjuṅka of the Kaḷambilige Thousand is also mentioned. It is interesting to note that even a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara by name Gaṭṭiyarasa was ruling Kōgali as a subordinate of Irukkāvēḷa Pândya.\(^5\) An inscription found at Kuṇcēru mentions one Iruṅgarasa of Koḷacapura, a subordinate of the Pândya chief.\(^6\)

Tribhuvanamalla Pândya extended the limits of his ancestral kingdom far and wide. In fact, he seems to have ruled over almost the whole of Nōlambavāḍi Province. We saw above that he was the immediate overlord of Gaṭṭeyarasa, the ruler of Kōgali Five-hundred. The Kaḷambilige Thousand Province was included in his kingdom.\(^7\) In 1101 A.D. Irukkāvēḷa was also in charge of the Ballakuṇḍa Three-

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hundred, a province which later on became famous as the hereditary domain of the Kurgōl Sindas. The very fact that his inscriptions are found scattered in the Bellāry, Chitaldroog and Shimoga Districts amply indicates the extended boundaries of the Pāṇḍya kingdom under Irukkavāla. Thus Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya transmitted to his successor a kingdom which had increased much in area and splendour during his reign extending for a period of about half a century.

Reading the inscriptions of Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya, one feels that he was an active prince blessed with indomitable energy. His services in the expulsion of the Cūlas from Nōlāmbavādi appear to have been brought him great renown. He took a personal part in every war and often led the forces of his Emperor Vikrama. His rule must have been a peaceful and prosperous one despite the wars he indulged in. Judging from records, trade and industry should have flourished. Irukkavāla Pāṇḍya was active in maintaining temples in his domain. The king and his officers are recorded to have made many liberal endowments to various temples.

Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya died in A. D. 1124 and was succeeded by his son Rāya Pāṇḍya.

(2) Ibid., XI, Dg. 135, 139, 155 etc.  
(3) Ibid., XI, Dg. 2.
CHAPTER V.

TRIBHUVANAMALLA RĀYA PĀṇḍYA.

Rāya Pāṇḍya, also known as Rāja Pāṇḍya,¹ who assum-
ed his father’s title Tribhuwanamalla, succeeded to the
Pāṇḍya throne in A. D. 1124.² Viṣṇuvardhana Hoysala was
still aggressive in his foreign policy. He continued to lead
military expeditions against the neighbouring kingdoms till
A. D. 1130, when he attacked Hāṅgal, the Kadamba capital,
with the intention of finally overthrowing the Kadambas
and annexing their kingdom.³ In that year, the Kadamba
king Tailapa II was either killed in the thick of fight or was
captured and beheaded by Viṣṇuvardhana.⁴ Thus when
the Hoysala monarch was engaged in a deadly combat with
the Kadambas of Hāṅgal, Rāya Pāṇḍya seems to have lost
no time in strengthening the southern boundaries of his
kingdom.

We saw in the last chapter that towards the close of
Irukkaṇaḷa Pāṇḍya’s reign, the Pāṇḍyas of Uccaṅgi had lost
certain portions spread in the Shimoga District. In spite of
these lost possessions, they still continued to hold a consi-
derable tract of land in the Sāntaligre Province. In fact,
Rāya Pāṇḍya is described as ruling over the Nolambavādi
and Sāntalige provinces in the year of his coronation.⁵ The
same is repeated by a Channagiri inscription dated in A. D.
1125.⁶ It seems that the unhappy Sāntalige Province was
completely torn into many political divisions among the
various neighbouring dynasties. The Kadambas of Hāṅgal
are said to have been ruling over a portion of that province
till A. D. 1130.⁷ Viṣṇuvardhana, after defeating the army of

(1) Ep. Car., XI, Dg. 41.
(2) Ibid., 2.
(3) Ibid., XII, Tp. 31; VII, Hl, 47.
(4) Ibid., XII, Tp. 31.
(5) Ibid., XI, Dg. 2.
(6) Ibid., VII, Hl. 61.
(7) Ibid., VII, Hl. 47.
Jagaddéva, the Sántara king, had already annexed the eastern part of Sántalíge to his growing kingdom. The district of Dummi Twelve, where the battle between Rāya Pândya's father and Viṣṇuvardhana was fought, was still in the possession of the Pândyas.

Rāya Pândya appears to have taken many measures to protect these tracts from the aggressive policy of the Hoysalas. With this end in view, he secured the efficient services of two minister-generals, Súrya and Āditya, sons of Sénāvara. Both of them were experienced military officers who had ably served the great Emperor Vikramáditya VI. It is said of Āditya that he “was master of all the property of Cálukya Vikramáditya-déva’s court, the rod in Tribhuvanamalla Permádi Déva’s right hand, the beloved son of the famous Sénávara-daṇḍanátha, an axe to the forest of the race of the irresistible Durvinita-daṇḍanátha, a mirror to the closed goblest-breast of the Andhris, a golden flower-ornament to the curls of the Kuntalis.”

It is certain that Viṣṇuvardhana had to deal with a powerful enemy if he wished to invade the Nölambahádi Province. By reading the Dávaŋagere inscription, which hyperbolically describes the military qualities of Rāya Pândya, one feels that he was a great warrior-king of his times. “Throughout the ocean girdled globe what great warrior”, asks the composer, “with heart of bravery, will oppose with anger the king Pândya?” At any rate, it is plain that the Hoysala monarch did not dare to continue predatory raids in the Pândya territory.

Rāya Pândya was the worthy son of a great father. It is said that he was “reputed as having a fortune four inches higher” (chatur aṅgulonmataśri) than his father, and a king whose valour was unbounded. It should not be supposed

that Rāya Pāṇḍya was always on his defensive. We know
that the stronger Mahāmanḍalēśvarian families in those days
often tried to subjugate their weaker neighbouring rulers. Rāya
Pāṇḍya has been described in some inscriptions as subduing
kings, defeating powerful heroes, and thus acquiring the
name for surpassing courage. It may be inferred from these
records that he had brought under his immediate supremacy
a number of minor feudatory chiefs, ruling over the borders
of his kingdom and also annexed the territories of some
of them. Among such families that fell a prey to Rāya Pāṇḍya
was the Kadamba dynasty of Moḷākālmūru, the capital
of which was Laṅkē in the Chitaldroog District. As there
is a blank in the history of this dynasty during the reign
of Rāya Pāṇḍya, the family seems to have fallen on evil
days with the conquest and annexation of its kingdom
by the Pāṇḍyas.

The fact that Rāya Pāṇḍya was a powerful ruler was
well remembered by the later kings of the dynasty. Thus
an inscription of Vijaya Pāṇḍya dated in A. D. 1165 de-
scribes Rāya Pāṇḍya as a confounder of the Cōla
king, destroyer of Nēpāḷa, an invincible barrier to the
serpent Kaliṅga, uprooter of the unsubmitive Simhala,
Cayēndra, Siṅgha, and Kauluṭa kings.1 Similarly another
record, which was put up only three years after the above,
states that Rāya Pāṇḍya was "the self-chosen husband of
the goddess of heroism in having defeated mighty foes by
his valour."2 It is true that the above description is fictiti-
oun. Nevertheless it conveys us the idea that Rāya Pāṇḍya
was looked upon as a brave warrior by his successors.

The inscriptions disclose the name of Sōvalādēvi, the
chief queen of Rāya Pāṇḍya.3 We are told in one of these
records that she was the daughter of a certain Billava Rāya
and the younger sister of king Vikramāditya. This Vikramā-

(1) Ep. Car., XI, Dg. 77.
(2) Ibid., 39.
(3) Ibid., 5, 39, 41, 76.
ditya was, according to a Bellary inscription, a chieftain under the Calukyas. Sōvalādevi was the most favourite wife of her husband; for it is expressly stated that her "lotus feet were kissed by the clusters of bees the curls on foreheads of the co-wives." The same fact is repeated by another epigraph which says that "the circle of the toe nails of her feet was upheld by the jewelled crowns of all the co-wives doing obeisance." She was reckoned "the only jewel among women in all the earth" in all virtues and dignity. Her description that she was by nature "the field of union of conjugal devotion and beauty" would suggest that she was a woman of great beauty. That she was a liberal patron of literature is perhaps evidenced by the statement that she was praised by distinguished learned men. Sōvalādevi, who, on becoming the king's consort, "obtained hero wifehood," and on bearing the three sons, Pāndita Pāṇḍya, Vīra Pāṇḍya and Vijaya Pāṇḍya "obtained hero motherhood."  

Among the minor feudatories and officials of Rāya-Pāṇḍya was a Gaṅgara, ruling the Kukkuvādi Three Hundred, which lay in the Hoṅalkere Tālukā of the Chitaldroog District. He was a Mahāmanaḍalāśvara with numerous epithets including "boon lord of Kōḷaḷapurā, lord of Nanda-giri, nampiya-Gaṅga, Jayad-uttaraṅga, having the crest of a rutting elephant, his father's shining sword (aḷḷaṃamga candra-hāsa)." In this connection, it is interesting to note that a potter Bommāna, who is said to have been a pradhu-gāvunḍa under this Gaṅga chief, once took a strict vow not to anoint the head or eat till he had set up a certain god. In A. D. 1124 we come across an officer who made a grant for the god Vāsudeva of Rāyarāja-Bannalur, set up in the paḍivāḍu.

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(2) Ep. Car., XI, Dg. 77.  
(3) Ibid., 39.  
(4) Ibid., 41.  
(5) Ibid., 39.  
(6) Ibid.  
(7) Ibid., 77.  
(8) Ibid., Hk. 68.  
(9) Ibid.  
(10) Ibid., XI, Hk. 68.
of parichhedi-gāṇḍa Pallava Rāya, ruler of Kuruṅguḍi.1 This Pallava Rāya was undoubtedly a feudatory of the Pāṇḍya. It seems that he, having faithfully served his master, received the Pāṇḍya title parichhedi-gāṇḍa. The same Pallava Rāya is mentioned in the Channagiri inscription, dated in 1125, wherein he is described as the Mahāsāmanta protecting Bilici Seventy and the Dummi Twelve with enjoyment for three generations.2 The same year the Mahāsāmanta Sōmarasa was protecting with due rights the mauneyya in the Bilici Seventy.3

As the last date for Rāya Pāṇḍya is in A. D. 11394, it may be inferred that he died in or about 1140.

CHAPTER VI.

PANDITA PANDYA AND TAILAPA.

Pandita Pandya was the eldest son of Rayya Pandya and of Sovaladévi. We do not possess any grant of this king. From this it is possible to deduce that his reign was a very short one. We would have had at least one grant if he had ruled for a longer period. Mr. Rice doubts whether Pandita Pandya had come to the throne at all. But the fact that he is described in terms of high praise as a king in later inscriptions would have us believe that he was a ruling king. As the earliest inscription of his younger brother is dated in 1143, it may be inferred that Pandita Pandya reigned between the short interval of about one year, following the death of his father in A. D. 1140.

Pandita Pandya had for his preceptor the learned Kannada poet Madhusudana, the composer of a Dāvanagere inscription of Vira-Pandya’s reign. It seems that Pandita Pandya turned out to be a great scholar under the guidance of this celebrated teacher. A highly exaggerated description of Pandita Pandya’s learning and other qualities, written by Madhusudana himself, has come down to us.

According to another inscription, he was a skilful conversationalist “who quickly reconciled the goddess of eloquence, dispelling her great antipathy”. He is called a Vidyadhara in one place. As a matter of fact, Pandita does not seem to be his real name, but only an appellation accorded to him on account of his profound scholarship.

One of the Pandya records discloses the name of Tailapa, the son of Pandita Pandya. But he seems not to have come to the throne.

(2) Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 151.
(3) Ep. Car., XI, Dg. 41.
(4) Ibid., 39.
(5) Ibid., 5.
(6) Ibid., 41.
CHAPTER VII.

VĪRA-PĀNDYA.

On the death of Pandita Pāndya, his younger brother Vīra-Pāndya ascended the throne of Nolambavādi. This event seems to have happened a few years prior to A. D. 1143, as three of his inscriptions are dated in that year. In 1148, Vīra-Pāndya is represented as ruling the Nolambavādi and many other countries as a minor. Mr. Rice suggests that it may mean that Vīra-Pāndya was ruling as a minor or from boyhood. As the inscription making the above statement was set up many years after his coronation, it is difficult to agree with Mr. Rice and to maintain that he was a minor even towards the close of his reign. For we learn from other records that Vīra-Pāndya had two wives, who were evidently married to him before A. D. 1148. In our opinion the word Kumāra-vrttiyinda is not used here to mean a minor. Kumāra also means an heir-apparent. It seems to us that it is used here only to convey the idea that Vīra-Pāndya succeeded his brother only because he was appointed an heir-apparent during the life time of his predecessor. Strictly speaking, he possessed no legal rights to ascend the Pāndya throne as long as his elder brother’s son Tailapa was living. But Tailapa being a mere child of only a few years, Vīra-Pāndya seems to have usurped the throne for himself. The composer of the inscription perhaps wanted to defend Vīra-Pāndya, thereby declaring that he had every right to become king as he was chosen the heir-apparent (Kumāra) in the previous reign.

(1) Ep., Car., XI, Dg. 4,85, 168. (2) Ibid., Dg. 41.
(3) Ibid., XI, 43; South Ind., Ep., Nos. 238 and 240 of 1918.
Viṣṇuvardhana having died in 1141, the warlike spirit of the Hoysalas evidently suffered a check for want of capable military leaders. Narasimha, the son and successor of Viṣṇuvardhana, was a mere child of eight years at the death of his father, and throughout his life he remained a weak ruler.

The kingdom of Pāṇḍyas seems to have been extended in its southern borders during this reign. The southern outlying portions of the Pāṇḍya kingdom, which were conquered by Viṣṇuvardhana in the first quarter of that century, were now recovered by Vira-Pāṇḍya. The fact that two of his inscriptions are found in the Channagiri Tālukā of the Shimoga District is a clear indication that the eastern part of the district was included in his domain.

A grant of A. D. 1145 says that Vira-Pāṇḍya subdued Male and gave it to the “ornament of the Cālukyas.” This apparently refers to an event connected with the Hoysala king Narasimha who continued the struggle against the Cālukyas and the Hāŋgal Kadambas on his father’s death. A viraja of A. D. 1143 records that when Mallikārjuna Kadamba was ruling the kingdom of the Haive Five-hundred, Mahālīge, Kōṇḍaraṇīge, Kubbunālīge, the Four Bāda and Mōgalu-nāḍ, the Hoysala raised a great army against Mahālīge. The Malo referred to in the Pāṇḍya record can be identified with Haive Five-hundred, the province lying on the slopes of the Western Ghāts. In a Dēvaṇāgere record of Vira-Pāṇḍya, dated in 1143, we are told that the Cālukya Emperor attacked the Hoysala king and increased his fame by capturing his elephant. All this clearly shows that Jagadeśakamalla, with the help of his feudatory

(2) Ibid., V, Bl, 93.
(4) Ibid. XI, Dg. 163.
(5) Ibid., VII, Sa. 58.
(3) Ibid., VII, Cl, 39, 40.
(6) Ibid., XI, Dg. 58.
Vira Pāṇḍya, defeated the Hoysaḷa king Narasimha and restored the Hāṅgal king to his dominions. This is further evidenced by a Kadamba inscription of 1145 which describes the Hāṅgal king as ruling his kingdom under the Cālukya Emperor Perna-Jagadēkamalla.\(^1\) The part played by Vira-Pāṇḍya in the struggle seems to be of much significance. Hence the epigraph proudly states that he subdued Male and gave it to the ornament of the Cālukyas.

But the greatest achievement of Vira-Pāṇḍya appears to be the valuable services he rendered to his Emperor in driving away the Cōḷas. A Pāṇḍya record of 1143 A. D. describes the Cālukya Emperor as Kuntula-Rāya and as frightening and driving away in alarm the Cōḷa king in battle and to have made the Cōḷnela (the Cōḷa country) to be as if an Aṇōla (slave or servant country).\(^2\) In recognition of his services, Vira-Pāṇḍya seems to have been properly honoured by Jagadēkamalla II. It is expressly stated in one place that “Vira-Pāṇḍya, the favourite of the world, thence received the name of king Jagadēkamalla from breaking down the pride of mighty enemics”.\(^3\)

A record of A. D. 1148 says that Vira-Pāṇḍya made the mighty Gaṅga, Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Māru, Gurjjara, Kēraḷa, Cēra, Cōḷa, Gauḍa, Aṅga, Varāṭa, Lāṭa, Khāsa, Barbara, Kōsala, Kuru, Prathara, Āṇdrā, Turuṣka and Māgaḍha kings to tremble.\(^4\) It is needless to say that the statement is merely fictitious. Nevertheless, it is not written without its value inasmuch as it was meant only to show that Vira-Pāṇḍya was a mighty warrior. It is, however, certain that he was as great a feudatory as his two famous contemporaries, namely, Permāḍi I, the Sinda King of Yelburga and Jayakēśī II, the Kadamba king of Goa. He commanded such great political influence, especially in the southern half of the

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(2) Ep. Car., XI, Dg. 85. (3) Ibid., 41. (4) Ibid.
Cālukyan Empire, that he is aptly styled “the Emperor of the Southern region” in a record found at Hoḷal.¹

Soon after his accession Vīra-Pāṇḍya must have transferred the seat of his government from Bāltūr to Uccaṅgi. Up-to this time, the latter place was known to history only as a celebrated fort, standing a few miles north-east of Bāltūr. Many of his inscriptions show Vīra-Pāṇḍya ruling the Nōlambavaḍi kingdom from the fort of Uccaṅgi.² The earliest which is dated in 1143 expressly states that Vīra-Pāṇḍya putting down the evil and upholding the good in the Nōlambavaḍi Thirty-two thousand was in the residence of the Uccaṅgi fort, ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom.³ Uccaṅgi is called a Rājadhāni in A. D. 1149.⁴ That this new capital soon grew into a big city is evidenced by a record of 1145, in which the place is described by the name Jagadēka-malla Pāṇḍyanagara, or the city of Jagadēkamalla Pāṇḍya.⁵ To the south of the capital, adorned with the temple of Vīra-Nāgēśvara, was Vīra-pura,⁶ which was evidently a suburb of the royal town.

Vīra-Pāṇḍya is also credited with establishing a second capital at Cāge, also known as Bāge. We are told that the Sēnāpati-daṇḍanātha was in this royal city (Rājadhāni) in A. D. 1143.⁷ The creation of a second capital was perhaps necessitated by the southern extension of the Pāṇḍya territories during this reign. Records show that Vīra-Pāṇḍya was also ruling the Kaḷamāḷiga Thousand Province,⁸ which was to the east of the Tuṅgabhadṛa and extended down to Hoḷalkere, thus lying between Nōlamba-vāḍi and Banavāsc.

(1) Rangacharya, Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, I. p. 28.
(2) Ep. Car., VII, Cl; 38, 39; XI, Dg. 4, 168.
(3) Ibid., XI, Dg. 4. (4) Ibid., NII, Cl, 38.
(5) Ibid. XI, Dg.168.
(6) Ibid. (7) Ibid., 85.
(8) Rangacharya, Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, I, p. 299.
Vīra-Pāṇḍya encouraged learning and literary pursuits. There flourished at his court the Kannada poet Madhusūdana who, as we have seen in the last chapter, was the preceptor of Paṇḍita Pāṇḍya. The poet describes himself as "the chief worshipper of the feet of the great king Vīra-Pāṇḍya". No work of his has come down to us except an inscription which he composed in verse. It may be easily inferred from the style of this inscription that Madhusūdana was a poet of considerable merit. His description of Vīra-Pāṇḍya written in Vṛttā and Kāndu metres is a good specimen of the Kānyā style.

That Vīra-Pāṇḍya was a skilful and intrepid warrior who acquired great glory by the strength and prowess of his arm is borne out by several enthusiastic terms of the inscriptions. It is said that "putting down the arrogant who were struggling for precedence before him, and chasing them away terrified, the fame of king Pāṇḍya was spread on all the points of the compass". Of his other personal accomplishments, besides his military prowess, the inscriptions do not speak much.

We are told in a Kadamba inscription, belonging to Pērmādi (Śivacitta) of Goa that he married a Pāṇḍya princess, "born of a king of the race of the moon". The princess spoken here was possibly the sister of Vīra-Pāṇḍya.

Vīra-Pāṇḍya married Gaṅgādēvi, the daughter of Āditya-danānātha and Vijaya-dēvi, the younger sister of one Vikramätītya. The former, after her marriage, was renamed Mahādēvi according to Hindu customs. Her father who was raised by the Cālukya Emperor to the position of a mahāpradhāna-sikhāmani (head of great ministers) was
famed throughout the world". Mahādevi is said to be distinguished of descent, beauty, virtue and dignity. Vijayādevi, the younger wife, who was known for her beautiful eyes, is described as "a vine of plenty of the learned". That she was of a religious turn of mind is evidenced by her two grants found at Alagilavāda.

According to inscriptions, Vira-Pāṇḍya had under him able generals and officials. Foremost among his generals was his father-in-law Āditya-danḍanātha referred to above. An inscription dated in 1177 A. D. informs us that he was made a minister in the next reign by Vijaya-Pāṇḍya. Āditya's brother Sūrya had a son Śenāpati-danḍanātha, described as the "soul of Vīra-Pāṇḍya's city". In A. D. 1143 he was residing in the royal city (rājadāni) of Cäge or Bāge, the second capital of the Pāṇḍya kingdom.

Mahāsāmanta Sōmu or Sōvi-dēva, who is said to have gained great fame by the conquest of hostile kings, is mentioned in a Channagiri inscription assigned to A.D. 1149. His son Ėdavari-dēva, "a great promoter of works of merit" made a grant of land for the god Mallikārjuna of Sosalugere. This Ėdavari-dēva, whose wives were Candalādevi, Gaṅgarasi and Honnarasi, is called his elder brother's rutting elephant in another record. The same inscription refers to the chiefs of Bilici Seventy, who were evidently under the Pāṇḍyas. Among other officers of some note was "Vira-Pāṇḍya's chief agent Perggade-dēva, mentioned in an inscription of 1145 as making grants in favour of god Nāgēśvara of Virapura.

A feudatory of the Pāṇḍyas worthy of note is referred to in a record from Bellary District. He is described as a
Mahāmaṇḍalaśvara, and the lord of Banavāsi. The fact that he bears these titles may lead us to conclude that he was a member of the Kadamba family of Nālambavādi. The inscription states that he was ruling over the Koṭṭūru Twelve and Kōgali Five-hundred from Koṭṭūru, evidently the chief town of the former division.

A number of grants made by Vīrā-Pāṇḍya amply prove that he was a liberal monarch, spending a considerable portion of his income in making endowments to temples.

At the time of a solar eclipse in 1148 he made great gifts at the confluence of the Tuṅgabhadrā and Haridrā. There is little doubt that the grants claiming to be issued by the Emperor Janamājaya at this spot in connection with the Sarpa-yāga or serpent sacrifice emanated from this Pāṇḍya prince.²

Vīrā-Pāṇḍya was indeed a successful ruler and it stands to his credit that he recovered the Kaṇḍambalige Province, which had been annexed by Viṣṇuvardhana to the Hoysala kingdom.

The last date for Vīrā-Pāṇḍya, as furnished by a Laksmyēvar inscription, is in December A. D. 1152.³ We also learn from this inscription that Vīrā-Pāṇḍya was royally administering the scigniory (māmeya) of the Puligere country, evidently under the Cālukya Emperor Taila III.⁴

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(1) *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dg. 41.
(3) *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 43.
(4) In this connection, Prof. Moraes in his *Kadamba Kula* remarks: “It may be inferred from this inscription that Vīrā-Pāṇḍya of Ucchāgi was a feudatory of the Kadambas and that he was in-charge of the Puligere country”. (p. 137). But the wording of the inscription leads to no such inference. It is only stated that Vīrā-Pāṇḍya was administering the māmeya of the Puligere-ṇāḍ, which must be taken as under the Cālukya Emperor Taila III who is mentioned in the inscription.
CHAPTER VIII

KĀMA-DĒVA VIJAYA PĀNDYA.

On the death of Vira-Pāṇḍya which must have taken place in or about 1153, the succession to the Pāṇḍya throne seems to have been disputed by Palamāṇḍa Pāṇḍya, also known as Palaṭṭa. We learn from a record of 1148 that Vira-Pāṇḍya had a younger brother Palamāṇḍa in addition to Vijaya Pāṇḍya.¹ But the fact that Palamāṇḍa Pāṇḍya is not mentioned as a direct brother of Vira-Pāṇḍya in any record while Vijaya Pāṇḍya is explicitly described as such² leads us to believe that Palamāṇḍa was only a half-brother of Vira-Pāṇḍya. This inference seems to be further supported by the fact that Rāyu-Pāṇḍya, the father of Vira-Pāṇḍya, had other wives besides Sōvalādāvi, the mother of Paṇḍita Pāṇḍya, Vira-Pāṇḍya and Vijaya Pāṇḍya³. It is quite possible that Palamāṇḍa Pāṇḍya wanted to make himself the king of Nolambavādi on his half-brother’s death.

An inscription dated in 1161 A. D. indirectly refers to this dispute of succession.⁴ In it we are told that the Sēnāpati-dāṇḍanāṭha, the son of Sūryānāṭha, was the chief person responsible for “the promotion of peaceful succession.” “As for his experience”, says the epigraph, “it was he who chose from among the sons of the Pāṇḍya king, from the former Palaṭṭa downwards, and held up or established the king, and made the kingdom strong; without him they were ciphers (pūjya)⁵.” Though there is some exaggeration in this statement, it can be safely inferred that Sēnāpati-dāṇḍanāṭha was a very able minister who had grown old in the service of the Pāṇḍya kings. His influence in the

¹ Eg. Car., XI, Dg. 41.
² Ibid.
³ Ibid., 39, 77.
⁴ Ibid., 34.
previous reign was so great that he is styled the "soul of Vīra-Pāṇḍya's city". Hence it is not unreasonable to think that the above description of his abilities is not without any element of truth in it. It cannot be called an extraordinary pretention as Mr. Rice remarks. We have seen in a previous chapter that the succession of Vīra-Pāṇḍya was also disputed. Considering all these facts, as put forward by inscriptions, one has to admit that Vijaya Pāṇḍya had to fight against his half-brother Pālmāṇḍa before proclaiming himself the king of Nūlamēnhavēḷi, and that he was greatly assisted in his attempt by the experienced minister-general Sēnāpati-danḍanātha. We place the date of Vijaya Pāṇḍya's actual coronation in or about A. D. 1155.

*Kāma-dēva* does not seem to be the real name of Vijaya-Pāṇḍya, though he is called by it in some records. It was perhaps an appellation accorded to him on account of his beautiful personality. Kāma-dēva, according to Hindu mythology, is the God of Love and Beauty. The only record which gives his full name calls him "king Nīgalēnkamallā Vijaya Śri-Pāṇḍya, with the celebrated appellation Kāma." Vijaya-Pāṇḍya like his predecessors remained as the feudatory of the Cālukyas for the first nine years of his reign, after which he seems to have been forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Kālacakrya king Bijjaḷa.

This period witnessed the steady decline of the Western Cālukya supremacy. Bijjaḷa of the Kalacakrya family, who discharged for a time the dual functions of general and minister of the Cālukyas, used the enormous power he had acquired by virtue of these offices to the usurpation of the imperial throne. We learn from one of the inscriptions that consequent on the overthrow of the Cālukya power,
Taila III, who was then the Cālukya Emperor, was forced to beat a precipitate retreat southwards to take refuge at Banavāsi. This event happened in 1156.

The flight of the Cālukya Emperor to the south presented a very favourable opportunity to king Bijjala to subjugate the famous Pāṇḍyas of Ucchāṅgi. But it was not an easy task to cow down the Pāṇḍya king Kāma-dēva. In fact Bijjala seems to have taken full five years to make the Pāṇḍyas acknowledge his suzerainty. Thus, one of the inscriptions of Vijaya Pāṇḍya, dated in 1161, mentions him as a subordinate of king Bijjala, who is here styled the Bhujabala-Cakravarti Tribhuvanamalla.

But the overlordship of the Kālacūryas over the Pāṇḍyas existed only for a short period of four years. The last mention of it is in a Dāvanagare inscription, dated in A. D. 1164, where Vijaya Pāṇḍya is described as devoted to the service of king Bijjala. It was in this year that the Cālukya king Jagadēkamalla III ascended the throne, though perhaps only to rule as nominal sovereign. Nevertheless, this event seems to have filled Vijaya Pāṇḍya's heart with more confidence in order to free himself from the Kālacūrya yoke and to pay allegiance to his old masters. At any rate, it is plain from a record, dated in 1165, that Vijaya Pāṇḍya succeeded in his attempt. For the inscription clearly implies that Vijaya Pāṇḍya had then recognised the overlordship of Jagadēkamalla III. This was naturally considered a great achievement on the part of the Pāṇḍya prince. We are told that “all the people praised him, saying that “his white umbrella, was a shady place for the goddess of kingdom to stand in and a refuge for the goddess of discipline” and that “his arm was an abode for the goddess of victory.”

In this record, Jagadēkamalla III is given the full Cālukya titles and called Pratāpa-Cakravarti.

(1) Carn. Desa Inscriptions, II, p. 16; referred to by Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, p. 467.
(2) Ep. Car., XI, Dg. 84. (3) Ibid. 43. (4) Ibid., XI, Dg. 77.
The position of the Cālukya sovereign Jagadeśakamalla was like that of a nominal ruler, the actual powers of the sovereign being in the hands of Bijjala. Vijaya Pāṇḍya who had so far entertained hopes that the Cālukya suzerainty would be restored and therefore thought it wise to acknowledge it in his records, now seems to have revised his opinion in favour of setting himself as an independent monarch. Accordingly, from A. D. 1166 down to 1176 he was free from any overlord.

During this period of independence, he gloriously enjoyed his new position undisturbed by the neighbouring powers. In token of his splendour, the Dāvaṇagere inscription dated a few months after his independence says that the points of his crown were formed of separate large sapphires and his victories adorned with golden bracelets.¹ He subdued in mere sport the seven Koṅkaṇas, set up in the Kanaka mountain a pillar of victory with the fish-crest, had a treasury filled with many jewels set with pearls purified by the Tāmbraparni, and had a pleasure palace among the sandal trees on the slopes of the Malaya mountain.² The record further says that he reduced bhūtas and bēṭālas to be his servants, took possession of the territories of many hostile kings, and subdued by assault many unfriendly water and hill-forts. This latter statement coupled with his conquest of the Seven Koṅkaṇas and the erection of a pleasure house on the slopes of the Malaya mountain, would have us believe that Vijaya Pāṇḍya had reduced some petty chiefs and wild tribes of the Western Ghāts and secured for himself some territory in that forest region. The Bhūtas and Bēṭālas may be taken as representing the half-naked Bēṭā tribes of the forest.

With the accession of Ballāla II to the Hoysala throne in A. D. 1173, begins a new chapter in the annals of t

(1) Ep. Car., XI, Dg. 77.
(2) Ibid., XI, Dg. 5.
Pāṇḍya kingdom. This was the period when the Hoysalas under their new king were gaining ascendancy in the Karnāṭaka. Immediately after his conquest over the Caṅgāḷvas, Ballāla directed his attention northwards and determined to attack the Pāṇḍyas of Uccaṅgi. The object of Ballāla II in attacking the Pāṇḍya kingdom was apparently to have a stronghold in the strategic province of Nōlambavāḍi from which he could start his expeditions to the north against the Yādavas and the Kālacūryas.

A number of Hoysala inscriptions give us a sufficient idea of how the celebrated fort of Uccaṅgi was attacked and finally captured by Ballāla. ¹ The earliest of these records found in Chikkanāyakakanahalli Tālukā is dated the 26th September of A. D. 1177. It states that Vira-Ballāla having made a victorious expedition to all quarters and conquered Pāṇḍya, made Uccaṅgi his royal city, and was ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom."² This record indicates that Vira-Ballāla’s capture of Uccaṅgi and the defeat of Vijaya Pāṇḍya took place a few months before the 26th September of 1177 A. D.

Highly exaggerated accounts of the strength of the Uccaṅgi fort occur in some inscriptions: Thus we are told that its extent was such as to enclose the three worlds, while its summits soared into the sky higher than the king of birds.³ It was surrounded with “a moat like Pāṭāḷa, as broad as the eight cardinal points, high as the sky extending in both directions, so that it was famed in the three worlds”⁴ “The Garuḍa who soars at will over the three worlds, is unable to fly over the highest peak of Pāṇḍya’s splendid droog.”⁵ The invincibility of the fort is suggested by the repeated state-

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¹ Ep. Car., II, Sh, 327; V, Cn, 209, Bl, 72, 77, 137, 175, Ak, 178; VI, Cm, 21-22, Kd, 127, Tk, 10; VII, Sk, 105, XII, Ck, 36.
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² *Ibid.*, XII, Ok, 36.

³ *Ibid.*, VI, Bl, 72; VI, Tk, 10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, VI, Cm, 21-22.
ment that the Cōlas had laid seige to it for twelve years, without success and abandoned the task as hopeless.¹

The capture of Uccāṅgi and the details of the battle are recorded in many epigraphs. Two verses of a Šravaṇa-Belgoḷa inscription describe it briefly in the following language: "When in the pride of his arm Oḍeyarasa was with great fury determined to fight, King Ballāla marched forth and surrounding and besieging Uccāṅgi, whose peaks had been reduced to powder by the blows from the tusks of the group of lordly elephants of his army, captured king Pāṇḍya together with his beautiful women, country, treasuries, father and group of horses. Laying siege to Uccāṅgi, which was for a long time considered impregnable to enemies, King Ballāla, a treasury of irresistible prowess, took the fort with ease and sieged the king Kāma-dēva and his famous Oḍeya, and their treasury, women and troops of horses."² The Oḍeyarasa mentioned here was the son of Vijaya Pāṇḍya and his full name appears to be Udayāditya. From the above extract it can be easily made out that it was he, the son, and not Kāma Dēva who commanded the Pāṇḍya forces.

The way in which Ballāla attacked the fort was by setting fire to it "causing consternation to the lords of regions and making a great crackling noise like that of the three terrible cities which were formerly burnt by the fiery eye of Śiva."³ The fort was destroyed as a Hāssan inscription informs us.⁴

Though the celebrated fort was captured with much difficulty, the Hoysala inscriptions on the other hand claim that it was taken with ease. It is said that Ballāla took it without effort, "as if playing at Ṛṣekal or itiṅkal" (games in which pebbles are tossed up alternately and caught on the back of the hand, or one picked up from the

(2) Ibid., II, Sb, 327 (124)
(4) Ibid.,
ground at the same time). It was undoubtedly a thick battle when "a crore of warriors united" to attack Ballāla, who, it is said, fell upon them by himself and "like a boy at play, with his sword created a sea of blood." This pitched battle is called "the battle of Ummadār," as it seems to have been fought at that place. From an inscription found in Kaḍūr Tālukā we learn that Vīra-Ballāla attacked the rear-guard.

The immediate results of the battle are thus briefly described: "Overthrown in battle, Pāṇḍya abandoned his unshaken title, and forsaking his prancing horse and the throne on which he sat, took refuge in the middle of a forest, even there apprehensive of death and consumed by fear; thus does king Ballāla's astounding valour triumph." It is also said that Vijaya Pāṇḍya, giving up his desire to stay any longer, escaped by night to the summit of a mountain, trembling together with his army.

But Vijaya Pāṇḍya, on second thought, seems to have returned to his capital. We know from inscriptions that he supplicated to Ballāla and the latter restored the Pāṇḍya throne to him. It is plainly stated that "when Pāṇḍya claimed his shelter, (Ballāla) had favour of him and restored to him his kingdom." Another record makes the same statement and adds that "in seizing and in bestowing, Vīra-Ballāla was famed throughout the three worlds."

Ballāla in this conquest was assisted by his great minister, Sarvādhikāri, general of the army, Mahāpasāta, Mādhava Daṇḍanāyaka, who "with his unrivalled army subduing the hostile kings, brought their fine elephants, squadrons of horses, treasury, wives, and white umbrella, and gave them to his master." Another official who dis-

(2) Ibid., V, Bl, 175.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid., VI, Kd, 127.
(5) Ibid., Cn, 21–22.
(6) Ibid., VII, Sk, 105.
(7) Ibid., V, Bl, 27.
(8) Ibid., VI, Tk, 10.
(9) Ibid., VII, Ck, 36.
tintuished himself in this famous battle was Mādēya-Nāyaka of the hattagāras who "dispersing Vijaya-Pāṇḍya's army, slew them."

As it was a Saturday (Śanivāra) when the conquest of the Pāṇḍya kingdom was completed (siddhisiddu), Ballāla obtained the title Śanivāra-siddhi. The other title which he acquired on the same occasion was Giridurgamalla or "the capturer of hill forts." Both these titles belonged to the Kālaṇcūrya king Bijjaḻa, and Ballāla borrowed them from him. However, the second title would undoubtedly suggest that the reduction of the impregnable fort of Uccāṇgi was considered among the greatest achievements of the Hoysala king.

Vijaya Pāṇḍya, though he had first accepted the overlordship of the Hoysalas, soon rebelled against his new suzerain and turned hostile to him. This was partly accelerated by the counter-revolution effected by the Cālukya king Sōmēśvara IV who in or about 1180 had accomplished the restoration of Cālukya rule. To add to this, Vira-Ballāla was in bitter enmity with Sōmēśvara IV who was then trying to extend his influence all over the Karnāṭaka. It was therefore natural that Vijaya Pāṇḍya, whose ancestors had been the faithful feudatories of the Cālukyas since the foundation of his dynasty, turned faithless to Ballāla. Vijaya Pāṇḍya's acknowledgment of the suzerainty of the Cālukyas is borne out by his two Chitnaldoorg inscriptions. In the first, dated in A. D. 1184, he is called "Srimaj Jagadēkamalla-dēva-pāṭābja-bhṛṅga," that is, follower of the Cālukya Jagadēkamalla III, while in the other, dated the 19th September 1187, he is called "Tribhuvanamalla-dēva-pāṭābja bhṛṅga," or follower of the Cālukya Emperor Sōmēśvara IV Tribhuvanamalla. These titles in-

(3) Ibid., 137, 175. (4) Ibid., Introduction, p. XX, Note 2.
(5) Ibid., XI, Cd. 13. (6) Ibid., 33
dictate clearly that Kāma-dēva Vijaya Pāṇḍya espoused the cause of Cālukya emperors as against that of Vīra-Ballāḷa.

This naturally led Ballāḷa to fight with Vijaya Pāṇḍya once again. An inscription from Bēḷūr dated in A.D. 1197 informs us that king Vīra-Ballāḷa " moistening his valiant sword with the blood of his enemy the Pāṇḍya king, he whets it on the grindstone the head of Billama and sheathes it in the lotus mouth of Jaitugi."¹ Again an inscription of 1220 found in Hoḍalkere Tālukā states that the Hoysala king Vīra-Ballāḷa " thrashing the line of Pāṇḍya kings on the field of battle, terrifying and putting to flight hostile kings, by the might of his arm, ruled the celebrated Nōlambavāḍi.² We also learn from a verse in the Jagannāthavijaya (a Campākāyya written in Kannada by Rudrabhaṭṭa in A.D. 1218-20), which applies the epithet Ari-kāmadhvāṇii to Vīra-Ballāḷa, that he "destroyed the enemy Kāma."³ It is thus apparent that Vijaya-Pāṇḍya was killed in the field of battle by Ballāḷa. This event must have happened after the 19th September, 1187 A.D., which is the latest known date of Kāma-dēva, and before the death of the Yādava King Bhillama and the accession of his son Jaitugi in 1191-92 A.D. The above mentioned Bēḷūr inscription says, though not very explicitly, that Vīra-Ballāḷa killed first the Pāṇḍya ruler, then Bhillama, and then Jaitugi.

Thus ended the life of a great Uccāngi king who to his credit had enjoyed the status of an independent monarch, a status which was not enjoyed by any other prince of his dynasty.

Vijaya Pāṇḍya, though he failed in his foreign policy, was nevertheless remarkably successful in the internal administration of the kingdom. He had all the good of his subjects at heart, which is attested by the public works he undertook during his reign. It can be deduced from a

(1) Ep. Car. XX, v, Bl, 77. (2) Ibid., XI, Hk, 56.
(3) Jagannāthavijaya, 1, 3.
record of 1166 that he established many educational institutions in his kingdom.\(^1\) The agrahāra called the Vīra-Pāṇḍya Caturvēdimaṅgalam, which he founded in memory of his elder brother, received his utmost attention.\(^2\) Many records show that good stimulus was given to learning and religion. An inscription of 1168 tells us that he, on the application of his minister, made liberal grants for the decoration and illumination of the holy god Harihara.\(^3\) In addition to them, he is reported to have granted the entire village of Kūḍālūr to the hundred and four Brāhmaṇas, versed in the Veda and Vedaṅga, devoted to proper rites, skilled in all sciences, fixing the rent at only three hundred mātras, freed from all imports, and not subject to any trouble from kings or others, together with the pindadāna.\(^4\) This great gift was made with the noble purpose of serving food to the Brāhmaṇa teachers and for instruction in letters, discipline, grammar, Mimāṃsa Vedaṅga, commentaries, and recitation of both the Rig and Yajur Vedas. Another inscription from Jagalūr Tālukā states that he worshipped the feet of the Kāṭāmukha Tejōnidhi-paṇḍita-dēva’s son Sarvēśvara-paṇḍita-dēva, and made many grants of land.\(^5\) We are told in another place that a minister, on the sanction of Vijaya Pāṇḍya, renewed in the presence of the mahājanaas of Kuruvaṭṭi, the grant of 70 matters of land originally made to a temple.\(^6\) It can be deduced from a record of 1178 that there existed big commercial towns in the Pāṇḍya dominion and that trade flourished.\(^7\) We have it on record that the town of Gaṇḍarādityana Hoḷālu, being the residence of five hundred rich merchants, was called the southern Ayyavaḷc.\(^8\) The fact that this place is styled merely a grāmacakravarti (the best of villages) would suggest that even villages were busy centres of trade.

\(^1\) Ep., Car., XI, JI, 8.  \(^2\) Ibid.  
\(^3\) Ibid., Dg. 39.  \(^4\) Ibid., XI, Dg. 39.  
\(^5\) Ibid., XI, JI, 8.  \(^6\) South Ind. Ep., 315 of 1918.  
\(^7\) Rangaḥaryā, Inscriptions of Madras Presidency, I, p. 280.  \(^8\) Ibid.
Vijaya Pândya had under him a number of minor feudatory chiefs who served him faithfully. Some of them are mentioned in inscriptions. The most important of them was the Kadamba king Kētarasa who is described as a dweller at the lotus feet of Vijaya Pândya. About him the inscription records as follows: "Be it well. Entitled to the five big drums, the Mahāmaṇḍalaśvara, boon lord of Banavāsi-pura, having the monkey flag and the lion crest, having the sound of the permati and śāryu,........born in the family of Kadamba Cakri Mayūravarna, lord of the Uccāngi hill, obtainer of a boon from the god Śāṅkara-Nārāyaṇa."¹

Kētarasa had a son Nāgāti-Nrāla by his wife Kana-kabbe-arnasi "who was as moonlight to the Cakorā bird and blue lotuses," her husband's mind and eyes.² To king Nāgāti, who seems to have succeeded his father in 1171, were born Kētarasa and Mācarasa.³ He had also a younger brother by name Hāriyurasa.⁴ Nāgāti Nṛāla is recorded to have made great gifts to the immemorial agrahāra of Kūḍalār, after "listening to the history of the early kings and stories of Dharmā".⁵

An inscription from Dāvaṇugere refers to a Nāyaka family, ruling over the kingdom of Ēsaṇa and Kokkalūr under the Pândyas during the reign of Vijaya Pândya.⁶ The kingdom was then jointly governed by Banavayya Nāyaka and Hāriyama Nāyaka.⁷ The record shows that these chiefs belonged to an important family of mahāsāmanīlas, having numerous epithets, including "destroyer of Tōnda, worshipper of the feet of the god Usānīśvara, obtainer of a boon from the god Vināyaka, glory of the Bāya-Kula."⁸

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¹ Ep. Car. Ind., XI, Dg, 32.  
² Ibid.  
³ Ibid.  
⁴ Ibid.  
⁵ Ibid.  
⁶ Ibid.  
⁷ Ibid.  
⁸ Ibid.
Another Nāyaka family of equal importance is mentioned in two inscriptions. This family was holding the hereditary governorship of the Kaḍuvagere Five-hundred and the Sagaluṅka Seventy provinces, with their capital at Beṃmaṭṭanūṛ (old name of Chitaldroog).\(^1\) In 1184 we come across the two Nāyakas Irugayya and Udayāditya who were jointly administering the provinces in that year.\(^2\) As the times of these Nāyakas were very troublous owing to the second invasion of Vīra-Ballāḷā, they had to fight furiously with “tributary chiefs distinguished for their skill in war.”\(^3\) We are told that these distinguished chiefs, who were the feudatories of Vīra-Ballāḷā, were forming themselves into bands and coming against the Nāyakas.\(^4\) The manner in which the two Nāyakas fought the enemies is graphically described in the record. Irugayya “with great fury, sets forth, like a pestilence breaking out, like the cry of death, shouting like Bhairava, roaring like a lion, springing like a royal tiger”.\(^5\)

In A. D. 1187 Mahāśāmaṅga Kāmeya Nāyaka, the son of Udayāditya, was ruling over his feudatory kingdom from Cimmacanūṛ (another name of Chitaldroog).\(^6\) He is described as an “ornament of the Pāṇḍya kingdom, a bee at the lotus feet of the god Hidimbēśvara, taking refuge at the two lotus feet of Vijaya Pāṇḍya”.\(^7\) That Kāmayya Nāyaka survived his overlord is evidenced by an inscription of the former dated in A. D. 1199.\(^8\)

Besides these feudatories, Vijaya-Pāṇḍya had under him a number of able generals and ministers. Foremost among his generals was Kumāra-Vijaya Himmaḍiḍandaṅga-nātha who was also his chief minister. It is said that he received the title of Kumāra (or prince) from his master as a reward for his unbounded fidelity.\(^9\) He is also styled

\(^2\) Ibid.  
\(^3\) Ibid.  
\(^4\) Ibid.  
\(^5\) Ibid., Cd. 13.  
\(^6\) Ibid., 33.  
\(^7\) Ibid., 36.  
\(^8\) Ibid., Dg. 32.
"The Hanumān beloved of the Pāṇḍya-race" (Srimat pāṇḍya janābhīrāmahanumān), for playing upon the enemies' warriors the tricks of Māruti. Besides being the great minister and general, he also discharged the functions of the Śrīkaraṇa, the general superintendent and the great master of the robes. As the Śrīkaraṇa, he was "protecting all the subjects even more than if they were his own subjects." As regards his political wisdom, it is said that he was a skilful Cāṇukya in the use of spells or counsels for exercising the demon host the enemies. It appears that he took special care in finding out the traitors to his lord and punishing them severely. In his capacity as the general, he was "a Bhairava on the battle-field" and "a lion to the herd of elephants all the proud feudatories". His abilities were so remarkable that he is called the powerful right hand for the security of Vijaya-Pāṇḍya-Dēva's kingdom.

Vijaya Pāṇḍya was undoubtedly a great warrior prince. The very fact that he splendidly ruled as an independent monarch for a decade shows that he was a personality to be reckoned with in his days. His rebellion against so powerful a monarch as Vira-Ballāla, which finally cost the Pāṇḍya his head, only proves that he remained a fearless soldier till the end of his life.

(1) E.p. Cura., XI, Dg. 39. (2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid., 32. (4) Ibid.
(5) Ibid. (6) Ibid.
CHAPTER IX.

UDAYĀDITYA.

The death of Vijaya Pāṇḍya practically closes the history of the Ucchaṅgi Pāṇḍyas. But the only inscription of the dynasty that was put after the death of Vijaya Pāṇḍya belongs to the reign of one Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya,¹ who is without doubt identical with the former's son, the famous Oḍeṣya or Udayāditya, the hero of the Ummadūr battle. As the record is dated the 24th January, 1194,² and is the latest of the inscriptions of the Ucchaṅgi Pāṇḍyas, there is every reason to believe that Udayāditya Pāṇḍya did not live long after this date.

The above mentioned inscription of Udayāditya acknowledges the overlordship of the Cālukya king Sōmeśvara IV Tribhuvanamalla, who is here described as ruling from his capital at Jayantipura (Banavasi'). It, therefore, follows that Udayāditya Pāṇḍya, inspite of his father's death at the hands of Ballēṣa, did not recognise the suzerainty of the Hoysalas. It must also be admitted that he was governing a small portion of territory, while the rest of Nōlambavāḍi was already in the possession of the Hoysalas. The fact that the major portion of the province had by this time formed a part of the Hoysala kingdom is born out by a number of inscri-

² As regards the date of this inscription, Dr. Venkatasubhāyya remarks:—"The 17th January, 1200 A. C. is another possible equivalent of the Saka date given in this inscription, and I have in fact given this equivalent in my article on the "Chronology of the W. Cālukyas of Kalyani, (Ind. Antiquary, Vol. 48, p. 6). The study of the inscriptions of the Pandyas rulers of Nolambavadi now leads me, however, to prefer the 24th January 1194, A. C. as the equivalent of the given Saka date," I H. Q., IV, p. 132.
tions. Thus a record from Mudgere, dated in 1194, informs us that in that year Vira-Ballāla, making his residence in northern Nōlamбавāḍi, was ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom.¹ Again an inscription found in the Bollāry District and dated in 1194 plainly states that Bāgali, situated in the very heart of Nōlamбавāḍi, was a capital of Vira-Ballāla.² The same statement is made by another record which gives a glowing description of Bāgali (Bāguli). All these epigraphic evidences clearly show that a large portion of the Pāṇḍya kingdom was conquered by the Hoysalas by 1194. It appears that Vira-Ballāla had no rest unless and until the whole of Nōlamбавāḍi was annexed to his kingdom. This obviously meant the continuation of war with Udayāditya Pāṇḍya.

It is, however, evident from an inscription that Vira-Ballāla succeeded in fulfilling his long cherished ambition. The record, after observing the various conquests of Ballāla, explicitly states that “the whole of the Pāṇḍya king’s territory took refuge in forests”,³ which must be understood to mean that the whole province was conquered. As the epigraph is dated in A.D. 1196, the event must have taken place at some time between 1194 and 1196. We shall not be far from truth if we place it in A.D. 1195.

We are informed by a verse in an inscription from Hoḷalkere, dated in circa 1220, that “the Hoysala king Vira-Ballāla, thrashing the Pāṇḍya kings on the field of battle, terrifying and putting to flight hostile kings, by the might of his arm, ruled the celebrated Nōlamбавāḍi.”¹ To judge from the language of the verse, it is very probable that Udayāditya, the last known king of the Uccāṅgi Pāṇḍyas, like his father, was killed by Vira-Ballāla. This must have been in 1195

(1) Ep. Car., XI, Mg. 4.
(4) Ibid., XI, Hk, 56.
when, as we have already seen, the whole of the Pândya kingdom was annexed by the Hoysala monarch. At any rate, it is plain that Udayáditya died after the 24th January, 1194 A. D. which is the last date for him as furnished by the inscription.¹

The death of Udayáditya closes the last chapter in the interesting history of the Uccan¿ Pândyas. For more than a century, the Pândyas held undisputed sway over the historic province of Nōlambavadi. The defeat of Vijaya Pândya and his son Udayáditya and the acquisition of their territory by Vira-Ballâla greatly enhanced the glory of the Hoysalas during the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

The Pândyas of Uccan¿.

| Maṅgaya | O. 1000-1020 |
| Pândya, Vēja-Rāya | C. 1030-1040 |

(2) Čudiśrīja Pândya | O. 1040-1060 |
(3) Irukkapāla
(4) Palamāṇḍa Pândya | 1080-1083 |
(5) Irukkavēla Tribhuvanamallä Pândya | 1082-1124 |
(6) Tribhuvanamallä Rāya Pândya | 1124-1140 |

| 7 ) Pândit Pândya | 1140-1141 |
| Vira Pândya | 1141-1153 |
| Tailapa. | |
| Vijaya Pândya | 1153-1187 |
| '6) Odēya | 1187-1195 |

Note:—Figure in the bracket denotes the number of the chapter.

PART VII.
MINOR PĀṇḍya DYNASTIES OF KARNĀṭAKA.
CHAPTER I

THE SECOND BRANCH OF THE NŌLAMBAVĀDI PĀNDYAS.

We learn from an inscription found in Chitaldroog District that there was another branch of the Nōlambāḍi Pāṇḍyas different from the Uccaṅgi dynasty. As there is only one lithic record left by this branch while there are many relating to the Uccaṅgi Pāṇḍyas, we cannot resist the conclusion that the former dynasty was not of much importance.

They seem to have held a small portion of the Nōlambāḍi Province, which lay in the present Hoḻalkere Tālukā. The inscription\(^1\) tells us that at the beginning of the rule of the Kālacūrya king Bijjala, Palaṭṭa Pāṇḍya, who was evidently the first king of the dynasty, was protecting with affection the Nōlambāḍi Thirty-two thousand. In this connection, it is important to remember that Palaṭṭa or Palāmāṇḍa did not rule over the whole of Nōlambāḍi but only over a small portion of it. It is a settled fact that Bijjala usurped the Cālukya throne in about A. D. 1155. We therefore, place the beginning of Palaṭṭa's rule in the same year.

On the death of Vira-Pāṇḍya of Uccaṅgi, which must have taken place in about 1153, the succession of the Pāṇḍya throne was disputed by Palaṭṭa, the half-brother of Vira-Pāṇḍya. But Kāma-dēva Vijaya Pāṇḍya, the direct brother of Vira-Pāṇḍya, ably supported by his experienced minister, proved too powerful an opponent to Palaṭṭa. The dispute ended in enabling Vijaya Pāṇḍya to occupy almost the

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\(^1\) Ep. Car., XI, Hk. 56.
whole of Nōlambavāḍī. But at the same time Palaṭṭa seems to have obtained a small portion of territory in the present Hoḷalkere Tālukā. Vijaya Pāṇḍya, following in the footsteps of his predecessors, remained as the feudatory of the Caḻukyaś, while Palaṭṭa, his rival, naturally acknowledged the suzerainty of the Kālacūrya king Bijjala.

We are very unfortunate not to possess sufficient information about the history of this branch of the Pāṇḍyaś. All that we know is that five kings ruled the territory in succession after Palaṭṭa, the founder of the dynasty. Phoṇḍi Pāṇḍya is said to have been a celebrated personage. After him came Rāya Pāṇḍya whose successor was Noleya Pāṇḍya. Mr. Rice thinks that Phoṇḍi and Rāya were the son and the grand-son of Palaṭṭa respectively. But the wording of the inscription leads to no such inference. It is only stated that they ruled after Phoṇḍi Pāṇḍya. It is quite possible that they were his brothers.

Kāma-dēva was the son and successor of Noleya Pāṇḍya. After him the former's son, whose name is unfortunately worn out, is said to have come to the throne. He was, however, defeated and perhaps also killed by the Hoysala king Vira-Ballāla in about A. D. 1215. The inscription, after mentioning Kāma-dēva's son, states that "thrusting the line of Pāṇḍya kings on the field of battle, terrifying and putting to flight hostile kings, by the might of his arm, the crest-jewel of righteous rulers, the Hoysala king Vira-Ballāla, ruled the celebrated Nōlambavāḍī."

It is thus apparent that the dynasty founded by Palaṭṭa in about A. D. 1155 came to an end only after a period of about sixty years.

(1) For details of this succession dispute, see vide, Chapter IX of Part VI.
(3) Ibid.
(6) Ibid.
(7) Ibid.
CHAPTER II.

THE PĀNDYAS OF HAYVE.

Besides the two Pāṇḍya dynasties of Nōlambavāḍi treated in previous chapters, there was a third branch that was ruling in Karnāṭaka in the eleventh century. As only one inscription relating to this branch of the Pāṇḍyakula is so far discovered, it is not possible for us to give a complete account of his dynasty in the present stage of historical research.

We learn from their inscription\(^1\) that these Pāṇḍyas were the rulers of the Hayve Five-hundred country, one of the seven Koṅkaṇas. According to Kannāḍa records, the seven Koṅkaṇas arc Kirāṭa, Virāṭa, Marāṭha, Koṅkaṇa, Haiga or Hayve, Tuḻuva and Kērala.\(^2\) Since early historical times, a considerable portion of the present North Kanara District formed a distinct territorial division known as Haiga or Hayve.

The capital of these Pāṇḍyas was Śiśugali, so called because of the courage (Kalitana) which distinguished the children (śiśu) born there.\(^3\) Though we are not able to identify this place at present, it may be presumed that Śiśugali was situated somewhere on the borders of the modern Mysore State and the North Kanara District. The kings of this family, however, claimed to be the lords of Gōkārṇapura and protectors of the Koṅkaṇarāstrā.\(^4\) This perhaps shows that the Pāṇḍyas of Hayve originally had their seat of government at Gōkārṇa, the famous place of pilgrimage, situated nine miles south of Aṅkōḷā and ten miles north of Kumṭā.

(2) Kanara Gazetteer, Part II, p. 75, n. 4.
It is important to note that the members of this dynasty were counted among the first class feudatory chieftains under the Cālukyas. We learn from their inscription that they were entitled to the honour of being heralded in the public with the five great musical instruments, (puṇca-mahāśabda) and were granted the title of Mahāmaṇḍalaśvara.

The Hāyve branch like the other Pāṇḍyas belonged to the Candravarṇa or lunar race.1 After many Pāṇḍya kings had ruled the district, there rose Candra who is the first king to be mentioned by name. That Candra was a good ruler is evidently indicated by the fact that he is said to have become famous by rejoicing the hearts of his subjects. We have no more information about this king except that his wife was Kamalādevi, who was like the bright moon-light to that Candra (moon).2

As regards the chronology of Candra, it may be presumed that he lived in about A.D. 1060, thus giving a reign of about fifteen years to each of the three kings that reigned in succession prior to Kāmadēva II for whom we have a date in A.D. 1113.

Kāma I was the son and successor of Candra. Of him we have no information beyond the fact that his wife was Bhāgalādevi, a clever Rājaputri of high qualities and beauty.3 The epithet Rājaputri clearly shows that she was the daughter of a certain king (Rāja).

Candra II, the son of Kāma I and Bhāgalādevi, succeeded his father to the Hāyve throne. From the phraseology of the inscription, it would appear that Candra was a powerful king. He is said to have surpassed even Indra in the splendour of his wealth.4 Savaḷe-dēvi, who came of a wealthy family, became the wife of this Candra.5

*(2) Ibid.*
Kāmadēva II, the son of Candra II and Savaļe-dēvi, was ruling the Hayve-nāḍ in A. D. 1113 as a subordinate of the Cālukya Emperor Vikramāditya VI. He possessed the titles of "Samadhigata pañcamahāsabda, Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, Gōkarna-puravarādhīvara, gopajñaradāvani, Koṅkanarāṣṭra-pāla, nīgalahamalla, and Pāṇḍyaucūḍāmaṇi."²

The statement that Kāmadēva was "a joy to the learned" suggests that he patronised literature and learning. This inference is supported by the fact that the well-known Kannāḍa poet Mallikārjunabhaṭṭa was employed in his service.¹ Judging from his style, Mallikārjuna was a poet of considerable merit. He is called a Niṭilāṅga (Īśvara) among fast or extempore poets (āśu-kavi), and was considered very clever in composing inscriptions.⁶ The inscription which he wrote is spoken of as a new model in the art of composing inscriptions. Another inscription of his is said to have become famous on account of its "approved sweat expressions."² We are also told that if two persons from two sides should together come writing a poem down from the end and reading it out, he would arrange the poem to read out as a new poem.⁸ He possessed the title Saravatīmahōdaya and was considered an outstanding literary figure of his time. But unfortunately, no work of his, excepting the two inscriptions, has come down to us.

An inscription dated in 1125 states that in that year the Goa Kadamba king Jayakēṣi II, as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI, was ruling over the Hayve Five-hundred Province in addition to other territories which are mentioned therein.⁹ It, therefore, appears that Jayakēṣi had encroached over the Pāṇḍya territory and had annexed at least a portion of it to his growing kingdom.

(4) Ibid.  (5) Ibid. 98.  (6) Ibid., 99.
(9) Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, p. 558.
We have no information regarding the Hayve Pāṇḍyas after Kāmadēva II. But a Sikārpur inscription, assigned to A. D. 1180, mentions a Pāṇḍya-Dēva as carrying off a dancing girl Udeyabbe and many cows by force from the town of Uddare. It is probable that this Pāṇḍya-Dēva was a scion of the same Pāṇḍya branch of Hayve. The very fact that he was leading cattle-raids against his neighbours would suggest that Pāṇḍya-Dēva had considerable force at his command.

PART VIII.

THE GUTTAS OF GUTTAL.
CHAPTER I.

THE ORIGIN OF THE GUTTAS.

Of the Mahāmanḍalēśvarian families under the Western Cālukyas, last in point of antiquity comes the family of the Guttas of Guttal. The Guttas for about two centuries, first as vassals of the Cālukyas, then under the Kālacūryas, and lastly under the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, had the government of the Guttavatāl-nāḍi, which was a division of the Kuntala country and included the greater part of Karajgi and Rānēbennūr Tālukās of Dārwār District and some of the neighbouring territory.

Guttal, the capital of the Guttas, is a large village about twelve miles east of Karajgi. It is called Guttavatāl in inscriptions, a name which clearly suggests that the town was named after the Gutta dynasty. Ḥoḷal (vōḷal') in Kannāḍa means a town, and hence Guttavatāl evidently means the town of the Guttas.

Though the Guttas first come to our notice in the twelfth century, their inscriptions claim a far greater antiquity as regards the origin of the family. Thus the Cauḍadāmpūr or Cawadanpūr inscription, which is the earliest of the Gutta records, describes the members of the dynasty as "belonging to the lineage of Candragupta, the great supreme king of kings". Another inscription from the same place describes them "as full-moons of the ocean of necter which is the lineage of Candragupta, the great supreme king of kings." What is more, their descent is also deduced through a Vikramāditya, who is specified as king of Ujjayani, that is, Ujjain in Mālvā, and whom one record appears to

represent plainly as himself a descendant of Candragupta.\(^1\) One passage says that at Ujjain Vikramaditya mastered the _asta-mahā-siddhi_ or eight great supernatural faculties,\(^2\) while another that he ruled over the _Bṝhaḷas_ or demons; and a third that he was the _Yuga-puruṣa_ or representative man of the present age. Again the members of the family are described as _Vikramaditya-vaiśādībhava_, "born in the race of Vikramaditya",\(^3\) and _Candragupta-vaiśādībhava_, "born in the race of Chandragupta."\(^4\) What is more, Mallideva, the third Gutta king, is styled _Gupta-Vaiśka-Trīṇītra_ "a very Trīṇītra (_Śiva_) in the Gupta race" and _Guptārjuna-bhūkāṇu_, "a king belonging to the Gupta lineage."\(^5\) In another record he is also described as _Gupta-vaiśī-vārddhi-vardhana śahākara_, "a moon in raising the ocean of the Gupta race."\(^6\)

It follows from the above quotations that the family claimed descent from a certain Vikramaditya or Chandragupta of Ujjain. As Mallideva is plainly stated to have belonged to the Gupta lineage, it is clear that the Gutta princes believed that they were the descendants of the Guptas. It, therefore, appears that king Vikramaditya or Chandragupta, from whom the Guptas claim descent, was a Gupta king. The statement in Gutta records that he himself was a descendant of Chandragupta\(^7\) clearly shows that he was Chandragupta II, the grandson of Chandragupta I. It is well known to the student of ancient Indian History that Chandragupta took the title of Vikramaditya ("son of power").

Dr. Fleet is of the opinion that king Vikramaditya, from whom the Guptas claimed descent, is the mythical king who is supposed to have established the Vikrama era, commencing from B.C. 58.\(^8\) The statement that Vikramaditya

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(2) Ibid.  (3) Ibid., No. 108.  (4) Ibid., No. 230.  (5) Ibid.
(8) Fleet, _Kanarese Dynasties_, p. 579.
was the king of Ujjain led the learned doctor to this supposition. But we think that it was none but Candragupta II whom the Gutta inscription describes as belonging to Ujjain. It was he who conquered Ujjain (Mālwa), Gujerāt and Kāthiāwār and annexed them to his empire. It seems that this wide conquest was considered a great achievement on the part of the Gupta king. Hence the Gutta inscription associates him with Ujjain, which was apparently the capital of the newly conquered provinces.

The members of the Gutta family had the hereditary title of Ujjayani-puravarādhīśvara or "supreme lord of Ujjayanī, the best of towns", which fact has a great historical significance in deciding the origin of the family. Students of ancient Karnāṭaka history know that these titles signify that the bearers of them belonged to the families that once held supreme power over the towns mentioned in the titles. Ujjayani-puravarādhīśvara, therefore, shows that the Guttas who bore the title belonged to the family that once possessed supreme sovereignty over Ujjain. Such a family was that of the Guptas, who, as we have already seen, had annexed Ujjain to their empire during the reign of Candragupta II. It must, however, be noted that in one passage there is instituted pātaḷi puravarādhīśvara or "supreme lord of Pātalipura, the best of towns." Pātalipura is the same as Pāṭaliputra, the capital of the Guptas.

It may be asked why the Guttas chose the city of Ujjain in preference to Pāṭaliputra, the capital of the Guptas, in order to commemorate their place of origin. It appears that when Candragupta II had completed his great military achievement by conquering Mālwa, Gujerāt and Kāthiāwār, the administration of these distant provinces was entrusted to a Viceroy who belonged to the Gupta stock. It may be further presumed that the

(2) Ibid., No. 108.
Guttas of Karnāṭaka derived their descent from this Viceroy whose capital seems to have been the famous town of Ujjain. Hence the title Ujjayani-puravarādhīśvara in their records. It is quite possible that a scion of Ujjain branch migrated to Karnāṭaka and became the originator of the Guttas. But when and why he came to the south we do not know.

Dr. Fleet observes that the mention of Pāṭalipurā in one of the Guttas records "shews distinctly that the Guttas wrongly supposed themselves to be descended ultimately from the great Maurya king, Candragupta of Pāṭaliputra". But the mention of the place Pāṭalipurā, though it certainly involves some confusion, leads to no such inference. Pāṭalipurā was the capital not only of the Mauryas but also of the Guptas. In fact, the mention of Pāṭalipurā only shows that the Guttas of Karnāṭaka had definite knowledge of the Early Guptas.

The inference that the Guttas originally belonged to Ujjain is further corroborated by the fact that their family God was Śiva under the name of Mahākāla of Ujjayani. It may also be noted that they had the Mrga-rāja—lāṃchana or crest of a lion, and the Vaṭavṛkṣa-dhavja and Garuḍa-dhavja or banners of a sacred fig-tree and of Garuḍa.

The mention of their god Mahākāla clearly shows that the Guttas were worshippers of Śiva. But it is remarkable that they had the banner of Garuḍa, which indicates a tendency towards Vaiṣṇavism.

One of the Guttas records places "ten Guptas," after other kings who are not particularised in the lineage of Vikramādiṭya of Ujjayani. Extending the table given by Dr. Fleet in his Gupta Inscriptions (Introduction, p. 17) by the information given in the Bhitāri seal, we have

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(1) Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, p. 579.
(3) Ibid. No. 108.
(4) Fleet, o. a., No 108.
(5) Ibid., No. 230.
(6) Ind. Ant., XIX, p. 224.
the names of ten Early Guptas in unbroken lineal succession. Eight of them were reigning kings. If we include also the detached names of Budhagupta and Bhānu-gupta, we have ten reigning kings of the Early Gupta stock. This further shows that the Guttas had sufficient knowledge of the Early Guptas. Above all, the word Gutta which is a well established currruption (tadbhava) of Gupta is another indication to show that the Guttas of Karnāṭaka had in reality some connection with the Imperial Gupta dynasty of North India.
CHAPTER II.

FOUNDATION OF THE DYNASTY.

With the accession of Vikramāditya VI to the Imperial throne of Kalyāṇa, commences the most glorious chapter in the history of the Western Cāluṅgas. During the long reign of fifty-one years, Vikramāditya maintained his vast kingdom free from foreign aggression. His policy of creating and encouraging the feudatory dynasties was a great success in strengthening the empire in all its directions. It was he who created a new Mahāmaṇḍalaśvaria family in the Pāṇḍyas of Ucchāṅgi, and with its active assistance completed the expulsion of the Cōlas from Nōlāmbavāḍi. As a matter of fact, Vikramāditya was in need of loyal feudatories in the southern part of his empire to assist him against the powerful Cōlas of the Tamil country. The Gutta dynasty of Guttavolal was undoubtedly one of those families raised by Vikramāditya to the position of feudatory status.

The progenitors of the Guttas, as they descended from the stock of the ancient Guptas, must have been men of consequence even before they established themselves as the feudatories of the Cāluṅgas. The earliest of the Gutta chieftains is a certain Māgutta who appears to have been the founder of the dynasty.1 The name Māgutta probably stands by metrical necessity for Mahā-gupta which was his real name. That Māgutta was the founder of the family is evident from the fact that the inscription, introducing the Guttas, commences the lineage from Māgutta.2 It seems that Māgutta was a skilful warrior, who, by his military valour, must have won recognition at the hands of Vikramāditya. Those times were such that it was not possible for an ordinary soldier to be in-

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1 Fleet, P. S. O. C. Inscriptions, No. 108.
2 Ibid.
vested with the powers of a feudatory chieftain unless he had proved himself worthy of the high position. This inference seems to be supported by the above-mentioned inscription which says in somewhat exaggerated language that Māgutta was an “uncomparable wrestler” (Apratimallam).

Gutta I, the son and successor of Māgutta, was also a great warrior “who was like a rope for tying his enemies”\(^1\). It is said that he won many victories against his enemies and obtained their territories.\(^2\) Those “enemies” were very likely the Hāngul Kadambas who were the western neighbours of the Guttas. It is quite possible that Gutta I encroached on the Hangul territory, taking advantage of the Kadamba war of succession which was then waged between Śāntivarman II and his nephew Kīrtivarman.\(^3\) The record proceeds to say that Gutta obtained much fame throughout the kingdom on account of his military achievements. It styles him Guttānvaya-vāmśāgrāṇi and Guttānvaya-lilakam, which clearly shows that he enjoyed greater power than was exercised by his father. The record by way of illustrating his attractive personality compares him to Anaṅga, the God of Love.\(^4\)

As regards the chronology of Gutta I, it may be presumed that he lived in the last quarter of the eleventh century. For we know from other sources that his son and successor Mullidēva was a reigning king in the first quarter of the twelfth century.

The description of Gutta I as a great warrior-chieftain would also suggest that he was one of those connected with the final driving away of the Cōḷas from Nōlambavāḍī which took place in his time. It, however, stands to his credit that he established the foundations of the Gutta family on a firm basis.

\(^1\) Fleet, P. S. O. C. Inscriptions, No. 108.  
\(^2\) Ibid.  
\(^3\) For details of this dispute, see Moraes, Kadamba Kula, p. 108.  
\(^4\) Fleet, P. S. O. C. Inscriptions, No. 108.
CHAPTER III.

MALLIDEVA.

Mallideva, also known as Malla, was the son and successor of Guttal.¹ The only record of his reign that has come down to us is an inscription at Chaudadampur.² We have already explained in the last chapter how Guttal I strengthened his position by his military achievements. Mallideva closely adhered to his father’s policy. The result was that before the end of his reign he became the acknowledged master of the Guttavolul-nâd.

An inscription of one of his successors describes Mallideva as Guptavamsha-Trinêtra or “a Trinêtra (Śiva) in the Gupta race” and Guptânvayabhûkânta, “a king belonging to the Gupta lineage”.³ The first epithet is a clear indication that Mallideva was considered a successful ruler by his successors. One who reads his inscriptions feels that he was a powerful chieftain, with a considerable force at his command. The record opens by referring itself to the reign of the Western Čaluksya king Vikramâditya VI who was Mallideva’s overlord.⁴

Mallideva seems to have come to the throne in about A.D. 1110. Though the inscription does not contain any date, it is certain that he was reigning in the first quarter of the twelfth century. The record mentions the Mahâsa-

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¹ Fleet, P. S. O. C. Inscriptions, No. 108.
² Ibid. Caudadúmpur is a village on the left bank of the Tuñga-bhadra about fifteen miles north of Râğabâmûr. It has temples of Muktâsvâra, Īvâra and Gûgâsvâmi and eight inscriptions. Muktâsvâra’s is a black stone temple less graceful than the Deôjâbasappa temple at Dambal, but a fine bold building of the same age and style (1000–1100) with its detail more completely finished than in the Dambal temple.
³ Fleet, o. e., No. 230.
⁴ Fleet, P. S. O. C. Inscriptions, No. 108.
Mallidëva, inspite of his many sided abilities, was not raised to the status of a first class feudatory; power. His record gives him the title of Mahäsaämanta and not Mahämänügaläsva. There is, therefore, every reason to believe that Gövindarasa, to whom he was directly responsible, was exercising greater control over the Gutta chief than was exercised by the powerful viceroys over the various Mahämänügaläsvarian dynasties.

Mallidëva had a very trying time on account of the aggressive policy pursued by the great Hoysala king Vişnuvardhana. On the conclusion of the Dummo war in 1116, in which the Pänëyas of Ucçängi suffered a defeat, Vişnuvardhana directed all his attention towards the north-west, that is, towards the territories of the Kadambas of Hänagal. As Guttavolal-näḏ was situated between the Pänëya and Kadamba kingdoms, it is apparent that Mallidëva had to put up a very stout resistance in order to save his own kingdom.

Vişnuvardhana, however, continued to lead military expeditions till A.D. 1130, when he attacked Hänagal itself with the intention of annexing the Kadamba kingdom. A Viragal

(1) Ep. Car., VII, Sk. 106, 137 and 386,
(2) Ep. Car., VI, Om. 99.
of 1138 remarks that Viraganga Hoysala Deva set out on an expedition to conquer, and crossing over the Tuṅgabhadra, marched to Banavasi-nad, and in Dhanurmśa of the Saka year 1060, the year Kalayukta, laid siege to Banavasi and the fort of Hāngal. Inspite of the strenuous efforts of the brave Kadamba monarch Mallikärjuna, the expedition resulted in a great success for the Hoysalas. Viṣṇuvardhana's success was so complete that he made Baṅkāpura a royal camp (Rājadānī). The establishment of the Hoysala capital at Baṅkāpura must have enhanced the fears of Mallideva the Gutta king. Baṅkāpura, being situated only a few miles north-east of Guttavojal, there was every probability of the Guttas being attacked at any time by the Hoysalas. But the conspicuous absence of Guttavojal-nad from the list of the provinces conquered by Viṣṇuvardhana would have us believe that Mallideva successfully defended his kingdom. This was in reality a great achievement on the part of the Gatta king inasmuch as the neighbouring provinces of Guttavojal-nad, namely, the Banavase and the Hāngagal were annexed by Viṣṇuvardhana to his kingdom.

The fact that Mallideva was a powerful chieftain so as to check the tide of the Hoysala invasion is borne out by his inscription which contains long passages describing his military efficiency and achievements.

The record says that he was like a „sun dispersing darkness which was the army of his enemies“, and „a very Kāladaṇḍa to his foes“. What is more, it is explicitly stated in one place that Mallideva defeated many foes and won victories, thus displaying the valour of his arms.

The long description in the record of a sacred site called Muktatirtha on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra and the whole atmosphere of the inscription seems to imply that Mallideva

(2) Ep. Car., V, Ak, 18; XII, Gb, 13; V, Ca, 199.
(3) Fleet, P. S. O. C. Inscriptions, No. 103.
was a devout Śaivite and a liberal patron of Śaivism. As regards his personal accomplishments, we are told that he was delighted in all the fine arts.\(^1\) He was a "Cintāmana" to his servants and a king of liberal disposition to his subjects.\(^2\)

The holy place Muktatīrtha spoken of in the inscription seems to be the same as the residence of the God Muktiśvara at Cauḍāḷampur on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra. This temple was perhaps erected by Mallidēva himself. As the record comes abruptly to an end in the middle of a sentence, we do not get any details about the grant which the king appears to have made to the temple. The inscription while describing the greatness of Muktatīrtha says that the river Tuṅgabhadra is as holy as the Gangas and hence is called the Daksīṇa-Gaṅgā, the southern Ganges.

The record after describing Muktatīrtha gives an account of some chiefs of the Juṭā-Cōla lineage. The name of the earliest king of this family mentioned in the epigraph is worn out. His son and successor was Dāna who is said to have become famous on account of his valour. To Dāna and to his queen Cauḍabbarasi was born Attinṛpāla who had always at heart the welfare of others. He had a younger brother by name Cauḍa who appears to have been a great soldier. The record, by way of illustrating his valour, compares him to Rāma who killed the Lāṅkāśvara and to Bhūgīratha who brought Suranadi to the earth. Attinṛpāla was apparently holding a small territory on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra as a subordinate of Mallidēva.

It is clear from what has been said that Mallidēva was a successful ruler. Consequently, is it not strange if we find that his record pays a rich tribute to his kingly qualities. A Kadamba record informs us that Mallidēva's wife was Padumalādēvi who lived many years after her husband's death. Mallidēva appears to have died in about 1140 when he was succeeded by his son Vīra-Vikramāditya I.

\(^{(1)}\) Fleet, *P. S. O. C. Inscriptions*, No. 108. \(^{(2)}\) Ibid.
CHAPTER IV.

VĪRA-VIKRAMĀDITYA I.

Vīra-Vikramāditya was the son and successor of Malli-dēva. As there is not a single inscription of this king, we do not know much about him. Vīra-Vikramāditya was also called Vikrama or Vikramāṅka.

It was perhaps in this reign that the Guttavojal-nāḍ was extended in its southern borders, and a portion of the Banavāse province came to be included in it. We are told in Haraḷahalḷī inscription of Vikramāṅka’s grandson that he (Vikramāṅka) “became illustrious in being called the lord of the Banavāse Province”. With the death of Viṣṇuvardhana in about A.D. 1141, the war-like spirit of the Hoysalas suffered a check for want of capable military leaders. Narasimha, the son and successor of Viṣṇuvardhana, was a mere child of eight years at the death of his father, and throughout his life he remained a weak ruler. By this time the wars of Viṣṇuvardhana had also weakened the power of the Hāṅgal Kadambas, the close neighbours of the Guttas. Taking advantage of this favourable political situation, Vīra-Vikramāditya appears to have encroached on the Banavāse Province.

This period also witnessed the steady decline of the Čalukya supremacy. Bijjala of the Kālacūrya family who was raised to the duel position of governor and minister of the Čalukyas, misused his enormous powers and usurped the imperial throne. Bijjala embarked on an ambitious policy of subduing the various feudatory families of Kārnāṭaka. Consequently the Kadambas of Hāṅgal, the Silāhāras of Karād, the Raṭṭas of Saundatti and even the Sindas of Bel-

(1) Fleet, P. S. O. C. Inscriptions, No. 230.

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gutti, who held territories to the south of the Tungabhadra, were forced to acknowledge Bijjala's suzerainty. But we do not know definitely whether the Guttas under Vira-Vikramāditya also met with the same fate. It is, however, plain from an inscription at Haralanhalli that Jöyidēva I, the son and successor of Vira-Vikramāditya, was a feudatory of the Kālacūryas. The fact that Bijjala's dominions included the southern province of Banavāsī and that the Sindas of Beigutti and the Kadambas of Hāngal, the two neighbouring Mahāmaṇḍalēśvarian families of the Guttas, were made to acknowledge the overlordship of the Kālacūryas, would have us believe that the Gutta king Vikramāditya likewise became a subordinate of Bijjala.

A Kadamba record of 1177 informs us that one Mallidēva's queen Padumalādēvi, having become hostile to Sōyi-dēva, the Kadamba chief of Nāgarakhaṇḍa branch, plundered Kuppattūr and raiding the fields carried away the cows. This Mallidēva must be identified with the Gutta king Mallidēva (the father of Vikrama) who became the contemporary of Sōyi-dēva at the end of the former's reign. Mallidēva's queen was very likely ruling conjunctly with her son Vira-Vikramāditya and was administering the southern part of the Gutta kingdom.

The real name of this Gutta chief was Vikrama or Vikramāṅka as we have already seen. The epithet Vira (hero) accorded to him only shows that he was a brave king, who to his credit, extended the southern borders of his kingdom, and thus proved himself worthy of the title.

Vikrama's reign seems to have extended for a period of more than thirty years after which he was succeeded by his elder son Jöyidēva.

(1) Fleet Kanarese, Dynasties, pp. 475-476.
(2) Fleet, P. S. O. C. Inscriptions, No. 230.
(5) Fleet, P. S. O. C. Inscriptions, No. 234.
CHAPTER V.

JÖYIDÉVA.

Jöyidéva, who was also known as Júma or Jomma, was the eldest son of king Víra-Vikramáditya I. We have two records of the time of this ruler; one is a stone inscription from Belgamve in Mysore which gives a date corresponding to A. D. 1179.¹ The other is an inscription at Haralabalaḷi in Karajgi Tálukā from which we get the date of the winter solstice in December, A. D. 1181.²

It has already been noted that Víra-Vikramáditya I had transferred his allegiance to the Kálacúrya kings. The above mentioned inscriptions of Jöyidéva further prove that the Guttas, during the reign of Jöyidéva, were the acknowledged feudatories of the Kálacúryas. Both the records refer to the Kálacúrya kings Saúkama and Áhavamalla as the overlords of Jöyidéva.

The Belgamve inscription of Jöyidéva mentions him as one of the grantors of the great gifts made to the gods Kéśava (Viśnu) and Sómanátha (Śiva). Jöyidéva is here styled Guptá-varkša-várdhi-vardhánasudhákára or “a moon in raising the ocean of the Gupta race.” He is also described as a Mahámaṇḍaléśvara, worshipper of the lotus-feet of the God Galagéśvara, subduer of foreign armies. Among other persons who made the gifts was the Mahámaṇḍaléśvara.

¹ Ep. Car., VII, Sk. 123. Dr. Fleet remarks that this inscription belongs to a certain Sampakarasa of the Gutta dynasty and further tells us that he cannot be referred to his place in the Gutta genealogy. But Mr. Rice in the Epigraphia Carnatica has deciphered the name as “Joyidéva”, which seems to be the correct one.

² Fleet, P. S. O. C. Inscriptions, No. 230.
Boppa-dēva of the Nāgarakhaṇḍa branch of the famous Kadambakula. We are told that grants were also made by all the chief farmers of the Nāgarakhaṇḍa Seventy. The granting of taxes by Jōyidēva in the Nāgarakhaṇḍa Province clearly implies that he possessed at least some territory in that district. The fact that he is described as a “moon in raising the ocean of the Gupta race” would suggest that he was considered as one of the distinguished rulers of his dynasty.

It is important to remember that the Kadamba king Boppa-dēva who made gifts along with Jōyidēva was soon after forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Hoysalas. It is clear from one of his records of about 1182 that during his reign the Kadambas of Nāgarakhaṇḍa transferred their allegiance to the Hoysalas. This fact is of great significance in the history of Jōyidēva. Jōyidēva, who was also a feudatory of the Kālacūryas, could not have been conquered by the Hoysala king, inspite of the fact that Vira-Ballāla II had then completely overthrown the Kālacūrya supremacy to the south of the Tuṅgabhadrā.

The cult of Harihara seems to have received much impetus during this reign in the Banavāse and the adjacent provinces. It is noteworthy that a Śaiva monarch like Jōyidēva made liberal grants to the Vaiṣṇava temple of the god Kēśava. What is really interesting is that grants were made both to the Śaiva and the Vaiṣṇava deities at one and the same time. This fact clearly shows that the Harihara cult found favour even in the royal families of the day.

The Belgāmve inscription mentions the name of Vāsudēva Nāyaka who was the minister of Jōyidēva.²

(1) Ep. Ṫār., VII, 8k, 197.
(2) Ibid. 123.
CHAPTER VI.

VĪRA-VIKRAMĀDITYA II.

Vīra-vikramāditya II, the illustrious son of Gutta II by Padmalādēvi and the nephew of Jōyidēva I, ascended the throne in December A.D. 1181. It is thus evident that Gutta II, the younger brother of Jōyidēva, predeceased his brother. As Jōyidēva had no issues, Vikramāditya's accession was entirely undisputed. His records show that the power of the Guttas reached the acme of its greatness during the reign of this monarch. One of his early records speaks of him as a feudatory of the Kālacūrya king Ṵhavamalla. But the later records show that Vīra-Vikramāditya successfully aimed at a higher status and declared independence.

Of Vikramāditya we have six records. One is an inscription at Hulihalli. It refers to the reign of the Kālacūrya King Ṵhavamalla. His feudatory, it says, was the Mahāmahāśabara Vikramāditya II. In respect of his descent, it only tells us that he was the son of Jōyidēva I, who was the son of Vikramāṅka, that is, Vīra-Vikramāditya I. As this is the only inscription which informs us that Vikramāditya II was the son of Jōyidēva himself and not the son of Gutta I, it seems that Vikramāditya was perhaps the adopted son of Jōyidēva. This record is the most important of all in as much as it speaks of the Banavāśa Twelve-thousand Province as his nijāśvarāya or "own proper lordship," which clearly implies that it was mainly due to the military achievement of Vikrama himself that the Banavāśa Province was added to the Gutta kingdom. It must, however, be remembered that the whole of the Banavāśa Province

(1) South Ind. Ep., 215 of 1918.
(2) Carn., Desa. Inscriptions, II, p. 252, Referred to by Dr. Fleet Kanares Dynasties, p. 532.
(3) Ibid.
was not included in the Gutta kingdom. Only a considerable part of it was under the rule of Vikrama. Another record from the Bellary District, dated December 25, 1181, also informs us that the Gutta king Vikrama was ruling over a part of that District. \(^1\) Vikrama is here called "Lord of Ujjain." It is thus apparent that Vikramāditya extended the boundaries of his ancestral kingdom beyond Guttavolal, and held territories both to the north and to the south of the Tūṅgabhadrā.

How was Vikramāditya able to achieve this wonderful feat in the course of a couple of years? When Vikramāditya came to the throne, the Yādavas and the Kālacūryas were disputing for the possession of the southern provinces. Taking advantage of this political confusion, Vikramāditya seems to have embarked on a forward policy of extending the boundaries of his own kingdom. The disappearance of the Kālacūrya power from the history of Karnāṭaka, which took place in or about A.D. 1183, was another blessing to the Guttas. With the fall of the Kālacūryas, who were the overlords of the Guttas, the latter dynasty automatically became independent. The disappearance of the Kālacūryas also gave an opportunity to the Cālukya partisans to come forward and publicly expouse their cause. We are told in a Hoysala record that the Kālacūrya Daṇḍanāyaka Bamma joined the Cālukyas and succeeded in seducing a considerable part of the Kālacūrya forces which were under the command of his own brother\(^2\). This fact is further supported by a Cālukya inscription which admits that Bamma secured for Sōmēśvara the position of Emperor\(^3\).

We have seen elsewhere that many Mahāmanḍalīśvarian families which were loyal to the Western Chālukyas were only too glad to transfer their allegiance to Sōmēśvara IV. For example, the Kadambas of Hāṅgal under Kāma-dēva.

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(1) *South Ind. Ep.* 215 of 1918  
(2) *Ind. Ant.* II, p. 299.  
became the subordinates of their old master. But the ambitious Gutta king Vīra-Vikramāditya II aimed at a higher status, and hence seems to have determined to continue as an independent king.

The contest for supremacy between the Yādavas and the Hoysalas, which was going on for all these years, was at last decided in favour of the Hoysalas. The decisive victory of the latter over the Yādava king Bhīravā in the battle of Lukkundī seems to have determined, at least temporarily, that the Hoysalas should be supreme in the southern provinces of the Dekkan. Therefore, Vīra-Ballāla turned to subdue the Kadambas of Hāṅgal, thus leaving the Gutta king undisturbed.

We said above that Vikramāditya automatically become independent with the disappearance of the Kālaĉūrya overlordship. This fact is supported by Gutta inscriptions. The epigraph at Haralahaḷḷi tells us that Vīra-Vikramāditya II was ruling the Banavāse Province at his capital Guttavolal, with a certain Bāsirāja as his Mahāpradhāna. The record is dated in A. D. 1188 and thus can be referred to the time of the Cālukya king Sūrnaṇa IV. But what is significant, it does not mention any paramount sovereign. Similarly, another Gutta inscription at Cauḍāḍampur, dated in A. D. 1191, does not mention any paramount power. It is thus apparent that Vīra-Vikramāditya was an independent king, pending the issue of the contest between the Yādavas of Dēvagiri and the Hoysalas for the southern provinces. The fact that Vīra-Vikramāditya maintained his independence till the end of his reign is borne out by the Haralahaḷḷi epigraph dated in A. D. 1213, which again does not mention any paramount sovereign.

It may be gathered from this Haralahaḷḷi inscription, that Vīra-Vikramāditya ruled over a considerable part of the

(2) Fleet P. S. O. C. Inscriptions, No. 231.
(3) ibid., No. 109.
Banavase Province in the later half of his reign. It is explicitly stated that he was ruling the Banavase Twelve-thousand from his capital at Guttavolal. It is true that the earlier records also make the same statement. Nevertheless, there is every reason to believe that Vira-Vikramaditya grew more and more powerful as the years passed on. The Kadambas of Hangal who were the hereditary lords of Banavase had suffered considerable damage at this period, for the constant struggle with the Hoysalas had obviously a deleterious effect upon the Hangal kingdom. Moreover, Vira-Ballala was also now much advanced in age and had lost the juvenile vigour that had always attended his early career. It is, therefore, no wonder if Vira-Vikramaditya, who held the territory between the Kadambas and the Hoysalas, encroached on the Banavase Province.

Vikramaditya, in pursuing his forward policy, appears to have come into hostile contact with the neighbouring powers. That he was a good warrior is evidenced by the title Ahavaditya (a sun on the battle-field) accorded to his name. It is important to remember that this title is used only in the later records, a fact which would suggest that it was not a poetic appellation based on imagination, but a real biruda given to him in recognition of his military success on a particular occasion.

We have seen above that Vikramaditya reigned as an independent monarch throughout his reign, excepting the first few years when he was the subordinate of the Kalacarya King Ahavamulla. But this change in political status was not followed by any change in royal titles. The feudal expression Mahamayalaksvara is applied to him even after he became independent. The assumption of this title is, however, not inconsistent with the higher status which he enjoyed. For it was often the practice in ancient Karnatak to retain the old royal titles, despite the fact that they no longer indicated the real political status of a king. It may be noted in this connection that
the title of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras is prefixed to the name of the Hoysala king Vira-Ballāja II in some inscriptions even as late as in 1192 A. D.1

Vira-Vikramāditya, it is obvious from what we have said above, was a successful ruler. As a matter of fact, he is by far the greatest Guttā king. What is more, he is the only king of the dynasty to rule as an independent monarch without any overlord. Reading his inscriptions, one feels that he should have been an active prince blessed with indomitable energy. His encroachments on other’s territories show that he was not only ambitious to make a name for himself but also to make the most of the weakness of his neighbours. His personal encouragement to Śaivism by the construction of beautiful edifices proves that, despite the disturbed political conditions of his times, he maintained peace and order in his kingdom. Thus we are told in one of his records that he built a temple of Śiva at Harālāhali and made liberal grants to it in A. D. 12132. It may be that one of the Śiva temples, which we see to-day at Harālāhali, is the same which Vira-Vikramāditya caused to be erected.

We know that Vikramāditya married Paṭṭamādēvi, who bore him his daughter Tuluvalādēvi and his sons Jōyidēva and Vikrama2. Tuluvalādēvi is recorded to have been married to a certain Ballāja, son of a prince named Siṁha, Siṅgi, or Siṅgīdēva, of the Sūryavamsa or Solar Race, lord of the Śaṅtalī Maṇḍala4. Śaṅtalī Maṇḍala seems to be the same as Śaṅtalige, the hereditary province of the Śaṅtāra chieftains. It is, therefore, evident that Tuluvalādēvi was given in marriage to a Śaṅtāra prince. Vira-Vikramāditya appears to have died in about 1225, when he was succeeded by his son Jōyidēva II.

(1) Ep. Car, III Ng, 71. Pn. 31.
(2) Fleet, P. S. O. C. Inscriptions, No. 234.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid.
CHAPTER VII.

JÖYIDÉVA II.

Jöyidéva, also know as Jövidéva, was the son of Vira-Vikramáditya II. He ascended the throne in about 1225 on the death of his father. By the time Jöyidéva came to the throne, Vira-Ballála II having died, the Yädavas were growing powerful in the Karnäṭaka. The successors of Ballála were not as successful as their illustrious predecessors. The Yädavas on the other hand, flourished at this time under the rule of a capable monarch who increased their power to a very large extent. This king was Siñghaṇa, the son of Jaiṭugi. He had already made the Hoysalas taste the bitter fruits of defeat in the reign of Vira-Ballála. The Gadag inscription of 1213\(^2\) and the Paithan grant,\(^3\) which speak of him as overthrowing Ballála, make it abundantly clear that Siñghaṇa succeeded in recovering from Vira-Ballála all the territory that lay south of the Malprabhā and the Kṛṣṇā. His efforts were crowned with still greater success after the death of Vira-Ballála.

This was the state of affairs when Jöyidéva succeeded to the throne of Guttavolal. Siñghaṇa took advantage of Ballála's death to extend the southern borders of his growing kingdom. Guttavolal which lay between the Yädava and the Hoysala kingdoms was the proper territory to have a stronghold there from which Siñghaṇa could start his expeditions to the south against the Hoysalas. It would, therefore, seem that Guttavolal was in need of a powerful ruler in order to maintain its independence in tact. Jöyidéva had to put up a very stout resistance. But Siñghaṇa proved himself too powerful a king for the Gutta ruler. It was perhaps

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1 Fleet, P. S. O. C. Inscriptions, No. 234.
2 Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, p. 524.
3 Ind. Ant., XIV, p. 314.
due to this that Jöyidēva is described in one place as a forehead ornament of the Gutta family. In about 1135, Jöyidēva seems to have suffered an irretrievable defeat at the hands of the Yādavas.

The Harālahallī copper-plate grant of 1238 mentions Jöyidēva as a feudatory of the Yādava king Śīṅghaṇa. It is thus apparent that the Guttas lost their independence a few years before 1238. The same inscription tells us that Vīcaṇa, the Viceroy of Śīṅghaṇa II, of the southern part of his kingdom had subdued the Raṭṭas of Saundatti and Belgaum, the Pāṇḍyas “who shone at Guttī, the “turbulent” Hoysalas, and the Kadambas “who were glorious in the Koṅkaṇas”, and other kings. What is more, he is reported to have set up his pillar of victory in the neighbourhood of the river Kāvērī. The inscription then describes the rivers Varahi and Tuṅgabhadrā, and says that Vīcaṇa had come to the banks of the former in order to free himself from his debt to the manes of his parents. The epigraph then proceeds to record that with the consent of the village-headman Rāma-gauda and of the Mahāmāndalēśvara Jöyidēva, Cikkadēva, a Dāṇḍēsa of Śīṅghaṇa, presented to some Brāhmaṇas certain lands at the village of Raṭṭigrāma. Raṭṭigrāma is the modern Hajē-Raacī which is only six miles to the cast of Karajgi and which was then included in the Gutta domain. This would only suggest that the Dāṇḍēsa was the Yādava officer appointed to look after the Guttavoḷal-nāḍ.

Jöyidēva continued to rule as a feudatory of the Yādavas till the end of his reign which appears to have come to a close in about 1250.

CHAPTER VIII.

VIKRAMĀDITYA III.

Jñyidēva II, having no issues, his younger brother Vikramāditya III ascended the throne of Guttavajal on his brother's death. He was also known as Vikramānka. This event seems to have happened in about 1250 when Kṛṣṇa was the king of Dēvagiri. Vikramāditya ruled for a short period of about ten years, and his reign was on the whole uneventful. As we have no records of this king, we do not know whether he continued to rule as a feudatory of the Yādavas like his older brother. But the fact that his son and successor Guttā III was a subordinate of the Yādavas may lead us to infer that Vikramānka too was a Mahāmanāsānāvāra under Kṛṣṇa.

The reign of Vikramānka, being undisturbed by wars, was a peaceful and prosperous one. Trade should have flourished and the fine arts encouraged. It is expressly stated in one place that Vikramānka was a liberal patron of literature and made gifts to poets.¹ He also seems to have been very active in helping the religions to flourish. As regards his character, he is described as an abode of dharma, truth, and purity of conduct.²

We have no more information about this king excepting that his wife was Mailaładēvi, the mother of Guttā III.³

¹ Fleet, P. S. O. Č. Inscriptions, No. 111. ² Ibid.
³ Ibid.
CHAPTER IX.

GUTTA III.

Gutta III succeeded his father Vikramāditya as the king of Guttavālī-nāḍī. He probably came to the throne in A.D. 1260. We have three lithic records of this king. Two of them mention first the Mahāmanimalāśvara Āhavamallāditya Vira-vikramāditya III, or as one of them calls him, Vira-Vikrama. This person married Mailalādēvi. And their son was Gutta III.

Gutta, in his records, is described as ruling at his capital of Guttavālī. But the inscriptions do not define the extent of his kingdom. All the three inscriptions show that Gutta was a Mahāmanimalāśvara under the Dēvagiri Yādava king Mahādēva, who ruled from 1260 to 1271. Mahādēva is styled in these records Yuddhārāyaṇa Bhūja-bala Praṇḍharpalāpa Cakravartī.

Gutta appears to have been a powerful chieftain. We have told that he became famous “throughout the world” on account of his title Mānimalāhagana (the brave among the chieftains),2 That he was a staunch and liberal patron of Śaivism is borne out by one of his records, which contains a long praise of God Śiva and of Śaivism. The record also says that Śiva is the only God on earth. It is important to note that Viraśaiva terms such as Liṅga and Jaṅgama are used in the description. It seems that Liṅgāyutism made great progress by the middle of the thirteenth century. Even the Guttas who were staunch followers of Brahmanic faith could not be immune from its influence. It is worthy of note that the same Gutta inscription informs us that the Yādava

(1) Fleet, P. S. O. C. Inscriptions, Nos. 110, 111.
(2) Ibid., No. 111.
(3) Ibid.
Emperor Mahādeva ordered his Mahāpradhāna Sarvādhikārī Dēkarasa of Taragele to make gifts to the god Śiva of Muktaṭirtha for the purpose of feeding the Liṅgāyat Jaṅgamas. This grant thus bears an eloquent testimony to the fact that even the Imperial Vaiṣṇava dynasty of the Yādavas helped Vaiṣṇavism to flourish in its Empire.

The long eulogistic passages in the records, describing the military valour of Gutta III, would have us believe that he was a powerful chieftain and a skilful warrior.

The most important political event in the reign of Gutta was the Yādava-Hoysaḷa war. There was an invasion against the Hoysaḷas in 1271 A. D. under the Yādava king Mahādeva. As Gutta III was the southern-most feudatory of the Yādavas, it is quite likely that he was compelled to join his overlords against the Hoysaḷas. According to a Nāgamaṅgala epigraph,¹ the great Sēvuṇa king Mahādeva was marching forth to the battle without fear, mounted on his elephant, when it refused to stand, and he had to take to his fine horse; but this also becoming frightened, he said in terror “Flight is best” (puḷāyavām Kuśalam) and fled in one night. The Cannarāyapaṭhṇa record² adds the detail that, having entered the battle, Mahādeva was unable to endure and, leaving his cavalry force, ran away in a night. In both these inscriptions, the name of Perumala-dēva-daṇḍāyaka, the great general of Narasimha III, is mentioned; and he is described as a source of “security” to his sovereign. It is said of him that he offered the lotus of the brave Rataṃpāla’s head to the Goddess of Victory, and captured his Javanike (curtain or tent) and received the name Javanike Nārāyaṇa. Rataṃpāla was probably the general of the Sēvuṇas, who lay dead on the field at the hands of Perumala. The Yādavas, however, did not give up all hopes. The army encamped for some time

in the Guttavolal-nāḍ near Harihara. After recruiting new soldiers evidently from the Gutta kingdom, the Yādavas under the general Sāluva Tikkama led a victorious expedition and invaded Dwārasamudra and brought back as tributes all kinds of wealth especially elephants and horses. These events happened in 1261, the year of Mahādēva’s death. Mahādēva’s successor Rāmacandra renewed the attack on Dwārasamudra in 1276. We are told in Hoysala records that with the assistance of Iruīgala and other powerful chiefs, Sāluva Tikkama, the General of the Yādavas, invaded the Hoysala territory. It is quite possible that one of these powerful chieftains who are said to have joined Tikkama in the Hoysala records was Gutta III. It is thus apparent that Gutta’s reign was one of protracted warfare. In spite of the Yādava success, the Hoysalas remained the masters of the Banavāse Province. Thus Gutta seems to have lost his Banavāse naḍa, which were first added to the Gutta kingdom in the reign of his grand-father Vira-Vikramāditya III.

We have no means to settle the exact year of Gutta’s death. Nevertheless, we shall not be far from truth if we presume that he died in or about 1280.

(3) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sh. 45.
CHAPTER X.

THE END OF THE DYNASTY.

The dynasty of the Guttas practically comes to an end with the death of Gutta III. A few years after his death, which seems to have occurred in about A.D. 1280, began the decline of the Yādava kingdom, which included the principality of Guttavōḷal.

We do not know who succeeded Gutta III as the king of Guttavōḷal-naḍ. A Cauḍaḍāmpur inscription dated in A.D. 1265 mentions Hiriyaḍēva and Ērīydēva III, the younger brothers of Gutta III who is here styled a Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara, "lord of Ujjani, the best of towns, and born in the lineage of Candragupta." This is the last Gutta record that has yet been discovered. As it refers to the reign of Gutta III, it does not help us in settling as to who succeeded him. Nevertheless, the mention of the two younger brothers is significant inasmuch as it may lead us to the presumption that the elder of them, namely, Hiriyaḍēva succeeded Gutta III.

So then, the most important political event in the reign of Hiriyaḍēva was the renewal of the Hoysala-Yādava conflict by Vīra-Ballāḷa III. This conflict had immediate effects on the Gutta kingdom as we shall presently see. This happened after a few years following the defeat of the Yādavas by Allā-ud-din in 1294. Vīra-Ballāḷa had by this time composed the differences existing between the two rival Hoy- sala kingdoms and had united all the territories under his rule. After this he decided to avail himself of the weakness of the Yādavas to make a bid for the suzerainty over the

(2) Ferishta-Briggs, I, 304-10.
Dekkan. Accordingly, he set out on an expedition and appears to have invaded the territories of the Guttas and the Hāṅgal Kadambas, the feudatories of the Yādavas. A viragal assigned to 1299 informs us that, while he marched on Hāṅgal, he was plundering the enemy territory on his way. It is thus apparent that the Hoysala king overran Guttavojal-nad which lay to the south of Hāṅgal.

It is quite natural that the Gutta and the Kadamba Mahāmāṇḍalaśvaras were helped by their Yādava overlords in their struggle against the Hoysalas. As a matter of fact, a Hoysala epigraph of 1305 speaks of Vira-Ballala III as marching against the Yādava Cakravarti, who had opened hostilities against the Hoysalas and had determined to capture their king.

But the Yādavas had soon to abandon this war for good on account of the fresh invasion of Dēvagiri by Malik Kāfur.

The conquest of Dēvagiri by the Muhammdans and the death of king Samkara at the hand of Malik Kāfur marks the end of the Yādava Empire. This event happened in A. D. 1312. Only two years before this, that is in 1310, Malik Kāfur had continued his march to the south, and, having effected the conquest of Dvārasamudra, had returned to Delhi in A. D. 1311. As regards the route of this southern invasion, Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has rightly shown that Malik Kāfur followed the road from “Pandharpur to Bijāpur, from Bijāpur to Harihar, from Harihar to Hiriyūr and thence across from the main road to Banavīr and Halēbīd.”

It, therefore, follows that Malik Kāfur passed through the northern portion of Guttavojal-nāḍ on whose frontiers the town of Harihar situated. All this must have had salutary effects on the Gutta kingdom. The great political confusion that arose in the Dekkan on account of

(3) Aiyangar, South India and her Muhammdadan Invaders, pp. 101-102.
this Muhammadan invasion seems to have proved fatal to the very existence of the Mahāmanḍalāśvarian kingdoms of Karnāṭaka. The defeat of the Hindu imperial dynasties like the Yādavas and the Hoysaḷas was a severe death-blow to the feudatory families of the Dekkan. The very existence of these feudatory states was based on the support of the more powerful kingdoms to which they were subordinate. Hence it is no wonder if we do not hear anything of the Guttas after the downfall of the Yādavas.

The Guttas of Guttal.

(2) Māgutt or Mahāgutt
C. 1075-1090

(2) Gutta I
C. 1090-1108

(3) Mallu or Malla
C. 1108-1139

(4) Vīra-Vikramāditya I
1139-1170

(5) Jōma, Jomma or Jōyidēva I
1170-1181

(6) Vīra-Vikramāditya II
1181-1225

Gutta II

Āhavāditya

(7) Jōyidēva or Jōyidēva II
1225-C. 1250

(8) Vikramāditya III
C. 1250-1260.

Taļuvalādēvi

(9) Gutta III.
C. 1060-1280.

Hiriyaḍēva,
1280-1312.

Jōyidēva III.

Note.—Figure in the bracket denotes the number of the chapter.
PART IX.

INTERNAL HISTORY.
CHAPTER I.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Extent of the Empire.

Regarding the administrative system of the Mahāmanḍalēśvaras and their overlords, much information can be culled out of the lithic records so far discovered. In its greatest extent, the Cālukyan Empire extended over a vast area not in the least insignificant even from the modern point of view. Speaking roughly, it comprised the whole of the Kannāda country, a considerable portion of that part of the Dokkaṇ which is now known as Mahārāṣṭra, and the coastal Koṅkaṇi tract called Gou.

It was but natural that such an extensive empire was divided into many provinces. The greater portion of it was governed by the feudatory chiefs styled the Mahāmanḍalēśvaras, who were the members of great noble families enjoying a peculiar kind of political position which was neither complete independence amounting to full-fledged sovereignty, nor the complete subordination of the protected Native States of modern India. Though they recognised the overlordship of the paramount power, they were independent monarchs in the sense that they possessed the right of waging war with one another, a right which is denied to the subsidiary States of to-day.

The Mahāmanḍalēśvaras even occasionally “assumed an attitude which rendered it necessary for the paramount sovereign to undertake operations against them and reduce them to obedience.” For instance, we are told that the Hoysaḷa Mahāmanḍalēśvara and the Goa Kadamba chief once rose in revolt against Vikramādiṭya VI who with some diffi-
ulty managed to keep them back in check. The feudalatory princes while acknowledging the authority of paramount sovereigns, evidently enjoyed a great amount of independence and frequently omitted to mention their supreme master in their records. According to Dr. Fleet, the expression "sukhasamkalithā vinīdadam rājyam gēyu" (सूक्ष्मकलिथ विनिदादम राज्यम् गेयु) should be rendered by "ruling with the pleasure of an agreeable or friendly interchange of communications (with the paramount sovereign). This, we think, is not only as close a literal translation as is possible, but it would also convey the idea that the feudalatory princes enjoyed the status of semi-independence. This expression is found in the records of the Raṭṭas, the Sindas of Yelburga, the Guttas of Guttal, the Pāṇḍyas of Ucchāṅgi, and the Kadambas of Goa.

The measure of independence which the feudatories enjoyed in maintaining a sufficiently large force of arms is manifest from the fact that the Hoyasaṅga Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Viṣṇu-Vardhan once invaded Ucchāṅgi and the Belvola country, and carried his arms as far to the north as to bathe his horse in the waters of the river Kṛṣṇā. And it was only through the instrumentality of another Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, namely, the Sinda chief Ācugi II, that the invasion was stopped. That some of these chiefs were very powerful can be easily

(2) Fleet, Konarese Dynasties, p. 428.
gathered from the achievements of the Sinda prince just mentioned, who is recorded to have pursued and prevailed against the Hoysala, took Gove, put Lakṣma to flight in war, valorously followed after Pāṇḍya, dispersed at all times the Malapas, seized upon the Koṅkan, gave Gove and Uppinakaṭṭe to the flames, and like a demon, swallowed up and vomitted forth a certain Bhōja. It is true that Ācugi was backed by his Emperor Vikrama. Nevertheless, the fact remains that Ācugi, though only a chief, possessed a mighty army, the existence of which further implies that he was left free in the act of maintaining a large military force. What was true of Ācugi was also true of other Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras.

This important conquest of Ācugi also indicates that either the Kadambas of Goa, the Pāṇḍyas, and the Silāhāras of Karād joined with the Hoysalas in some general conspiracy against their sovereign, or else they took advantage of the Hoysala invasion to raise disturbances on their own account. In either case, it becomes clear that the feudatory chiefs were to a great extent immune from the central control even under so powerful an emperor as Vikramāditya. It may be said that the whole Cālukyan Empire was a loose confederacy unique in itself, whose principle object was perhaps to check the tide of the Cōla invasions, and protect the integrity and independance of the Kannaḍa country. The Cālukyas and their feudatories, being the permanent inhabitants of Karnaṭaka, must have felt a deep love for its culture; and hence must have willingly wielded themselves into a federation for the preservation of Kannaḍa culture. That feeling of provincialism was so much roused in this period is manifest from the fact that almost all the inscriptions are written in Kannaḍa and not in Sanskrit as in the earlier period. The feeling was so strong that we come across pure Kannaḍa official designa-

(1) Ibid.
tions such as Nāḍa-heggaḍe, Manevergaḍe, Hiriyā-heggaḍe, Kaḍitaverggaḍe and Haḍapadavu, popularly used for the first time. The Cōla kings were hated not only for their being in deadly enmity with the Cālukyas, but also for their being the members of a non-Kannada nationality. Thus for example, the Gauaravāḷa inscription of Sōmeśvara II calls the Cōla monarch Rājendra a “deadly sinner the Tivula, styled, the Pāṇḍya-Cōla.”¹ Tivula is a byc-form of the common word Tiguḷa meaning A Tamil.

The Mahāmaṇḍalōṣvaras.

The Mahāmaṇḍalōṣvaras had their own family ensigns and emblems and were entitled to the honour of the Pāncea-Mahāśabda. These designations and emblems further imply that for all practical purposes the feudatory chiefs were sovereigns in their respective territories. The Pāncea-Mahāśabda, which denotes the sounds of five great musical instruments, was a special mark of distinction to persons of high rank and authority. These five great instruments are the Śṛṅga, Tammatā, Śaṅkha, Bhēri, and Jayaghantā as enumerated by a Lingayat writer². Besides these, there are inscriptionsal references to certain specific musical instruments which were the special privileges of the respective Mahāmaṇḍalōṣvaras. Thus for example, the Raṭṭa chieftains were heralded by the sounds of trivaḷi-tūrya nīrghoṣaṇa,³ while the Kadambas of Goa had the epithet permaḷḷi-tūrya-nīrghoṣaṇa⁴.

The feudatory chiefs seemed to have been surrounded by pomp, dignity and oriental ostentation with which the ancient monarchy was generally associated. A contempor-

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¹ Ep. Ind., XV, p. 245.
² Ind. Ant., XII, p. 96, referred to by Mr. Phatak.
ary Kannaḍa poet gives us a graphic description of a royal procession as he saw it in his own day. It runs thus: "While the dancing girls of the harem, rising behind, came waving cauris on both sides, while white umbrellas, the pali-kēlāna banner, and the banners bearing the figures of a moon, a sun, a lion, a tiger, an alligator, and a fish, and other signs of royalty were flowing before; while the five great musical instruments and the auspicious drums were being sounded; and while the heralds, bards, and beggars, and poor and helpless people, were being presented with gifts to their satisfaction, Vidyucchāra proceeded to the Caityālaya adorned with a thousand summits, alighted from the state elephant, went thrice round a basadi, bowed to the god and spoke thus." It will be remembered that the present-day Dasara procession of the Mysore Mahārāja does not very much differ in its nature from the ancient one above.

The term Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara was, of course, generally applied to the great hereditary chiefs. But it would also appear from some inscriptions that the designation, in a few cases, was given to high-born generals as a special favour. It should not, however, be supposed that all those who were styled Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras were of the same political status and rank. It is true that the famous families such as the Sindas, the Raṭtas, the Guttas and the Pāṇḍyas were all equal to one another so far as their relations with paramount sovereign were concerned. Nevertheless, we come across a few "Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras" who are reported to have been subordinate not to the emperors but to those feudatory chiefs whom we may now style the major Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras. Thus for instance, a certain Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara is recorded to have been ruling the Kōgaḷi Five Hundred as a subordinate to the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya.
Similarly, one Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara Nācidēvarṣa was the subordinate of the Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara Pratāpa Jagadekamalla Pāṇḍya. It may also be noted that the major Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara is sometimes termed, though occasionally, a mere Māṇḍalika or Maṇḍalēśvara. This was perhaps done with a view to avoid the inconvenience that arose in pronouncing that grand-cloquent but lengthy term.

A substantial portion of the Kuntala country was governed by these feudatory princes, each ruling his own hereditary domain as a monarch. The Silāhāras of southern Koṇkaṇ held the territory now occupied by the Ratnāgiri District. The Silāhāras of northern Koṇkaṇ ruled in the neighbourhood of Kolhāpur and the Silāhāras of Karāḍ were in charge of the Karhāṭa Province which included the southern part of the present day Satara district and the extreme north of the Belgaum District. It should be noted that these three branches did not rule concurrently but at different times. Then came the Raṭṭas who, as we have already seen, were the hereditary governors of the Kūṇḍi Three-thousand Province with its capitals, Saundatti and Belgaum. The Kadambas of Hānagal were in charge of the Dhārśvā District, while the Kadambas of Goa ruled the present day Portuguese territory, the North Kanara District and a small portion of land that extended above the ghāts. The Sindas of Yelburgā held the territory which is now represented by the eastern parts of the Bijapur and the Dhārśvār Districts, the northern part of the Bellāry District and a considerable portion of the Nizam Karnāṭaka. The Sindas of Kurgōḍu ruled over a greater part of the Bellāry district. The Pāṇḍyas of Uccaṇgi ruled the Nōlambavāḍi Province corresponding to the Chitaldroog district. The Guttas were the masters of Guttavoḷalu, a small territory now represented by the Karajgi and Rānebennūr Talukas of

(1) Ibid., 1919, B. 264
(2) Ep. Ind., XV, p. 112.
the Dhāarwār District. The Sindas of Belagavarti ruled the territory round their capital, now corresponding to the Honnāḷī Tālukā of the Shimoga District and also a portion of Rānebennūr. The Sēnāvaras held the Western part of the Kadūr district, while the Sāntaras ruled over the Sāntalīge Province, which corresponds generally to the present Tirthahullī Tālukā and neighbouring parts. And finally, the Hoysalā Mahāmanḍalēśvaras ruled over an extensive territory which extended over the greater portions of the Hāssan and Kadūr districts.

The Mahāmanḍalēśvaras were the powerful guardians of the Cālukyan Empire inspite of the fact that some of them occasionally sought for an opportunity to throw off the yoke of their emperor. Their function was not only administrative in its character but military as well. They governed the country in times of peace and commanded the army in times of war. We have already seen how the Sinda chief Ācugi devoted his life and energy to the preservation of the great empire. The early Hoysalas in their capacity of feudatory chiefs were ever ready to stem the tide of Cōla invasions. Ereyāṅga Hoysalā, says an epigraph, was a powerful right hand to the Cālukyas\(^1\). He is recorded to have defeated the Cōla king and plundered his capital.\(^2\) The Uccaṅgi chief Vijaya Pāṇḍya is stated to have subdued Male and gave it to the Cālukyas.\(^3\) Again an inscription of 1121 tells us that “to break the pride of the Cōla, to harass Ṭhāndhra, to cease Kalinga to fall, to frighten and attack the Āṅga, Vaṅga and Māgadhā kings, to conquer Mālavā in battle, to trample on the famous Gurjjara,—Pāṇḍya Bhūpāla is alone sufficient, such was the confidence in him of the emperor Vikrama.” Though the chief’s power is evidently exaggerated, we cannot escape the conclusion

\(^{(1)}\) Ep. Car. VII, Sh. 64.
\(^{(2)}\) Ibid.
that he was considered a pillar of strength supporting the Empire. It seems that the Emperors retained full confidence in their faithful Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras. It was on account of the active support of the feudatories that the Empire became all the more powerful throughout the long period that extended over two centuries.

**Territorial Divisions.**

The Empire was divided into many divisions and subdivisions for administrative purposes. One peculiar feature of these divisions was that figures were attached to each name denoting the division. Thus for instance, we come across the Beḷvola 300, the Kukkanṭir 30, the Kūḍi 3,000 the Kisuḷāḷ 70 and so on. As to the meaning of these numerical figures, there is difference of opinion among scholars. Mr. Rice is of the opinion that these divisions commonly had their revenue value attached to the name and further remarks that the figure indicated the niṣkhas.¹ The *Imperial Gazetteer* says that these numbers refer to their revenue capacity. It also suggests that they refer to the number of the Nāḍis or districts². The latter view can be easily discarded. For it is impossible to maintain that there were 7½ lakhs Nāḍis in Raṭṭapadi or 30,000 districts in the Kūḍi province. Dr. S. Krishnasvami Iyengar remarks: “The figures attached to each name seem to indicate either, the revenue paid or the value of the produce, as is customary even now in certain localities ... Dr. Fleet takes them to stand for the number of townships in the division, in spite of apparent exaggeration. This does not find support in existing practice, which clearly indicates that it is either revenue, or income or sometimes the quantity of seed required.”³ Dr. Fleet’s view that the figure denotes the number of villages seems to be the correct one. In a Raṭṭa

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(3) *Ayengar, Ancient India*, p. 75, Foot-note.
inscription it is expressly stated that the Vēṇūgrāme-seventy contained seventy villages. Similarly, we are told in another inscription that the two provinces of Belvola and Puligere jointly comprised six hundred villages. Moreover, if we believe the revenue theory, it becomes very difficult to hold the view that the revenue never fluctuated. The opinion of Mr. Rice that they indicate the nīkās cannot be supported for the reason that taxes were not usually collected in money. As regards the seed theory of Dr. Iyongar, it cannot be accepted as sound for the simple reason that the quantity of seed must vary with the different kinds of corn. It is not also possible to think that each province was sown with only one kind of corn. Considering all these improbabilities and practical impossibilities, we are inclined to support the view of Dr. Fleet who has inscri ptional evidence on his side. It is true that the numbers are sometimes grossly exaggerated. Thus for example, the province of Nōlambavādi 32,000, which more or less represents the modern Chitaldroog District with a portion of Bellāry, cannot be expected to have contained as many as 32,000 villages. It seems quite probable that the number was simply traditional in certain cases. Nevertheless, it is safe to presume that the number of villages in each territorial division or province was ascertained.

It appears that the system of dividing and sub-dividing the country into circles of tens, twenties, hundreds and thousands was followed. It might be naturally expected that major divisions such as the Kūndī 3000, Nōlambavādi 32,000, Banavāse 12,000; Halasige 12,000 were subdivided into smaller units like the Vēṇūgrāme 70, Masavādi 140 Havye 500 and Narayāṅgal 12.

(2) Ep. Ind., XV, p. 396.
Mahāmanḍalēśvaras Under the Cālukyās

Mahāsāmantaḍhipatis.

The Emperor appointed the imperial officers styled the Mahāsāmantaḍhipatis, who were entrusted with the collection of the imperial dues like the peryyaṅka, Vaiḍīkāvala and the bilkola. These governors saw to the proper defence of kingdom and kept an eye over the actions of the Mahāmanḍalēśvaras. They generally belonged to high noble families and were often entitled to the honour of Pañcamahāśabda.¹ The office of the Mahāsāmantaḍhipati was both military and civil. Sometimes they discharged many functions according to their capacity and degree of loyalty. Thus the Mahāsāmantaḍhipati Bhivaṇayya was the Great August General, the High Minister, Steward of the Household, Provincial Registrar, and Administrator of the Paḷāśīge Twelve-Thousand.² Similarly, Eraga was the Great August General, the High Minister, and the Steward Household.³ Another Mahāsāmantaḍhipati is called a Dāṇḍanāyaka.⁴ Again the Mahāsāmantaḍhipati Mahādēvara was the Karituragapaṭṭa-Sāhāṇī (groom of the head-trappings of elephants and horses) and the Manevergaḍe and the Dāṇḍanāyaka.⁵

It seems that care was taken to appoint only men of high qualifications to these important posts. They were not only efficient in their official duty, but were men of high culture. For instance, Kremayya was "gallant to the lady, the art of literature, bee to the lotus-face of Sarāsvati .......and a jewel in the car of Sarasvati."⁶ Again Bhivaṇayya is described as a "bestower of desirable reward upon cultured and agreeable persons."⁷

(2) Ep. Ind., XVI, pp. 34-35.
(3) Ibid., p. 63.
(7) Ep. Ind. XVI, p. 34.
These high officials enjoyed certain important rights. We are told that a certain Mahāsāmāntādhīpati could remit the whole tax of Vaḍḍaravula to be paid either by the individuals or corporations. This he could do without the consent of the king.¹ But there is reason to believe that this right was not frequently used. It seems that it was exercised only on such occasions when it was too late to receive the royal sanction. We have epigraphical references to show that grants were usually made after consulting the Emperor.

Kingship.

Coming to the head of the government both Imperial and Mahāmanḍalēśvarian, we find that the king was the absolute head of the state in theory. The republican form of government was unknown to Karnāṭaka. It is true that we come across some republics in North India in Buddhistic and Pre-Buddhistic times. Mr. Jayaswal suggests that monarchy was a Dravidian institution borrowed by the Aryans.² Anyhow, the common form of Government in Ancient India either North or South was undoubtedly monarchy. Kingship in ancient Karnāṭaka was hereditary. But there is every reason to believe that in very early times, when the Kannadigas were living in tribal polity, kingship was elective. The Kannāḍa word Arasū which means king, gives the meaning to choose when used as a verb. This clearly shows that at a time when the Kannāḍa language was in the state of formation, kingship in Karnāṭaka was elective and not hereditary as it came to be in later times. Similarly, the Kannāḍa word āḷu, which means a servant, gives the meaning to rule when used as a verb. This again shows that the king was looked upon as a mere servant of the people. This was because his power

(2) Jayaswal, Hindu Polity, part II, pp. 4-5.
and importance depended on the sweet will of his tribal community which had elected him a king or a servant to look after the well-being of its members. Hence the king was a servant. But later on when the people reached the agricultural and industrial stages, they must have felt the necessity of surrendering some of their powers to a strong leader. This in course of time led to one man's rule which in its turn gave rise to hereditary monarchy. The king now ceased to be considered as a mere servant. He was raised to the position of a real ruler and consequently came to be called a *Dore* or *Oleyan*, the master.

Thus the king in Cālukyan Karnāṭaka was an autocrat in theory. But in practice he was not so. The ministers exercised great influence over him, and hence it was difficult for the king to disregard their opinion. The king could not be absolute in the circumstances in which he was placed. His power was so limited by a system of checks and balances, the minister, the religious preceptor and the public opinion that he dared not to misuse his rights. In case the king turned to be oppressive, which was contrary to the religious and moral traditions of his crown and country, the people did not hesitate to rise in revolt. For instance, we are told in a Sorob inscription that fifty *nāḍs* once rose in rebellion against Bīrā Sāṇṭāra, the king of Sāṇṭalige.1 We all know that the emperor Bijjala had to lose both his crown and head in a civil war that ensued in the city.

According to an inscription of about 1075, the three attributes of royal power were (I) the capacity to rule, (II) to give advise and (III) to carry on war with energy.2 Again a Cālukyan inscription describes the king as one "who levied taxes for the protection of all the world."3 It is thus clear that the paternal

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(2) *Mys. Arch. Dept.*, 1928 No. 103.
principle of monarchy, which was so sacred to the Kauṭiliya Arthaśāstra, was recognised in the Caḷukyan times. The king looked upon his subjects as his children. Just as a father would care for the good and welfare of his children, so also the king was expected to bestow his attention on the progress of the state. Besides, the king ruled the land according to the well-established laws of the realm. If he failed in his duty the public dared to protest against his action, and thus bring him back to his senses.

We are told in an inscription that a place by name Sāligrāma was originally called Sālipura; but subsequently owing to the misrule of one of the kings it was known as Avicārapura. From this fact it is evident that if the rule of a monarch was found oppressive and tyrannical, the people had the courage to protest against and even to change the name of the king’s capital. Unfortunately we do not know the name of the king who was thus responsible for causing the name of the town to be changed.

The king was expected to lead the army in times of war. He was a tower of strength. He had to develop his body so as to make it fit for the affairs of the state. The characteristics of a just ruler, as can be gathered from inscriptions were to command the army heroically on the field of battle, to protect those who sought for his protection, to behave as a brother to the wives of other men, and to protect the virtuous and punish the wicked. The qualities of a typical king are described in a Raṭṭā inscription which says that king Sāna was “resplendent being possessed of an army that was terrible by reason of its valour, ever enjoying the embraces of the goddess of knowledge, beloved husband of the lovely woman Authority, possessed of a large court, shining with a lustre like that of a sun, very

generous, very haughty, the leader of the forces in the battlefield......and the friend of learned men".\(^1\) The three *saktis* or powers which the king was expected to possess were the qualities of majesty, perseverance and counsel.\(^2\) The king was also supposed to be acquainted with the six *gruvas* or the six divine attributes namely, wisdom, creative energy, power, all-sufficiency, might and glory.\(^3\) It is true that these were the characteristics of rather an ideal king than those of an ordinary one. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that these lofty ideals must have impressed the kings who must have tried to act according to them.

The *Mānasollāsa* describes the duties and obligations of a true king. It says that the king should possess truthfulness, energy, blue-blood-virtue, youth, alertness, ability, mastery over vassals, courage and fine personality. If he failed to have the last mentioned qualification, he would be despised by women and servants. He had to win the good wishes of his subjects. He should show them that he is the fit person in whom they could repose their confidence. He should further ensure them their safety. Hence he should naturally be generous, ready to forgive and forget, sweet in speech, liberal to those who seek his protection, a true appreciator of merit, just, respectful towards elders, compassionate, a lover of the subjects and their welfare and lastly adventurous in spirit, industrious, cheerful, and above all truthful, honest and sensible.\(^4\)

Besides the checks explained above, there was an additional safeguard to the wayward actions of the king in the class of learned men and religious precptors who gave him counsel from time to time. The poets too had

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the privilege to tender their good counsel. Kings in ancient times could not be immune from the influence of poets. They took delight in holding assemblies "that were made charming by listening to many excellent new poems." The kings acquainted themselves with writings on the art of government. Besides, Kauṭiliya Arthāśātra, Bhūṣāṇār-yaka's works relating to politics were studied.

The tremendous influence that a powerful religious preceptor could wield over the king and the administration is manifest from a Raṭṭa inscription which says that the royal spiritual preceptor Municandraṇāva, through his close acquaintance with the treatises on the use of weapons, became the instructor of Lākṣmīdēva. Through subduing many kingdoms he became the anointer of other kings. While Lākṣmīdēva "was firmly enduring," he "made the earth all of one standard of morality through his administration, pursued with the excellent might of his arm the hostile kings, being a very lion to the elephants that were his enemies". Worthy of respect, Municandraṇāva surpassed all others in his capacity for administration.

The Capital and the Court

The royal city was a place of splendour and magnificence. It was "pleasing on account of all its riches and enjoyments". The buildings stood in extensive parks studded with great variety of trees and shrubs. It was "large and resplendent as being full of all the means of accomplishing pleasure".

(1) Ibid.
(3) Ind. Ant., V, p. 49.
(5) Ibid., p. 253.
(6) Ibid., p. 253.
The imperial as well as the Mahāmandalēśvaran court was maintained with great pomp and dignity. A king true to his tradition possessed a saptāṅga which included a learned man, herald, songster, poet, jester, historian and the reader of the Puranas.

Besides the usual capital, some kings must have maintained a sanitorium. It has been expressly stated in a Dāvaṇagere inscription that Vijaya Pāṇḍya had a pleasure house among the sandal trees on the slopes of the Malaya mountains.

The royal enjoyments, as recorded in the Mānasollāsa, are a beautiful palace, wrestling, cock-fighting, bringing up of dogs, poetry, music, dancing etc. The last class comprises spots in gardens and fields, or on mountains and sand-banks, games, enjoyment in the company of women etc. Vikramānkhadēvācarita affords a vivid description of the kings' amusements. In the morning the king and the queen took walks in the gardens. “Later the whole harem was called out and the women amused themselves and the king with gathering flowers and fruits from trees and creepers.” Then they took their bath in a tank. “Finally in the evening after enjoying the bright moon-light and after making a fresh toilet, the whole party sat down to a banquet at which sura or madhu, a highly intoxicating drink, flowed in streams.” This picture, as gathered from the Mānasollāsa and the Carita, does not perhaps hold good in the case of Jaina monarchs, though it is a faithful picture of life led by a Hindu king. A Jaina inscription expressly states that such recreations such as gaming, hunting, eating flesh, associating with courtesans, ram-fighting and cock-fighting were forbidden royal amusements. The inscription also lays stress

(1) Ibid. (2) Ep. Car., XI, Dg. 5.
(3) Bhandarkar, Early History of the Deccan, p. 89.
(4) Buhler, Vikramankadeva Charita, Intro., p. 40.
on leading a religious life and extols those kings who were devoted to giving gifts to world renowned saints and learned men.

**Yuvarāja**

It was an usual custom among kings to nominate one of his sons or younger brothers as Yuvarāja. This was partly done in order to be relieved of the burden of bearing the toil and turmoil of the kingdom all alone in old age and partly to initiate the successor in all the mysteries of state craft, so as to enable him to maintain the prestige and continue the traditions of the family. We learn from the Kalhāli inscription that Kārta-vīrya IV Raṭṭa was assisted in the government by his younger brother the Yuvarāja Mallikārjuna "who supported the heavy burden of the earth" (kingdom). The same fact is repeated in a Belgaum inscription which says that Kārta-vīrya IV, in company with his younger brother, the Heir-Apparent Prince Mallikārjuna was enjoying the delights of empire in the camp at Vānugrāma. The Paṭṭadakal inscription shows that in A. D. 1163, Permāḍi Sindā's younger brother Cāvunda II, in conjunction with the princesses (Kumāras), that is to say his sons Ācūgli III and Permāḍi II, was ruling the Kisukāṇa-seventy and other districts. It is to be noted that none of the sons had been yet chosen as a Yuvarāja. They ruled the country as Kumāras. It was usually the eldest son that was nominated the heir-apparent. But there is every reason to believe that the reigning monarch could sometimes nominate any younger son, if the elder proved unfit for the high post. For instance, Bīlhaṇa

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tells us that the eyes of Ahavamalla turned naturally to the more talented and better-fitted Vikrama when he wanted to nominate his successor. Hence the king made up his mind to appoint Vikrama as Yuvaraja in preference to his eldest son Somesvara. But Vikrama thought that the dignity of Yuvaraja belonged more naturally to the elder and therefore refused to deviate from the time-honoured custom. Finally, Vikrama not moved by all his exhortions, Ahavamalla reluctantly raised Somesvara to the dignity of Yuvaraja

The Yuvaraja was often entrusted with responsible duties like those of attack and defence, and it seems that he discharged his functions with ability and success with which he justified the confidence placed in him. He sometimes had a province in his entire charge and sometimes acted as viceroy.

The Chief queen.

The chief queen was an important personage in the Calukyan system of administration. It appears that she was invested with some sort of executive power in the State. The queen, sitting by the side of the king and his ministers, appears in a frieze of Visnupadhanas darbar as depicted in the Belur temple. Many queens are recorded to have been taking active part in public life, especially in the act of managing great educational institutions of the day.

Queens as Rulers.

One peculiar feature of the Calukyan polity was that the queens were ruling over districts. Thus, Damaladevi,

(1) Buhler, Vikramanka-Deva-Charita, III, 26-59.
(2) Karmarkar, Chalukya Administration, Karnataka Historical Review, Vol. I, p. 36.
(3) Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, p. 305. (4) Ind. Ant, XIX, p. 273, etc.
the senior wife of Cāvunḍa II (Sinda), is recorded to have been exercising local powers of government at Paṭṭadakal. Jāyabbe, the younger wife of the Kadamba Mahāmanḍalesvarī of Hāṅgal, was ruling at Ajjādi with the help of a certain governor. Kottalādevī, the queen of Somesvara I, was managing the excellent agrahāra of Ponnavāḍa. Lakṣmīdevī, the piriyarasi of Vikramāditya VI, is mentioned as ruling the eighteen agrahāras and the town of Dambal. Mahayamatidēvi, another of Vikramas's wives, was governing the district attached to the agrahara of Piriyakeriyur. Similar instances can be multiplied. It seems that a sort of political education was imparted to girls of ruling classes in this period.

Departments.

Many departments of the administration are mentioned and many officials of different grades are referred to. We learn from some inscriptions that there was an officer called Bāhattaraniyōgi, the lord over seventy-two departments. The existence of this officer indicates that there were seventy-two departments. Unfortunately we have no evidence to understand the nature and scope of each of these departments. It might be that the number was simply traditional. Nevertheless, from the long lists of officials often mentioned in the inscriptions, it may be presumed that the administrative machinery under the Cālukyas was a highly systematised one.

Sandhi-vigārhaṇī.

The Mahāsandhi-vigārhaṇī, or the chief minister for peace and war is frequently mentioned. It will be remembered

(2) Moraes, Kadamba Kula, pp. 199-100.
(5) Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, pp. 448-49.
that this important officer existed even during the rule of the early Cālukyas. 1 Mahāsandhivigrasīn is generally referred to as Hērisandhi-vigrasīn in the inscriptions of the later Cālukyas. 2 The Cālukyan Empire was divided into two halves for the purposes of foreign policy. Karnāṭaka proper formed the southern half, while the northern non-Kannaḍa portion was the other half. The foreign secretary for the Karnāṭaka was known by the designation Kannaḍa-sandhi-vigrasīn, 3 while the secretary for the northern division was called Lāṭa-sandhi-vigrasīn. 4

It appears that the Hēri-Sandhi-vigrasīn was generally a person who had first served as one of the under-secretaries for foreign affairs. We are told that a certain Bāmmanayya was raised to the dignity of Hēri-Lāṭa-Karnāṭa-Sandhi-vigrasīn from his post of Kannaḍa-Sandhi-Vigrasīn.  5 We also come across the designation Kannaḍa-Hēri-Lāṭa-Sandhi-Vigrasīn. 6 All these different terms clearly imply that there was a gradation of officers as Juniors and Seniors. Sometimes the governorship of provinces such as Kūndi, Taraddavādi, Banavāse, and Palasīge was also held by these officers. For instance, the above mentioned Bāmmanayya is mentioned as governing the Banavāsi province in the year A. D. 1143 when he was holding the post of Hēri-Lāṭa-Kannaḍa-Sandhi-vigrasīn. 7 It is really interesting to note that some of these officials were even authorised to use the insignia of Royalty. It is said that one, Rēvaṇa, who was appointed the Hēri-sandhivigrasīn by Śomēśvara II, was given the authority to use the insignia of royalty by Vikramāditya VI. 8 It seems that this important officer

(1) Ep. Ind., XV, p. 92; Ind. Ant., V. P. 49; Mysore Arch. Dept., 1927 p. 57.
(2) Ind. Ant., VI, p. 85.
(3) Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, p. 144.
(4) Fleet, Kanaresæ Dynasties, p. 457.
(5) Ep., Ind., XII, p. 271.
(7) Ibid. p. 485.
(8) Ibid. p. 458.
was a person equipped with high learning and one who was fully informed in the knowledge of his duties. We are told that Ravidēva obtained the office of Lāṭa-Sandhi-Vigrāhin from Śūmesvara I, "having gained his approval by the splendour of his vast learning".¹ Ravidēva, says the inscription, has dignity without conceit, learning without error, purity without addiction to the wives of other men, splendour without blemish, power without sin, rise of greatness of learning without its being feared by any." These were the characteristics of a model Sandhivigrahin.

The Mānasollāsa has interesting verses on the qualifications of a Sandhivigraha. It rules thus:

"The ideal Sandhivigraha is one who is bold, wise, and proficient in all the languages, who knows well the essence of war and peace, and who is well versed in scripts and able to read them out. He must also know the principles of six-fold systems, must be able to recognise the divisions of the time and place, must know the income and expenditure of the state, and acquaint himself with the peoples and the products of the land. Above all, he must be a person mindful of saving money and able to distinguish between good and bad, and be a master of all actions".²

The Minister.

The minister was known by different names such as Mahāpradhāna,³ Mantri⁴ or Saciva.⁵ He was the most important of the royal officers. According to a Sikārput inscription, the minister is considered as the bearer of the burden of administrative affairs, and the promoter of the kingdom.⁶ We are told that the minister Bācīrāja of Kārtavirya IV obtained distinction on account of his policy

(1) Ep. Ind. XII, p. 287.  (2) Ibid., p. 288.
(5) Shrigondekar, O. C., p. 34.
which was aimed at the advancement of the kingdom.\(^1\) To the king a true minister was a vision of the lore of statecraft in times of consideration, a keen missile of victory in the field of stern battle, and a minister of amusement in time of sport, says a Raṣṭṭa record.\(^2\) Bicana, the prime-minister of Kārtavīrya IV, was considered as a successful counsellor owing to his attraction of worthy men, control over those whom he loved, fascinating influence over friends, extirpation of the wicked, maintenance of the dignity of all other ministers, and hatred of all evil designs.\(^3\)

The minister was the king’s right hand in administrative matters. Hence Sōmēśvara says that the Mantri should have sound knowledge of politics and finance. He should be brave, clever, righteous, sensible, secretive, firm, devoted, unprejudiced, and worldly-wise. Moreover, the minister should be a native and not a foreigner.\(^4\)

Other Officers.

An inscription of Sōmēśvara III mentions the following officers; Mahāpradhāna or the prime minister, Antahprādhyakşa or the superintendent of the harem, Kariṣṭavraka-sāhaña-vergaḷe or the minister for elephants, forces and cavalry, Śrīkaraṇum or the chief accountant, Hērisandivhigrahi or the senior minister for foreign affairs, Pasāḍita or the master of the robes, Sēnadhīpati or the general, Maṉevelḷagaaḷ or the palace controller, Haḍapadava, the bearer of the betelpouch, Kaṭitavergaḷe or the secretary for correspondence, the Rājādhyakşa or the king’s representative and the Daṇḍanāyaka, or the master of the staff.\(^5\)

Besides these, we come across the Dharmādhiṅkārin,\(^6\) the chief superintendent of religious affairs.

This post was held in A. D. 1098 by one Sōmēśvara Bhaṭṭa, who was a learned and eminent Ṛgvedī Brāhmaṇa.

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Sūrēvara was also raised to the rank of a high minister, with the tokens of royalty. The inscription is eloquent over his many virtues, his high rank in the royal palace, his mastery of sacred and secular learning, his pious practices and his beneficence, especially in the foundation of charity houses, Brāhmaṃic endowments and monasteries for Vēdic and other studies.¹ It appears that the Dharmādikārīn gave religious advice to the king.

Then there was the Śasanādikārīn, the chief officer of the department of charters.² He was entrusted with the authority of issuing charters. The Śasanādikārīn was assisted by the Dānādikārīn who would write out a charter of gift with his superior’s permission.³ Mahāpradāhāna had an under-secretary by designation Balumanusya.⁴ Manevrṛgṛde who is frequently mentioned was an important officer in charge of the royal household.⁵ He is sometimes referred to as a Manevrṛgṛde Dānānāyaka,⁶ which clearly indicates that he was allowed to discharge the functions of a Dānānāyaka as well. The highest privilege of a Manevrṛgṛde-dānānāyaka appears to have been that of being authorised to use the five drums.⁷ We are told that the illustrious Manevrṛgṛde-dānānāyaka Gaṇḍāmayya was entitled to the five drums, and was appointed a Mahāpracandā-dānānāyaka who now made himself a terror to the enemies and a Cāṇakya in the science of politics.⁸ The Būnasavṛggṛde was the manager of the Royal kitchen.⁹

Sarvādikārī was the finance member, and no gift of taxes could be made without his permission by the sub-

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¹ Ep. Ind., XV, p. 349.
² Ind. Ant., VIII, p. 19.
³ Ep. Ind., XII, p. 155.
⁵ South Ind. Ep., 1921, 440 of 1930.
⁷ Ibid. (8) Ibid.
ordinate tax-collectors. An inscription from the Dhārwār district registers a certain gift of taxes by one Suñkavarggaḍe (tax-collector) Viṭṭarasa of the paṇṇāya tax, only at the command of the Sarvādhikāri Mahādēva Bhaṭṭa.

The Rājādhyakṣa, the king’s representative is mentioned as having been present at a time when the Mahājanas of a village presented lands and houses for the worship of a certain deity.

One other term we come across in the records is Śāvāsi, the guard of the female apartments. These guards were under the control of the Antahpurādhyakṣa, the superintendent of the harem. The Mahāpradhāna is reported to have been acting as an Antarpurādhyakṣa as well in a Sorab inscription.

There was the Daṇḍanāyaḥa, the master of the staff. The exact scope and nature of his duties cannot be decided in the light of the available materials. A Daṇḍanāyaḥa is represented as a judge in a Kadamba record. An inscription of the reign of Vikramāditya VI tells us that a certain Daṇḍanāyaḥa was in charge of the tolls in Kibbaṭṭi. Again, a Daṇḍanāyaḥa is said to have been a Sarvādhikārin, that is the finance member. In another record he is spoken of as a Manvarggaḍe. It is thus evident that the term does not always denote some specified office, but appears to be only an honorary appellation in many cases. The appellations

(1) Ibid., 1927-28, No. E. 77.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid., 1914; p. 15, No. 126.
(6) Ibid.
(10) Ibid., 1927-28, No., E 79.
Mahāpracaṇḍa-danḍanāyaka, literally meaning "the great mighty master of the staff" and Hiriya Danḍanāyaka the senior master of the staff also occur. A certain Danḍanāyaka is recorded to have been assisted by four clerks. The chief officer in charge of the account department was known as the Karṇādhipati. The head accountant was not only an efficient person well trained in his duty, but generally appears to have been well devoted to literature. We are told that one Pōtarsa, a head accountant, had studied and understood many plays and poems, was praised by the learned, and was a draught of intoxicating delight to the best spirits of his race.

Officers in Charge of Territorial Divisions.

Among the officers in charge of the various administrative divisions, the Nāḍa-gāvunda was perhaps the most important. He is sometimes styled as Nāḷaprabhu. The nāḍa-gāvunda often asked the kings for grants to be made to religious and other institutions in his territory. We are told that the Nāḷaprabhus of Nāgarkhandha once obtained from the king an order that the property of a certain temple was released of some taxes. It is interesting to learn that this office was once continued to the widow on the death of her husband. It is said that she was protecting her territory well, though a woman in the pride of her own heroic bravery. She was skilled in ability for good government and was faithful to the jinendra śāsana. The nāḍa-gāvunda was working in

(2) Fleet Kanarese, Dynasties, p. 457.
(3) Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, No., 45.
(5) Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, No. 74.
(8) Ibid., VII, Sk., 219.
(9) Ibid.
conjunction with the nāḍa-seṭṭi, the nāḍa-rājaguru, the nāḍa-sēnabōva or the accountant and the nāḍa-heggaḍe.¹

The Yewūr inscription mentions the following officers: the Rāṣṭrapati, the Viṣayapati, the Grāmakūṭaka, the Ayukta, the Niyuktaka, the Adhikārika and the Mahattara.² The same officers also occur in a Dāvanaṅgore inscription.³ The Rāṣṭrapatis were the lords of the provinces called Rāṣṭra. But the term Rāṣṭra was not so popular under the later Ĉālukyas as it was in the Rāṣṭrapūta kingdom. The Viṣayapatis were a replica on a smaller scale of the Rāṣṭrapatis. They were in charge of districts called Viṣaya in Sanskrit and Nāḍu in Kannada. The Viṣhaya was further divided into Kampanas. The Grāmakūṭaka was the head of the village and not different from the Gāvūnda, the only difference being that the former term was Sanskrit while the latter was Kannada. As regards the Ayukta, the Niyuktaka, the Adhikārika and the Mahattara, the nature of their functions is not apparent. Dr. Barnett translates these terms as sheriff, commissioner, official and president.⁴ That does not in any way help us in determining their exact functions.

Professor Monier Williams explains Mahattara as the same as Grāmakūṭaka, the headman or the oldest man of the village.⁵ But the Grāmakūṭakas are evidently referred to in the above lists as distinct from the Mahattaras.

**Customs Officials.**

Besides the executive officers mentioned above, there were the customs officials in charge of various customs and taxes. They were generally known by the designation, Suṅkaveggaḍe, the manager of the customs department. The most important customs duties were the vaddarāvula, the perjjuṅka and the two bilkodes. The manager in charge

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¹ Rice, Inscriptions, No. 6.  
² Ind. Ant., VII, p. 18.  
³ Ep. Car. XI, Dg. I.  
⁴ Ep. Ind., XII, p. 145.  
⁵ Ind. Ant., VIII, p. 18 See note 97.
of the vaddarāvula was known as the Vaṭa-raṇvula-perggaḍe. The executive officers in many cases were invested with the additional power to collect certain taxes. Thus the mahā-pradhāna Bānasaverggade Daṇḍanāyaka Anantaṇālayya also styled Mahāsāmantādhipati who was ruling the Belvola and the Puligere in A.D. 1100–1101 was also managing the vaddarāvula and the pejjuṇka taxes along with the paṇṇāya tax of the whole country. Similarly, the Mahāpradhāna and Daṇḍanāyaka Bhivanayya, who in A.D. 1102–1103 was governing the Palasigo, was managing the Paṇṇāya tax. The officers in charge of customs department are recorded to have been transferred to the executive posts. To cite only one instance, the officer Govindarasa, who was managing the vaddarāvula, the two bilkode and the perjjuṇka taxes in A.D. 1102–1103 was subsequently promoted to the office of Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, Mahāsāmantaḍhipati and Mahāpradhāna in A.D. 1114–1115 and was appointed the governor of Paṇṇavāsi province.

Many Functions in One Person.

One peculiar feature of the Cālukyan polity was that, in many cases, efficient officials were given the charge of more than one department. Thus a certain Bammanayya, who was the governor of Sindavāḍi is recorded to have been the Mahāpradhāna, the Kaḍitaverggade, the Kannaḍa-sandhivigruhin, the Manevarggade and the Hirya-daṇḍanāyaka at the one and the same time. Similarly, another person was holding the offices of the high minister, the superintendent of the guards of the female apartments the minister for peace and war for the Karnataka, the general of the army, the Bānasaverggade and the Daṇḍanāyaka. Again a certain Bammarasasa is mentioned as ad-

(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid.
(6) Ep. Car., VIII, 86, 170
ministering the pattuku tax of Nolambavadi as an Accupannayada-adhistayaka, besides being the Mahasamantadhipati, the Mahapradhana, the Banasaverggade and the Danadanayaka. From an inscription of 1113 A.D., we learn that one Mahadeva, in addition to being a Danadanayaka, held also the offices of Mahapradhana Kannada Sandhi-vigrahi and Manevergugade, and also had the title of Mahasamantadhipati?.

Selection and Qualifications of Officers.

The chapter on administration will remain incomplete without a reference to the qualifications and selection of officers to the various posts mentioned above. The selection was governed partly by hereditary and partly by educational considerations. Many of the offices were transmitted from sire to the son. To cite only one instance, a certain Appana is described a Srikaranagran, the chief of the scribes. The epithet Srikaranagraganya is also applied to his eldest son who is mentioned as the head accountant of Kartavirya IV Ratta. But the officers were generally selected for their educational qualifications. It has been expressly stated in one place that Ravideva obtained the office of Lalasandhiyigrain from the king, "having gained his approval by the splendour of his vast learning." The numerous epigraphical passages which highly speak of the educational and cultural attainments of many officials bear eloquent testimony to the fact that appointments were based on necessary academical qualifications. Study of politics was considered necessary in the case of high officers. The Mahapradhana Malappayya is stated to have been a "mine of the gems of polity". Another administrative official was "possessed of the three powers of lordship, counsel and enterprise".

(1) Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, p. 452.
(2) Ep. Ind., XIII, p. 57.
(3) Ibid., p. 17.
(4) Ibid.
(7) Ibid., XV, p. 85.
is recorded that the Mane-vergence Daṇḍanaẏaka Guṇḍa-
mayya was a Cāṇakya in the science of politics. A true
minister was a vision of the lore of state craft, says a Ratta
inscription. We know from the Kannada literature of the
period how distinguished scholars like Nāgavarma II were
used to be appointed to responsible posts. Military officers
in many cases owed their higher appointments and titles
to distinguished service rendered by them on the battle
field.

The officers were expected to lead a moral life. They
are often described as sons to others’ wives and brothers to
public women. The average officer of our period was highly
attached to his master. Loyalty was considered a great
virtue. The officials are said to have been loyal and devoted.
Thus a certain Nāgavarma is stated to have been a
very garuḍa in devotion to the welfare of his lord.

It was a feature of ancient Hindu polity to test the
virtue of officials in the fire of temptation. An inscription
of our period supplies us with an actual instance of this
practice. We are told that the Āṭa-sandhi-vigrāhin Ravidēva,
showed his uprightness under test.

Honours.

The emperor granted titles to distinguished officers and
Mahāmanaḍanaśvaras. The highest privilege of the govern-
ment servants seems to have been that of being authorised
to use the insignia of royalty. A certain Sāmantādhipati
obtained the title Munnirivan or the slayer in front or in the
van from Jayasimha, the Cāluṅka Emperor.

(3) Narasimhacharya Karnataka Kavi Charite, I, p. 144.
(6) Ibid., XII, p. 289.
(7) Ibid., p. 271.  
(8) Ibid., p. 281.
As regards the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras, Vijaya Paṇḍya of Uccanĝi received the honourable name Jagadēkamalla¹ for his breaking down the pride of mighty enemies. A grant of A. D. 1112 states that the emperor, who was greatly pleased with the valour shown by his feudatory chief Bommaya in a battle, conferred on him several titles of honours and presented him with a palanquin, an umbrella, and an escort of 50 cavaliers, and 1,000 foot-soldiers and granted to him a village.² Again it is recorded that a feudatory chief Kiriya Bamma received at the hands of Ahamaliala the title of Ganḍa-talaṇḍrahāri (the slapper on the cheek) and the title Doddakha-badivan, the smiter in great wars.³ The same inscription further mentions that another feudatory chief-tain gained the title Sitagara-gandha, the champion over adulterers.

The practice was followed by the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras in the case of their officials. Thus for example, the chief minister of Vijaya Paṇḍya of Uccanĝi is said to have received the title of Kumāra (prince) from his master as a reward for his unbounded fidelity⁴.

¹ Ibid., XI, Dg. 41.
³ Ep., Car., VI, Kd. 30.
⁴ Ibid., XI, Dg. 39.
CHAPTER II.

LOCAL ORGANISATION.

Having described the features of general administration, let us now proceed to consider the Local Organisation. A number of inscriptions furnish us with necessary information. Kōrnāṭaka like the rest of India has been essentially agricultural in occupation from very ancient times. Hence it was the village that played the most important part in moulding the political and corporate life of the people. It is true that there existed some flourishing towns; but such towns were scarce. Moreover, the constitution of the city-organisation was not very different from that of the village. The principles of local government were the same both in towns and villages. In fact the village constitution was enlarged so as to suit the slightly altered conditions of city-life. Thus to speak of local organisation in ancient Kōrnāṭaka is nothing but to describe the village administration.

Condition of villages.

Inscriptions give us graphic descriptions of many villages and speak in high praise of them. Thus, a Sinda inscription gives the following account of the village Narāyaṇaṅgal, that is, modern Naregul:

"Very lovely it is with its flower gardens which diffuse many divine odours, with its cool tanks which confer the most exquisite pleasures, with its numberless groves, and with its rice and other juicy grains, the fragrance of which pervades the regions".  

Similar is the description of Abbalūru or modern Ablūr. It was "truly charming on the face of the earth, in a most

exceedingly beautiful manner, by reason of a park which was pleasing with flights of parrots and numbers of cuckoos, by the sweet smelling rice that was growing luxuriently.”

Again, the village Iṣṭige, under the rule of the Sindas of Yelburgā, is described thus: “Dancing peacocks, singing bees, swans walking about, cock-cuckoos worbling the pāncama note, rose-ringed parrots prating exactly as some persons have previously spoken, lovers entering the groves of creeping-plants when the Bow of Flowers is at work, vibrating without being able to exhaust its delight, are found in this park.”

An inscription at Hūli, included in the domain of the Rāṭtas, gives us a typical account of the place:

“Being encompassed by lines of swaying lotuses, by pleasances of jasmine rich in perfume indeed, and with a profusion of splendour of appropriate pools and wells, radiant with the brilliance of many pinnacles on thousands of charming sanctuaries of Śiva, wherein men find delight having worshipful majesty in the exterior thereof, thus does the blessed Pūli display itself.”

Even making allowance for poetic fancy and exaggeration, it is evident that villages in ancient Karnātaka were in a prosperous condition. Water-supply was abundant as the inscriptions testify to the existence of a large number of tanks. Every village had its own park where the people could meet at leisure.

The village was known by different names such as Úru, Kēri, Kallu, Bīḍu, Halli and was a self-contained unit of administration. When the village was too large in area, it was divided usually into two parts for administrative convenience. Thus for example, Narayaṅgal proper was differ-

entiated from Narayaṅgal the Small (Kīru). Similarly Bellumbatṭi contained two sections. It is well-known that the University-town Balligāve was divided into Kiriya (small) Balligāve and Hiriya (big) Balligāve. The expressions Kiriya and Hiriya undoubtedly indicate that one of the two divisions was smaller than the other either in area or in population. The smaller unit was perhaps the later addition necessitated by the increase in population. It was something like a suburb to the original village. But it should not be supposed that the suburb was always smaller when compared to the 'bigger' division. It may be that in course of time the smaller division had grown into a big village, bigger than the original one.

The Village Population.

Coming to village population, we find that it was made up of diverse castes, based more or less on the principle of occupations. The primary occupation was, of course, agriculture and the majority of the inhabitants naturally belonged to the tiller's class. But mere agriculture could not make the village economically independent and a self-contained unit. Cottage industry flourished side by side. Different people took to different industries and the whole population came to be divided into occupational or functional groups. These groups in course of time became hereditary and consequently assumed the status of separate castes. The caste system seems to have been so highly organised on industrial bases that powerful guilds came to be formed of which we shall speak later on. It is suffice to say that these organisations were communal in character.

Each profession had separate wards for residential purposes in the village area. For example, an inscription from Yevūr refers to separate wards set apart for Brāhmaṇs. Similarly, we are told that there were separate quarters for

barbers and washermen. The dancing girls and god’s servants were provided with dwellings usually near the temples. It is further needless to say that the untouchables, who served as scavengers, were not allowed to dwell anywhere except on the outskirts of the village. Inscriptions make frequent references to various professions that contributed to the making up of the great village community, “a system which is regarded as something unique by the modern political theorists”. The following were the important units of service that made up the village economy:

1) Gauḍa or Reḍḍi, the village headman.
2) Karaman, the accountant.
3) Purōhita, the religious guide.
4) Kammāra, the blacksmith.
5) Vadragi, the carpenter.
6) Akkasāli, the goldsmith.
7) Sarābu, the cashkeeper.
8) Taḷavāra, the village police.
9) Kammāra, the potter.
10) The washerman.
11) The barber.
12) Bārika, the menial servant.
13) The hunter.
14) The oil-dealer.
15) The brazier.
16) The shoe-maker.
17) The maker of weapons.
18) Cāṇḍalas or scavengers.

(2) Ep. Ind., XIII, p. 58.
The traditional number of professional castes was eighteen, which seems to have increased by the time of the Čālukyās. We get a larger number of them in inscriptions. Nevertheless, the idea that the original number was eighteen was not forgotten in the twelfth century Karnāṭaka. The Lingāyat reformers of the period refer to it in their vacanas and exhort the people to abolish the whole system, which according to them, was conducive to the raising of innumerable social barriers among the masses.¹

So much about the village of the usual type. Besides, we had a few villages entirely inhabited by the Brāhmaṇs. These were called Brahmapuris. It is highly probable that many of them were only suburbs of big towns. For we are told that there were three such Brahmapuris in the town of Belligāme.² The aims and objects of the Brahmapuris will be discussed in detail in the chapter on education.

The Village Assembly.

As we have already remarked, the village was the unit of administration. Some villages were managed by an assembly which represented its inhabitants. The function of the assembly was manifold. It maintained the public institutions such as the temples, and looked after the village tanks and other irrigational works. The number of members of the assembly varied according to the population and size of the village. An inscription of A. D. 1080 mentions that the village corporation was constituted by more than five hundred prominent citizens including the gardeners of that place.³ The village Muṇḍunir was blessed with an assembly of five hundred,⁴ whereas Bharatpūr had only two hundred elders to look after its affairs.⁵ The Raṭṭa royal city of Vēṇugrāme had an assembly of as many as

Four thousand Mahājanas,\(^1\) in contrast to a certain small village possessing only eighty-four elders.\(^2\) The Brāhmaṇa members were known as Mahājanas and the Vaishyas were called Nakharas. The members of other communities had no such specific names. The elders generally assembled under a big tree or in the local temple. Big villages could afford to have Sabhāmaṇḍups where the assembly could meet.\(^3\) The assembly had its own headman to preside over its deliberations.\(^4\) The Mahājanas were a learned body. A number of inscriptions speak in high praise of them. Thus an inscription describes the qualities of the Mahājanas of a certain place in the following terms:—

“The earth extols the Thousand as being men of abounding (good) conduct, seats of incalculable merit, uniquely worshipful to the world, skilled in arts, having fame like autumnal clouds, celestial trees to the companies of cultured and agreeable men, ravishing the powers of haughty foes, bees to the lotus feet of the god Kēśavāditya”\(^5\).

**The Mahājanas.**

Mahājanas seem to have wielded considerable influence not only with the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras, but even at the imperial court. An epigraph of Vikramāditya VI registers that at the request of the Mahājanas of Memgōla, queen Padmāvatidēvi, who was enjoying that village as her jāgir, granted some land, free of taxes, to a temple.\(^6\) It is also recorded that when Vikramāditya was encamped at Gōvinda-vādi, he granted the village of Kōṭiganūru to the temple of Kalidēva of Poovinapaḍagili, at the request of the Mahājanas of that village who went on a deputation to the king.\(^7\) Moreover, the king and the feudatories consulted the village

representatives in important local matters affecting the village. We are told that a certain Gaṅga feudatory, after consulting the village Gāvunda and the representatives, gave an order to increase the area of a certain tank and made for it a grant of land¹.

One of the main functions of the Mahājanas was to manage the temples. They were generally appointed as trustees of public charities. We learn from an epigraphical record that a grant of land was made to the god Kallidēva by a certain Rācappa and the field granted was placed in the charge of the Mahājanas². Similarly, another plot of land granted to the same temple by one Nāgappa was entrusted to the care of the same body³. Again, a grant of land to a certain god Varadarāja was placed under the management of the village elders including the accountanť⁴. We can cite many more examples, but we think that these are enough to convince any reader.

We have stated above that the local assemblies existed only in some villages. Mr. Altekar rightly points out that the regular village assembly was a peculiarly Dravidian institution⁵. He further proves, with the help of epigraphical evidence, that this institution was fully developed in the Tamil country and in the southern Karnāṭaka, partially developed in the central Karnāṭaka, (where the Aryan influence was partly felt) and practically non-existent in the extreme northern part of the province. Thus we find that in the territory of the Sindas of Belagutti, Sindas of Kurgōḍ, the Sēnāvaras, the Pāṇḍyas and the Guttas, and to a certain extent in the Kūṇḍi division of the Raṭṭas, the village assembly was a popular feature of local administration.

² South Ind. Ep., 1924, p. 49.
³ Ibid., p. 88.
⁴ South Ind. Ep., 1924, p. 28.
⁵ Altekar, The History of village communities in Western India., p. 28.
The Gāvunda.

The one common feature of every village in ancient Karnāṭaka was that it had its headman called Gāvunda, Gāmunda or Gauḍa who seems to have been invested with executive and judicial powers. But his powers were considerably limited in those villages that were blessed with an assembly. The Gāvunda was sometimes called as Üra-Odēya. He put down all disorder and maintained public peace in his jurisdiction. When required, he organised petty forces or local militia.¹ The office of the Gāvunda was hereditary; but there is reason to believe that it was transferred to members of other families in cases of inefficiency.

It is interesting to note that some villages had more than one Gāvunda. For example, it is recorded that the local administration of Sundai was looked after by six Gāvundas and eight śeṭṭies.² A Raṭṭa inscription informs us that Sugandhavartti had twelve headmen.³ We further learn from the same epigraph that the village of Ėlavore and the agrahāra of Hasudi were each headed by the same number of Gāvundas.⁴ Similarly, the municipal affairs of “the great city” of Kundoor (modern Narāndra in Dhrāwr district) were managed by as many as sixteen headmen.⁵

This council of the Gāvundas in the place of one headman was perhaps necessitated by the largeness of area of some villages and towns. It was not possible for a single Gāvunda to discharge his functions efficiently in big towns. Nevertheless, it is to be remembered that this difference in numbers made no remarkable change in the principles underlying local government in ancient times. Sometimes a group

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(2) Ep. Ind., XV, p. 76.
(5) Ep. Ind., XVII, p. 120.
of hamlets each headed by a Gāvundā was knit together for administrative convenience and was placed under a chief headman. The Gāvundā discharged his executive duties by undertaking improvements in the village. This probably included the repair and construction of tanks and channels. He also looked after the management of temple and other properties entrusted to him as the trustee. A number of inscriptions refer to this function. The Sinda record of Bhairanamaṭṭi registers a certain grant and concludes with the statement that the six Gāvundās of that place shall protect this act of piety.

The next important duty of the headman was the collection of revenues in which he was assisted by the accountant, the ancestor of modern Kulkarnī. Besides, it was the Gāvundā who had to put the grievance of his village before the government either by petition or in person. We are told that on an appeal made by the Gāvundā of a certain village, the Māhapradhāna remitted certain taxes and settled some disputes. As regards minor cases, it was the Gāvundā, who was authorised to decide them with the help of the Panḍāyats. In south Karnāṭaka, where the institution of Grāma-sabhā was prevalent, the assembly members had the predominant share in settling the petty disputes that arose from time to time among the inhabitants. We have the good fortune to possess an inscription which clearly tells us that the Mahājanas and the Gāvundās of a certain village successfully decided a case involving the distribution of lands below some specified tanks.

(2) Morae, Kadamba Kula, p. 273.
The Nāda-Gavunda

Just as every village had the Ûra-gāvunda, a group of many villages was blessed with a Nāda-gāvunda1 who is also called as Nāla-gāvunda in many inscriptions. Nāda-gāvunda, as is clear from the term itself, means the headman of the Nādu.

The Taḷavāra

The next important officer was the Taḷavāra who was to watch over the safety of the village.2 It seems that the village itself contributed to his pay, and the government was in no way burdened for this item of expenditure. Every person owning landed property was bound to subscribe. It is expressly stated in an inscription that a certain plot of land was made an exception to this general rule, and the Taḷavāra consequently was not to take any portion of the produce of that particular garden.3 It, therefore, goes without saying that the watchman was maintained mainly by the agriculturists who paid him in kind.

The General Assembly.

Our account of local organisation is not complete without any reference to general assemblies which met on important occasions for settling important matters. Thus we learn from an inscription that the citizens of Hosa-Haḍāṅgile, having met together, agreed among themselves to give certain lands to the temple of Mahādēva of Bennevūru.4 Further, an epigraph of A. D. 1094 informs us that “the whole town uniting” made grants of dues (as specified) for the service and decoration of the god, for repairs of the temple, and for gifts of food to the students and ascetics.5 Similarly, a Belagāmi inscription records that

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(2) South Ind., Ep., 1914, No. 231.
(3) South Ind., Ep., 1927-28, No. E 73.
a certain grant was made to a temple by two brother sculptors, when Mebi Šeṭṭi, Kirti Šeṭṭi and others with all the "people of the town" (संतो मेबीरी) and the five mathas, as well as their own house people were present¹. In this great democratic assembly of the town Balligāve the various guilds made contributions to the same temple. It is further interesting to note that one pana for every wedding among them was contributed. Inscriptions also tell us that whenever a member of the community did a public work calculated to confer benefits on the whole village, his services were rewarded by the general assembly which granted him a plot of land.² The general assembly also made grants of gifts in favour of the wife and children of heroes who lost their lives in the act of defending their village against robbers and enemies; and many a time their services were commemorated by setting up viragallus or hero-slabs. It is further pleasing to note that important economic questions concerning the village attracted the people to a common platform to discuss the proposals. Thus, we are told that the prabhus and all the inhabitants of Mōgūru met together and agreed among themselves to turn their village into a town and to establish a weekly market (sonte).³ They eventually came to an understanding that those who build houses in the new town would be exempted from the payment of taxes during the first year, and in the case of outsiders the exemption would be continued for a period of two years. This may be taken as a typical instance, revealing the vast powers enjoyed by the democratic local assemblies in ancient Karnāṭaka.

The Mahānāḍu.

For settling extraordinary matters affecting common interests of many hamlets, it was necessary to call a joint meeting of all the villages concerned. This great assembly

(1) Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, p. 135.
(2) Morass, Kadamba Kula, p. 273.
was known as Mahānāḍu. We do not know whether all the male adult members of the Nāḍu or district attended this gathering. As some of the districts were too extensive containing a large number of villages, it was practically impossible for all the inhabitants to be present at this assembly. We may, therefore, safely presume that a chosen few from each village, including the elders, were deputed to represent the population of their constituency. Anyhow, we have definite epigraphical evidence to show that the Mahānāḍu contained among others hēgāles and sāmantaś. Every important corporation in the district was represented in this great assembly. This is clear from a Gotta inscription which states that the five Swamis of Ayyahole, the nānādēsis, the sēṭṭis having assembled in the Mahānāḍu, made some grants. Further, a Ratta record informs us that the merchants of four towns convened themselves together into a great assembly (लोको लोका लोको सेतुस्थित नंदेनक महानधेय) and set apart certain contributions for religious purposes.

The Growth of Public Life

The growth of public institutions in a country indicates the regularly organised life of the people. It is, therefore, proper in this place to consider the subject of local organisation in this particular aspect. We have already referred to the existence of temples where meetings of the local assembly were held. In fact, the temple in ancient Kannaṭaka was the centre of corporate activity.

There is ample evidence to show that the temple was a public institution maintained by the local government with the help of private charities. There is also reason to believe

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(1) South Ind. Ep. 1918, B 209.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid., 1919, No. 216.
that there existed a temple committee in some villages especially in the southern parts of the province. For we definitely know from an inscription that a body, consisting of twenty-four persons, was to be responsible for the proper management of the temple lands, and that it was to measure out paddy for the expenses of the temple. ¹ These twenty-four persons were undoubtedly the members of the temple committee. But in the extreme north, where the Dravidian institution of the local assembly was unknown, the Gāvūnda was entrusted to the care of temple-charities. ² Besides, he was a trustee for all public charities and received deposits of money or land under conditions to provide, out of their interest, the things stipulated by the donors. Whenever a grant to a temple was made by an individual, it was usually under certain conditions which even the assembly or the Gāvūnda could not easily violate. It was the duty of local government to see that public charities were properly administered.

The village elders and the headman enjoyed vast powers with regard to the management of temples. It is expressly stated in a record that if any of the ascetics staying in the monastery would not observe strict celibacy, “the villagers, theburghers, and the king, in concert,” shall expel him at the very instant. ³ Another inscription says: “Out of the revenues of this land they shall provide food and clothing for the five ascetics living in celibacy. In the case of any superiors of this place, if there should be committed a breach of celibacy or the like in conducting the highest offices, they shall expel them. The leading men shall be such. They shall preserve this pious foundation, under the constitution” .º

(2) Ep. Ind., III, p. 236.
(3) Ep. Ind., XII, p. 290.
The donors of benefactions appear to have been particular as to the way in which the charity would be spent. Hence we come across a good many grants which lay down the manner of how they should be utilized.

**Merchant Guilds**

Coming to corporate life led by the people, we find it so active that extensive guilds came to be organised throughout the length and breadth of the province. The Belgaum inscription of 1204 A. D.,\(^1\) refers to a number of mercantile corporations and guilds, and the Nīdagundī inscription of Vikramāditya VI\(^2\) and Tailapa II refers to an organisation of 505 merchants making various grants, in kind, for religious purposes. According to an epigraph of the emperor Jagadēkamalla II,\(^3\) Ayyavole (modern Aihole) was the residence of five-hundred merchants. This corporate body is very frequently referred to in many records. Thus we learn from an inscription that the five hundred Svāmis of Ayyohole, the Nānādēsī, the Śeṭṭīs etc., having assembled granted a tax for the worship of a certain god.\(^4\) Again an inscription from Yēvūr dated 1079 A. D. records that a sum of money was deposited with the collective body of mercants of Śivapur at the interest of 25 per cent. out of which they were to maintain an offering.\(^5\) A record from Balligāve supplies a long eulogy of these merchants, and states that they were heroes, born to wander over many countries ever since the beginning of the Kṛtayuga, penetrating regions of the six continents by land and water routes and dealing in various articles such as houses, elephants, precious stones, perfumes and drugs either wholesale or retail.\(^6\)

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(1) *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 18.
(2) *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 12.
(4) *South Ind. Ep.*, 1919, p. 18, No. 216.
(6) *Ep., Car.*, VII, Sk., 118.
It seems that the rules of these organisations were very strictly followed by members of the community. An inscription proudly states that "by preserving the viṇabālahāja-laws, which embraced truth and pure conduct and brilliant achievements and morality and modesty," the guild extended its organisation over eighty cities, the head-quarters being located at Ayyahońa.\(^1\) It is worthy of note that the mayor of this great corporation was one Hanumanta Śeṭṭi who is called as Paṭṭana-Swāmī.\(^2\) Moreover, these organisations were not confined to any one particular class of merchants. In fact, every profession worth the name had its own constitution. Thus, an epigraph found at Belgāmve mentions some guilds formed by the sellers of betel leaves and areca nuts, by dealers in oil, by palanquin-bearers and by cultivators.\(^3\) Similarly, there were separate craft guilds of stone cutters, braziers, carpenters, blacksmiths, gold-smiths, weavers, potters, fruit-merchants and of clothiers.\(^4\)

These guilds were so rich, extensive and perfect in their organisation and popular among the people that unless we quote in full the description of such a guild, the readers will not be able to have a correct idea about them. We therefore select the typical corporation of Dharmavojal, modern Dāmbal in the Dhrāwr district. The description runs as follows: "The sixteen Seṭṭis of the city of Dharmavojal, constituting the large assembly of the town, being the assembly of the people living in many countries, who were endowed with truth and purificatory observances and pleasing conduct and morality and modesty adorned with innumerable good qualities acquired by five hundred strict edicts celebrated over the whole world; who were the protectors of the Vīrabālahāja religion...........constituted 32 sea-towns and 18 cities and 64 Yāgapiṭhas and colleges at the four points of the compass; who were born to those who belonged to many different countries......who

\(^1\) Ind. Ant., V, p. 344.  \(^2\) Ibid.  \(^3\) Ind. Ant., V, p. 345.  \(^4\) Moræs, Kadamba Kuta, p. 285.
were the lords of Ayyahole which is the best of cities!". A record of 1139 A. D. presents us a beautiful picture of the corporate life led by the town and village people in ancient times. We are therefore tempted to quote it below:

"These two, Bāvana and Rāvana (sculptors), in order to clear an aspersion on their own race of sculptors, set up an image of the god Kuśavēśvara, and calling together Mebi-Śetti, Kirti-Śetti, with all the chief people of the town and the five mathas, along with them presented that temple of the dēva (on the date specified) in presence of all the towns people and the five mathas, made for the decorations and offerings of the god a grant of 60 Kamma of rice land (as specified). And Mebi-Śetti, Kirti-Śetti and the other chief townsmen, on account of their having been spectators of such a pure work of merit, for the repairs of the temple remitted for ever the land rent of the house which Bāvana occupied. And the fifty families of oilmen granted for the perpetual lamp one solige of oil from their mills. And Khēvale Čāvunda and all the headmen of the tailors, for the god’s Caiṭra purification festival, granted one pana a year from each family; and in case of a marriage one pana from the bridegroom’s party and one pana from the bride’s party."

Democratic Institutions

Inscriptions quoted above evidently prove that the people of ancient Karnāṭaka were a highly civilized race—possessing a system of organisation which, even when com, pared with the political principles of our own day, may not fall far below the mark. The great principle of democracy was not forgotten, and it seems to have been fully recognised in the working of these corporations. When the inhabitants of a town or village wanted to make contributions to an act of merit

all the adults (males residing in the town or village) would assemble in the approved place at the appointed hour; and nothing was done without the express consent of those that were present. It is highly pleasing to see that a large number of grants, that have come down to us, were made only at the consent of the citizens of the place. "This much did the whole city, assembling together, bestow". This is how an inscription ends. It may be noted, in this connection, that the people had agreed not only to make the specified grants, but even decided as to how much each had to contribute. Hence the words "this much". Moreover, in the same record we find in detail the voluntary quota to be subscribed by each member of various organizations which are mentioned.

The guilds, we have noted above, were the centres of activity in towns. They celebrated feasts and other religious functions, and probably made provision for plays and pageants for the entertainment of the citizens. "Finally the guilds formed the most important organ of municipal self-government, for with there was entrusted the money that was granted to temples by kings and other wealthy citizens from the interest of which they had to fulfil the term of their grants."

The epigraphs referred to above are specially interesting, inasmuch as they clearly manifest the corporate spirit of the people. Throughout the period of our study, local corporations were highly developed and were a distinctive feature of Dravidian India. Referring to these guilds, Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar truly remarks that local corporations had reached a very high state of perfection and were looked upon as part and parcel of the constitution of the country,

(1) Ind. Ant., V, p. 345.
(2) Ep. Ind., XVI, p. 190.
(3) Moraes, O. C., p. 285.
and were entrusted with the active management of local affairs.¹

Public Spirit

One of the important contributions of this indigenous system of organisation in ancient Karnāṭaka was the infusion of a high degree of public spirit in the citizens. Patriotism was so deep-rooted that in some cases it became a passion leading to extremes. Virayullus or hero-stones planted in memory of soldiers who died during conflicts have been found scattered all over south India, especially in the heroic land of Karnāṭaka. What is more, a large number of them show the high sense of honour which the people uniformly entertained for the village patriots and their sacrifices on behalf of the community. Some of the records are quite interesting.

The Hoṭṭur inscription of A. D. 1007 informs us that a raid was made by robbers upon the oxen belonging to the betel-traders, and the beadle Gojjiga perished in a valiant attempt to save them. In recognition of his courage, “the thousand of the betel-sellers in assembly granted one visa for each ox in perpetuity”². According to a Sinda inscription, a certain Gaṭṭeya Nāyaka, with wonderful bravery, attacked the enemies and drove them back. Thereupon “Mallidēvara, with all the ministers and Bamma Gāvunḍa, approving of Gaṭṭeya’s service, made grants to him.”³ Similarly, the Abbalūr stone of about A. D. 1219 in Dhārwar district commemorates the death of the brothers Māca and Gomā fighting valiantly to repel a cattle raid against their village led by the Mahāmanḍalēṣvara Īṣvara Dēva of Belagavartti.⁴ A virayulu from Hüli states that a certain Torpara Buttayya carried out cows belonging to Pūli and thereupon Bōsiga.

(1) R. C. Majumdar, Corporate Life in Ancient India, p. 186.
(2) Ep. Ind., XVI, p. 75.
(3) Ep. Car., VII, Hl. 27.
and his messmate and comrade made a brave attempt to recover them, in which both the heroes perished. Each of these heroes has a verse devoted to his praise:

"When the Torapasa making an assault, carried off the cows of Puli, seeing it, confronted the bowman, smote them, and became brilliant in the city of the Lord of Gods by the high degree of his valour and nobility." ¹

"Saying, 'I cannot leave my messmate, my associate, my comrade on the field of battle,' Malliga perished together with Bosiga by reason of the high degree of his nobility".²

Malliga's devotion to his comrade and his great sacrifice at the altar of his country may look strange to us at this distance of time. But one cannot deny the outstanding fact that men in those times valued ideals more than their lives. This alone is sufficient to make us feel proud of them.

Again a viragalu of A. D. 1172 gives us another piece of interesting information. When Mahāmanḍalēśvara Īśvara Dēvarasa was in the residence of Belagavarti, the king of Sāntalīge coming by way of raid entered Haṭṭivūr and Soraṭṭūr and carried off the cows. "Two brothers, seeing it, without holding back, sprang forward, attacked, shot arrows, and like a destruction of Yama, slaying many, captured the archers, drew their daggers, and piercing their horses,—recovered the cows, and gained the world of gods".³ This slab shows that sometimes causes of such heroism were distinctly political in their character. We have many other records to prove this. We are told that when the Pāṇḍya chief with his army carried off all the live cattle of the village Nellivatti, one Caṭṭaya Nāyak, "pursuing after,

¹ Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 200.
² Ep. Ind., XVIII, pp. 200-201.
them, driving them off, piercing through the army", recovered the cows and attained the celestial nymps. Recognising his great services to his country, the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Mallidēva, together with various Gāvaṇḍas, made grants of land to be continued to Cāḷūya's descendants. Here the patriotism of the individual has been awarded by the gratitude and abiding appreciation of the king and his community headed by the Gāvaṇḍas, which immortalized, by a grant to his coming generations, the memory of a man who gave his life for the motherland. Many inscriptions from the Honnāḷi Tāḻukā, ranging over the whole period of our study, illustrate the heroic sacrifices of these village-Hampdens and the grateful appreciation of the villagers concerned. In fact, these records displaying rural patriotism and public spirit are indeed too many to be mentioned here.

These epigraphical references conclusively prove that the system of local organisation served to produce public spirit in the people, which exhibited itself in many forms and did not fail to obtain due recognition at the hands of those it served. Speaking of this sense of public service displayed by ancient Dravidians, Prof. Radhakumud Mookerjee makes some illuminating remarks which deserve to be quoted before concluding this chapter. He says: "The public spirit of the people generally flowed along other and diverse channels. It determined the character of the communal assembly also. Both the assembly as a collective body and the individual members often vied with one another for the promotion of the public good. To the public spirit, patriotism, and religious sense of both parties, the villages owed all the public institutions in which was centred the intellectual and spiritual life of the community".

(1) Ep. Ind., V, p. 262.
(2) Radhakumud Mookerjee, Local Government in Ancient India, pp. 298, 299.
CHAPTER III
PUBLIC FINANCE

Taxes

As the country was mainly agricultural in occupation, land tax was naturally the principle source of revenue. Land was accurately and systematically measured by means of poles. Stones were set up as boundary marks. Boundaries of fields were also defined by roads, pathways, highways, tanks, wells and watercourses. It was thus easy for the revenue officer to recognise boundaries and collect the tax.

Cultivation was stimulated in various ways. Irrigation received the special attention of both the rulers and the ruled. The country was full of fertile flats of various grains and fruits. The agricultural prosperity must have increased the revenue of the State.

It seems that the assessment and collection of land tax were regulated according to local conditions of particular districts. Different units of measurement are mentioned in different inscriptions. This clearly shows that officers under each feudatory chief used their own units.

The charge on land was generally one-sixth of the produce, though in some cases it was made one-eighth or one-twelfth as a concession. The tax depended on the productivity of land. There was a regular classification of land according to the nature of the soil and the crop grown.

(1) Ep. Car., VII Sk, 100 and 120; Rice, Mysore Inscriptions pp. 122 and 147, etc.
(2) Ind. Ant., XIV, p. 26, etc. etc.
(3) J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 226; Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 31 etc.
(5) Shrigondekar, Manasollasa, p. 44, Slokas, 163-166.
(6) Ibid.
It is important to note that exemptions were given when the produce suffered damages in times of bad harvest.¹

Though land revenue was the mainstay of public finance, other taxes were collected. House tax is mentioned in some inscriptions.² It was perhaps calculated according to the size of the house and the economic status of the people living in them. A family tax called akkaladere is mentioned in a Sorab inscription.³ Again, a record refers to certain taxes levied on manure-pit, the oil-mill, and to dues on betel-leaf, areca-nut, pepper, saffron, woman’s cloth and cart-loads of paddy.⁴ Cart-tax is also mentioned in one place.⁵ There were taxes to be paid by oil-mongers, weavers and artisans.⁶ As the oil tax is referred to frequently, it would appear that the manufacture of oils was a prominent industry. A Sinda inscription gives us a list of as many as seven kinds of taxes including certain customs dues. They are the artisan’s tax, oil-mill tax, partnership tax, the family tax on bullocks, herjunka, koṣaṇḍa, and hadara-hāna.⁷ Taxes called daṇḍiya and prati-siddāya are recorded in a Raṭṭa inscription.⁸

That the luxuries were taxed is manifest from a Sikārpur inscription which refers to haṇnaṭivana or a tax on mirrors to be paid by prostitutes, and also to madure pandara pana (मदुरे पण्नडरा पण) or a tax on marriage pandals.⁹

Besides these taxes, an elaborate system of levying custom dues existed. The most important dues frequently mentioned are the perjunka, vaṭṭiṇḍarāvula, and the two

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(4) Ep. Car., XII, Pg. 43.
(8) Ind. Ant., XIX, p. 165.
bilkodes. They were charged on various commodities such as areca-nuts, drugs, spices, cloths, horses, musk, saffron, yak-hair, pañcavañīge, cus-cus grass, etc.

Public Expenditure

Coming to the items of expenditure, the first was the establishment of the royal capital and the personal expenses of the royal family. From the glowing descriptions of capital-towns of the various Mahāmanḍālaśvaras, it would appear that the ancient Kānnaḍa kings spent a considerable sum of money in beautifying their places of residence.

The largest part of the revenue was spent on the state expenses connected with the administration of the country. In many cases, officers were assigned rent-free lands instead of being paid periodically.

Thirdly, the Mahāmanḍālaśvaras were culturally bound to patronise poets, artists and men of letters by liberal donations. It is said that the Sindu chief Cāvunḍa II "bestowed gold in abundance upon excellent learned men and good poets, and worthy people." Permāḍidēva I was the "support of all learned men" and was "a very Ravi-nandana ( Karna ) in respect of his complete liberality." The Raṭṭa chieftain Kārtavirya IV was perfect in the possession of a Saptāṅga which consisted of a learned man, herald, songster, poet, jester, historian, and the reader of the Purāṇas. It is a well-known fact that a large number of our

(2) South Ind., Ep., 1913, No. 480; No. 476.
(6) Ibid., p. 245.
Kannaḍa poets were liberally patronised by kings who were thus indirectly responsible for creating a rich and extensive literature of which every Kannadiga feels justly proud.

Another head of expenditure was that of public works. The chiefs and their officers used to build magnificent temples and endow them with land and wealth. The Kalhōli inscription tells us that the king Rājā, a feudatory of the Raṭṭas, erected a temple, "adorned with golden pinnacles and arched portals fashioned like a sea-monster."1 Similarly, another officer of the Raṭṭas built a shrine "which was as it were the jewelled diadem on the lovely woman earth."² Inscriptional references to the erection of such temples are indeed too many to be mentioned here.

The government not only endowed land to temples, but often invested temple authorities with rights to enjoy certain specified taxes.³ Thus, we are told that one Baladēva, the supervisor of taxes at Kuṭṭige and Rājavūru, granted the pannāya tax to the temple of Mūlasthānādēva for the purpose of worship and offerings.⁴ Many inscriptions record nothing but grants of taxes to various temples.

The beautiful carvings and the finished excellence of many of these temples imply enormous expenditure from the government treasury. The state was right in constructing and maintaining these wonderful structures because they proved to be of great benefit to our ancients as their religious, cultural and social institutions.

(1) Ibid., p. 253.
Lastly, the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras and their overlords must have spent a considerable part of their income in maintaining a standing army consisted of cavalry, infantry and elephants. We are told that, when the Hoysaḷa monarch marched against the league formed by the various kings including the Sindas of Yelburga and the Sindas of Kurugōḷu, he had in his army 12,000 cavalry and 200,000 infantry. From these figures an idea of the size of the armies of that period can be formed.

(1) Ep. Car., XI, Dg. 25.
CHAPTER IV

COINS, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Coins

We got some useful information from inscriptions about coins, weights and measures that were current in the Cālukyan Empire.¹

Gadyāṇa, which was perhaps the highest coin, is mentioned in many records. An inscription from Ittīgo further informs us that it was made of gold.² We are told that a sum of 120 gadyāṇa was entrusted to the body of 400 Mahājanas of the Ittīgo Agrahāra for which they had to pay interest at the rate of one paṇa per gold piece annually. The record further tells us that the Mahājanas were to deduct twelve gadyāṇas of annual interest on this gold, and regularly pay it to the teachers every year. It is thus clear that the interest on 120 gadyāṇas was twelve gadyāṇas. As the rate of interest was one paṇa per gadyāṇa, the sum total of the annual interest must amount to 120 paṇas. As stated above, these 120 paṇas were held equivalent to 12 gadyāṇas. Thus, we arrive at the definite conclusion that ten paṇas made one gadyāṇa. This relation between the gadyāṇa and the paṇa is to a certain extent corroborated by another inscription which expressly states that more than five paṇas made one gadyāṇa.³

A Sīkārpur inscription refers to other coins called visa and hāga, besides paṇa.⁴ Again the Nēsarige inscription of Kārtavirya IV mentions a coin called honnu, in addition to-

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(2) Ep. Ind. XIII, p. 58.
visa and arevisa.¹ According to Dr. Fleet, konnu is equivalent to the value of two rupees and the visa is one-fourth of an anna.² It is needless to state that the arevisa is a half of a visa, as are in Kannada means half.

As regards the value of the hāga, we cannot determine it in the light of the available material.

We hear of another coin called hāgini in the grant of Sinda king Pernāli-dēva.³ Kāgini is the corrupt form of hākinī and is equal to forty cowries or a quarter of a pana. As the relation between the pana and the gadyāṇa has been already settled, it must be said that forty hāginis made one gadyāṇa. It should be noted that the pana is a gold coin equal to very nearly 220 grains Troy.⁴

Measures

It appears that grain such as rice, rāgi etc., and liquids such as oil, ghee and curds were sold by measures. The Kalhōli inscription of Kārtavīrya IV mentions some grain measures namely the mana, bāḷa, sollige, and hādaru. Except the last, all the measures are current even to this day.

The mana as it stands today is equal to sixteen seers and one-eighth part of a hēru. But as regards its old meaning, the inscriptions fail to give us its exact capacity. Bāḷa is equivalent to two seers. Sollige which is also called solige, solage, or solege, is the one-fourth of a sidde. And such six siddes make one Kolaga. The solage, the sidde and the kolaga are all used in the North Kanara district even to day.

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² Ibid.
⁴ Ibid, Foot notes.
As regards ḫulāru, Dr. Fleet thinks that it was perhaps the same as the kolaga.¹

The kolaga is referred to in the Nēsarige inscription of Kārtavīrya IV.² The fact that it also occurs in many other inscriptions representing all parts of Karnataka³ indicates that it was a standard measure commonly used. Kolaga is a grain measure which is equal to one-twentieth part of a khāṇḍaga, which appears in a number of records.⁴ This is the same as the modern khāṇḍaga in Kannada and the khāṛi in Konkani and Marathi.

A small measure called paṇi, which is almost equal to half a seer, is referred to in one place.⁵ To-day the word paṇi is used to denote a handful of grain.

It is interesting to learn that two kinds of kolaga namely jakki kolaga and dharma kolaga were current in those times.⁶ Let it be noted, in this connection, that even to-day the people of North Kanara district use two kinds of kolaga, the sikke and the gēni. It is evident from the various names of the above mentioned measures that many of them have continued to exist to this day inspite of the great political changes that have taken place during these eight hundred years.

The standard measures in ancient times were sometimes called by the names of the ruling kings and queens. For example, there was a measure called mahādevi evidently called after a popular queen.

(1) Ibid., p. 238.
(2) Ibid., p. 259.
(3) Mys. Arch. Dept. 1924, p. 26; Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, No. 6, South Ind. Ev., 1914, p. 16; No. 133.
(4) Mys. Arch. Dept. 1928, p. 35 etc.
(5) Ibid., 1927 p. 133.
As regards land measures, the nivartana was current especially in the northern part of the province. It is an ancient measure said to be equal to two hundred square cubits. The other land measure was the kamma or the kamb, which was undoubtedly smaller than the nivartana. But we do not know the exact relation between the two.

A Raṭṭa inscription from Saundatti states that the king Kaṇṇa gave a portion of land, which was equal to six mattras to the local god presiding over the twelve villages. The mattr is also mentioned in the Honvād inscription among other records. An epigraph at Bālbāḍu contains the expressions kamma 50...kamma 50 antu mattrandu...... kamma 60...kamma 40 antu mattrandu, which shows that one mattar was equal to one hundred kamas. Unfortunately, the value of the kamma cannot be determined in the light of the available material. It is also interesting to know from a Tālgunda inscription that one mattr of land was taken to yield two khaṇḍikas or khaṇḍugas of grain.

Besides these land measures, there were a number of measuring poles such as the bherupā pole, the kaccīve pole, the gadimba pole, the agraḍimba pole, the kūndi pole, and so on.

(2) South Ind. Ep., 1915, No. 471 etc.
(4) Ind. Ant. XIX, p. 274.
(5) Ind. Ant. XIX, p. 274, Foot note, quoted by Dr. Fleet.
(6) Fleet, P. S. and O. C. Inscriptions, No. 219, referred to by Dr. Fleet, in the foot note of Ind. Ant. XIX, p. 274.
(7) Ep. Cor., VII, 8k, 100 and 120.
(8) Ibid., 14; Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, pp. 147 and 122.
(10) Ind. Ant., IV, p. 279.
CHAPTER V

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Law in ancient Karnataka was customary. The king was not a legislator who could make or unmake laws. In fact there existed no legislature as such. The king simply carried out the decrees sanctioned by the Sāstras and the custom of the land. His function was to administer and not to legislate. Thus the king could not amend or abrogate a custom though it proved to be injurious to the welfare of the society. To use modern nomenclature, he was a constitutional monarch.

In this capacity as the supreme judge, the king himself decided important cases, especially those affecting religion. But the administration of justice on the whole remained in the hands of the officers appointed for that purpose. There were dharmmādhyakshangals, and rājādhyakshangals or scrutineers of morality and of judicial affairs. Danḍuṇāyakas who held both civil and military ranks also dispensed justice. Minor matters among the villagers were settled by themselves in the presence of the Gauda.

Crime was rare on account of the precautions taken by the Government. Kings are often described as engaged in punishing the wicked and protecting the good. (dushti nigraha shist pārīpālāna). The punitive policy of kings consists in detecting offenders', says a Raṭṭa inscription. When Lakshma (Lakṣhāmidēva I), the lord of earth, was reigning with mighty authority neither

(1) Ep. Ind., V. p. 244.
(2) Rice, Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions, p. 170.
(5) J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 286 etc.
Administration of Justice

offence nor punishment existed, so skilful was he." Kings took personal care to see that justice was properly administered. Thus the Baisa king Sāntivarman, says the record, was careful in judgement as to the right path to be followed and in the investigation of truth. The officers naturally followed the royal example. For instance, the administrator of the Nūsirige circle (under the Raṭṭas) was a certain Habbayya Nāyaka of whose impartial justice it is said: "Though they might be his friends, or his own people or people whom he disliked or even kings, he behaved impartially to all and caused mankind to say 'Is there any injustice in Habbayya?'"

There reigned internal peace and order in the country. Crimes of violence were rarely committed. Nevertheless, we must admit the fact that the Mahāmandalēśvaras, in spite of their efficient administration, were not completely successful in rooting out the habitual criminals. There were bands of organised robbers—especially in the border districts—whose main occupation was cattle-lifting. A few instances of robbery may suffice.

There is a viragal commemorating the death of a certain Sivayya who died in fighting with robbers, while going on his way to some place for trading purpose. This was during the reign of king Tribhuvanamalla. Again a stone of 1167 A. D. commemorates the death of Mādigā, son of a Śeṭṭi at the hands of robbers. Another of 1185 A. D. records the death of Soviśeṭṭi while fighting with robbers who had attacked the cattle of his village. Memorial sculptures representing such incidents are found in many.

(6) Ibid., p. 72, No. 80.
Inscriptions do not yield sufficient information as to the judicial procedure followed in this period. Nevertheless, we know that cases were often decided by ordeals. According to Brihaspati there were nine kinds of ordeals recognised by ancient Indians from very early times. They are the balance, fire, water, poison, sacred libation, grain of rice, hot gold-piece, plough-share, and the ordeal of Dharma and Adharma.¹

We do not know whether all these ordeals were in use in the courts of Calukyan Karnataka. Ordeals by boiling water and by mounting the balance are, however, mentioned by an inscription of 1099 A.D.² Similarly, that of heated metal is recorded in an epigraph of about 1100 A.D.³ New types of ordeals, not included in the original list of nine, seemed to have gradually grown up by the end of the tenth century. Thus for example, an inscription of the reign of Sōmēśvara I tells us that a Gāvunda was asked to give up his life by way of an ordeal in order to prove his claim to the land in dispute.⁴ Another curious kind of ordeal by killing a snake in a jar is also referred to in some records.⁵ It is really interesting to learn that the queen Chandrikā Dēvi, the wife of the Raṭṭa chieftain Lakshmi-dēva I, had once successfully undergone this ordeal, for which act she was praised by the people.⁶ Of all the ordeals mentioned above, the balance seems to be the easiest and hence it was probably used in minor cases. It consisted in seeing whether the accused weighed less or more the second time the test was made: if heavier, one was guilty.⁷

Taking the oath was also resorted to in some cases.⁸ The oath should be virtually considered an ordeal inas

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(2) Ep. Ind., XV, p. 360.
much as it invokes divine power which punishes the guilty. It was taken according to the caste and profession to which the man belonged. Thus for example, it is recorded that a Brahmana defendant was asked to swear by the sacred symbols which were then placed on his head for the occasion.¹

Capital punishment was awarded for murder.² Punishments such as fines were common. The gravity of the offence usually decided the nature of punishment. It has been stated that "if one strike with a weapon a thief, robber, burglar, enemy, or evil-minded person under a shop, screen, or veranda there shall be a fine, but no guilt; the fine upon the striker shall be three gold gadyānas. If one strikes him with the fingers, the fine shall be... gold gadyānas; for him who exceeds... the fine shall be one pana; for him who cudgels such as one, the fine shall be two panas".³

It is to be noted that the law of vicarious liability, which is to-day so often enforced by the Indian Government, was not commonly recognised in the Cālukyan Empire. For it is expressly stated in one place that "the guilt of a father shall not attach to a son, nor the guilt of a son attach to a father".⁴ This was of course a general principle which knew exceptions.

We have already seen that the Kannada kings had a high sense of justice. They left no stone unturned for punishing the offenders and protecting the innocent. The village headman and the village assembly were invested with judicial powers to try minor cases.⁵ Important mercantile corporations and guilds were allowed to sit in judgment on the members, constituting those organisations.⁶

Sometimes the judicial officers such as the Dandānāyaka transferred the case to a body of influential and impartial private tribunal. Above all there was an efficient department of justice composed of highly learned Brahmins well devoted to the study of law. Mānasollāsa lays down the qualifications of a judge. It rules thus: He must be a Brahman well-versed in the Śāstric and the Śūnti lore and capable of their proper interpretation. He must not be carried away by anger, hatred, selfishness or timidity.

It may be noted, by the way, that the Ayyavale corporation enjoyed the right to punish gamblers found in the city.

We have the good fortune to possess at least a few inscriptions recording interesting trials, law-suits and legal rules. The following are some of them:

**Trial by Ordeal**

A certain Sivaśakti, the Āhārya of Śrī Kālēśwaradeva of Kittūr, and Kalyāṇaśakti, the Acārya of the original local deity of that place, opened a subject of dispute in the presence of Īśvarayya Dandānāyaka, the former asserting that a plot of ground in that place had from old belonged to Kālēśvaradēva, while the latter claimed it for the original local deity.

The agreement that they, of their own free will, entered into in the presence of the judge was this:—Sivaśakti said "Whereas this plot of ground belonged of old to Kālēśvaradeva, the father of Kalyāṇaśakti, unauthorisedly brought it under cultivation under the Chānde state and had a grant written in his own favour, and I am now prepared to undergo the ordeal of heated metal in support of my statement." On the other hand, the argument of Kalyāṇaśakti,

(2) Shrigondekar, Manasollasa, p. 37, Slokas 93 and 94.
under an oath, was “If the Chānde state gave this plot of
ground to my father and to myself on behalf of the deity, it
has not been unauthorisedly brought under cultivation.”

The judge then said, “Go both of you before the
assembly of the bankers of the village Dēgāve;” and on
their assenting to this, in the presence of all the bankers,
Śivaśakti undergoing the ordeal, made oath that the piece of
land belonged from the old to the god Kālāśvara. Kalyān-
śakti taking the sacred symbol on his head, declared that it
was the property of the original local deity. Next day all
the bankers convened themselves in the assembly-hall, and
having examined the hand of Śivaśakti, decided that he had
won the cause and that Kalyānśakti had lost it. Conse-
sequently they gave a certificate of success to the
plaintiff\(^1\).

Another Trial

An inscription of the reign of Sōmesvara I records an
interesting incident of three gāvunḍas, in consultation with
two Brahmans, accusing before the king a certain Gunḍa-
mayya of having misappropriated their legitimate holding
of impudently claiming their village as his own and enjoying
the fruits (Umhali) for three years. When the matter
came up for enquiry, it was proposed that if any one of the
three gāvunḍas gave up his life in proof of the allegation,
not only his original share would be restored to him but he
would also be given extra land with the title to bequeath
it to his posterity. Nirjara-gāvunda, one of the three,
accepted the ordeal and stabbed himself to death, express-
ing his wish that his son might inherit his entire land. Out
of the land so recovered and the land newly earned a vṛitti
was given by Nirjara’s son to the two Brahmans who origi-
nally gave counsel to the three gāvunḍas.\(^2\)

(2) South Ind. Ep., 1921, p. 88.
Relation Between Creditor and Debtor

An inscription of the early thirteenth century reports that a certain Sōmagauda borrowed some money from Nāgaṇṇa pledging his vṛtti land and that when he demanded the document of the loan on repaying the debt together with interest Nāgaṇṇa did not return it. Hence in the presence of the Muhājanas of the village the discharge of the debt was therein inscribed. The name of the engraver was Sōmanātha.¹

CHAPTER VI

ART OF WARFARE

The king in ancient times discharged many important functions. He was the head of the administration, the supreme judge in his kingdom and also the commander-in-chief of the army. As in ancient Greece he himself led the host to war. He rode on a big elephant under the canopy of an umbrella with his standard flying. Each Mahāmanḍalīkāvara had his own banner to distinguish him from others. Thus the Sindas carried the nīla-dhvaja or the blue flag; 1 the Raṭṭas had the Swarṇa-Guruḍadhvaja or the banner of a golden Garuḍa 2; the Śenāvaras had the phapi-dhvaja or the serpent-flag; 3 the Kadambas carried the Vānaradhvaja or the banner of a monkey; 4 and the Guttas were distinguished by the Vata-vrikṣa-garuḍa-dhvaja or the banner of a sacred fig tree and a Garuḍa combined 5. These banners must have exercised a great influence over the fighting forces. The flag was the representative of the entire army; and hence it was a source of high inspiration.

The king was expected to be a man of great strength; and a well-trained soldier. He had to infuse confidence in the army by his personal courage and bravery. He had to devote much of his time and energy in learning the use of weapons. A sort of efficient military education was imparted to him. Thus the Raṭṭa king Sēna who "was possessed of a mighty army" "was esteemed the first among good warriors and chieftains in the path of war" 6. Again, king Kaṭṭama was "well acquainted with the use of

(5) P. S. and O. C. Inscriptions, No. 108.
weapons". King Sāntivarma was a "very Vatsarāja" says the record, in the act of riding horses. Teachers were appointed to train the royal youths. We are told that the Jaina preceptor Munichandra Deśa "through his close acquaintance with the treatises on the use of weapons", became the instructor of Lakshmīdēva the Ratta. Such was the great importance attached to the art of warfare by the ancient monarchs.

Under the king, who assumed the leadership of the forces, there were many subordinates of different ranks. Next to the king was the Sēnādhipati or the Sēnāpati in rank. He was the most important figure in army organisation. Then came the dānāṇāyaka who was both a military and civil officer. The imperial army was often joined by the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara who led his own host to war. The same organisation and the military officers existed under the feudatory chiefs as well.

The accomplishments of the Senāpati are enumerated by the Cālukya King Somēśvara in his well-known book Mānasollāsa. He says that the commander must be a person born of high family, virtuous, bold and proficient in the four languages. The author does not mention what these four languages were. Nevertheless, judging from the times and the country of Sōmēśvara we may presume that they were Sanskrit, Kannada, Tamil and Telugu. He further states that the commander must be skilful in riding elephants and horses, and well-versed in arms and scriptures. He must be one knowing auspicious occasions and omens. He must also be well-versed in the construction of war vehicles and shrewd in judging the quality of different arms of warfare. The Senāpati must be liberal, sweet-speaking,

(1) Ibid., p. 229. (2) Ibid., p. 208. (3) Ibid., p. 274.
(4) Rice, Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions, p. 170.
(5) Shrigondekar, Manasollasa, p. 37, Sloka, 90. (6) Ibid., Sloka, 90.
(7) Ibid., Sloka, 91.
master of his senses, wise, determined, brave and knowing accurately different types of servants. Such a commander of the army a king must have.¹

As to the composition of the army corps it appears that soldiers were enlisted from various castes. There was no warrior-caste as such in ancient Karnataka. Divergent elements constituted the army. Military organisation seems to have progressed to such an extent that even members of the Brahmana caste were recruited to the ranks. There are distinct mentions of military officers belonging to the Brahmana community.² We are told that the Brahmana general (Camūpati) Gōvinda who was “skilled in arms” was renowned under the title of “Garuḍa to the serpents of his enemies.”³ He was “a lion to the elephant—his adversaries, renowned army warriors, a sun to the lotus—face of heroes” fortune, a troubler of foes, peerless, unequalled in valour”.¹ It is manifest that some members of the priestly class were able to command the forces in an efficient manner.

The army was divided into the traditional four-fold groups mentioned by Kauṭilya. These were chariots, elephants, horses and foot soldiers.⁵

“...The chariot was an important apparatus of war in early times. All the well-known warriors of ancient India, with a few exceptions, were chariot-fighters.”⁶ But there is reason to believe that this vehicle had fallen into the background in the Cālukyan times, so far as Karnataka is concerned. Hence it was rarely used. Inscriptions do not speak of them either elaborately or frequently as they do in the case of elephants, cavalry, and foot soldiers. We do not find even a single representation of a chariot in any viragal. It

(1) Ibid., Sloka 93.
(6) Dat., The Art of War in Ancient India., p. 46.
is true that the author of *Mānasollāsa* mentions the qualities of a true charioteer. But this does not in any way prove that they were a prominent part of the fighting forces. What we maintain is that the chariot did not form an important arm of warfare in this period. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Emperor Harsha, who reigned in the seventh century A.D., had long discarded it as useless in warfare.

The elephant occupied a prominent position in the army. Inscriptions do not generally forget to mention this extraordinary animal whenever a war-scene is described. We have even references to separate commanders of the elephant force. It is recorded that the Sinda King Permāḍi Dēva I "put to flight the Lord Hoysala" and "seized in war a multitude of infuriated elephants". The last Rāṣṭrakūta king possessed an army, consisting of eight-hundred elephants, which was eventually subdued by Taila. The Cōla emperor Rājendra-dēva who invaded the Karnataka "was accompanied on the battle-field by ten-hundreds of elephants", as an inscription puts it. The Cālukya monarch must have possessed an equally large number of elephants, if not larger, to meet this opponent.

*Mānasollāsa* deals with no less than five methods of capturing wild elephants. It also tells us of how to make them fit for war. The last lesson received by those animals,

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(2) Smith, *The Early History of India*, p. 353.
(3) *Eo. Ind. XVI*, p. 50; *South Ind. Ep. 1919*, No. B. 287; etc.
(8) Shrigondekar, *Manasollasa*, Intro., p. XII.
says Sômêsvara, was how to destroy the enemies in war.\(^1\)
It is to be noted that Vênu-grâme, the capital of the Râṭhas,
was credited with a big pit-fall to catch elephants.\(^2\)

Figures of elephants can be seen in many viragâlas.
But the best representation of it is carved out in the Begur
stone inscription.\(^3\) Here the leader of the army is seen
riding on a well caparisoned elephant, and before it are
three cavalry officers, all on horses.

The cavalry force, the third arm, was the most impor-
tant constituent in the army organisation. Horses of
superior breed were imported from distant Muslim countries
such as Arabia, Turkey and Afghanistan.\(^4\) Mâlavâ was also
known for its “noble horses”.\(^5\) Viragâlas show that the
cavalry soldiers did not wield heavy arms. Either a light,
sharp sword or a lance is generally seen in their hands. It
seems that the horsemen took a prominent part in close
fighting. Being agile they could move swiftly from place to
place and thus “accomplish a great deal of work against the
foot-soldiers”\(^6\).

Horses were deemed so important in this heroic age
that we are told that poet Candra-râja, (about 1079 A. D.)
after studying scientifically the subject of horse-breeding,
wrâte a treatise on it in Kannâda.\(^7\) The very fact that he
composed it in the vernacular language is a clear indication
that the book was very badly wanted by the common folk,
ignorant of Sanskrit. Unfortunately the work in not
extant.

The fourth arm was the infantry. It consisted of men
using various implements of warfare such as swords, daggers,
spikes, etc. These weapons were invariably bigger and

\(^1\) Ibid. p. 138, Sloka 1194. \(^2\) Ep. Ind., XIII, p. 25.
\(^3\) Ep. Car., IX, Bn., 83. \(^4\) Ind. Ant., V, p. 48.
\(^5\) Ep. Ind., XVI, p. 50.
\(^6\) Darâ, The Art of War in Ancient India, p. 45.
\(^7\) Narasimhabhârya, Karnatakâ-Kavi-Charite, I, pp. 89–90.
heavier when compared to those carried by horsemen. Usually the footman wore a broad pointed sword in his right hand and a big round shield in his left. In some sculptures the foot-warriors are seen in different postures such as striking, falling, rising, crouching and so on. They are seen shielding themselves skilfully against the blows of the enemy "in every possible manner, bending, stooping and all but lying down".

The various weapons in vogue were the sword, the dagger, the bow, the axe, the spike, the mace, the flying discs and the lance.

War-music was used to create enthusiasm among the warriors. Soldiers marched in the din of dhakkā, bhēri, tūrya, permatṭi, and such other musical instruments.

In dealing with the art of warfare, mention must be made of the famous forts which were considered as important means of defence. Mānasollāsa has an interesting classification of fortifications, divided under nine names. It appears that almost every place of some strategical value was covered by an impregnable fortress. There were many hill-forts and forest-forts, surrounded by water and ditches, in the Kūndī province, as stated in the Terdal inscription. What is said of Kūndī is true of other districts also. Some of the famous forts mentioned in the inscriptions are Krambarage, Kurugōḍu, Hānagal, Gutti, Deḷliṣige, Rāṭrapalli, Sorāṭūr, Banavāse, Toregallu, Belāgāmi, Gōkāge and Uccangi. The last of these, which was in the possession

(1) Hayavadana Rāc, Mysore Gazetteer, II, part I, p. 271.
(2) Ep. Ind., XV, p. 344.
of the Pāndya chiefs, was perhaps the most impregnable one in the whole of Karnatak. All these fortresses seem to have been strongly built and well equipped. The two types usually mentioned in inscriptions are the hill-forts and the water-forts.¹

Many of these strongholds were of huge dimensions. They were built of black stone not easily scalable. A ditch was dug all round the place to obstruct the passage of the enemy². Forts were rendered more difficult to be scaled on account of their ramparts and bars². They were fully furnished with all implements of war, and were provided with foodstuffs and fodder. Arrangement for an abundant supply of water was also made within the fortification itself.

The causes that precipitated hostilities among the kings and chiefs were indeed many. The ambitious projects of both the Cālikya and the Cōla monarchs to extend their territories and win political power was the basis of many a war fought on the planes of south India. The Mahāmaṇḍalesvaras often sought for an opportunity to throw the yoke of the Emperor and thus to declare independence. But the Cālikya Emperors skilfully managed to put them in check by sending one feudatory against the other. When the Hoysaḷa and the Kadamba chiefs revolted against their overlord, the Sinda chief Permaḍidēva I was immediately sent against them who were eventually subdued.¹

Secondly, cattle-lifting was another cause of ancient warfare. The chiefs are often described as leading cattle-raids against their neighbours. This practice became more common during the confusion that arose after the fall of the Cālikyan Empire. A good instance of this is furnished by the Ablūr stone of about 1219 A. D. which records the

(3) Ep. Ind., VI, p. 35.
cattle raid against that village led by Isvaradēva Sinda.\(^7\)
Again a viragal from Honnāli dated 1173 A. D. reports that
the Sāntara chief Singidēva, coming on a cattle raid, entered
Haṭṭivūr where he had to fight with the Sinda chief.\(^8\)
Such instances are indeed too many to be mentioned here.

In this connection, it is important to distinguish these
historical cattle-raids from the ordinary cattle-lifts committed
by robbers in our own day. What is interesting of ancient
times is that the chiefs themselves led the raids, thereby
offering occasions for open contests.

Among the peculiarities of ancient warfare may be
mentioned the part played by women in fights. A brave
woman of the ruling class had no scruple to lead the army
and display valour. It is well-known that the queen Akkā-
dēvi, who is described as "a very Bhairavi in battle and in
destroying hostile kings", successfully laid siege to the fort
of Gökāge and quelled the insurrection.\(^9\)
Similarly a certain Cāgalādēvi, the wife of a Mahāsāmanta is said to have led a
campaign against the village Nilagunda.\(^5\)
These illustrations only prove how heroic the ancient women of Karnat-
taka were.

Another curiosity of warfare was to plant hero-slabs or
viragals to commemorate the death of the fallen soldiers.
Grants were made by kings and chiefs to the wife and
children of the departed hero.\(^5\) "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 triumphant procession to enjoy the delights of paradise."\(^6\)

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(1) Ep. Ind., V, p. 262.
(3) Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, p. 435.
(6) Rice, Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions, p. 171.
Coming to the ethics of warfare we find that many wars were aggressive. The king and the army won the booty from the vanquished foe. They seized the enemies' wealth, their substance, their war-vehicles and almost every valuable thing. Elephants and horses were added to the victor's force.

As the kings are generally described as brothers to other men's wives, it may be presumed that they recognised the sanctity of women and the soldiers were not allowed to violate their chastity. The invader was human to the aged, the children and the Brahmans, as their lives were held sacred. Cows though seized, were kindly treated. Temples were spared by the Karnataka kings, whereas the Tamil Cōjas destroyed them, especially those that belonged to rival religions.

The chapter on warfare would be incomplete if we do not refer to the minister of war and peace. Mānasollasa has some interesting verses on the qualifications of this important officer. It says: The ideal Sandhīvigrāhika is one who is bold, wise, and proficient in all the languages, who knows fully well the essence of war and peace, who is well-versed in scripts and able to read them out. He must also know the principles of six-fold systems, must be able to recognise the divisions of time and place, must know the income and expenditure of the state, and acquaint himself with the peoples and products of the land. Above all, he must be a person mindful of saving money and able to distinguish between good and bad, and be a master of all actions.

It must be noted that the reputation of Karnataka soldiers of this period was recognised all over India. For Al-Beruni in his account tells us that Kannada warriors were employed in the army as far north as the Punjab.

CHAPTER VII

ECONOMIC CONDITION

Karnataka from very ancient times is known for its wealth and commerce. In the district of Chitaldrug was found a brass coin of the Chinese emperor Han-wa-ti of about the middle of the second century B.C. along with many silver coins of the Roman Emperor Augustus who died in A.D. 14.¹ This leads us to the logical conclusion that the Kannada land had commercial intercourse with foreign countries of both the east and the west, in that period. The occurrence of Kannada passages in a Greek drama of the second century A.D. further proves that Greek merchants were well acquainted with Kannadigas and their language.² The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang, who visited India in the seventh century A.D., tells us that the Empire of Pulikēsi was in a flourishing state.³ Commerce grew as centuries advanced; industries developed; and by the time the later Cālukyas made their appearance, Karnataka was rich and prosperous.

The period under survey saw the enormous growth of trade and industry which must have led to a vigorous growth of city-life. Among the important centres of trade Ayyavale was the most prominent. Arasikere, in the southern part of the province, was also known for its commercial activities, and hence it was popularly called as the Southern Ayyavale.⁴

But nevertheless, the bulk of the people lived on agriculture which was the principle occupation. Even the capitals of the various Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras were known for their cultivation of fruits and vegetables. Vēṇugrāme was full of “perennial fruits” and was “pleasing on account of all its riches and enjoyments”. Sugandhavartī was always green with the groves of mango, coconut and Asōka trees. Baṇavāse-nāḍ was famous for fruits and flowers. In that nad, says a record, there were rice fields from town to town, running channels from place to place, flower-gardens filled with fragrance of areca, punnāga, nāga, vakula, champaka, jasmine, screw pine, sandal, kaṇavira, and white rose. There were groves of coconut, plantains, jack, mango, rose-apple, and other trees. The gardens of betel-lief were so thickly covered, that the ground was darkly shaded. There could be also seen big plantations of sugar-cane “trickling with juice”. Similarly, Sāntalīge-thousand was full of orange, plantains and citron-fruits. Mangoes, sugar-canines, areca and cocoa-nut palms grew there abundantly. Such was the fertility of that land, says the inscription, that hunger was unknown in that region. Grass, firewood and water being plentiful, Brahmins found it a very convenient place to establish educational settlements. The city of Ālande was “charming with various plantations of sweet-smelling rice (gandhasāli), with parks and gardens which were in bloom through all the seasons”. There were many well-filled tanks, wells and pools. It was the abode of “countless number of merchants”. There were betel-nut plantations below large tanks. Similarly, the province of Kīṣukāḍ is said to have contained towns that were “full of

fruit, grain and kine". The country of Belvola was a "goodly field for tillage by reason of her manifold varieties of grain." The territory now occupied by the Parasgad Taluka of the Belgaum district was known for its forest of sāl-trees and was "resplendent with masses of lotuses, with flowering lakes of water-lilies, with budding mangoes, with blossom bearings, kinds of trees named Kōsa, trump flower nārīl aśoka, and plantain". These descriptions in the lithic records are not mere poetical fancies. Even supposing that they are, we cannot escape the conclusion that the country was well watered and agriculture was in a flourishing state.

All this was not possible without an efficient system of irrigation. In fact, canals are mentioned in inscriptions. But the irrigation-system comprised generally tanks which were built partly by individual benefactions and partly by communal enterprise. The government also extended its liberal aid in the construction of big irrigational works. Tanks referred to in inscriptions are too many indeed to be mentioned here. It appears that ancient Karnataka was full of tanks, and it was through them alone that irrigation on a large scale was possible. Kannada literature of the period very often speaks of cool tanks surrounded by green fields. Moreover, tanks are generally mentioned as boundaries of lands given as grants. From this it is apparent that many fields received water from the neighbouring tank. Some tanks were so extensive that they are compared to oceans, and are called Samudras. Thus we are told that a merchant by name Ekkalaśetti dug a big tank for the public use. It was called Ekkalsamudra after the builder's

(7) Ibid., p. 39.
name. Similarly Mahāpradhāna Śenādhipati Tejumallayya and his officers repaired the tank called Gōnasamudra. Grants were also made to the artisans who built the outlets and sluices. Again the great minister Śenādhipati and Hiriya Tantrapāla Namūa constructed a tank called Nāgasamudra to the east of Muṭṭakūr. From a Ratta inscription of 1204 A. D, we learn that Vēnugrāme had at least two big tanks. The bigger of them is very likely the large tank which we see to-day on the north of the fort of Belgaum. Similar instances can be cited.

Irrigation by channels was also in practice. We are told that great irrigational works were constructed by rich merchants with the help of the state which was ever ready to increase the economic prosperity of the people. We know that a certain Maṇi-Gāvunḍa brought the Jalagere channel to the Bayalākāśa rice fields, so that it could irrigate the whole plain. Contributions were made by the central government and also by the Prabhus who formed the Local government.

Water was also raised out of big wells by means of well-wheels called Rāṭāla and used for fields and household purposes.

Side by side with irrigation, town-planning was highly developed. Towns were usually divided into wards, and special attention was paid for sanitation. Suburbs were developed as the population grew. We are told that Ballipura was beautiful with three Brahma puris in which the houses were as if joined together. That means that they were all built in straight lines. It also contained numerous varied mansions. According to a lithic record the city of Sōmanāthapura was "an ornament to the

(5) Ramachandra Charitra Purana, 6, 65.
(6) Ep, Car., VIII, Sb., 277.
beautiful country", having lofty towering walls surrounded by a deep moat. It contained two famous broad streets called sūma and arka. It was a joy to the eyes of all and was surrounded by numerous pleasure gardens in which trees bent down with foliage, and the fields were filled with grain. On all sides of it were tanks filled with lotuses and water-lilies. From the description it is apparent that our ancients had long recognised the necessity of beautifying their towns with green parks and cool tanks.

Towns and villages were divided according to their size and population into various grades such as paṭṭānas, puras, drōṇāmukhas, maḍambas, khēdas, nagaras, grāmas, kharvēdas and samvāhanas. We are told that the province of Kūndi was "adorned with" villages, towns, hamlets, villages surrounded by hills, groups of villages, water-girt towns, chief cities, with elegant mansions, and with shining agrahāra-towns in the country of Kuntala.

As regards jewellery, we find that the ornaments of the kings and the queens were extraordinary. Diamond rings were their ear-ornaments, and their bodies were adorned with pearl necklaces. Gold was used not only for ornaments, but was liberally given by the wealthy to Brahmanas in religious ceremonies. It was a custom among kings to bestow gold in abundance upon poets and learned men. Gold was so freely used that temple-towers were decorated with golden crowns. We are told that the harlots were displaying their wealth in rich ornaments made of gold and decked with precious stones. Nāgachandra in his Purāṇa

(1) Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, No. 27.
(4) Ind. Ant., XIV, p. 25.
(7) Fleet, Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains J. B.
very often speaks of blue stones, diamonds, sapphires and all sorts of gems. Merchants imported pearls in ships by sea and sold them to kings. The merchants of Ayyavale were dealing in large sapphires, moon-stones, pearls, rubies, diamonds, lapis lazuli, onyx, topaz, carbuncles, coral, emeralds and other articles. The bazaars of Lōkkigundhi were famous for rubies and pearls. King Sōmśvara in his Mānasollāsa treats of pearls and various kinds of gems. Their defects also are not omitted. Mention is made of the devastating results of possessing such defective pearls and gems. He says in one place that the king should not wear pearls which weigh more than two kaḷanjas (equal to 60 gunjas).

Agriculturists were given special privileges. The Paṭṭadakal inscription of Cāvūṇḍa II Sinda says that the queen Damalāḍāvī and the prince Ācideva granted to the agriculturists of that place some privileges, rent-free service-lands, and contributions in cattle and taxes.

Land was classified according to the quality of the soil and the crop grown on it, as paddy fields, black-loam land, black land, red-black land, red land, dry land, wet land, low land, and Kēyī-Kammā-land. There was also pasture land which is often called as unploughed land. Plots of land were minutely measured and stones were set up in the ground to mark the boundaries.

Coming to land tenures, we find that four kinds of them are mentioned in inscriptions; Tribhōga-abhyantararasiddhi

(1) Ramachandra Charitra Purana, V. verses, 112-119. 
(2) Ep. Car., V, Ak. 22. 
(3) Ep. Car., VII, Sk., 188. 
(5) Srigondekar, Manasollasa, Slokas, 362-540. 
(6) Ibid., Slokas, 424-456. 
(7) Ibid., Slokas, 471. 
(11) Ind. Ant., XIV, p. 26, etc. etc.
Sarva-abhyantara siddhi,\(^1\), Sthala-(tala)-vritti,\(^2\) and sarvamāśya.\(^3\) Tribhōga Abhyantara-siddhi was a joint tenure enjoyed by a private person, a god or gods and Brahmins. Sarva-Abhyantara-siddhi on the other hand denotes a grant with full and complete rights of enjoyment. Sthāla-vritti was a form of holding land for which payment was made in kind from the produce. As regards the nature of Sarvamāśya, we are not in a position to say anything definitely.

We shall now turn to caste in its occupational aspect. Agriculture was in the hands of the Śūdras, and trade was carried on by the Vaiśyas. It is interesting to note in this connection that Bhagavad-Gītā prescribes agriculture and cattle-breeding as the occupation of the Vaiśyas, and not that of the Śūdras.\(^4\) The spread of Jainism with its principle of ahimsa must be held responsible for this change of occupation. Jainism was very popular among the Vaiśyas of ancient Karnataka. The ploughing of land, in which action insects and worms are inevitably killed, came to be looked upon as sinful. Hence the Vaiśyas withdrew from agriculture and left it in the hands of the Śūdras. It is really astonishing that in this period a few Brahmins began to undertake agriculture,\(^5\) which as centuries advanced became one of their occupations. In our own day the Havyaka Brahmanas of Kanara are skillful gardeners growing pepper, cardamoms and betel-nuts.

It is also noteworthy that some great merchants of the period were of Brahmana descent.\(^6\) The mercantile term Seṭṭi was not communal in its application as it is in the present-day Karnataka. Every big merchant irrespective of his caste was called a Seṭṭi. This is quite clear from an inscription which addresses two Brahmana merchants as Seṭṭies whereas their father, who had not taken to trade, is called Māchi-dēva instead of Māchi-Seṭṭi.\(^7\)

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\(^2\) Ep. Ind., XIII, p. 70.
\(^3\) Bhagavata-Purāṇa 12, Sloka 44.
\(^4\) Ep. Ind., XV, p. 345.
\(^6\) Ep. Cor., V, Ak. 22.
\(^7\) Ibid.
Living in those days was cheap. Dairy-farming was carried on extensively throughout the province. The villages were prosperous, and were known for milk, butter, curds, etc.¹ The province of Kûndî was specially known for cattle-breeding. "Pleasing to the eyes," says one inscription, "is the country of Kûndî which resembles the orb of the moon, with its herds of cows with their plentiful supply of delightful milk"². Every village had its grazing ground, and the cows were well cared for.³ Numerous viragals recording great sacrifices of the villagers in rescuing their cows clearly indicate that they felt a deep love for their cattle. It seems that in ancient times, the prosperity of a village was also calculated according to the numbers of cows and bullocks which it possessed.

Similarly, kings were considered powerful according to the number of elephants that they had in their army. Hence king Sômëśvara in his Mânasollâsa mentions the forests which were the haunts of elephants, and minutely describes the varieties of species and formulates means to catch them, train them and make them fit for war.⁴ Elephants were used by wealthy merchants for the purpose of carrying goods from place to place. We are told that the elephants of Gañâ-Dêśa were famous and hence they were imported by Kannada kings. But Sômëśvara seemed to have specially inclined towards the elephants of the Kalinga forests⁵.

Horses are very often mentioned in inscriptions. Moreover any viragal of some importance contains a battle-scene where the cavalry is seen very prominent. It is important to remember that Karnatak is not the home of well-

(1) Rice, Mysore Inscriptions No. 103.
(4) Shrigondekar, Manasollasa, Intro., p. XI.
bred horses. They were therefore undoubtedly imported from foreign countries. An epigraph of 1186 A. D. tell us that horses were imported from Turkarsthana\(^1\). Another of 1188 A. D. informs us that a rich merchant of Arasikere was importing horses in ships by sea, and selling them to kings\(^9\). King Sōmēśvara, while referring to horses, uses the word Yavanōdbhūta\(^3\) by which is meant probably Arabian horses. "It appears that in his time horses from Sind, Arabia and the Kāmbhgl countries were famous". "Well-bred horses" were also used like elephants for loading goods.\(^4\) We are told that a considerable portion of horse-trade of Karnātaka was controlled by the merchants of Malabār\(^5\) whose ports had frequent intercourse with Arabia.

Among the industries that were common mention may be made of oil-extraction, spinning, weaving, sugar-making, perfumery, masonry, basket-making, mat-making, toddy-drawing, and pottery\(^6\).

Enriching the government treasury by the practice of alchemy is really astonishing. It is however referred to by Sōmēśvara in Mānasollāsa.\(^7\) Not only ordinary people were keen on alchemy but emperors and Mahāmaṇḍalāśvaras also had recourse to such methods.\(^8\)

Horticulture must have reached a high state of efficiency in this period. We find frequent mention of parks in the inscriptions where trees and creepers were planted.\(^9\) We have already given enough of references to them. A typical example is however furnished by a Sinda inscription which describes the beauties of Narayangal (modern Narāgāl in Dharwar) in the following language: "Narayangal, laiden

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Economic Condition

with fruits, is very charming. Very lovely it is with its flower gardens which diffuse many divine odours, with its cool tanks which confer the most exquisite pleasures, with its numberless groves, and with its rice and other juicy grains, the fragrance of which pervades the region; charming it is to travellers........................and very much to be sought after".1

Famines are always serious inroads upon the comfort and happiness of the people. But it appears that owing to irrigation they were almost unknown to Cālukyaṇa Karnataka. We have not even a single reference to any severe famine, devastating the country, in the whole period covering more than two centuries. In times of poor harvest the government was ready to extend its hand of protection, and to make remission of taxes. An interesting piece of evidence is afforded by an inscription from Kanakavēḍu in the Bellary district. There we are told that the government granted a caul to the gaudas and the people of that place, after remitting 90 varahas of tax on account of the ruined condition of the village.2 It appears that elaborate measures were taken by kings and chiefs to protect the people from ravages of famine. This is made clear by the nineteenth chapter in the Mānasollāsa where the author says that it was the duty of the king to take care of his subjects when they were in distress.3

Roads are necessary in order to serve the purposes of communication both ordinary and commercial, and thus to advance the economic prosperity of a country. The whole of the Cālukyaṇa Empire was provided with a net-work of roads. We have innumerable references to local roads which are referred to as boundary-marks to various plots of land. Some of these roads were not merely village path-

ways, but were roads of considerable width, which could be described appropriately as roads in the modern accepted sense of the term, as they are called Heddaris (high roads). For example there was a trunk road running from Tēradal in the Sāngli State to Hāngal in the Dharwar district.

Commerce on a large scale in the Cālukyan Empire was carried on by what may be styled merchant princes, who are often compared to Kubēra in wealth. It is really astonishing to read that a bangle-seller amassed so much of wealth, that he came forward to convert his village into a town. Similarly, a certain Dēvi-Seṭṭi from Sōrab Tālukā dug a new tank and cutting down the forests formed new rice-fields. The mercantile community is usually mentioned as belonging to Vira-balanju-dharmma at the head of which were the Five-Hundred Swāmis of Ayyavale (Aihole in the Bijapur district). These Swāmis were famous throughout Dravidian India, having acquired five-hundred Vira-kāsanas. They were "adorned with many good qualities, truth, purity, good conduct, policy, condescension, and prudence." Being conspicuous with the flag of the holy hill, they were acknowledged as the protectors of Vira-Balanju-dharmma. Having possessed thirty-two Velomas, eighteen cities, sixty-four yogapithas, they were born to wander over many countries. With invaluable articles in their bags as their wealth, "they visited the Chēra, Chōja, Pāṇḍya Maleya, Magadha, Kausula Saurāshtra, Dhanushtra, Kāmbhōja, Gauḷa, Lāla, Barvvara, Nēpāla, Ėkapāda, Lambakarnna, Strīrājya, Ghōlamukha and many other countries." They travelled both by land and water routes, penetrating into various regions with superior elephants, well-bred horses, large sapphires, moonstones,

pearls, rubies, diamonds, lapis, lazuli, onyx, topaz, carbuncles, coral, emeralds, karkkētana, and various such articles. They dealt also in cardamoms, cloves, sandal, camphor, musk, saffron, mali, and other perfumes, and drugs, “by selling which wholesale or hawking about on the shoulders,” prevented the loss by customs duties. “They filled up the emperor’s treasury of gold, of jewels and his armoury of weapons.” They enjoyed in great comfort, merit, wealth, pleasure and prosperity. Their asses and buffaloes were adorned with rod trappings.¹

From the above description it appears that the merchants were the most influential community in the Cālukya Empire. Commerce by land and commerce by sea were their profession. These merchants had such a prosperous and flourishing trade that they amassed great wealth. Ayyavale became one of the wealthiest cities in South India. This only shows that the ancient Kannadigas were forward in commerce. We all know that trade and commerce are an index to a country’s prosperity. “There is no greater wealth in a kingdom than its merchants,” says the Mahābhārata².

Merchants were generally of three kinds, namely, indigenous, itinerant and foreign. Besides there were local traders called gavras.³

Besides Ayyavale and Arasikere, Vēnugrāme, Tēradalā, Lokkikunḍi and Dharmavolu were also important centres of trade. Tēral, says an epigraph, “was filled with money-changers”, and was “adorned with much corn, milk, new ornaments, various cloths, with heaps of jewels and a mass of gold”.⁴ It possessed wealthy guilds dealing in pots, jewels, clothes and yarn.⁵ The merchants of Tērdal used oxen, asses, he-buffaloes, carts, rafts and boats to carry by

(2) Quoted by Jayaswal, Hindu Polity, Part II, p. 172.
land and water all their things including jewels. Similar was the commercial importance of Lokkikunḍi (modern Lukkunḍi in Dharwar district), which by reason of its bazaars and wealth was "like the realm of Kubera". Its bazaars were famous for sandal wood, camphor, various garments, rubies and pearls. The inscription proudly states that "as there are in that town exceedingly many things for attaining the various objects of man-kind, the whole population is therefore gladdened ever by the accomplishment of the objects of man-kind, and knows forsooth no sorrow". The record further says that "the man who has heard of its wealth, of its excellences, will be right eager to see it; the person who has seen it endeavours in his desire for happiness to dwell therein; he who has dwelt there has not been able to bear leaving it; if he has left it through mischance of fate, verily he is forever sorrowful and vexed by the remembrance of joys there". Making indeed due allowance for poetic fancy and play of imagination, we cannot escape the conclusion that Lokkikunḍi was a famous and rich city with prosperous trade and commerce.

The principle of co-operation, which is so important in economics, was known to our ancients. Villagers are often described as uniting of their own accord for common purposes effecting the welfare of their place. They used to undertake works of public utility on a cooperative basis. We are told in one record that the inhabitants of a certain village, having assembled together in a great assembly, agreed among themselves to make contributions, so that the village might acquire some of the advantages enjoyed by towns. For similar instances of collective action among villagers, the reader will look into the chapter on local organisation.

In many cities trade and industry were regulated by guilds. There were also big mercantile corporations founded on government statutes. Inscriptions however do not give us enough of information about the working of these constitutions. Nevertheless, we have the good fortune to possess a record where Akkādēvi, the sister of Jayasimha II, granted to the eight setties of Sudi a statutory constitution. It is of the following tenor:

"The shops and houses are to have their four sides of access situate in their grounds of the land of Karagambāṇu. They allow them to stand with a grant of immunity from all imposts, including fixed land-rent, for two srahēs, beginning from the present year; subsequently, from the year Nandana onwards, they are to be charged with sarvaya annually. The fixed land rent to be paid by them under the statutory constitution of the Department of Charities is to be eighteen gold gadyānas. The constitution of the eight setties is not to apply to the country nor the constitution of the country to the Eight. Within the Kisukādū Seventy the land of plots are to be immune from tolls with the birā-vāṇa. Within the town, in cases where anything is lost, the ara-taldrā has to make it good. The guilt of the father shall not attach to a son, nor the guilt of the son attach to a father."1

The corporation was presided over by a chief merchant generally called Paṭṭunā-Svāmi.2 Every profession worth the name was organised into a guild. Thus there were guilds formed by oil-mongers, betel-lieft sellers, weavers, milkmen, artisans, toddy-drawers, basket-makers, mat-makers3 flower-sellers,4 washermen,5 goldsmiths, clothiers, cotton-dealers, jewelers, perfumers etc.6 The mercantile corporations according to their nature and status were

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1 Ep. Ind., XV, p. 80. 2 Ind. Ant., V, p. 344.
divided into various grades, and members of each grade were called by different designations such as swāmis, mākharas, mumuridanaṇḍas, gavaras, gutrigas, setṭiguttas, ankakāras, biras, biravaṇas, gandigas and so on.

It seems that the guild could sit in judgment upon its members. Some of the important corporations were even granted the right of punishing those who interfered with their trade. Thus we are told that the Ayyavale corporation had the privilege to "bind the enemy's hand as a badge on a pole and parade about" ¹.

Guilds in those days, roughly speaking, also performed the functions of modern banks by accepting endowments and giving interest on them. Thus we are told that the donors of a temple deposited with a merchant guild of Shivapūr a sum of money at the interest of 25 p. c. out of which it was to maintain an offering to the deity.² There were also individual bankers or money-lenders who were lending money on a grand scale. They were generally called Vaddavyavakāris.

Guilds were of two kinds, namely craft-guilds and merchant guilds. The latter class was undoubtedly more influential, wealthier and superior in organisation. It was also more independent so far as its internal affairs were concerned. It is worthy of note that the merchant guild of Ayyavale was entitled to carry its own flag.³

Guilds were largely hereditary, and the traditional goodwill was handed down from father to son. This had its own advantage. It would not only prove effective in commanding confidence, but would also lead to greater efficiency.

Guilds in ancient Karnataka were greatly responsible in moulding the socio-economic life of the people. Big mercantile guilds often served as municipal corporations of

² Ep. Ind., XII, p. 273.
wealthy commercial cities. In discharging their civic functions they had to work in conjunction with the headmen. The president of the guild called the Pattanaswami was also the town-mayor. They often celebrated festivals, constructed temples and made endowments. Scholars received encouragement under their liberal patronage, and thus contributed to the enrichment of Kannada culture.

That trade had attained a high stage of development is evident from the fact that traders were acquainted with the famous products of different countries. Thus an inscription of 1181 A. D. informs us that the elephants of Gaula, the horses of Turushka (Muslim countries such as Turkey, Arabia and Afghanistan), pearls of Sinhala, the fine raiments of Cōla, the musk of Māgadha, the sandalwood of Malaya were specially known for their superior quality. Accordingly merchant guilds were extensively organised. The mercantile community of Hānjēru in the Anantapūr district was made up of men drawn from all the provinces of Dravidian India, speaking Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam. Similarly, the Sikārput inscription tells us that there were both local and foreign cloth merchants in important cities. An interesting account of the Gujarat and Kērala merchants settled in Vēṅugrāma is afforded by a Raṭā inscription. The existence of these cosmopolitan trading communities is tangible proof that the volume of trade that was carried on was very large.

The highly developed industrial corporate life, and the highly advanced economic and commercial prosperity of the towns of ancient Karnataka are amply testified to by a number of inscriptions that have come down to us. The market of a city was of huge dimensions. There one could buy almost any article which he desired.

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL LIFE—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

Village in Ancient Karnataka played the most prominent part in moulding the social and cultural life of the people. It was the smallest administrative and self-supporting economic unit, as we have shown in the chapter on local organization. Every village was blessed with a headman, aided by the accountant (Śānabōva). The principle of local government was so uniformly recognised that even the Royal cities were administered by the gāvundās. Sugandhavarti, the capital of the Raṭṭas, was governed by twelve headmen in whom "abode all the qualities of the majesty of a noble disposition, celebrated for their achievements, of great fame, without rivals". The population was made up of diverse castes based more or less on professional lines. Each functional group had to perform its duty towards the welfare of the community.

"The gauḍa or pātēl is the judge and magistrate; the Kāraṇam or śānabōga is the registrar; the talāri or staliwār, and the lāti, are severally the watchman of the village and of the crops; the nirgaṭi distributes the water of the streams or reservoirs in just proportion to the several fields; the jōtishya, joisa or astrologer performs the essential service of announcing the seasons of seed time and harvest, and the imaginary benefit of unfolding the lucky or unlucky days of hour for all the operations of farming; the smith and carpenter frame the instruments of husbandry, and the rude dwelling of the farmer; the potter fabricates the only utensils of the village; the watchman keeps clean the few garments which are spun and sometimes woven in the family of the farmer, or purchased at the nearest market;"

the barber contributes to the cleanliness and assists in the
toilet of the villagers; the goldsmith, marking the approach
of luxury, manufactures the simple ornaments with which
they delight to bedeck their wives and their daughters."

The meeting-place of the villagers was generally the
temple. It was here where the inhabitants gave expression
to their joys and sorrows. It was the centre of their reli-
gious as well as social activities. Religion was not differen-
tiated from other aspects of life. In fact, it was the very
breath of their life and basis of their existence. Hence the
value of the temple in ancient times is indeed supreme.
It was in the temple that the children learnt their lessons;
the adults listened to the Purānic tales which imparted them
a sort of moral instruction; the drummer-boy and the
flute-player displayed their musical talents; the dancing girl
with articulate sound practised the art of dancing; the
architect decorated the walls with ancient episodes; the
poet received inspiration to compose a song; the bhaktas
gazed at the deity with a single-minded devotion; the
village vagrants spent their idle hours in moving about; and
the common folk had ample opportunities for simple mirth
and merriment and unfettered joy especially in times of
festivals.

It was almost a custom among wealthy individuals to
endow and build temples. Even the poor contributed their
quota for their maintenance. Thus an inscription found at
Hoovinahaḍagali records that the wife of a certain wealthy
Brahmana build a temple of Kṛśava and made gifts of land and
a house for the worship of the god for feeding Brahmans and
for a flower garden. Other subsidiary grants were also made;
viz., a village for conducting repairs to the temple, and gifts
of money, and land by several individuals for betel-leave,
sandal worship, oblations, perpetual lamps, Chaitrapāja etc.

(1) Rice, Mysore and Coorg, I, pp. 467-468.
(2) South Ind. Ep., 1914, No., 128, p. 15.
The income of public temples was carefully spent. The manager had to show the accounts to the trustees who were usually the village-head-men. Some inscriptions are so rich in details that we get a complete idea of how the money was raised. Sometimes Municipal taxes were set apart for religious and social purposes. Thus, the entire guild of Nakhara and the Mummuurī headed by the twelve headmen of Sugandhāvarī, forming themselves into a great assembly on market day, came to an agreement among themselves and set apart for the local god Mallināthadēva the following taxes. “They gave one hundred betal-leaves on each load of a beast of burden of betal-leaves, and fifty betel-leaves on each load of the same carrier of the head. Inside the village and in the market place the people of that place gave a spoon-ful on each kind of grain that was sold on each paddy-shop. They gave two betel-nuts on each shop. With respect to green ginger, jaggory, turmeric, and other miscellaneous articles, they gave one spoon-ful on each shop. Of cotton they gave on each shop as much as a man can hold in his hand. Also fifty cultivators gave a ladle-ful of oil on each oil-mill for the perpetual lamp of the same god. Also on oil that came from Beruru for sale, they gave an aḍḍa of oil on each hāḍarī. The potters of that place gave on each kiln a vessel for the water of the god. Also five hundred dealers in vegetables gave two bundles on each cart-load of vegetables put up for sale, and four vegetables on each load of a beast of burden. The Bōvakakalu (palanquin bearers) gave a small tax such as a gift in alms on the vegetables that they bought for sale”,2 The above passage evidently reveals the keen interest taken by the entire public in maintaining their foremost religious and social institution.


People in ancient times, it seems to us, were well disposed towards charity. Works of public utility such as tanks and wells received their special attention. Wealthy individuals came forward to construct tanks, dig wells and to establish free feeding houses called sātras for needy travellers and learned ascetics. Thus we are told that a certain Māṇik-śeṭṭi, "the glory of the Vaishyakula" made for a sātra a grant of land from the produce of which to feed 12,000 Brahmans at the five parva seasons. Similarly, one Kāla-Gāmundā of Ambā built a sātara "for distributing food to those of the country and those from other parts," and made a grant of twenty-five kamma of rice land. Again a Nāyaka granted five villages for the livelihood of the Puḍjāri, and for the distribution of food to guests and the destitute. Another inscription records that the sēnabōva of Morigere restored a tank for the merit of his daughter. A record from Bellary district registers the grant of land to a private individual by the gauda sēnabōva, talavāra and the ayagaras of Hebbeta for having constructed a tank when there was scarcity of water for cattle in the village. Again a Raṭṭa inscription says that a certain Chikārya of Vaisya caste was "ever inclined to charity and other good deeds." Similar instances can be multiplied.

Closely associated with temples, were the periodical festivals which gave the people free scope for simple mirth and merriment and unfettered joy. They casted away the monotony of humdrum existence, and provided ample opportunities for various sorts of amusements. Unfortunately we do not get a complete list of the festivities then celebrated. Nevertheless some of them are referred to in inscri-
The Saundatti inscription of Sāntivarman mentions the festival of Dīpāvalī of which illumination was a prominent feature, as it is even to this day. For it is expressly stated that the oil-mongers of that place gave one maṇḍa of oil on each oil-mill for the temple-illumination. A festival called Chaitra-Pavitra is referred to in some records. We do not know the exact meaning of this term. We may however, presume that it was a purificatory ceremony performed in the month of Chaitra. The Vaishnavas were observing Ananta-Vrata. Annual festivals called Jūrūparva and Panchaparva are mentioned. Besides these, there were annual illumination festivals called Vārśika-dīpātsava. Car festival appears to have been a common feature in which the villagers and the town-people alike joined. In some villages it fell in the month of Chaitra.

Another source of recreation was the fair or the market day. The fair was of great commercial as well as of social value to the villagers. It was usually on some market day that the people convened themselves into a general assembly in order to make religious endowments. In important places the market was held regularly once a week. Thus for example, the village Sunḍi had its samīe on every Sunday.

Among the many curious customs then prevalent the ceremony of self-destruction by slow starvation is the most striking. It was the peculiar rite of the Jainas known as Sallēkhana. Its procedure is thus described in the Raina-Karanḍaka of Samantabhadra:— "When overtaken by calamity, by famine, by old age, or by incurable disease, to get rid of the body for dharma is called sallēkhana. One should

by degrees give up solid food and take liquid food; then, giving up liquid food, should gradually content himself with warm water; then abandoning even warm water, should fast entirely, and thus with mind intent on the five salutations should by every effort quit the body"".

As Jainism was a declining religion during the days under our investigation, we do not naturally get as many epigraphical references to Sallēkhana as in the earlier period. It is to be noted that the words Samādhī and Sanyāsana are frequently used to denote Sallēkhana. The rite seems to have been popular among the monks and the nuns, and was rarely resorted to by the common people. The ceremony was usually practised at Sravaṇa Belagola, the famous holy place of the Jainas in South India. Hence the inscriptions scattered over the country very rarely speak of it. An epigraph of A. D. 1100 commemorates the death of a woman named Pollabbc by Sallēkhana Vrata. Similarly, Jakkiyabbe, who was holding the office of Nāl-gāvunda of Nāgarakhandā seventy, when she was suffering from some "bodily disease" took the vow and fasted unto death. The Ganga king Mārasimha II, we are told, "laid aside the sovereignty and at the town of Bankā...pura, in the performance of worship in the proximity of the holy feet of the venerable Ajitasēna," "observed the vow of fasting for three days, and attained rest".

Another method of meeting voluntary death was the ceremony of drowning oneself when one finds that death is drawing nearer. The Cālukya King Sōmēśvara I adopted this mode when he was afflicted with malignant fever in the year 1068 A. D. The inscription says that "thereby increasing his fame, he performed in Kuruvarti the rites of supreme Yōga, and in the Tūṅgabhadrā the master of the

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(1) Ep. Car., II., Intro., p. 69, quoted by Mr. Narasimhaokharya.
world Abhayamallī ascended to heaven". It is further interesting to note that the great Vīrāsaiva teacher Siddharāma (About A. D. 1160) plunged into the tank he himself built, and thus attained Jala Saṃādhi.² While Sallākhana was peculiar only to Jainaś, Jalaśaṃādhi appears to have been common to all.

The well-known practice of Sati was common in ancient Karnataka, as it was in other provinces of India. A number of inscribed stones, set up in memory of those women who performed the act of self-immolation on the pyre of their husbands, are scattered throughout the Kannada country. They are called māstikal or mahāsatikallū, a term which literally means "a stone of the great wife". "They 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 the finger”.³ One defect of those māstikals as a source of historical information is that they do not generally contain any letters to give us the names and other particular of the individual women who died with their lords. We however learn from a Sinda inscription discovered at Kurgoḍ that when the general Bāciraṇa died and his corpse was being cremated, his wives Bailiyakka and Malpāṇiyakka entered the fire and immolated themselves with the corpse by the rite of Sati. And just before doing that they obtained the permission of the ruling prince for the making of certain grants to a temple.⁴ Similarly a record from the Sorab Tālukan states that when the Kadamba King Ravivarma died, one of his wives became a Sāti.⁵ Again a Silā-Śāsana informs us that Dēkabbe, the wife of Ėca and the daughter of Raviga, observed the rite and went to heaven.⁶

Coming to contemporary literature, we read in the *Ajitapurāṇa*, written by Ranna, that when the Cālukya minister Nāgadēva died, his younger wife Gaundamabbe became a Sati.¹ Here the poet describes how Gaundamabbe before immolation goes to her “rival-wife” (Savatī). Attimabbe and persuades her to survive her husband, so that she would bring up the child which the latter recently gave birth. Attimabbe realising her greater duty as a mother accedes to her request. This incident amply proves that Sati was only a voluntary institution even among the ruling class, and what is more interesting, it was altogether abandoned in critical cases of the type mentioned above.

The māstikās were held in great esteem by our ancients. It may be rightly presumed that some of them were even worshipped, though we do not get any epigraphical references to that effect. Because, the common belief that the Sati would ascend to heaven and attain the world of gods was sufficient to make the people to revere her earthly memorial. It may, however, be noted that in our own day the māstikās strewn about the Karnataka are in many cases, recognised as gods and worshipped by the village folk.

Taking and observing vows was another custom prevalent in ancient Karnataka. It clearly implies that the people were serious in their outlook on life. What is more interesting, they were quite firm in their resolve. We are told that a certain potter Bommanna, having taken a strict vow not to anoint his head or eat food till he had set up the god Kumbhēśvara, made grants of land in 1126 A. D. for the decoration of the god, perpetual lamp and offerings. Similarly, we hear of Kāliyakka, the wife of a distinguished minister, taking a similar vow². “Thinking what performance is there in the acquisition of wealth, which may be lost

through robbers, or claimants, or the covetous, or kings, or fire, she made a vow, saying, "I will at once fix it go as to be secure" and came to be made in Sembanūru a beautiful temple for Jinapati". These instances are sufficient to show that religion had a strong hold on the people of ancient times.

Still curious is the custom of self-destruction after taking a vow to that effect. This was purely a non-religious practice, unlike the examples cited above. We get a number of inscriptions recording instances of men committing suicide on the death of the king or the queen. Thus we are informed by a Cālukya inscription that a certain officer named Bōka had taken a vow: "I will die with the Dēvi." Eventually, when the queen Loccalā Dēvi went to heaven in A. D. 1185, and "on his master calling him, saying, 'you are the brave man who with resolution have spoken of taking off your head," with no light courage Bōka gave his head, while the world applauded saying, "He did so at the very instant." "The word spoken with resolve is not to be broken". A grant was made for the maintenance of his wife and children. Likewise, when Mahāmanḍalēśvara Tailapa deva of Hānagal died, his secretary Boppaṇa "making good his word given for the occasion, went to swargga" with the king. The earliest reference to this practice is found in an inscription of 865 A. D. It can therefore be said that the custom was still in its infancy during the Cālukyan days, and hence was rarely resorted to. But it is important to remember that it had grown enormously in the southern part of the Empire, so as to give rise to a class of warriors called Garuḍas who vowed to live and die with the king. A supreme instance of the self-sacrifice of these garuḍas is afforded by an

inscription from Belur which records the immolation of a thousand warriors at the death of Vira Ballāla.

Vows were also entered into for the purpose of accomplishing some cherished object. These formed a class by themselves in the sense that they were not at all persuaded by any personal attachment to royal personages. Thus we are told that a certain Tuḷuva Caṇḍīga vowed “not to let the nail grow on his finger” if the Banavāse fort should be surrendered to a certain individual and when the news came that the fort was subdued he threw himself from the Gandabhārunda pillar and went to heaven. Similarly, when “the Mahāsānta Bopparsa and his wife Siriyā-Dēvi surrounded by all the subjects, were in the temple at the rice-fields, the cow-heard Māraṇa’s Son Dēkaya-Nāyaka made a vow, saying, ‘if the king obtains a son, I will give my head to swing on the pole for the god Brahma of Kondasabāvi’.” Here the idea underlying the vow was that the god would be pleased at the sacrifice and to fulfil it would bless the king with a son. It was a common belief in those times that self-torture gladdened the heart of god. We are again told that “in 1180 a chief gave his head in order the army to which he belonged might be victorious in the war to which he was marching.”

An instance of a curious ceremony of self-destruction is described in an inscription found at Kōṭūr near Saundatti. It tells us that a Śaiva ascetic by name Śambhu, who, “fearing not the shower of the fire delayed not, but ran up and fanned the flame; and then without hesitation, having thought on the god Mṛṣa in his mind, with smiles passed through it!” And thus “having fearlessly offered his body to the flames; having behaved with the resignation of a most profound ascetic; and having meditated on the god Mahā-

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dēva; Šambhu attained union with the nymphs of heaven, and became content”.

All these instances of self-immolation may appear to us at this distance of time as useless waste of human life and even foolish. Nevertheless it is to be admitted on all grounds that our ancients had the supreme courage to embrace death willingly whenever they thought that the time for it had come.

Setting up hero-stones in memory of soldiers and patriots, who died in battles or fights, was quite a common feature in the Karnataka. The person who thus sacrificed his life was known as “Vira” and his memorial slab as Vira-gallu. The Cālukyan times were often disturbed by the Cōḷa invasions. And after the fall of the empire, the Mahāmanḍalēśvaras, who now were left unprotected, had to fight in keeping with so many changing overlords, as the inscriptions of the Belagutti Sindas amply testify. Moreover, the feudatory chiefs who were more ambitious wanted to extend their territories, and thus Karnataka became a battle ground in the later half of the twelfth century. To add to this, cattle lifting was one of the recognised causes of ancient warfare. This was the basis of many a war that was fought by the Mahāmanḍalēśvaras. Thus we are told that Īśvaradevā of Belagavartti led a cattle-raid against the village Ablūr which was then included in the territory of Singamaṇḍevarasa, the ruler of the Banavāse province. Such state of affairs naturally infused patriotism in the hearts of thousands who now came forward to sacrifice their everything for the defence of their country. Hence we find a large number of Viragals distributed all over the province during this period. The fallen heroes were duly honoured, and grants were made for the maintenance of their wives and children. These grants were called “Kōḍagi” in Kanada and Jayāvṛitti in Sanskrit.

(1) Ind. And., XX, pp. 70-71.  (2) Ep. Ind., V, p. 261.
Besides these, there are viragals for heroes who fought with robbers and died. Female life, in ancient Karnataka, was held in great esteem, and to save it was a puñya of the first class. A viragal of 1198 A.D. records that a certain Beccyya fought heroically in defence of women from outrage by robbers and after slaying them and rescuing the women died in the battle and was “carried to the world of gods by celestial damsels”. The chief interest of this inscription lies in the fact that an extra land grant was made for offering daily worship to the Viragal. The special honour thus bestowed upon this hero-slab is a clear indication of the high regard entertained by ancient Kannadigas for their women folk.

We have a singular instance of a person meeting his death in the act of merely protecting temple property from unjust aggression.

The viragals, it seems to us, were worshipped by the people just in the same manner as the Māstikals. Even today we see a prominent viragal in almost every village in the Karnataka worshipped under the name Bira-(Bire) Dīva (The Heroic God). It is also important to remember that once in every year a ceremonal festival called Bandī-Habba is celebrated when the Bandī-Makhaḷs go on giving bali (food) to every hero-stone lying within the boundary. This practice appears to be of great antiquity. Tradition says that it is so ancient that breaking it would certainly bring ruin upon the village.

Life in ancient Karnataka was one of luxury and enjoyment for the wealthy people, as it was also full of bravery, heroism and adventures. It was a fashion among kings to

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(1) Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, Nos., 83 and 100.
(3) Ibid., For 1927, p. 41, No., 11.
(4) I do not know whether the festival is observed in every part of the Karnataka. It is, however, performed in the North Kanara district.
marry more than one wife. The Emperor Vikramāditya had at least six, Sōmeśvara I had four, Kārtavirya the Raṭṭa had two, Tailapa II Kadamba had two, general Bāchi-rāja of the Sindas had again two, and so on. Social life was very much enlivened by women participating fully in the amenities of life. The system of Purdah was unknown to Dravidian India. Women attended temples and even went to the vegetable markets to purchase things. It was a common custom among them to visit those that were pregnant. They freely mixed with men and had no scruples to look at strangers passing along the road. But it is said that women who were mixing with low people under these pretexts, were not fit to be termed “family women”. Chastity was highly honoured. Devoted wives are praised in elevated language in many inscriptions. In fact, devotion to one's husband was considered, as the highest duty of every faithful wife. Luxury and wealth often leads to immorality. We are told in a Raṭṭa inscription that there were some “family women” who even used poisonous herbs in order to bring their husbands under their control, and thus caused them to waste away with consumption, jaundice, leprosy, or spleen disease.

It is difficult to say whether women were allowed freedom in choice of their partners of life. They however took part in public activities and even held offices in the government. They were given sound education according to the profession and caste to which they belonged. We have the good fortune to know that the queens of Vikramāditya the Great were appointed as provincial viceroys. Akkādēvi, the sister of Jayasimha, could efficiently govern the country, could successfully lay siege to a fort and rightly attain the

military title Rāṇabhairavi, befitting her parentage and caste. Kanti had the unique honour of being selected as the court-poetess by the Mahāmāndalēśvara Ballāla of the Hoysala dynasty. A certain Jakkiyabbe was holding the office of Nāl-gāvunda of Nāgarakhandha Seventy to her credit.

Prostitution was popular in ancient times. There were special streets for courtesans and public women. It seems that fashionable young men resorted to their dwelling and spent their time there. It is to be remembered that public women formed an essential part of the temple staff. This was in fact giving a sort of religious recognition to prostitution. But when we consider the temple as a social institution, public girls in it were necessary to entertain the people with dancing and singing. The custom of presenting girls to temples was in vogue. We are told that a certain Siddayya presented gold, land and women to the temple of Ranganatha of Tambarahalli. What is more interesting, a curious instance of making gifts of virgins to Brahmans is mentioned in an inscription from Nāgara. The ceremony is called Kannēdana, and is constituted a part of Mahādāna.

Dancing and singing were the favourite modes of amusement. Both men and women took part in them. Some villages had a common hall called Nāṭaka-śāla which served as the village theatre. This compares favourably well with

(7) *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Nr., 47. (8) This should be clearly distinguished from Kannayadana, the common form of marriage in which the bride is given to the groom as a gift.
the āṭu-kaḷam of ancient Tamils and the āṭu-kaṭṭe of the Kannadīgīgas themselves in later times.

Coming to sports and entertainments enjoyed by kings, chiefs, nobles and the aristocracy of the land, we find that they took delight in gaming and hunting. Horse-riding was most common. Cock-fighting and ram-fighting were counted among royal recreations. The seven requisites of a court as mentioned in a Raṭṭa inscription were the learned man, herald, songster, poet, jester, historian and the reader of the Purāṇas. Of these the poet was perhaps the most prominent. Because we know that many kings took great delight to enjoy poetry and honour poets. It is said of Cāvuṇḍa Sinda that he “bestowed gold in abundance upon excellent learned men and good poets and worthy people.” Permāḍidēva of the same dynasty is described as one who “was praised by poets, by wits, and by orators.” King Kārtavīrya Raṭṭa not only: “fulfilled the desires of learned people” but himself “excelled in the art of poetry.”

Then came the historian and the reader of the Purāṇas who were busy in narrating pleasant stories to their patrons. We are told that Kārtavīrya took great delight in listening to stories of brave men, who undoubtedly were the historical personages of ancient India. Permāḍidēva Sinda had “for the ornament of his ears the listening to the Saiva traditions.”

During the Cālukyan days inter-caste marriages were not allowed, though in the previous centuries “Brahmins

(1) See Ramachandra Dikshitar’s Studies in Tamil Literature and History, p. 269.
and Kshatriyas could marry and did marry women from castes lower than themselves." The caste system became so crystallized that it led to a complete disruption and disintegration of the Hindu society. The raising up of innumerable social barriers was detrimental to the growth of nationalism and racial unity. Conditions were such that they required a thorough reform, nay a revolution, in the social structure of the country. And fortunately enough for the land of Karnataka, a great reformer in the person of Basava made his appearance. He expressly tells us in his Vachanas that intercaste marriages were not allowed by the society.1 The manner in which he repeatedly exhorts his followers to take to intercaste-marriages is itself a clear indication of how hopelessly the country was socially divided. We are further informed by lithic records that there were many sects in each caste; and these sects were not usually permitted to have matrimonial intercourse with one another. Thus it is recorded that the goldsmiths of a certain village were divided into two sects who did not inter-marry with one another.2

As to the institution of child-marriage, we have no direct historical evidence to know whether it was prevalent or not. Inscriptions are, however, silent on the point. The great social reformer Basava does not mention it. He would have certainly raised a voice against it if it were a living custom in his days. We shall, therefore, not be far from truth to assume that child marriage did not exist during the period of our study at least in the Karnataka.

Coming to dress, we learn from the viragals that men in those days wore a short dhoti which did not cover the legs below the knees. Shirts were unknown, and the upper part of the body was left uncovered. They had a turban round their head which did not radically differ from that which is worn to-day. The fashion of tying the hair on the

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head in a knot called Juttu was prevalent. Women wore the Kappaḍa or sārī, and the higher classes were also covering their breasts with kappasa or bodice. Nymphs on the viragals are, however, sculptured with their breasts left bare. The wealthier women decked themselves with costly attire and rich ornaments. We are informed that a Sāntara princess was wearing pearl necklaces between her breasts and well-fitting diamond rings in her ears.\(^1\) It is interesting to note that Kēitaki was the favourite flower used by the aristocratic class to decorate the hair.\(^2\) Queen Lachchalādevī is represented in a viragal as putting a crown on her head.\(^3\) “Her wrists are decked with bangles, her arms with armlets and her legs with anklets”.\(^4\) The courtesans were decorated with waistbands and belts round their hips and ear-rings, armlets and necklaces.\(^5\) It must, however, be remembered that the dress varied according to their position in society. The aesthetic sense of the people was so much developed that men took it a fancy to wear necklaces\(^6\).

It is, therefore, natural that the people with such aesthetic sense had a lofty ideal of feminine beauty. Kannada literature of the period is full of descriptions of feminine charms, which are often found in inscriptions as well. The following is one of such descriptions as furnished by a Sinda record: “The lustre of her body was the water; if you regard it, her delicate arms were the lines of waves; her eyes were the opening buds; her smiling mouth was the lotus; and the curls upon her forehead were the black-bees and her breasts were like two Chakrayāka birds.”\(^7\)

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CHAPTER IX

RELIGION

It is generally said, and rightly too, that if there is anything in which a race expresses itself completely and in its innermost qualities, that thing is its religion. This remark, we believe, applies more fittingly to ancient India where religion was the dominant factor in the cultural life of the nation. Hence a short account of the religions and the religious conceptions of the Kannada race during the period of our study will greatly help us in estimating the contributions of Karnataka to Indian culture.

The eleventh and the twelfth centuries, occupied by the Mahāmandalāśvaras, mark the most important period in the religious history of the province. It was in this period that the predominance of Jainism began to wane, Vaishnavism under Rāmānuja came to stay, Viraśaivism as preached by Basava caught the popular imagination and lastly the declining Buddhism died a natural death. In fact, it was an age when Karnataka witnessed great religious changes almost revolutionary.

First turning to Buddhism, we find that it was fast declining, though a few traces of it are recorded in inscriptions. Thus an epigraph of the reign of Vikramāditya VI states the existence at Dharmanovālalu (modern Dambal in the Dharwar district) of a Vihāra or temple of Buddha which had been built by the sixteen Śeṭṭis of that place, and of another Vihāra of Tārādēvi, the object of the inscription being certain grants to these two Vihāras1. Another record of A. D. 1065 informs us that a certain Daṇḍanāyaka Rūpa-Bhaṭṭayya who was in charge of the eighteen Agrahāras, established a Buddha Vihāra at Balligāve2. Again an inscription coming from the same place says that Balligāve-

was famous for its five mathas and the temples of Jina, Rudra, Buddha and Harā. The same fact is repeated by another epigraph of A. D. 1129. This is perhaps the last mention of a Buddhist temple in Karnataka, so far as lithic records are concerned.

It is interesting to note, by the way, that a woman by name Nagiyakka was the Sāvāsi of this Buddha Vihāra in A. D. 1098.

Buddhism seems to have been under the patronage of at least a few Mahāmanḍalēśvaras and state officials even in this period when it had fallen on evil days. For we have definite evidence to show that a certain Mahāśāmanta Gōvi was a staunch supporter of this creed. Similarly, in the year A.D. 1110, the Silāhāra Mahāmanḍalēśvara of Kolhapur "constructed a large tank and placed on its margin an idol of Buddha along with those of Śiva and Arhat, and assigned lands for their support".

The bulk of Buddhists in this period appears to have been formed by the merchant class. We have already seen above that the monastery at Dambal owed its existence to the charity of sixteen merchants of the Vaishya community. Further we are told by another inscription found at the same place that in the Cālukya Vikrama year 23, fifty Telligas (oil-sellers), having met in an assembly, made a gift of oil for the purpose of a perpetual lamp to be lighted in the above mentioned Buddha temple.

Turning to contemporary literature, we find that the famous Jain writer Hēmacandra mentions two Buddha monks at the court of the Kadamba Mahāmanḍalēśvara Jayakēsi I of Goa, who reigned from 1050 A. D. to 1080.

It may, however, be noted in this connection that Buddhism was never a popular faith in the land of Karnataka. True, the great emperor Asoka did his best to propagate it in the Kannada country, as his edicts, found near Chital-drug amply show. But in spite of his efforts Buddhism did not strike deep root in Kannada soil. According to Mr. Hayavadana Rao, Buddhism was eclipsed by Jainism which was more tolerant of ritualism. One great advantage that Jainism seems to have possessed over Buddhism was that the former was backed by the ruling dynasties of the day, notably the Gaṅgas and the Kadambas, whilst the latter lacked this local influence of political nature.

Having said so much about Buddhism, let us now turn our attention to Jainism. Jainism seems to have been the faith of a large number of people in the days of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras. It is now an admitted fact that the Cālukya emperors were not the followers of Jainism; but at the same time they were the supporters of it. This is evident from many inscriptions that have come down to us. The Bēlūr inscription of Jayasimha II tells us that his sister, Akkādēvi was practising the religious observances of Jina, Buddha as well as those of Vishnu and Śiva. The object of this inscription was to record a grant to the Pērūr Agrahāra in memory of her elder brother Vikramāditya V. A feudatory chief of Vikramāditya VI, we are told, established a temple named Gonka-Jinālaya in the centre of his capital Tēradal. The inscription describes the builder Gonka as "the virtuous champion of Jainism". We are further informed that Sōmēśvara I conferred the title of Śabda-Caturmukha on a Jaina preceptor. A record of Sōmēśvaran III tells us that one of his Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras Mahāsimhadēśvarasa allotted the block of the boundaries of the rice land for the performance of various rites of the god Ākāśāleya Pārśvanātha.

Deva connected with the temple of Manikyadēva. A certain faithful and beloved feudatory of Somēśvara II built the mallikāmōda Śāntinātha Basadi and with the permission of the emperor made gifts to it. When Barmadēvarasa was a viceroy of Vikramaditya VI, ruling over the Banavāse and Sāntalige provinces, he was persuaded by a certain Jain, called Pratikanṭa singayya, to obtain a village from Ballavarasa and give it to the Pemmāḍibasadi at Balligāve. This, the emperor sanctioned. From the name of the basadi it appears that it was first established by Vikrama himself when he was a prince and as such was ruling over Banavāse.

It will thus be seen that the Cālukyas were patrons of Jainism, though their personal creed was Hinduism. Their love for Jainism was so great that many of their inscriptions begin with the invocation addressed to Siva and Jina. This led some scholars even to doubt whether the Cālukyas were of Jaina faith. Thus for instance, Dr. Burnell was inclined to think that the Cālukyas were originally Jainas.

Among the Mahāmāndalēśvaras, the Raṭṭas of Saundatti stand pre-eminent as the followers and supportors of Jainism during the period of our study. We have already seen elsewhere that the Raṭṭas were raised to political power by the Rāshtrakūṭas. It was thus natural for this feudatory dynasty to support Jainism which found some of its greatest patrons among the Rāshtrakūṭa emperors. Later on when the Raṭṭas came under the sovereignty of the Cālukyas, they did not think it advisable to change their faith though they changed their overlords. This was typical of the time which breathed an atmosphere of religious toleration.

(1) Ind. Ant., X, p. 131.
The Raṭṭa inscription found at Mulagunda begins with an invocation to Candraprabha who was the cause of the diffusion of the sacred writings of Jina\(^1\). Another epigraph which comes from Saundatti, records several distinct grants to Jaina temples.\(^2\) In this record we find that the first of the Baisas who attained some political position was Prithvirama, the son of Meraḍa, who enjoyed it under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Krishṇa, and that previous to his elevation he had been a Jaina religious student of the Kārīya sect of the holy saint Mallāpatīrtha. It will thus be seen that the Baisas from the very beginning were Jainas by faith. Another lithic record found at the same place registers a grant of one hundred and fifty mattars of land by king Sānta or Sāntivarma, the grandson of Paṭṭiga, to a Jaina temple that he had built at Sugandhavarti, and a grant of the same amount to the same temple by Sāntivarma’s mother Nāgiyabbe.\(^3\) Again another inscription, discovered at Saundatti, records a grant to the Jaina temple made by the bountiful prince Bhāgalādevi and her husband, the great Raṭṭa chieftain king Kārtavirya II.\(^4\) Unfortunately, “the details of this grant”, says Dr. Fleet, “could not be clearly made out”.

Coming to the reign of Kārtavirya IV, we find that he too, like his predecessors, was a great patron of Jainism. The Kalhōli inscription informs us that, at the command of Kārtavirya, certain grants were made to a Jaina temple that had just been built as Sindana-Kalpole.\(^5\) The purpose of this grant was to provide food, wholesome medicine and instruction in the sacred scriptures for the holy men living there, as well as for repairs of the temple Of the reign of

\(^1\) Fleet, Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundati and Belgaum, J. B. B. R. A. S., X, p. 192.

\(^2\) Ibid., p. 194.

\(^3\) Ibid., p. 204.

\(^4\) Ibid., p. 213. \(^5\) Ibid., p. 229.
the next king Lakshmidēva II we have an inscription which proceeds to record various grants of land made to the Jaina temple at Saundatti, at the command of the royal preceptor Municandradēva. Similar examples from the Raṭṭa records can be cited. But we believe that these are more than enough to convince us that the Raṭṭas were the staunch supporters of Jainism.

It should not, however, be supposed that Jainism flourished only at the Royal courts of Saundatti and Belgaum. In fact, it was the faith of a considerably large number of people living in the Kūndī province, the dominion of the Raṭṭas. The Kalpoḷe inscription noticed above mentions a family of Yādava Chieftains who were governing the district of Hagaraṭage under the Raṭṭas. What should be noted, in this connection, is that this minor feudatory family too was Jaina by faith. It describes the King Rāja, the most famous chieftain of this dynasty, as a great Jaina patron. The epigraph reads: "Other kings are addicted to the forbidden recreations of gaming, hunting, eating flesh, associating with courtzans, running after others' wives, mixing with low people, stealing, and unfair ram-fighting and cock-fighting;..............; but even apart from that, are they like you, O king Rāja: devoted to the worship of Jina and to giving gifts to world-renowned saints?" It further proceeds: "King Rāja.............whose head is even purified by the fragrant waters of the rites of the Jaina religion, who ever relates the legends of religion, a very moon to the ocean of nectar of the doctrine of Jina,........... caused to be created at Kalpoḷe, which is the best town in the whole world a temple of Jina, wonderful to be beheld, the diadem of the earth, having three pinnacles that are unequalled, so that Brahma and Vishṇu and Śiva were charmed with it and said, "The Jain religion is the spotless religion."

(1) Ibid., p. 273.
Religion

The inscription continues: "Thus king Rāja, the
beloved of the goddess Śrī in the form of unceasing hap-

piness, having created at Sindan-Kalpojė a place of retreat for
the high minded devotees of the god Sāntinātha (Jina),
adorned with golden pinnacles and arched portals fashioned
like a sea-monster and pillars of honour, gave it to Subha-
candra Bhūṭṭaraka, who was considered his own spiritual
preceptor".¹

We have already remarked that Jainism was a popular
creed professed by a good number of people in the Kundi
province. This opinion is corroborated by epigraphical
evidence. The Mulagunda inscription tells us that the
four headmen of certain guilds, belonging to a district, gave
a field of the measure of one thousand betel-plants to the
Jaina temple of the place. And to that same temple of Jaina
the Brahmans of the family of Ballāna, with the consent of
two thousand merchants, gave a field of the measure of one
thousand betel plants in that same field of Kāṇada-verma
māia.² It is recorded in another inscription that the
merchants of some four towns convened themselves toger-
ther into a great assembly and set apart certain contributions for
the purposes of perpetually anointing the god Sāntinātha of
Sindana-Kalpojė.³ And all the people of the districts, headed
by all the guilds of the place called Ėlūvare and the place
called Hannondāvare, made some contributions to the same
God.⁴ The above references conclusively prove that
Jainism found special favour among the trading communities
of the period.

Though Jainism was thus professed in the Cālukyan
Empire by a considerable portion of its population, it
now ceased to be the "conquering religion that it was".
If Jainism ever had its golden age in the history of Karnā-

(1) Fleet, Inscriptions Relating to the Raṭṭa Chieftains of Saundatti:
p. 238. (4) Ibid.
taka, it was under the Gaṅgas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The personal creed of the Cālukyas was Hinduism. Hence Jainism could not command so much of political influence as it once did under the patronage of the earlier dynasties. What is more, it now began to wane and by the time the Cālukyan Empire disappeared from history, it ceased to exist as a prominent force in the land of its previous glory. This change was brought about by the operation of a series of causes which we note below.

First of all, the influence of Śankarācārya was not without its effects on other religions. His teachings gained much ground during the ninth and the tenth centuries; and Hinduism assumed the form of an active converting creed. Unfortunately for Jainism the great philosopher-teacher made Śrīnāgarī, in the very heart of Karnatakā, his headquarters and there established the principle seat of his faith.¹

Secondly, the fall of the Gaṅga kingdom of Talakāḍ in A. D. 1004 and the wide conquests and temporary dominion of the Cōla kings, as Mr. Rice observes,² was one of the main causes for the decline of the Jaina creed. Rājendrā Cōla and his successors were not only staunch supporters of Saivism, but powerful enemies of Jainism. They are sometimes described to have ravaged the country as far as Puliγere, destroying the Jaina shrines. For example, the Gavarvād inscription of Sōmēśhvara II tells us that when the Cōla king Rājendrā-Dēva invaded Belvola he burned down many temples, and desecrated and damaged the Jaina sanctuaries; but he paid the penalty of his crimes by being defeated and slain by Sōmēśvara I. The words describing the wicked deed of the Cōla monarch are worth quoting. The inscription reads: "When the base Cōla, falling in his position, deserting the religious practice of his own race, set foot upon the province of Belvola and burned

¹ Ep. Car., VI, Sg., 11. (2) Rice E. P., A History of Kanaressa Litera-

down a multitude of temples, he gave his live head in battle to Trailokyamalla, suddenly up the ghost, and brought about the desertion of his family so that his guilt bore a harvest in his hand."

"That deadly sinner the Tivul, styled the Pāṇḍya-Cūla, when he had polluted these temples of the supreme Jainas erected by the blest Permānadi, sank into ruin."

Thirdly, the conversion of the Jain king Bīṣṭidēva (A.D. 1117-1137) of the Hoysala dynasty by Rāmānuja was another shock which Jainism had to sustain. Rāmānuja's work did not stop with the conversion of the king. He is said to have stayed at Dwārasamudra for more than twenty years during which period he was able to build a large Vaishnavite community in South Karnatak.

But the greatest blow ever dealt to Jainism in South India was the revival of Vīrāśaivism in the twelfth century under the able guidance of Basavēsvara who by the nobility of his mind and sincerity of his soul stirred the very spiritual life of the Kannada race and created a powerful religious sect called the Lingāyat.

Coming to Śaivism, we find that it was the most popular faith adopted by a large majority of the subjects. This is evident from many inscriptions which begin with an invocation to god Śambhu. If the Raṭṭas and the Śenāvaras were Jainas, the Sindas, the Guttas, and the Pāṇḍyas were all Śaivas. The predominant influence of this faith can be well judged by the fact that even two of the Raṭṭa inscriptions, contain verses in praise of Śiva. One of these records describes Siva in the following glowing terms: "Reverence to Śambhu, who is made beautiful by a Cowri which is the

moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds.”

Then the inscription proceeds to invoke Gaṇapatī and Pārvatī. What is more interesting, the epigraph prays to Lord Śiva to “grant the fulfillment of the desires that are born in the race of the Raṭhas.”

It is needless to emphasize that the Sīndas were Śaivas. We have seen elsewhere that they claimed to be the descendants of Śiva himself. From the union in love of Śiva and Sīndhu was born a son who eventually came to fame as the “Long-armed” (niḍūḍāl) Sīnda, the founder of the dynasty. Besides, the inscriptions refer to liberal endowments made by the Sīnda chiefs to Śaiva sanctuaries. Thus the king Īśvaradēva of the Belagutti branch is said to have made grants of land to certain Śaiva teachers who were famous for their religious knowledge. Mallidēvarasa of the same dynasty made a grant of land for the service of the god Siddhēsvara and freed it from the artisan’s tax, oil-mill tax bīravāṇa, the family tax on bullocks, herjjunk, koḷavīṣa and hāndarahanā after washing the feet of Sankarāsi Pāṇḍita. King Permādideva I of the Yelburga house is described as one “who has for the ornament of his ears the listening of Śaiva traditions.” He was one of those who “acquired the most excellent favour of the God Śrīkanthadēva”.

The Pāṇḍyas, like the Sīndas, appear to have been Śaivas. This is clear from their inscriptions which record liberal endowments made by them to various Śaiva temples. Thus, the Mahāmāndalēśvara Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya is stated to have made certain grants to the Śaiva agrahāra of Bāda on the application of the Brahmanas of that institution

and remitted certain taxes. Similarly Vijaya Pándya constructed a tank for the god Jagatiśvar and made certain endowments for various purposes including decoration, worship and offerings to the God. Similar instances can be easily multiplied.

It is a well known fact, stated in inscriptions, that the family god of the Gotta Mahāmañḍalēśvaras of Guttal was Śiva under the name of Mahākāla of Ujjayani.

Thus then, it is crystal clear that many of the great feudatory families of the day were the worshippers of Śiva, though their overlords belonged to the Vaishnava faith. But at the same time it is noteworthy that the Čālukyas were so much influenced by the Śaiva cult that Bihāra in the Viḥramānākaḍāvacharīla introduced Śiva thrice to instruct the hero of the work. The patronage that Śaivism received at the hands of the Čālukyas is amply illustrated by the fact that kings lent their names to Śaiva sanctuaries built either by them or their officers. Hence we see temples of Śiva bearing the names of Jagadēkamallēśvara, Mallikāmodēśvara, Akkēśvara, Sōnēśvara and so on. The popularity of Śaivism is further amplified by the fact that out of the thirteen inscriptions found at Puli five are Śaiva, three are Vaishnava, two Jaina, one belonging to the cult of Harihara while the rest two are non-sectarian hero-stones.

One prominent Śaiva sect of the period under survey was that connected with the Kālāmukhas. These are described in inscriptions as having come to Karnataka from the distant Kashmir, though we do not know when and how. Dr. Bhandarkar tells us that the Kālāmukhas were a religious class eating food in a skull, besmearing the body with the ashes of a dead body, eating the ashes, holding a

club, keeping a pot of wine and worshipping the God as seated therein.¹ They were the followers of a Śaiva system of philosophy associated with an ancient teacher by name Lākulīśa, who according to Mr. Rice, can be traced back as far as the first century A. D.² But the earliest mention in Karnatakā of the Kālāmukhas is in the Nandi plates of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvind III. This epigraph contains a date corresponding to December 18th A. D. 807, on which day a grant of a village was made by the above mentioned king to Iśvaradāsa the head of the temple at Nandi. This Iśvaradāsa, the head of the temple at Nandi, is styled a Kālāmukha and the disciple of Kālaśaktī in the Chik-Ballāpur plates dated A. D. 810, which records a grant of the former on behalf of the temple.³

These Kālāmukhas appear to have gained much influence in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries when they were in a flourishing condition throughout the Kannada country. They are generally referred to in the inscriptions as managing great educational institutions attached to Śaiva temples. These were called Maṭhas, the most famous among them being the one at Belgāme in the neighbouring territory of the Sindas of Belguttī, and the other at Hūli in the Kūndi province of the Raṭṭas. We learn from the records that these mathas were presided by very able pontiffs who were the recepients of the patronage of the emperors, feudatory chiefs and governors. Thus the Kālāmukha teacher Jnānaśaktī of Pūli was a distinguished divine and scholar to whom king Bhuvanaika-malla (Sōmēśvara II) paid particular reverence, in connection with which a fine temple of Śiva was built.⁴

These Kālāmukhas appear to have been great educationist from whose influence even the kings and the feudatory

chiefs could not be immune. Some of them bore the title "Rājaguru" which clearly implies that they were appointed as teachers to royal families. Of these Rājagurus mention may be made of Śivēṣyaraśakti (A. D. 1071) of Kuppaiūr, Vāmaśakti (A. D. 1160) of Belgāme, and Kriyaśakti (A. D. 1206) of Asandī. Dr. Venkatasubbaih tells us that the Kālāmukhas were divided into divisions and sub-divisions called parshe or āvali and santati. It is further interesting to note that some of these preceptors were celibates.  

We do not know why and at what time these Kālāmukhas disappeared from Karnatakā. But so much is certain that their influence was greatly reduced by the revival of Viraśaivism in the twelfth century. It is true that the Kālāmukhas were also Saivas like the Lingāyats. But Basavēśvara who revolted against the caste system did not favour the Śaivism of this sect which was orthodox and narrow in its outlook. A study of the educational maṭhas and agrahāras managed by the Kālāmukhas is quite a fascinating one. But as we are here concerned with religion rather than education, we shall speak of them in detail in the proper place.

Side by side with the Kālāmukhas there existed a class of Saiva ascetics called Goravas, who were held very sacred by all Hindus including Vaiṣṇavas. A Vaiṣṇava inscription of A. D. 1082 which records a grant to a temple of Vishṇu, states that "to him who appropriates and destroys the grants shall accrue the guilt of downright cold-blooded slaughter of Brahmans, Goravas, herds of kine and women".

As has been remarked above, Vaishnivism was another popular creed in the Cālukyan Empire. Many of their records state that the boar emblem was a boon granted to the Cālukyas by the god Nārāyaṇa. Thus in the Harihara plates of Vinayāditya Satyāśraya, the Cālukyas claim to be of mānavya gōtra, sons of Hārīti nourished by the seven Mothers of the world, owing to their good fortune to Karttikeya and subjecting all kings in a moment at the sight of the Boar ensign obtained from Nārāyaṇu. Moreover “their very emblem the boar represents the incarnation of Vishnu. Some of their titles such as Vīranārāyaṇa, Cālukya-Nārāyaṇa, Rāya-Nārāyaṇa etc., speak for the supremacy the religion enjoyed during their days. From the boar crest, acquired according to their tradition from god Vishnu himself, and from the invocation in the beginning of all their records irrespective of their sectarian subjects, it is plain that the family god of the Cālukyas was Vishnu”.

It is worthy of note that this period saw the worship of Harihara, a god brought to prominence with an idea to reconcile rival sects of the Vaishnavas and the Śaivas. This Harihara, the combined deity, is sometimes mentioned by the name Śankara-Nārāyaṇa in some records. A Pāṇḍya inscription of A. D. 1171 begins with an invocation to Harihara and records a grant to the temple of Svayambhu Śankara-Nārāyaṇa. It appears that some people began to realize the importance of both Śiva and Vishnu. Those who believed in this were anxious to spread their new cult among others. With this object in view temples dedicated to Harihara came to be built. An inscription from Hüli dated 1097 A. D. pays homage to god Harihara of that place, established by a certain Ajjavana Nākimayya. The reason

1) Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, No. 132.
that led to the foundation of a Harihara shrine has been clearly stated in an epigraph that comes from Dāvanagere. “Some saying that beside Hari there is no god in the earth and some saying that beside Hara there is no god in the earth, in order to remove the doubts of mankind, was assumed with glory in Kūḍalūr the one form of Harihara. May he with affection preserve us. The celebrated Śiva acquire the form of Vishnu, Vishnu acquired the great and famous form of Śiva, in order that this saying of the Veda might be fully established, in Kūḍal there stood forth in a single form praised by the world, Harihara,—May he protect the earth”.

Among other deites that were worshipped mention may be made of Brahma and Śūrya. We hear of a temple at the famous town of Balligāve dedicated to god Brahma. ‘There the temples of Hari, Hara, Kamalāsana, Vitarāja and Buddha, like the five arrows in the world, shine as the five mathas in that city.” Similarly an inscription from the Bādami Tālukā refers to a temple dedicated to Hari, Hara and Brahma.

Sun-worship, though not common, was in existence. A record of A.D. 1139 states that the Prabhu of Māvali in the Nāgarakhandā Seventy had an image of Śūrya with race made, and set it up. Again, we learn from an inscription found at Māgal that the king’s treasurer and the Mahājanas of Mamgōla made some grants to a temple of Siva, Vishnu and Śūrya, built by one Marmarasa.

The most important event in the cultural and religious history of Karnataka in the days of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras was the great revival of Vīraśaivism which superseded the Jains and ousted the Brahmans. The origin of this powerful movement is attributed to a certain Brāhmaṇa called

Ekāntada Rāmayya. The full story of this originator is recorded in an inscription in the temple of Sōmanātha at Ablūr in the Dharwar district. The inscription belongs to the reign of the Mahāmanḍalēśvara Kāmadēva of the family of the Kadambas of Hāṅgal who reigned, according to Dr. Fleet, from A. D. 1181 to 1203. The story may be summarised in the following words:—To a Šaiva Brāhmaṇa, an inhabitant of the town Ālande, there was born a son named Rāma who became an ardent devotee of Siva. While visiting various Šaiva places of pilgrimage he once came to Abbalūr which was a strong-hold of Jainism and an influential establishment of the Šaivas. Here he got into controversy with the Jainas, who, led by one of the village-headmen sought to interrupt and put a stop to his devotions. Some wager was made, the terms of it being recorded in writing in a palmyra-leaf, on the result of which the Jainas staked their god and their faith. Rāmayya won the wager. But the Jainas refused to do what they had pledged themselves to do, namely to destroy their Jina and set up a Siva instead of it. Consequently Rāmayya himself overturned the Jina-mūrti and laid waste the shrine. The Jainas then complained to Bijjala who sent for Rāma and questioned him as to why he had committed an outrage on the Jainas. Thereupon Rāmayya produced the writing on the palmyra-leaf, and asked Bijjala to deposit it in his treasury, and offered that, if the Jainas would wager once again he would repeat the feat which he had already 'once accomplished. The miracle which Rāmayya successfully performed was to this effect. After singing the praise of Siva he cut off his own head and laid it at the feet of Siva. On the seventh day the head came back to him and he was again alive. The Jainas would not face the test again. So Bijjala, laughing at them, dismissed them with the advice that thenceforward they should live in peace with their neighbours. Moreover, the king gave

(1) Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, pp. 559, 563.
a Jayapatra (or certificate of victory) to Rāmayya. Bijjala, fully appreciating the single-minded devotion of Rāmayya, granted to his temple of Vira-Somanātha a village. The miracle performed by Rāmayya was repeated before Cālukya Sōmēśvara IV in a public assembly, and he similarly made a grant of another village to the same temple. And finally, the Mahāmanḍalēśvara Kāmadēva summoned Rāmayya to Hāngal and made a similar grant.¹ Eliminating the supernatural agency, nothing is inconsistent in this account.

To Basava, however, belongs the real credit of popularizing the Vīraśaiva faith and giving it a new turn by his novel doctrines. Some incidents from his life are found narrated in many Kannada works such as Basava Purāṇa-Cannabasava-Purāṇa, Singi-Rāja-Purāṇa, Basavarājadēva-Ragāle, Vraṣabhēndra-Vijaya and Bijjala-Rāya-Cāritra. Of these the first two are famous as they form the sacred literature of the Lingāyats. According to these Purāṇas, the traditional story of Basava is as follows:—

There lived in Bāgēwādi in the Bijapur district a certain Brāhmaṇa Mādirāja and his wife Mādalāmbika. A son was born to them who, being an incarnation of Nandi, was named Basava. When the usual time of the sacred-thread ceremony arrived, Basava, then eight years of age, refused to be invested with the Yajnopaveetam, declaring himself as one who had come to destroy the distinctions of caste on earth. Baladēva, the maternal uncle of Basava, who was the prime-minister of Bijjala was much pleased with his nephew’s singular wisdom and piety, and gave him his daughter Gangadēvi in marriage.² In course of time, the Brāhmaṇas began to persecute Basava for the novel practices propounded by him. As a result of this, Basava was

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¹ Ep. Ind., V, pp. 245-252.
² Summaries of these Purāṇas have been published in the J. B. B R. A. S., Vol. VIII. (3) J. B. B. R. A. S., VIII, p. 67.
compelled to leave his town. He then went to a village named Kappaḍi and spent his early life in attaining knowledge at the feet of god Sangamēśvara. Meanwhile, Buhadeva died; and the king was pleased to appoint Basava in his father-in-law’s place. Basava did not readily accept the office, but at last, with the hope that the influence attached to the post would help him in propagating his doctrines, he accepted the offer and consequently became the prime minister. The king now gave Basava his younger sister Nilaločanā in marriage with a view to bind him as closely as possible.

Basava had a sister Nāgalāmbika who had a son called Cannabasava or Basava the beautiful, who was considered as the incarnation of Sanmukha the son of Siva. Both Basava and Cannabasava began to propagate with great energy the doctrines of their new faith, helped by the political position in which they were placed. Bijjala had another minister by name Mancanna who was the enemy of Basava. Basava used to spend large sums of money from the king’s treasury to support the Lingāyat priests called Jangamas. Taking this as a favourable opportunity, Mancanna informed the king of the expenditure incurred by Basava. Thus, Basava’s behaviour naturally aroused in Bijjala, who was a Jain, feelings of uneasiness and distrust. And at last an event occurred which ended in the murder of Bijjala and the death of Basava.

At Kalyāna, there were two pious Lingāyats named Halleyaga and Madhuvayya whom Bijjala caused to be blinded. Thereupon Basava left Kalyāna for Kūḍala Sangameśvara and ordered Jagadeva to murder the king. Jagadeva with the help of two friends succeeded in entering the palace and stabbed Bijjala. As a result of this, civil war ensued in the city; and hearing this Basava was absorbed in the God Sangameśvara.

(1) Ibid., p. 69 (2) J. B. B. R. A. S., VIII, p. 70. (3) Ibid., p. 95.
The Jain account gives a different version. It states that Basava had a very beautiful sister whom the king took as a concubine. As to the murder of Bijjala, it gives us the following information: The King had been on an expedition to Kolhapur to subdue the Silāhāra Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara who perhaps rose against his overlord. On his way back to Kalyāṇa, a Jangama sent by Basava and disguised as a Jain presented the king with a poisoned fruit. As soon as the king smelted it, he became senseless and died. When lying on his death bed, Bijjala called his son in his presence and asked him to take revenge putting Basava to death. Immadi Bijjala accordingly began to hunt out the Jangamas and persecuted them ruthlessly. On hearing this Basava, to save his own life, fled to Uṇavi and committed suicide by throwing himself in a well. Cannabasava however surrendered all his uncle's property and was admitted to royal favour.

The story, as narrated in the Basavaṇāja-deva-Ragale, differs in many points from the accounts given above. In the Rājale we are told that Basava lost his parents early in his boyhood and was brought up by his grand-mother. He was staying with her until he was sixteen when he realized the mission of his life and consequently left Bagāwādi in search of knowledge, casting aside the sacred thread, which he wore. Balādēva the uncle of Basava is not at all mentioned in this work. Basava is said to have entered the services of one Siddha-Dandēśa, the treasurer of Bijjala, on an annual pay of one hundred and one honnus. After the death of Siddhadandēśa, Basava was raised to the position of the treasurer. As to the murder of the king, the account states that Basava was responsible for it.

(1) Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, p. 481.
(2) Basavaraja-deva-Ragale, Sthala II.
(3) Basavaraja-deva-Ragale, Sthala 5.
(4) Sṛṇivasa Moorty, Bhakti-Bhandari Basavannanavaru p. 85.
It is to be remembered that the Purāṇas are full of doctrinal expositions, recitals of mythology and super-natural elements including the miracles worked by Basava. We therefore attach very little importance to them as a source of historical information. Dr. Fleet has the following remarks on these works:—"There are, however, no apparent reasons for attributing, either to the Lingāyat Purāṇas, or the Jain poem, any greater historical accuracy than other Hindu works of the same class have been found to possess. And on the contrary, there are fair grounds for questioning the correctness of the narratives given by them. The Lingāyat and the Jain accounts differ very markedly; to a far greater extent than can be accounted for on simply the supposition of a representation of the facts from different sectarian points of view". Moreover, the Purāṇas and the Jain poems were composed centuries after the time they treat of. Basava Purāṇa belongs to the later half of the fourteenth century, Conna Basava-Purāṇa to the close of the sixteenth, and Bijjaḷa Rāya Chārirā to the middle of the seventeenth.

We are, however, concerned with the ideals for which Basava stood rather than with the mere details of his life. Yet, before trying to understand his doctrines, it is but necessary that we should have a correct idea of the sort of man that he was. By some strange co-incidence of fate Basava is known to history as a great religious reformer on the one hand, and a base murderer on the other. This charge levelled against him has to be carefully examined in the light of reason before the verdict is finally pronounced by the historian. Scholars who readily believe in the sectarian Purāṇas and accounts of a rival sect naturally think that Basava was the instigator of Bijjaḷa’s murder. Dr. Bhandarkar

(1) Fleet, Kanaree Dynasties, p. 481.
belongs to this class of writers when he clearly says that "the principle incidents, however, may be relied on as historical".

Dr. Fleet, as quoted above, completely ignores the Purāṇas and does not even believe in the murder of Bijjala. From an inscription found at Belgāmve he draws the conclusion that Bijjala was not the reigning king at the time of his death, and that he had abdicated in favour of his eldest son Rāyamūrāri. To this Mr. Sreenivasa Moorty says that Dr. Fleet’s interpretation of the words used in the inscription is not correct, and further proves from epigraphical records that Rāyamūrāri Śōvidēva was set upon the throne by a certain general Mādbava who killed the reigning king Kāṇadēva, the grandson of Bijjala. As we are not at all concerned with the political history of the Kalacūris, we do not enter into the controversy. Accepting Mr. Sreenivasa Moorty’s conclusions, which seem to be more reasonable, we believe in the murder of Bijjala. Then the next question as to who was responsible for it naturally arises.

In our opinion, if such traditional accounts written either with a blind faith to one’s own religion (as in the case of the Lingāyat Purāṇas), or with an enmity to other’s creed (as in the case of the Jaina poem), are to be always believed, then the history of India will have to be revised. If we believe in the cruelty of Basava shown to Bijjala why not also believe the story told by the monks of Ceylon that the Emperor Aśoka slaughtered 98 or 99 brothers in order to clear his way to the throne?

To this inquiry Dr. Smith answers that the story is "absurd and false". "The grotesque tales about Aśoka’s

(1) Bhandarkar, Early History of the Dekkan, p. 93.
(2) Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, pp. 476-477 and 484.
(3) Sreenivasa Moorty, Bhakti Bhandhari Basavannanavaru, pp. 84-92.
(4) V. A. Smith, Oxford History of India, p. 93. (5) Ibid.
alleged abnormal wickedness prior to his conversion to Buddhism, which were current in the north as well as in the south are equally baseless and obviously concocted for the purpose of edification"). This is the opinion of Dr. Smith. How is it, then, that the doctor came to such a conclusion? What are his sources besides the traditional lore? These are the questions that one may naturally ask. To this the doctor replies that "the only sound foundation for his (Aśoka’s) history is to be found in his numerous and wonderful inscriptions". These inscriptions, as we all know, are full of Aśoka’s preachings, instructions and sermons which he addressed to his subjects from time to time. And the historians have accepted his sayings as the main source of reliable evidence. Similarly, we too have to search after similar sources, if there are any, with a view to understand the real Basava. And fortunately enough we come across a vast body of literature embodying the sayings of Basava which have been recorded by him from time to time "as expressing the thoughts that were passing through his mind". These sayings which are called Vacanas in Kannada very closely resemble the sermons of Aśoka in the sense that they too were meant to instruct the people. These Vacanas bring the real Basava before our eyes. With the help of these sayings, let us, therefore, proceed to examine whether Basava was a man who could have stooped to such a mean act as to instigate a religious murder.

Basava always preached love for mankind; and had great pity for all living creatures. He says, "Do not kill ... Be not angry. Have no contempt for others. This is internal purity. This is external purity".3

"You should look upon all creatures as yourself .... If you look upon all lives and souls as equal, will not God make himself one with you? You show mercy to all living creatures, believing that wherever there is life there is God, will not Kūḍala Sangama Dēva come down from Kailās and carry you up?"¹ "What is that religion wherein there is no mercy? It is mercy that is wanted for all creatures. It is mercy that is the root of religion".² With these sayings before us, how can we believe that Basava showed no mercy to king Bijjāla. Again he would say:—"Ah, I cannot kill animals, nor can I eat their flesh".³ Is it then possible for him who could not even kill an animal to cause a man to be killed?

Basava again and again advises his friends not to be carried away by passions. He asks them never to get angry: "What is the use of being angry with those who are angry with us? How does it matter whether anger is against others or oneself? A man's anger is injurious to his own goodness. It is a fall from wisdom. God Kūḍala Sangama, does the fire in one house burn the neighbouring house without first burning the house where it rose?".⁴ "If I see people talking sixteen to a dozen, glaring with their eyes, tearing their hair and clenching their fists, I am afraid of them and run away. Let me be called coward for running away from them".⁵

Can the historian believe that a man who spoke the above words with deep sincerity would allow himself to be carried away by anger and instigate a murder?

"O my mind, do not hurt others in speech".⁶ "As long as you cannot give up cruelty ... where are you, and where is linga??".

Such sayings, which can be quoted easily at length, clearly show that Basava felt a love for mankind. "Love of mankind, pity for mankind, pity indeed for all lives," says Mr. Venkatesha Iyengar, "was the central fact of Basavaṇṇa's religious teachings". It is therefore beyond all canons of justice and reason to believe that Basava instigated the cruel murder of Bijaḷa, an act which was so contrary to the great principles that he preached.

Who then is the culprit? And how is it that the Lingayat writers believed in the alleged part played by Basava? Unless we answer these questions, our defence of Basava cannot be complete.

Whenever a new religious movement comes to be launched, it has to face severe attacks from many quarters. The orthodox element in the society, clinging to its old faith, naturally leads the opposition. Both the parties try to hold their own, and religious enthusiasm gets strong. The mob, regardless of reason, becomes furious, and fanaticism is the result. The same course of events seems to have followed the great religious movement started by Basava. Fanatics arose, and being led by the enraged mob, entered the court and stabbed the king. It is immaterial for our present purpose to know who actually led the mob and murdered the king. Suffice to say that Basava was innocent. The situation had already got out of his hand. He, therefore, left the city with a heavy heart laden with deep sorrow, denouncing the wicked deed committed by his co-religionists.

The news of Bijaḷa's death spread in the city like wild fire. The fanatics received it with joy. Civil war ensued. Greatly encouraged with its success, the mob wanted to declare that the act of destroying the enemy would amount to a sacred duty to one's religion. And to show that even

Basava approved of it, they naturally invented the story that it was he himself that instigated the murder. The story was soon accepted by the people as true, as the public is always prone to believe such false rumours in excited times. As years rolled on, it assumed the form of tradition. And unfortunately enough, the later Lingayat writers incorporated it into their accounts, without thinking in the least that the future historians of India would make capital out of it and depict Basava as a mean murderer.

We have seen above that Basava adopted the principle of Ahimsa, and felt a love for all living creatures. Besides being revolutionary, he was a great thinker and a man of remarkable independence and courage. As a social reformer, he was far ahead of his times. The soul-killing caste system of the Hindus was the worst evil from which the society was suffering. Untouchability was playing the havoc, denying even the most elementary rights of mankind to the depressed classes. Basava could not tolerate this injustice. He denounced the Varnasrama Dharma and raised a voice against it. He rejected the ancient Sastras and appealed to reason. Dry disputations of the Sanskrit Pandits, he hated. Untouchability had no place in his scheme. He condemns the caste system in the following language:

"The Vedas trembled and trembled; the Sstras retired and stood aside; Logic became dumb; the Agamas went out and withdrew; for our Kudala sangama Deva dined in the house of Channayya the Holeya (untouchable)" 1. "None but the ancients can know it. O stop, stop: Only the devotee of God is of the highest caste. Hence no distinction of caste should be observed. He is neither born or unborn. The servant of Kudala Sangama Dva is limitless." In another Vacana he says, "When a devotee comes to

(1) Ind. Ant., Vol., LI, p. 40. (2) Ibid.
my house, with the symbol of God on his person, if I then ask him what his caste is, I adjure Thee by Thy name, I adjure Thee by the name of Thy Pramathas, let my head be a fine, let my head be a fine, O Kūḍala Sangama Dēva”.

Basava was not simply a preacher. He was a servant of the poor, the outcaste and the down-trodden. He raised them up from their degradation and assigned to them their due place in society. He declared that the Brahmanas had no special sanctity and boldly asserted that every body was entitled to reach the highest goal. His only ambition in life was the service of the people. This is how he expresses it: “Instead of making me a golden crown over a temple tower, on which crows drop dirt, make me a leather shoe to be trod on by the masters”, “I desire not the height of Brahma. Nor do I desire the position of Vishnu, nor of Siva. I desire no height but this. Grant that I may know the feet of your saints, O God Kūḍala Sangamā.”

Basava admitted everybody to his creed and asked him to forget his caste. His influence was so great that marriages between Brahmans and even Pancamas took place. This was a severe blow to the supremacy of Brahmans. He denied expiatory ceremonies, sacrificial rites, religious formalisms, and discouraged religious observances such as pilgrimages and fasts. Purity of mind does not come from the ceremonials. “Brethren, says he, “bathing in the stream and washing your self, bathe and wash yourself of the sin of living with strange women, of the lust for another’s money, wash yourself of these. My Lord Kūḍala Sangama, if they give up not these but bathe in the stream, the stream will have run in vain for them.”

His protest against Brahmanical sacrifices is emphatic. He would condemn them in the most powerful language.

(1) Ibid. (2) Ibid., p. 12.
"Leave it alone, that horse-sacrifice, leave it alone, that initiation into the Ajapa mantra. Leave it alone, that offering in fire, and those counting of Gāyatri spell. Leave them alone, those charms and incantations for bewitching people."1 "Our Kūḍāla Sangama Dēva is not pleased with those thread-bearers that repeat the "mantra" of cutting necks of other creatures."2

Basava classified Astrology, Devils and Omen together and asked the people not to believe in them. Superstition and astrology were denounced. On one occasion he gives the following piece of advice:—"With one who knows not the subtle path of God, the time of the eclipse is far superior to the twenty-four to this. The fast day is far superior to Sankrānta. Sacrificial offerings, and the daily rites are far superior to Vyatipāta: But to one who constantly meditates on Kūḍāla Sangama Dēva, such meditation is far superior to innumerable countings of mantras and the performance of severe penances."3

Basava did not believe in Tapas and Sanyāsa and such tortures in the name of discipline. "He had no faith in denying the facilities that god has given to man."4

He preached that everyone must work and none should beg, even the Jangamas, the Lingāyat priests. He adopted the principle of self-help and exhorted his followers to stand independent. Not to work is to commit sin, and to-displease god. He voices these principles in his Vacanas thus. "Mere strings of words such as "god is the soul of all created beings 'will never do, instead of the work which is your duty.........You ought to work for the servants of Kūḍāla Sangama Dēva."5 Again he says, "You yourself ought to work with an eager mind. You yourself ought to work, labouring with your body. If you do not work with.

your body, how will Kūḍala Sangama Dēva be pleased with you.”

“I labour in my fields for the sake of my masters. I trade for the sake of God. I accept service with others for the sake of servants. For, I know that whatever Karma I perform Thou dost subject me to the enjoyment of the fruit of that karma.”

Mr. C. V. Vaidya rightly maintains that Basava was almost the first Indian thinker who preached the dignity of labour and stopped all beggary. “He alone preached that only Kāyaka (work) led to Kālasa.”

Basava laid a strict moral code for the Viraśauivas. He advised them to give up meat and liquor, and his voice was heard. This was a great achievement. It was not easy for those converts who came from the lower classes to become strict vegetarians. But the sincerity underlying his preachings was so deep, that his people could not but follow him.

According to Basava, women possess the same social privileges as men. All wearers of Linga irrespective of their sex were proclaimed equal in the eyes of god. Just as man has the right to choose his wife, so has woman to select her husband after she attains her age. Hence child-marriage becomes impossible. Widows were allowed to marry. Woman underwent the same religious ceremony as man, and the Lingayat woman is as high as Lingayat man.

Needless to emphasize that Basava believed in one god whom he calls universal.

“Ah, wherever I look, there thou art, O God:—Thou Thyself art one with a universal eye. Thou Thyself art one with universal arms. Thou Thyself art one with universal feet, O Kūḍala Sangama Dēva.”

Basava contributed much for the enrichment of Kannada culture. He not only founded a new sect, but did a good deal for the language of his province. His message was not for the Panḍit trained in metaphysical discussions. He appealed to the heart of the common people in their own tongue. He spoke pithy words of advice in chaste Kannada. His Vacanas may be rightly called as the Upanishads of not only the Vīraśaivas but of all Kannāḍigas. Basava compares favourably well with Buddha in many respects. Both the teachers preached ahīṃsā; both of them worked for the uplift of the fallen; both of them condemned the caste-system and both the thinkers chose the vernaculars of the people to propagate their doctrines.

Dr. Bhandarkar seems to have completely misunderstood Basava whom he describes as only "A strenuous supporter" of an already existing creed. The Doctor perhaps did not go to the Vacanas where alone the original and real Basava with his novel ideas and ideals can be seen. What is more, the Jangamas, who helped Basava in the propagation of his creed, are styled by him as a "profligate class." This view is entirely unsupported and uncorroborated by authentic evidence. It appears to be the work of his imagination. It might be that a few of the Jangamas were not keeping up to their principles, as it is the case in almost every organisation. But to maintain that the whole class was "leading a profligate life" is certainly a prejudice. It was only with the help of these missionaries that Basava was able to build up a large community of his followers within a very short time. What the Buddhist monks did for the spread of their religion, the Jangamas did for Vīraśaivism on a smaller scale. Let it be remembered that nowhere in the world a band of profligate loafers ever helped in the

(1) Bhandarkar, Vaishnavism and Saivism, p. 133.
(2) Bhandarkar, Early History of the Dekkan, p. 94.
foundation of a religious sect. Dr. Bhandarker's view is not only erroneous but irrational.

"In any history of Indian religion", holds Mr. Venkatesha Iyengar, "Basavaṇṇa is sure to be given a prominent place. In the history of human religion his place cannot be very different. He came into the midst of a movement for reform; he became the leader of the movement; put faith into thousands and thousands of his generation and established on a firm basis a creed that to-day is accepted by three million people and more. The Veeruṣaiva movement was essentially a popular movement. It developed a school of poor priests. It abolished the old priestly class. It adopted the vernacular as the medium for inculcating the highest truth to the populace. It gave to women an important place in religious and social life. It set out with the ideal of realisation of every individual, high and low. Much of the credit of these characteristics of the movement should without doubt go to Basavaṇṇa who first defined the directions in which its work should develop."

We conclude that Basava is perhaps the greatest man that Karnataka had produced. He belongs to the galaxy of those reformers of the world who from time to time toiled for the uplift of the fallen humanity in order to save it from ignorance, superstition and degradation.

(1) See Q. J. M. S., Vol. XXII, p. 44.
CHAPTER X.

EDUCATION AND LEARNING

It seems that there was a wide diffusion of literacy and learning in the Cālukyan Kārnāṭaka. The very existence of a vast body of epigraphical records bears impressive testimony to this fact. Perhaps no other part of India is so rich in inscriptions as the Kannada country. We have nearly three hundred epigraphs engraved in the reign of Vikramāditya VI alone. Kings, chiefs, nobles and the people would not have taken the trouble to inscribe in hard stone and copper, if the people were not able to read the inscriptions. Thus we see that almost every village had records which the inhabitants were able to read and understand. Moreover many of the epigraphs, specially the "viragals" of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, are composed in simple homely colloquial Kannada. This was because many of them were written by the village folk who formed the agricultural class. It was this wide spread of literacy that popularized learning and literature even in those times when the printing press was still unknown.

Educational Endowments

Many of the inscriptions that have been discovered refer to grants and gifts made to impart elementary and higher education, as well as to provide every facility to students who were undergoing the course of instruction. These grants were made not only by the ruling monarchs and their feudatories, but also by the rich individuals and the higher officials of the state. Thus the Baisa chieftain Prithvirām gave eighteen nivartanas of land to the shrine of Jinnādra

(1) For specimens of this type of inscriptions see the Sinda inscriptions published in the Epigraphia Carnatica Vol. VII.
which was an abode of learning and religion.¹ Kārtavirya IV of the same dynasty granted in all fifteen thousands of kāmmas of land to the five mathas in Nēsārige along with rings, ornaments and cloths for the teachers.² Nāgadeva, a minor feudatory of Sōmēśvara I (Cālukya), gave an entire village to a Saiva teacher to meet the expenses maintaining “ascetics, professors, students, public women and artisans.”³ Similarly Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rācamalladēva of the Sindavamsa made a grant to the Saiva divine Nirvāṇidēva of the Elkōti Cakravarti Matha at Sindagere.⁴

Grants of similar nature by wealthy and philanthropic individuals have been recorded in many inscriptions.⁵ These records clearly show that there were many charitable institutions where poor students had their boarding free. People knew fully well the importance of learning; and it was a regular custom among them to make liberal endowments for the spread of education and culture. A gift for education was known as Vidyādāna.⁶

Women were so much interested in the spread of education and the propagation of culture that many queens are recorded to have made large endowments on educational institutions. An inscription at Cinnatumbalam registers that the chief-queen Malayamatidēvi gave to the one hundred and forty Mahājanas of that place 30 gadyāṇas of gold from the siddāya of that village for the maintenance of the commentator on Śāstras, the reader of the Purāṇas, the teacher of the Rigveda and the Yajurveda and the

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¹ Fleet, Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta chieftains of Saundatti an
² Ibid., p. 257.
Brāhmaṇa in charge of the Agnīshtige. 1 Akkādevī the Cālukya princess granted to the agrahāra of Purur 3 mātur of land for the purpose of feeding the students. 2 The emperor Bhuvanaikamalladeva, it is said, at the request of his queens Rēvalādevī and Mallādevī granted to Sūrēśvara Pandita a plot of land for the purposes of education. 3

From these inscriptions it is crystal clear that endowments were made from time to time to preserve the institution, to feed the lecturers and professors, and lastly to maintain the students. One peculiar feature of these endowments was the mixing up of educational grants with those for general charitable purposes. The general result of this indiscriminate mixing up of students and others may have been that the charities gradually lost their original educational character. This was more so after the disappearance of the Cālukya power from the history of Karnataka. This mixing up of the temple funds went on increasing in every century till we come to very recent times. Prof. S. V. Venkatesvara 4 truly remarks that it would be a triumph of epigraphical research in South Indian history, if educational endowments could be disentangled and differentiated from the vast satra and temple funds of the present day, and their proceeds earmarked for education, in keeping with the purpose of the founders.

Religion, it seems, played a very important part in the cultural life of ancient Karnataka. Hence we find the mixing up of education with religion. And the religious

sense of the people was quite sound and even “modern” in its tendencies. They thought that the temples of gods were the temples of learning. Education was as sacred to their hearts as religion itself. They understood the secret of serving god by serving man.

The State and Education

We have already seen that kings, chiefs, ministers and other high officers made liberal endowments to educational institutions. It would not have been possible for private individuals to build a healthy system of education without the help of the state. It is on account of this royal patronage that education could be broadcast in almost every village in ancient Karnataka. A number of inscriptions tell us that the Cakravartis, Mahāmanḍalēśvaras, the Mahāpradhānas, the Danḍanāyakas and the Mahāsāmantaśhipatis were great patrons of education, learning and literature.

Some of the educational institutions, especially the agrahāras, were under the direct control of the members of the imperial family or the Mahāmanḍalēśvaras. Thus the Ponnavaḍā agrahāra was under the management of Kāṇalādevī the wife of Somēśvara I.1 Similarly Lakshmīdevī, the queen of Vikramāditya the Great, was the manager of some agrahāras in A. D. 1109.2 Prior to her they were under the control of Bhamadēva the trusted feudatory of Vikramāditya.3 But usually the agrahāras were managed by private individuals. Though the state provided facilities for education and helped it with funds, it rarely interfered with the organisation, management or the methods of teaching.

These institutions, in the majority of cases, were in the hands of the Mahājanas constituting the village

assembly. Sometimes very able and efficient teachers themselves looked after the management of the schools, even though royal grants were made to such institutions. These can be conveniently called the "grant-in-aid" schools, to use the modern educational terminology. The first type which was under the direct control of the state was very rare. We can compare this type to the modern government schools and colleges. The remaining type which was looked after by the Mahājanas was the most common. Almost every village assembly (Mahājanas) had its own school. It was something like the school maintained by the municipalities and the local boards of our own day. This comparison, of course, is not complete, and it cannot be so. It is, however, true that there was greater freedom of action and thought in the educational system of those times. Endowments for learning made by the kings and chiefs were given away unconditionally as Vidyābhogamas or Vidyādānamas. The grant of land to Surēśvara Pandita by the Cālukya Emperor Bhuvanaikamalladēva is a good instance point. Some of the great universities such as the agrahāra of Belgāmi were autonomous bodies free from the governmental control. It is even said that the professors had political influence and took part in the affairs of the state.

Agrahāra.

Coming to the various types of educational institutions we may classify them under five heads—agrahāra, brahma-puri, ghatikā-sṭhāna, matha and dēvālaya or temple. The first three of these were institutions where education of an advanced type was disseminated. The matha and the temple were the agencies where both the primary and

(1) A. R. S. I. E. for 1937-8, No. E, 84.
(2) Ibid., No. B, 9.
"higher" education was imparted. We propose to describe each of these types in the light of inscriptions that have come down to us.

The most important centre of education and learning was the Agrahāra. It was a colony of learned Brahmans, and a corporate body with its own means of maintenance granted to it by generous donors, and powers of self government.\(^1\) It was an independent body as regards its resources and internal control. As we have already seen elsewhere, its working was not interfered with by the central government. The administration of the agrahāra was vested in the Mahājanas constituting the village assembly.\(^2\) It was in these agrahāras that education of the University standard was disseminated. Students from the surrounding villages flocked to these agrahāras in order to receive learning and culture. They were open to all students of every faith and race.\(^3\) That these institutions existed throughout the period of our study, we find from frequent mention of them in inscriptions.

It seems that they were distributed over all parts of the Kannada country. Epigraphs show that they were at least sixteen in number. Rūli in the Belgaum district was one of them. Naragund in the Dharwar district was another and Ḍambal in the same district was the third.\(^4\) The fourth was at Kuppāṭṭūr,\(^5\) the fifth at Tālagunda,\(^6\) the sixth at Pērūr,\(^7\) the seventh at Ponnāvāḍa,\(^8\) the eighth was at

\(^2\) A. R. S. I. E. for 1927-28, No. 84.
\(^3\) E P. Car., VII, SK., 176.
\(^4\) Fleet, Canarese Dynasties, P. 443, note 4.
\(^5\) E P. Car., VIII, Sh., 249 and Sh., 276.
\(^6\) E P. Car., VII, Sk. 176 and Rice, Mys. Inscr., 103.
\(^7\) Fleet, Sanskrit & Old Canarese Inscriptions, Ind. Ant., XVIII, P. 271.
\(^8\) Ibid., XIX, P. 269.
Kirimiḍi, the ninth at Bēgūr, the tenth was at Aihole, the eleventh at Sayyaḍi, the twelfth at Arsikare, the thirteenth at Kirgundī, the fourteenth at Nārāḷīge, the fifteenth at Dēgāmve. Lastly the most distinguished among them all was the famous agrahāra at Belgāmi in the Shikārpūr Tālukā of the Śimoga district.

An agrahāra in ancient times meant a group of houses built by a person and granted as a gift to Brahmans with the object of securing "dharma". It is commented by some modern writers that the establishment of an agrahāra was inspired by a belief that the donor would ensure a happy and long existence in the next world which he was supposed to reach after his death. Though there is an element of truth in this statement, it cannot be said that the only object of the establishment of an agrahāra was the acquisition of merit. Because we know from the Tālagunda inscription that the Kadamba King Mukkaṇa, not finding a Brahman family in the south, imported from the north thirty-two Brahman families whom he settled in the Agrahāra of Tālagunda near Belgāme. This inscription does not say that Mukkaṇa did this as an act of attaining puṇya. The real motive of the king was evidently the desire to promote education in his country by founding an

(1) Fleet, Notes on Indian History & Geography Ind. Ant. XXX, P. 267.
(2) EP. Car, VII, Sk., 14-18.
(3) Fleet, Notes on Indian History & Geography, Ind. Ant. XXX, P. 267.
(4) Ibid.
(5) A. R. M. A. D. 1923, p. 36.
(7) EP. Car, VII, Sk. 184.
(8) This view is held by Dr. Venkatsubbaya, M. A. Ph. D., See Q. I. M. S., VII, P. 162.
(9) EP, Car, VII, Sk, 186.
agrāhāra of learned Brahmanas. Thus, it is a mistake to hold that the establishment of an agrahāra in ancient Karnataka was not in the least prompted by the noble idea of advancing learning.

The agrahāras were of considerable dimensions, deriving their maintenance from many villages. The Tālagunda Agrahāra, it is recorded, received its income of 144 villages granted to it by the King Mayūravarma Kadambe as fees for as many as eighteen horse sacrifices which he celebrated. This Agrahāra contained 32,000 Brahmanas with 12,000 Agnihotras. The University at Bēgūr was so big that it had 1,300 Brahmanas. Similarly the Agrahāra at Kuppattūr was in a flourishing condition, throughout the eleventh and the twelfth centuries. The university centre of Belgāmi was so extensive in area, that the town was divided into two sections—Hiriya (big) Balligāve and Kiriya (small) Balligāve.

The glories of many of these agrahāras did not live long after the disappearance of the Cālukya Empire. The twelfth century witnessed the great Vāraśaiva revival throughout the Kannada country, superseding the Jains and ousting the Brahmanas. Hence the growth of such extensive university organisation was almost a necessity for the preservation of Brahmanical culture. But at least

(1) Even Dr. Vankatagubaya admits that Makkanna's motive was purely educational and not religious. See Q. I. M. S. VII-P. 164.
(3) Idid.
(6) Ep. Car., VIII, Sb., 276, VII, Sk., 96, 123. This system of dividing towns or big villages into two sections continues even to this day. For example, the village Algeri, in the Ankola Taluka of the North Kanara district, is divided into Doddā (big) Algerī and Sanna (small) Algerī.
a few of them flourished as late as the end of the eighteenth century under the patronage of Mysore Odayers.\textsuperscript{1}

The Agrahāras which we have to-day in some parts of Karnataka are only in names. Twelve of them exist in the royal city of Mysore. The modern agrahāras have long ceased to be educational. They are no more centres of enlightenment and culture.

Brahmapuri

The other important centre of education was the Brahmapuri. It was a settlement of learned Brahmans i.e. parts of towns. We know from the epigraphs that the city of Balligāve (Belgāmi) contained seven such Brahmapuris, three Puras and five Mathas.\textsuperscript{2} It seems that there was not much difference between the Brahmapuri and the Agrahāra. According to Dr. Venkatasubbaya, it differed from an agrahāra in this respect that the latter formed a co-operative village by itself while the former was a part of the city or town.\textsuperscript{3} Further there is no evidence to show that the Brahmapuri was a corporate body.

The one special feature of the Brahmapuri was that it conducted regular debates on important subjects. We are told that the Brahmapuri at Belgāmi was the support of poets, disputants, orators and the learned men.\textsuperscript{4} And its Brahmans were "holding aloft the torch of learning".\textsuperscript{5} The record further states that they attained high excellence in linguistics and letters. They were endowed with all the virtues and with Yama, Niyama, Dhyāna, Dharma, Maunā-

\textsuperscript{(1)} EP.Car., III, Tn, 63.
\textsuperscript{(3)} Vanktasubbaya, Q.J. M. S., VII., P. 167.
\textsuperscript{(4)} EP.Car, VII, Sk, 123.
\textsuperscript{(5)} Ibid.
nushtana Japa, Samādhi and were proficient in the six systems of logic.

The inscriptions do not throw much light upon the working of the Brahmapuri. This was because of the scarcity of large cities where only these institutions could flourish.

**Ghatika**

A few of the inscriptions refer to Ghatikāsthānas. The term Ghatikā has been variously explained as a place of public assembly for Brahmans, or a religious centre or an educational colony. The earliest reference to Ghatikā occurs in the Tālangunda inscription which informs us that the Kadamba king Mayūra Sarman went with his Guru to every Ghatikā in Kāñchi, desiring to be proficient in Pravacana; and thus became a quick or ready debator. This conclusively proves that the Ghatikā was a debating society inviting Pandits from all parts to scholarly discussions. Another record of A. D. 1182 describes the Ghatikās as "supporters of dharma and mines of enjoyment". An inscription recently discovered at Nāgāi throws a good deal of light on the ghatikās. The epigraph clearly says that Madhusūdana of the Varsāṇa family, a subordinate of Somēśvara I, founded an educational institution called the ghatikāśāla to accommodate two hundred students studying.

1. Ibid.
3. Mr. Pathak translated it as a religious centre. (*Ind. Ant.*, XIV P. 24) Dr. Kielhorn remarks that the Ghatika was something like the brahmapuri (See *EP. Car*, VII, Intro. P. 8 Note 2.) Mr. Rice holds that it was "some kind of institution"; (*EP. Car.*, VII, Intro. P. 8 note 2). Prof. Morais describes it as the congregation or college of learned men, (Kadamba Kula, P. 286). Prof. S. V. Venkatesvara, with references to Ghatikas, that existed in ancient Iamul India, says that it was an "institution of highest learning". (Indian Culture Through the Ages, Vol. I, P. 243.)
the Vedas and fifty-two studying the śāstras. To carry on
the function of the institution, he appointed three vedic
and three śāstra teachers. Arrangements were made to
provide free boarding and lodging. From these details
it is clear beyond any shadow of doubt that Ghaṭhāsthānas
were institutions of education and learning. We have also
seen that they were the great debating unions in ancient
times.

Matha

The other educational agency that played an important
part in ancient Karnataka was the Matha. It was a resi-
dential college for students, a free feeding house for the
poor and the infirm and a resort of religious men as well as
of mendicants.

As religion was considered inseparable from education
in those times, all the Mathas were attached to some
temples, or some temples were attached to them. Thus
we have two types of mathas. In the former type, religious
observances took a prominent place and the students and
their education were relegated to the background, while in
the later type it was just the opposite. The former was
known as Naishṭika Matha. This type was rare on account
of the strict discipline to be observed both by the teachers
and the students. Moreover the members of the staff had
to practise celibacy. We are told in clear words that such
teachers who failed to observe these rules were to be in-
stantly expelled and replaced by others.

Liberal endowments to mathas by kings and chieft-
tains is the subject-matter of many inscriptions.

(1) *Hyder. Arch. Saries, No. 8, P. 28*
(2) *EP. Car., VII, Sk., 102.*
(3) *EP. Car., VII, Sk., 276.*
(4) *South Ind. EP., No. 206,*
Rāchamalladēvarasa of the Sinda family made a grant of land to the Śaiva teacher Nirvandēva of the Ėlkōṭi Chakravarti matha. But even common people patronised such seats of learning. A Brahman lady of Maḍikare, for instance, founded a matha in Chingleput district. It is registered that a wealthy person made a grant of a village to a matha for the maintenance of the students residing in it.

Sometimes the village Mahājanas founded these institutions. A good instance is that of twelve officers of Mudūmūru who constructed a matha and agreed to conduct worship in it. In some cases, a new matha was founded as a branch of an old one. Ėlkōṭi Chakravarti matha, mentioned above, had numerous branches attached to it sometimes a founder of a new matha was the alumni of one of the older institutions. An interesting example of this is furnished by an inscription which records the foundation of a matha in honour of Isanadeva by a lady disciple of his agreeably to her dying husband’s instruction. Many of these mathas were given the names of their founders. Thus the matha built by a certain Karttāra was known as Karttāra matha.

The most important of the mathas in the Chālukya Empire were those of Belagāmi, Kuppatūr, Bāndhavapura and Sindagere. There was a federation of five mathas called “Panchalinga Matha” at Belagāmi, one of which was the famous Kōdiya matha. It is described as a great seat of learning and a “Kēdāra (i.e., field) where grow crops in the shape of the hairs of the human body standing

(1) South Ind. EP., 127 and 132 of 1912.
(2) South Ind. EP. No. E 267 of 1927-28.
(3) South Ind. EP. No. 463 of 1915.
(4) EP. Car., VIII, Sb, 276.
(5) EP. Car., VII, Sk, 126 of Venkatesvara, O. C.
(6) EP. Car., VII, Jl, 10.
(7) EP. Car., VII; Sk, 126.
erect from joy at the worship of the Śiva-linga, the place appointed for the performance of the rites of the Śiva Brahmacharin ascetics, the place for the study of the four vedas, namely, the Rig, Yajur, Sāma, Atharva with their Angas. ¹ It was the place where commentaries were composed on the Kaumāra, Pāṇiniya, Sakaṭayana, Sabdānuśāsana, and other grammatical works; where commentaries were written on the nyāya, vaisēshikā, mīmāṃsā, sānkhya, baudha, and other six systems of philosophy, where books were composed on the Akula Siddhānta, on Patanjala, and other Yogaśāstras, on the eighteen Purāṇas and the Dharmsāstra, as well as on all kinds of nāṭikā (dancing); the place where food was freely distributed to sufferers (dīnaru), to the destitute, to the lame, the blind, deaf, to story-tellers, singers, drummers, genealogists, dancers, and culologists, to the naked, the wounded, Kashapanaka (Jain Sanyāsīs), Ṛkadandī, tridandī, hamsa, parama-hamsa, and other beggars from various countries; the place where suitable medicine was dispensed to all various kinds of diseased persons; a place of security from fear for all living things. ²

It will be clear from this description that no narrow view of culture was taken by the ancient Kannadigas. Every subject found a place in the curricula of the matha.

Temple

We may now consider the temple as an educational agency which imparted knowledge in ancient times. The real importance of the temple depended upon the fact that unlike the agrahāra or the matha it disseminated knowledge both to the Paṇḍit (scholar) and the Pāmara (layman). The principle aims and objects of these institutions were religious in character. But in ancient India as religion.

(1) E.P. Car, VII, Sk. 102.
(2) Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, No. 43.
embraced every aspect of human life, education naturally found a place in the temple to which was now added a department of public instruction. "The mandapas or porches some of which expended into halls served as class rooms of sacred as well as secular studies."\(^1\) The fact that the temples were the disseminators of learning can be gathered from many inscriptions.\(^2\) Sometimes separate halls were set apart from different subjects. Such expression as the "vyākaraṇa mandapa" (the hall where grammar was taught) tell us that some of these halls were systematically used for the purpose of holding classes on grammar.\(^3\)

The priest of the temple was also the teacher of the school. The "archaka" was the "āchārya." As the function of this "archaka" was both religious and educational, care was taken to appoint only such persons possessing high educational qualifications to these posts. An inscription of A. D. 1094 states that Śomēśvara Pandita the "āchārya" of the temple Nakharēśvara was proficient in philosophy, logic, grammar, poetry, drama, music and many other branches of literature and learning.\(^4\)

Now leaving the "temple-school" aside, we have to consider the importance of the temple itself. As for the layman the temple was a great institution where he picked up the morsels of knowledge according to his own understanding. To him the images of gods were of high educative value. The great epics Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, engraved on the walls of the temple,\(^5\) told him many a heroic tales of his ancient motherland. Similarly the Purāṇas illustrated on the walls narrated to him the

\(^{1}\) Venkatesvara O. C. P. 271.
\(^{2}\) E.P. Car., VII, Sk, 185, 94; Mk, 29.
\(^{3}\) Venkatesvara, O. C. P. 271.
\(^{4}\) E.P. Car., VII, Sk, 94.
\(^{5}\) As on the walls of the temple at Somanathapura.
beautiful stories which formed the folk literature of ancient India. It was here in the temple, the sculptor exhibited his art, the architect showed his skill, the "devadasi" displayed her dancing, and the singers poured their music.

The social life of the village centred round the temple where hundreds of farmers gathered at the festivities celebrated at regular intervals.

Temple in ancient south India was a great Museum. It was in these festive gatherings, that the villagers could see the "objects of show and curiosity, wild animals tamed and confined to a cage, monkeys trained to perform feats, the cobra made to dance a simple music, the elephant in majesty adorned with a howdah and caparisoned in oriental fashion, horses and bullocks drawing the hackneys and stately carriages, to the music of tinkling cymbals on their necks." Some of the most important temples attracted hundreds of thousands of men and women on occasions of such gatherings.

Organisation

The very existence of a variety of institutions described above presupposes an organisation among the people. The idea of establishing colonies of cultured men (agrahāras) in specially selected areas away from the distractions of the busy haunts of men, and selling free their mental energy for the pursuit of knowledge, conclusively proves the active corporate life the Kannadigas led in those times. We have already seen elsewhere that many of the schools were managed by the village assembly. Hostels attached to these schools were controlled by the same body. A record registers a grant of land to the two hundred Mahājanas to be utilised for the maintenance of a hostel.

(1) As in the temples at Belur and Halebid.
(2) EP. Car. XI, Mk; 29
(3) Venkatesvara, O. C. P. 275.
and for other charities. This clearly shows that one of the functions of the village assembly was the promotion of learning in its own area.

The mathas, which served as strongholds and centres of learning, had extensive organisation. The Panchalinga Matha at Belagümi was a federation of five mathas. Similarly we are told that as many as seventy-seven mathas were affiliated to the central matha of Kuppatur; and the chancellor of this great University was known as Rājaguru Ekkōṭi Samaya Chakravarti. The epigraph further records that the senate of this University consisted of one thousand Brahmans.

Besides the various educational institutions, (agrahāra, brahmapuri, ghatikā, matha and the temple) which were mainly Brahmanical, there were extensive Jaina organisations whose aims and objects were the promotion of religion, education and culture. These organisations, democratic in character, spread far and wide in and outside Karnataka, and many sub-associations were affiliated to the central one. To mention a few famous among them were the Dramiya Sangha, Nandi gaṇa, Mūla Sangha, Krānūra gaṇa, Tintriṇī gachchha, Kunda-Kundānvaya, Arungajānvaya, Pustaka-gachchha, Kaumudi-gaṇa, Yāpaniya, Sangha, Tālākōḷān-vaya, Sēna-gaṇa, and Pogari-gachchha. We are told that

(1) South Ind., EP, 1927-28, No. E, 84,
(2) EP, Car, VIII, Sb, 276,
(3) Mys. Arch Dept, Report for 1926, P. 51
(4) Ibid.
(5) EP, Car, VIII, Sb, 159.
(6) Ibid.
(7) Ibid.
(8) EP. Car, VIII, Sb, 233
(9) EP, Car, VIII, Sa, 159
(10) EP, Car, XII. Ck, 21
(11) South Ind., EP, for 1926, No, C, 441
(12) Ibid.
(13) EP, Car, VII, Sk, 124
(14) Ibid
(15) Ibid.
in a certain "Nandi gana" which was a branch of the "illustrious Dramila sangha" and "Irungalānvaya" were several learned men well versed in all the branches of Knowledge. \(^1\) It seems that this Sangha was so extensive in its territorial limits that it may be aptly called as inter-provincial or rather international, if we consider the different empires of ancient South India as different sub-nations based more or less on linguistic and cultural variations. The word "Dravila" (used here) clearly indicates the ancient Tamil and hence the Tamilians. This illustrious Dramila Sangha of the Tamilians found many patrons and followers in the Karnatakā, and a Kannada branch called Nandi Sangha was perhaps established. We call this Sangha international as it comprised the two great sub-nations of Dravidian India namely the Tamil Nāḍ and the Karnataκ.

**Discipline**

It may be interesting to note that strict discipline was enforced among the members of the teaching staff. This was more so with the Kālāmukheeya mathas. The ancients rightly believed that discipline brings seriousness and seriousness leads to efficiency. Moreover the Guru was considered as an example worthy to be followed by the śishya. The imprecations at the end of an epigraph\(^2\) clearly show the strict vigour which the teachers of the early śaiva sect had to observe. It is stated that the ascetics must punish the wicked in their congregation and drive them out of the monastery. "The monastery will always be placed for those who follow strict discipline (nisṭha)".\(^3\) Such ascetics as to go astray giving up their Brahmacharya (celibacy) "must be expelled by the ruling king, the chief officer and the twelve great men (mahājanas) \(^4\)

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(1) *Mys. Arch, Dept, Report for 1926, P, 51*
(2) *South Ind. E.P., No. 524 of 1914.*
of the village and replaced by better teachers of the same faith.

Hostels for Students

The modern educational system recognises the necessity of residential Universities in India. The idea is neither foreign nor new to us. When we study the history of our ancient motherland, our heart leaps with joy to find numerous residential colleges that flourished in bygone days. Many of the inscriptions that have come to light record either the foundation of hostels (for students) or grants made to them. Some of these hostels provided free board, lodging and sometimes clothing to poor and deserving students, the expenses being met from the endowments made by kings, chiefs, and other wealthy persons, who considered it a sacred duty to help liberally those interested in education. We have already given enough of references to such benefactions and hence it is not necessary to multiply them here.

It may, however, be noted that provision was made for weekly oil baths in some of the hostels, "who so supplies students with food", thus runs an epigraph, "applies unguents to their bodies, furnishes them with cloths, giving them alms, to him all his desires will be fulfilled".

Subjects of Study

We now come to the subjects of study. The inscriptions are rich in this respect. They supply us such minute details, that we can make a complete list of the subjects then taught. The traditional subjects that were in use

(1) Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, No. 103; E.P. Car, VII, Sk, 19; South Ind. E.P., for 1927-28, No. E. 267; for 1928-29, Nos, E. 80 and E. 233.

(2) Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, No. 102.

(3) Ibid.
from the very ancient times all over India continued to be studied in the Chalukyan Karnatak as well. They were ten in number, namely the four Vedas—Rig, Yajus, Sāman, Atharva, and the six vedaṅgas or the limbs of Veda comprising Phonetics (Sikhā), grammar (Vyākaraṇa), Prosody (Chhandas), Etymology and interpretation (Nirukta), Astronomy (Jyotisha), and Ritual (Kalpa). To these were later added a few more subjects. These were the Itihāsas and Purāṇas, forming the fifth Veda, Deva-Vidyā, Bhūta-Vidyā, Nakshatra-Vidyā, Sarpadēvavayajana-vidyā and seven others. By the increase of learning, it was later on recognised that the sum total of human knowledge was comprised in the fourteen and eighteen sciences. The fourteen Vidyās or sciences are the four vedas and the six vedāṅgas mentioned above, together with mīmāṃsā (principles of Vedic Exegesis), Nyāya (Logic and Dialectics), Purāṇa, and Dharmaśāstra (Law).

The above fourteen together with the four upa-vedas formed the eighteen Vidyās or sciences. The Upavedas comprised medicine (Āyurveda), the science of weapons (Dhanurveda), Music (Gandharvaveda), and the technical subjects like carpentry and architecture. These eighteen Vidyās were regarded as covering the whole field of human knowledge. The Padma Purāṇa adds to these the “Kalas”. With slight variations to the changed times and conditions, many of these subjects were studied during the days of the Chalukya Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras. This conclusion can be easily arrived at, by reading the various inscriptions that have come to light.

Turning to the epigraphs we find that the above mentioned curriculum of studies was followed in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries in Karnatak. Instruction was given in all the śāstras, grammar, logic, philosophy, literature, drama (nāṭak), medicine, lexicography, rhetoric, śruti, smṛiti, purāṇa, Itihāsa, mīmāṃsā, nitiśāstra and simil
subjects. It is interesting to note that even sorcery or magic was now made a subject which was treated in a scientific manner. There were six sub-divisions in logic. Besides, the art of dancing (nātya) which is unfortunately neglected in the modern Indian Universities, was a subject of special study in some of the agrahāras. It may be mentioned that classical sanskrit along with Kannada was given due attention. Poetry of Māgha and the grammar by Pāṇini were prescribed as text-books in some of the Mathas. It is encouraging to note that works relating to politics by Sri Bhūshanāryaka received proper attention. We are told that political science was studied by kings and chiefs. It is said of a Hoysala king that he was well acquainted with the writings of regal polity by Vātsāyana and Bharata.

Inscriptions frequently refer to the “fourteen branches of learning, the six vēdāngas, the four vēdas, logic, dharma-sāstra, Purāṇa and mīmāṁsā.” These were the popular subjects. Institution was also given in the six darshanas of Nyāya, Vaiśēsika, Sāṅkya, Baudhā, Lokāyata, and others. We also get references to sixty four arts of which music and painting were most common.

In some of the great mathas like that of “Kōdiya”, something like “research work” was being conducted in the higher classes. We are told that there was a research department attached to the Kōdiya matha where commen-

(1) A. R. S. I. E., for 1914, No. 206.
(2) Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, No. 103.
(3) Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, No. 46.
(4) Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, No. 43.
(5) Ind. Ant. V. P. 49.
(6) Ibid.
(7) Ibid,
(9) Ind. Ant. II, P. 302.
(10) E.P. Car, VII, Sk. 16.
(11) E.P. Car. V. Mj. 18.
taries on the Kaumāra Pāṇiniya, Śakaṭāgama, Śabdānuśāsana, and other grammars were composed. Similarly original works on Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, mīmāṃsā, Sānkhya, Baudha and other six systems of philosophy were written. It was here that books were prepared on Akula Siddhānta, on Patanjala, and other Yoga-śāstras, on the eighteen Purāṇas and the dharmaśāstras as well as on all kinds of Kāvya and Nāṭaka (drama). Thus we see that proper attention was also paid to what we call to-day “research work”.

Teachers and their qualifications

When we glance at the big list of subjects that were studied, we are inclined to presume that these subjects were taught by efficient teachers, possessing high qualifications. This presumption of ours can be supported by authentic evidence that is culled from the inscriptions. Ep. Car. VII. Sk. 126, for instance, gives a glowing description of Lakulīśavara Pandita of the Panchalinga matha. It runs as follows:—“Having crossed over to the farthest shore of the ocean of logic, and other sciences, to speakers a Rudra, a young lion in splitting the skull of the elephant speakers, a wild fire to the great forest speakers, a fierce and a powerful tiger to evil speakers, a submarine fire to Budha ocean, a thunderbolt to the Mīmāṃsā mountain, a saw for cutting down the Lokaṭaya great tree, a great kite to the sāṅkhya serpent, an axe to the tree Advaita speakers, a Trinētra in burning the Tripura Akalanka, a fierce fire of dissolution to Viśvānala, a fire to the last day of Abhayachandra, a sarabha to the lion Vādhibha (or Vādhibha sinha), sealer up of the mouth of Vādīrāja, displacer of Ayavādi, the sole able supporter of the Naiyāyikas, in maintaining his own side and in disgracing the other side an able virīnchi, an ornament.

(1) Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, No. 43.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid.
to the speech-goddess, at court a Padmāsana, in intelligence Nārāyaṇa, among declainers Mahēśvara, in disputation like a river of the gods, in the sport of making commentaries a bee to the lotuses to the minds of those who love it, his white fame his banner, of pure character, a noose to Yama to hostile proud Pandīts, to Digambara speakers a falling star, having the name Vādirudragaṇa." Leaving aside the poetic exaggeration, we can make out that the professor was a great debater with profound scholarship.

Appanā Bhaṭṭa, another Kālāmukhi teacher, we are told, was marked by the characteristics of the four vēdas with their aṅgas and upāṅgas, and was given to performing sacrifices, promoting sacrifices, study and instruction. He was versed in the sāstras, the six aṅgas, the eighteen sūrṅas, the purāṇas, kāvyas, the meaning of nāṭakas, the use of granthas and the explanation of words. He established himself in the practice of Mahēśvaras, Vaiśṇavas and other creeds. He was acquainted with the tenets of Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Lōkāyata, Sāṃkhya, Baudhha, Mīmāṃsā, and other systems of philosophy.¹

It is worthy of note that some of the professors of the Sthānagundūr agrahāra had mastered the art of cookery and using weapons.² "In it were professors skilled in medi-cine, in sorcery, in logic, in the art of distorting people by incantation,³ and in poetry. It was recognised that every teacher in every agrahāra should practise yama (penance), niyama (fasting), Svādhyāya (reading the Vēdas), dhyāna (meditation), dharma (religious merits), yōga (spiritual devotion), anuṣṭhāna (performance of devotional exercise), japa (prayer) and samādhi (abstractions).

Specialization

Many of the epigraphs inform us that only a few of the professors were proficient in many subjects. The rest,

(1) EP, Car, VII. Sk. 16.
(2) Rice, Myore Inscriptions, No 103.
(3) Ibid.
it seems, had specialised in a particular branch of knowledge. “Some are learned logicians, some are clever in conversion and discourse, some are skilled in the drama, some are able to compose poems, some are versed in grammar—but if it be asked who is master of all these—who in the world is skilled in them all?—the celebrated ocean of learning Śomēśvara Pandīt.”¹ From such extracts we can gather that professors proficient in more than one branch were rarely to be found and among them was the famous Śomēśvara Pandīta.

**Education of Women**

We do not know much about the education of women in the Ĉālukyan Karnataka. Inscriptions are almost silent on this point. Whether women received instruction in the mathas along with men is a matter which cannot be decided in the light of the inscriptions so far discovered. But we get occasional references to women known for their learning. Thus the wife of a certain Brahman is called “a new Sarasvati in all learning”.² The queen of Bāmmarasa the Kadamba king (who was a Mahāmaṇḍalāśvara) was “an abode of learning”.³ Piriya Ketāḷādevī, a queen of Vikramāditya VI is stated to have been a very clever lady and one accomplished in music. She was familiar with many languages. It was perhaps on this account that she was called “Abhinava Sarasvati”.⁴ We know that the same emperor Vikramāditya appointed his wives as viceroys of districts. Six of them are known, all alike Rajput princesses, the most talented of whom was Chandralakha of the Silahari clan. Some sort of political and military education was perhaps postulated for girls of the fighting class in this period.

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¹ See for example, *Śomēśvara pada*.
² E.g., *Śomēśvara pada*.
³ *Śomēśvara pada*.
⁴ *Śomēśvara pada*. 

(1) EP, Car. VII. Sk. 93.
(2) Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, No. 74.
(3) *South Ind. Epi*. 1923, No. B. 673.
(4) Kanti is the name given to Jaina nuns or female devotees.
The real promoters of female education in this period were first the Jainas and later the Veerasaivas. These two communities have rendered meritorious service to Karnataka by spreading education among the masses and the fair sex. The earliest known Kannada poetess Kanti was a Jain by faith. She was an authoress of no mean order. It is told of her that the King Ballāla Rāya to test her skill, made Nāgachandra recite half a stanza, which Kanti would immediately complete. A further story is told how Nāgachandra laid a wager that he would compel Kanti to eulogise him in verse. To effect this purpose he pretended to swoon and feigned death. When the poetess, struck with sorrow, had pronounced on him a panegyrical, he sprang up and claimed to have won the wager.

Twelfth century saw the great Lingāyat revival. It was a vigorously proselytising faith admitting to its fold all persons high and low, irrespective of caste or sex. Basava chose to preach his noble principles in Kannada following the example of the Jainas. This led to diffusion of knowledge among the women who were ignorant of Sanskrit. Thousands of women, it seems, followed Basava in his mission and some of them began to compose “Vachanas” (sayings) in pure and chaste Kannada. Names of some of these female authors have come down to us. They are Bījjala Dēvi, Kālavve. Nilamma, Mahādēvi and Mahādēvi-yakka, the last being the most famous among them all. A specimen of her “vachana” may be given here in order to form an idea of her high poetic talent:

“What sort of man is he who, having built his house on the mountain is afraid of the wild beasts there? or, having built it on the sea-shore, is alarmed by the roar of the serf? or, if he live in the market street, cannot bear

(1) Narasimhacharya, Karnataka Kavi Charitr, Vol I, PP. 110, 111
Rice, A History of Kanarese Literature, P. 36.
(2) Ibid.
the noise of the traffic? Then seeing we have been born into the world as it is, we must not be afraid of its praise or its blame, but abstain from passion, and rest unperturbed. Hear my prayer, O Malli Kārjuna-dēva”.

Thus, as to the learning of women in the period of our study, we cherish the picture of the cultured lady Mahādēviyakkha who composed the precious “vachanas” which have been handed down to us through hundreds of years. Women in ancient Karnataka took an active part in the very stirring intellectual life of the period.

**Education of Princes**

We have no direct evidence as to the education of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras and other noble families. Nevertheless, from the glowing descriptions of their high accomplishments we may presume that the education of princes was so adjusted as to fit them for their high and exalted station. They were given a spartan training, so far as their physical development was concerned. From boyhood they were placed under expert tutors and were trained in the use of arms, in riding elephants and horses. Besides, political science was a subject of special study.

It may be interesting to note in this connexion that the Brahanical institutions such as the agrahāras and the mathas were responsible to a certain extent for the education of the royal youths. The Sthānagandūr Agrahāra contained professors well skilled in Military training. It has been recorded that the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras Tailaha Dēva and Jeraharasa, coming to Balligāve made a gift of

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(1) Translated by Mr. E. P. Rice, See *A History of Kanarese Literature*, PP. 57-58.
(3) *Rice, Mysore Inscriptions No. 103.*
village to Ködiya Matha calling it as their "hereditary Gurukula." These facts are sufficient to prove that the sons of many high officials, chiefs and princesses received their education from generation in some of the Brahmanical institutions which were also meant for the common people.

Place of Kannada

This chapter on education will be incomplete without any remark about the status given to Kannada in the educational system of those times. A survey of Kannada literature brings to view that Brahmans cared little for that language and wrote no text-books in it. Kannada was completely neglected in their curricula; and Sanskrit was the language of their books. It was not their concern to enlighten the masses. They were communal and narrow-minded in their outlook.

But the Jains seem to have realised the real importance of the vernacular. Though they composed a number of biographies of the Tirthankaras with a view to broadcast their religious beliefs, they were greatly responsible for the spread of education among the masses, by writing popular text-books on secular subjects. Books on various subjects such as Astrology, Arithmetic, Veterinary science, Horse-breeding, and Cookery came to be written in this period. Besides, we have two books on medicine, three on fiction, and two lexicons.

(1) E.P. Car, VII, Sk, 96.
(2) R. Narasinhachar, Karnataka Kavi Charita, II, P. 75.
(3) Ibid, P. 123.  
(4) Ibid, P. 130
(5) Ibid, P. 91.  
(6) Ibid, P. 16.
(7) Ibid, PP. 165 and 320.  
(8) Ibid, PP. 60, 283 and 315.
(9) Ibid, PP. 71 and 148.
CHAPTER XI

LANGUAGE

All the inscriptions of the Mahāmanḍaliśvaras, except a few in Sanskrit, are in Kannada language and script. This fact speaks for itself, as to what the vernacular of the country was. The feudatory chiefs were very zealous of their mother-tongue and were anxious to extend their liberal patronage for its enrichment.

Kannada, as we all know, is one of the highly polished Dravidian languages of South India, the other members of the group being Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam. It is spoken to-day in the Districts of Dharwar, Belgaum, Bijapur and North Kanara of the Bombay Presidency, in Bellary and South Kanara of the Madras Presidency, in Mysore and the South-west districts of Hyderabad State. This portion of the Dekkan where the predominant language is Kannada is called Karnātaka.

As to the origin of the terms "Kannada and "Karnataka," there is difference of opinion among scholars. Rev. Caldwell agreeing with Dr. Gundert says that Karnata or Karnatak is the Sanskritised form of the Kannada word "Karnāṭa", "the black country, in allusion of the black cotton soil of the plateau of the south Dekkan". Both Dr. Gundert and Rev. Caldwell are silent as to the derivation of the word "Kannada". Mr. Levis Rice, lending his support to the above theory, further remarks that Kannada might be the corrupt form (Tadbhava) of Karnata. Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao, who recently revised the Mysore Gazetteer, simply states the various views put forward by different scholars, without expressing his own

opinion about them. Mr. H. Narayana Rao suggested that Karnāṭa is derived from Karu-nāḍu, "the elevated country", with reference to the height of the plateau above the sea-level. Sir Walter Elliot was inclined to connect Karnata with Karnā or Karṇī, as in Sātakarnī, the family name of the early dynasty. Rev. F. Kittel states in his Dictionary that Kan means blackness and Kannada the black country. "In the Mackenzie Mss., the derivation of Karnatakā is given as Karṇāṭaka, "pleasing to the ear of all men" and hence applied to this honoured and renowned country. The same derivation also appears in the Viśvagunādārśa, a work assigned to the eighteenth century. Poet Tatāčhāraya Sharma writes that "Kannada" is derived from the compound of two words namely "Kammitu" and "Nāṭu" which means the language of the fragrant country. Mr. R. Narasinhacharya fully agrees with Poet Tatacharya Sharma.

In our own opinion all the theories stated above are not correct. They try to derive the name of the language from the name of the country in which it was spoken. This according to very reason is wrong. Tribal man when moving from place to place in pastoral condition had no idea in the least of territorial homogeneity. He was related to other members of his tribe simply by the tie of community of blood and language. In the ancient city—states of Greece, citizenship was based not on territory but on race and language. Similarly the word Kannada, denoting the tongue which the tribal Kannadigas spoke, seems to have been coined first. Our own explanation is that Kannada

(2) See Jayakarnataka, Vol. X, P. 55, 5
(3) Numismata Orientalia—Conis of Southern India, P. 538.
(7) Narasinhacharya, Karnatakakavi Charite, Vol. I, Intro, P. XIX.
is the original word which later on gave birth to Kannata, when the country came in contact with the Aryans. “Kan” in Kannada means to reflect; and Al (एल) means “that which is”. The compound word Kannad or Kannada in course of time became Kannada. That which has the power to reflect one’s thought is language and hence Kannada. Similarly, that which possesses the power to reflect one’s image in mirror and hence called Kannadigii by the Kannadigas.¹

During the days of the Mahāmanḍalīśvaras Kannada language was so far developed as to give rise to a splendid literature which we shall try to describe in the next chapter. The furnished excellence of Nripating’s Kavirāja-mārga of ninth century presupposes the free development of the language at least two centuries before it. Kannada inscriptions make their appearance from the end of the second century. But Mr. C. V. Vaidya in his Mediaeval Hindu India places the rise of Kannada language between A. D. 800 and A. D. 1000, along with the rise of Marathi, Bengali and other Indo-Aryan vernaculars.² He observes ..............the second sub-period of Mediaeval Hindu History viz. A. D. 800–1000 was characterised by the rise of modern languages. We believe that Marathi, Bengali, Hindi and Punjabi came into existence about the same time and by about the same causes, and their rise cannot be traced further back than this period. Even the Kanarese, the Malyali and Telugu came into existence at this time by the operation of the same causes which we proceed to note”. This remark of Mr. Vaidya is not correct so far as Kannada is concerned. We shall therefore proceed to show the hollowness of this statement.

Kannada, as can be proved by epigraphical evidence, is the most ancient of all the Indian vernaculars except

(1) This view is also shared by Mr. Bendre and Betgeri.
Tamil. Though the beginnings are lost in the mist of time, we may safely presume that the language was in existence in the first century of the Christian era. In a Greek farce of the second century A. D. found at Oxyrhynchos there occur some Indian words which according to Dr. Hultzsch and Mr. Govind Pai are Kannada. Besides, as we have already stated, we have Kannada inscriptions dating from A. D. 189. In these early centuries Kannada seems to have been cultivated as a literary language, and books were written in it, though none of them are extant. The author of Kaivarlyamarga mentions many Kannada writers that preceded him, one of these being Durvinita most probably the Ganga King of that name who ruled at the close of the sixth century. Besides, he says that there existed independent literary forms in Kannada called Chattupa, Badanqa and Gadyakathā. Moreover the learning and:

(1) Mysore Arch. Report, for 1904;
(3) “संकल्पितं वैपाकस्मिनः नामवल्लभस्वरः”

“कृपालितं रुप्तस्वरः”

“संकल्पितं वैपाकस्मिनः नामवल्लभस्वरः” —Parichheda I, verse 29.

“संकल्पितं वैपाकस्मिनः नामवल्लभस्वरः” —Parichheda I, verse 33.

(4) “संकल्पितं वैपाकस्मिनः नामवल्लभस्वरः”

“संकल्पितं वैपाकस्मिनः नामवल्लभस्वरः” —Parichheda I, verse 32.

(5) “संकल्पितं वैपाकस्मिनः नामवल्लभस्वरः”

“संकल्पितं वैपाकस्मिनः नामवल्लभस्वरः” —Parichheda I, verse 27.
the knowledge displayed by the author himself, and the highly polished style in which the book is composed bear impressive testimony to the existence of a vast body of literature displaying considerable erudition in the early centuries, which unfortunately owing to some reason or other has been lost to us. It will thus be seen that the language and literature of Karnataka is of great antiquity. And its rise can be traced back at least to the second century which possesses a Kannada inscription.

We all know that language is organic and it changes from time to time. Accordingly Kannada underwent several changes during its long course of existence of about two thousand years; and the twelfth century marks an important epoch in its growth. Rev. Kittel who recognises three stages in Kannada remarks: "It includes three chief dialects, classical, mediaeval, and modern. The first or Ancient Kannada is quite uniform, and shows an extraordinary amount of polish and refinement. It has to the present time been preserved in several works written by Jain scholars, and appears to have been in common use for literary purposes from at least the tenth to the middle of the thirteenth century.........................After the ancient dialect the Mediaeval Kannada began to appear as contained in the poetry of Śaiva and Lingāyat authors......Its period terminated at about the end of the 15th century .............From about the 16th century Mediaeval Kannada gradually got the character of the language of the present day or of Modern Kannada." Mr. Rice disagreeing with Rev. Kittel says: "Three stages may be recognised of the Kannada language, namely. Pūrvada Halegannada or Primitive old Canarese; Hale Kannada or old Canarese, and Hosa Kannada, the New or Modern Canarese. The first period may be described as terminating about the end of the 7th century, the second

(1) Kittel, A. Kannada—English Dictionary, Preface, opp. 3-4
extends from the 8th to the fourteenth century; when the third commences. 1 Mr. R. Narasinhacharya seems to follow the opinion of Mr. Rice. 2 According to our view both Rev. Kittel and Mr. Rice are partly right and partly wrong. Rev. Kittel does not seem to have read the Kannad inscriptions prior to the seventh century and hence he is not aware of "Primitive Old Canarese" of Mr. Rice, who in turn does not take into consideration "The Mediaeval Kannada” of Rev. Kittel. Moreover, Rice fails to give us the peculiarities of each period. We recognise four stages in the whole range of Kannad language, namely Pürvada Hale Kannada or Pre-Ancient Kanarese, Hale Kannad or Ancient Kanarese, Naḍu Kannada or Mediaeval Kanarese and Hosa Kannada or Modern Kanarese. The first period extends from the earliest times to about the middle of the 8th century. The Ancient period lasts from then upto about the middle of the 12th century. The Naḍu Kannada makes its appearance which remained in use upto very recent times, being followed in its turn by Hosa Kannada (Primarily prose).

We are here concerned only with the transition from ancient to mediaeval Kannada which took place in the age of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras. But none as yet (as far as we know) has shown the peculiarities of Pre-Ancient Kanarese, we have, therefore, tried to elucidate some of them in the foot-note below. 3 Turning to the period under

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(3) Some of the characteristics pre-ancient Kannada are shown here:
(I) The Accusative or second case-sign in pre-ancient Kannada is ̀an (ಅನ) instead of ̀au (ಅವ) as in Ancient Kannada. Example: "ಸೀರುಹುರುಹ ಕುದುಕು ಕೃಷ್ಣಪುರ." (A.D. 740)

(Continued on next page)
survey we find that it is marked by important changes both in grammatical usage and in literary form. The letter ḷa is now entirely dropped; and its place taken by ḷa or the half-letter ṛ. Harihara (A.D. 1165) is the first poet who courageously declared to bring into force these new changes and introduced them in his Girijāhalyāṇa where he does not make any distinction between the letters ḷa, ḷa and ḷa for the purposes of ṁṛśa (rhyme). The writers are now somewhat negligent as to the use of suffixes and the rules of syntax. New forms of composition like shat- padi, Ragaḷe and Vachana became dominant; and the elaborate and highly artificial chumpu falls to the background. The letter ṁa at the commencement of a word and in verbal forms was changed to ha. Half sounds now began to expand into full. For example pārva (पार्वती) became pārva (पार्वती) aḷukabalki (अल्कबल्की) became aḷukabaluka (अल्कबलुका) and pōgalum (पोगलुम) became ogalum (ओगलुम) The works contain a number of Taddhāvas not sanctioned by previous authors. Now the poet tried to move in freer spirit. The cramping influence of rhetoric and grammar began to wane.

(II) The Genative or Sixth case-sign is ṣ (ṣ) and not a (a).
   Examples: "विनुरसुभा नाथं" (A.D. 738); "विनुरसुभा नाथं वददर्धितम" (A.D. 700); "विनुरसुभा नाथं वददर्धितम" (A.D. 597).

(III) The locative or Seventh-case-sign is uḷ, (uḷ) and not oḷ, (oḷ). Example: "विनुरसुभा नाथं वददर्धितम" (A.D. 735).

(IV) The verb-sign (Aṣṭhyāna Pratyaya) is ṣe or se (षे or से) instead of an (अन) ; and Ṣe (षे) or e (े) instead of ar (अर).
   Examples: "विनुरसुभा नाथं वददर्धितम" (A.D. 700); "विनुरसुभा नाथं वददर्धितम" (A.D. 700) "विनुरसुभा नाथं वददर्धितम,"

(V) Negative Predicate-sign (Nishada pratyaya) is ṣ (ṣ) instead of a (a).
   Example: "विनुरसुभा नाथं वददर्धितम,"

(VI) The letter ḷa (ṇ) at the commencement of a word is sa (ṣ) in Pre-Ancient Kannada.
   Example: "विनुरसुभा नाथं वददर्धितम,"

(VII) (ṣ) changes to ḷ (ṇ) in Pre-ancient Kannada.
   Example: ṣa = ḷa.

(VIII) Double sound occurs in some words instead of single.
   Example: Talakradu for Talekadu.

The curious reader may refer to various inscriptions in Ep. Carnatica.
The flow of needless Sanskrit words now stopped to a certain extent. New grammatical changes and literary forms were not so nicely suited to incorporate high sounding Sanskrit words, as in the case of "Champu". It seems that Mediaeval Kannada was not very different from the colloquial language of those times. Megha Chandra (A. D. 1148) who wrote a commentary on Pujyapada's Samadhiśa-taka clearly tells us that he composed it in Posa Kannada, or Now Kannada (Nađu Kannada for us), so that it may be easily intelligible to the son of a certain Pampa for whom it was written.  

This period is also important in the sense that there existed a school of authors who protested emphatically, against the inflow of needless Sanskrit words into Kannada. The first leader of the school was Nayasaṇa (A. D. 1112), the author of Dharmāmrita who unsparingly condemns the practice in strong language. He says, "Can he be called a poet who, after declaring that he would write in new Kannada, uses improper Sanskrit words in his composition? If you want to use Sanskrit, write a book in that language. But do not mix Sanskrit with chaste Kannada. Will it be proper to mix oil with ghee"?  

Nāgavarman, similarly

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1. "स्तोत्रं च वर्णमालायेण तद्गीतम्।
वर्णमालायेण सदाश्वद्विशेषेण तद्गीतम्॥
सदाश्वद्विशेषे च वर्णमालायेण
वर्णमालायेण मृत्युजये जयसुभ्रक्षेत्रम्॥"


3. "अमस्य शोभन्त्र नाभिकम्।
सोर्वस्य शोभन्त्र सर्वस्य शोभन्त्रः अभिनादीतः॥
सोर्वस्य शोभन्त्र अभिनादीतः शोभन्त्रः॥
"सर्वस्य शोभन्त्र अभिनादीतः शोभन्त्रः॥
सर्वस्य शोभन्त्र अभिनादीतः शोभन्त्रः॥
"सर्वस्य शोभन्त्र अभिनादीतः शोभन्त्रः॥
सर्वस्य शोभन्त्र अभिनादीतः शोभन्त्रः॥
नाभिकम् नाभिकम् नाभिकम् नाभिकम्॥"

denounces the practice comparing it to the stringing of pearls along with pepper corns (ಮಾಂಸೂ ತರ ೈ ಒಳಗಾಗಿಸುವುದು). It may be here interesting to note that even in the ninth century the author of Kavirajamarga condemns the practice comparing it to an unnatural union with an old woman. ¹ These advocates of pure Kannada seem to have commanded considerable influence throughout the period of our study. One hundred years after Nayasaṇa, appears Ândayya, the extremist leader of this great literary movement. It was his achievement to compose Kabbigara Kāva without the use of a single unnaturalised (tatsama) Sanskrit word. The author tells us that it was written at the suggestion of scholars for the express purpose of showing that it could be done.

In spite of the strenuous efforts of these ardent advocates, Kannada language could not get rid of Sanskrit influence. This was not easily possible on account of its insufficient vocabulary especially to express abstract ideas of science, philosophy and religion. It should not however be supposed, as the Sanskrit Paudits do, that Sanskrit is indispensable for Kannada composition. The fact that Kannada has largely borrowed Sanskrit words can no more prove its inability to stand on its own legs. Vocabulary is the outer garb and not the soul of a language. We can decorate a language with foreign words as easily as we dress a man with another's clothes. It is the characteristic grammatical structure that gives a language its claim for independence. Kannada is purely Dravidian in which the non-Sanskrit portion exceeds the Sanskrit portion. "In the Dravidian languages all nouns denoting in-animate subs-

(1) "ಸುತ್ತಳ ಸಾರಾಜಾಗಿಯುವ ಶ್ರೋತ ಶ್ರೋತ ಶ್ರೋತ ಶ್ರೋತ "—Parishoheda I, verse 50.
tances and irrational beings are of neuter gender. The distinction of male and female appears only in the pronouns of the third person of the verb. In all other cases the distinction of gender is marked by separate words signifying "male" and "female". Dravidian nouns are inflected, not by means of case terminations, but by means of suffixed post-positions and separate particles. Dravidian neuter nouns are rarely pluralized. Dravidian languages use post-positions instead of pre-positions. Dravidian adjectives are incapable of declension. It is characteristic of these languages in contradiction to Indo-European that wherever practicable, they use as adjectives the relative principles of verbs, in preference to nouns of quality or adjectives properly so called. A peculiarity of the Dravidian dialects is the existence of two pronouns of the first person plural, one inclusive of the person addressed, the other exclusive. The Dravidian languages have no passive voice, this being expressed by auxiliary verbs signifying "to suffer", etc. Unlike the Indo-European, they prefer the use of continuative participles to conjunctions. The Dravidian verbal system possesses a negative as well as an affirmative voice. It is a marked peculiarity of the Dravidian languages that they use relative participle nouns instead of phrases introduced by relative pronouns. These participles are formed from the various participles of the verb by the addition of a formative suffix. Thus "the person who came" is in these languages literally "the who came". ¹ As Kannada is one of the important Dravidian languages it can be said, without any fear of contradiction, that there is much in Kannada which is essentially its own and independent of Sanskrit.

Having said so much about Sanskrit influence, we proceed to note the influence of non-Sanskrit languages on

¹ Narasinhacharya, Karnataka Kaviçarita, Vol. I. Intro. pp. XII-XIII.
Kannada during the days of the Mahāmandalāśvaras. The influence of these languages was not so great as that of Sanskrit. In fact it is negligible. Nevertheless, we come across a few Hindustani (or rather Arabi) and Marathi words in the inscriptions. For example, in the Kōdikoppa inscription of the reign of Achugii II of the Sinda dynasty, the word Ākāra-hukka" to denote the estimate department is used. Hukka is of course the Hindustani (or Arabi) "Hakk" and the meaning evidently intended and given above to the Sanskrit word “Ākāra" is a purely Marathi meaning. Similarly the word "Kōtavāl" is used in an inscription of the time of Jagadēkamalla of Kalyāni. It may be further noted in this connection that the epigraph in which this word occurs is inscribed in Nāgari characters.

Turning to contemporary literature, we find that Harihara (A.D. 1165) had no scruples to make use of foreign words in his compositions. It is really interesting to note that the word “toppige” (from “topi” meaning cap) occurs in his Basava Rāja Dēva Ragale. In the same work we get the Marathi words “Chhatis” (meaning thirty-six) and “Bāhattar” (meaning seventy-two). Even to this day people in North Karnatakake freely use Marathi words for numerals which practice seems to have been prevalent even in the twelfth century. Again the word “Chādaya” (meaning increment in pay) is used. It is true that these are the only four Marathi words that Harihara borrowed. Nevertheless, we shall not be far from truth, if we presume that a larger number of them was used in ordinary con-

(3) Basavaraṇadēva Ragale, Sthala V, line 60.
(4) Ibid. Sthala VIII, line 125.
(5) Ibid, Sthala VI, line 34.
versational language in those times. Because, as we have already noted, the tendency among the writers of that period was to avoid as many foreign words as possible in their compositions.

So far we have seen the influence exercised by some Aryan languages on Kannada. We are often told that "when an Aryan tongue comes into contact with an uncivilized aboriginal one, it is invariably the latter that goes to the wall," 1 and that "it is only in the South of India where aboriginal languages are associated with a high degree of culture that they have held their own". 2 But we have altogether a different story to tell in the Chālukyan Empire. The Dravidian language Kannada not only held its own, but influenced to a considerable extent its Aryan neighbour Marathi. Let us therefore proceed to examine this Kannada influence on Marathi language and country and note the causes that contributed to it.

Besides the Kannad districts, the Chalukyan Empire comprised a large portion of the Deccan which is now known as Maharashtra. It is very remarkable that many Chālukya inscriptions found in this part of the Maratha countries are in Kannad language. This was because, the officers forming the government of the Chālukyas spoke Kannad and with a view to make the administration easy, they made Kannad the court language. This is the case with all the conquerors who speak a language different from that of the conquered. It cannot possibly, be otherwise. Of course, Marathi was the mother-tongue of the people inhabiting this part of the Chālukyan Empire. But it had not yet developed a distinct literature of its own. Jñānēśvari of 1290 was yet to be composed, and Marathi literature was still in the making. Kannada with its extra-

(1) Imperial Gazetteer of India, VI. I, p. 351.
(2) Ibid, p. 352.
ordinary polish and vast literature was therefore readily accepted by the Marathi speaking population as their vernacular and court language. This adoption of Kannada by the Marathas seems to have taken place during the rule of the Rāṣhtrakūṭas who are well known for their love of Kannada literature. Nripatunga in his Kavirājāmārga clearly mentions that the region in which Kannada was "Spoken" extended from the Kaveri as far as Godavari. The accuracy of Nripatunga's statement cannot be doubted. Because, as we have already stated, the very existence of a large number of Kannada inscriptions in the Maratha country abundantly proves that in ancient times—especially during the days of the Western Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi Kannada was the recognized state language of the people. Moreover we get other evidences to the same effect. The country was Karnatakised to such an extent that many villages in modern Maharashtra still retain their ancient Kannada names. For example, the names Kundoor, (near Poona), Poyanādu, Shirōj, Kallamath, Dēvarakoppa, Akkal-Kop, Uṭavi, Attigare, Mosale, Nērūr, Pāle, Dēvūr, Dōṇi, Nirgude, Kanakavallī, Brahmanāl, Gaṅgāpur, Kuraṅivāḍi, and Kaḷasa betray their Kannada origin. Late Mr. Raja-vade was of opinion that about half the number of villages in Maharashtra bear Kannada names. When the country itself was so much influenced, it is certain that the language (Marathi) was still more affected. Old Kannada influence on Marathi with special reference to Jnāṅśevari is very ably shown by Prof. Jahagirdar in his thesis submitted to the University of London. In Marathi and Gujarathi, unlike the other Indo-Aryan vernaculars, three genders are distin-

(1) "परिलिक्षिताकाळेः | समव (सूर) विशीर्षितम् दृश्यम् ||
विशिष्यत अर्थात् ..."—Parishāda I, verse, 36.

(2) Alur Venkata Rao, Karnataka Gata Vaiśhava, p. 81

(3) Ibid., p. 19.

guished and the neuter is a living gender just as in Kannada. This peculiarity is rightly attributed to Dravidian influence by Dr. Sten Konow.1

Along with the rise of a people increases the influence of their language. The ruler forces his speech on the subjects. History of India is full of such instances. Persian became the predominant written language under the Mahamadanan rule. With the advent of the British, English has been introduced into India. Urdu has become the medium of instruction in the Hyderabad State, at the expense of Telugu, Marathi and Kannada. Similar was the case with ancient Maharashtrians living under the Chalukyas and their feudatory chiefs.

In the eleventh and the twelfth centuries Kannada wielded tremendous influence on Telugu its eastern neighbour. Telugu then seems to have had a closer relation with Kannada than at present. The earliest extant work in Telugu is the Mahabhārata by Nanniah which belongs to the first half of the eleventh century. We are told that Rāja Rāja Narēndra (of the Eastern Chalukya Dynasty) having heard the story of Bhārata in Kannada and Tamil, was desirous to perpetuate it in the language of the country of which he was the ruler.2 Hence he appointed Nanniah to undertake the task of rendering Mahābhārata into Telugu. Kannada Bharata heard by Rāja Rāja Narēndra was perhaps the Bhārata by Adipampa. Nārāyana Bhaṭṭa who assisted Nanniah was well versed, as stated in the Nandimapūḍi inscription, in Sanskrit, Karnataka, Prākrit and Paśāchika.3 Another great Andhra poet Nannechōḍu who lived in about A. D. 1150 was so

(1) Narasinhacharya, Karnataka Kavi Charite, I, p. XI, Foot note.
(2) Chechiliah and Bhujanga Rao, A History of Telugu Literature p. 42.
(3) Ŧarasinhacharya, Karnataka Kavi Charite, Vol, I, p. 74.
much influenced by Kannada language and literature that he has freely used a large number of Kannada words in his Telugu poetry. Mr. Chenchiah and Mr. Bhujiangra Rao are of opinion that Nannechõdu’s learning in Karnataka was extensive and massive.\(^1\) What is more, he showed a “perceptible partiality to Kannada metres”.\(^2\) The Āndhras were so much enamoured of the richness and beauty of Kannada that many of them, we are told, used to migrate to Karnataka and write books in it, after mastering the language. Ādipampa tells us in his Bhārata that his ancestors came from Vengi.\(^3\) Nāgavarma, the author of Cīhandōmbudhi and Kādambari was, likewise, an Āndhra.\(^4\)

The rise of Lingāyatism had also contributed much to the spread of Kannada language among the Telugus. Basavā’s noble principles now reached beyond the narrow limits of Karnataka, and foreigners with a view to read his sayings began to learn Kannada. With the result, Telugu literature came under the influence of Vīraśaivism. The three Telugu poets of this period are all supporters and propagandists of this faith.\(^1\) Pālkurjke Somanātha was one of these authors who studied and wrote in Kannada as well. This influence of Kannada language on Telugu was so remarkable that even after the 12th century, Āndhra writers were not able to get rid of it altogether. For, in the fourteenth century we find Šrīnātha “the supreme poet of Telugu literature” declaring that his style was purely Karnataki and not Sanskrit or Āndhra as some Pāndūrs thought it to be.\(^5\) Similarly Allāsāni Peddanaḍa, the Telugu

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(\(^1\)) Chenchiah and Bhujiangra Rao, o. c. p. 52
(\(^2\)) Ibid.
(\(^3\)) Pampabharata, XIV, 40-48.
(\(^4\)) Karnataka Kavi Charite, I, p. 52.
(\(^5\)) Chenchiah and Bhujiangra Rao o. c. p. 51
poet-laureate of Krishna Dēva Rāya (1509–1529) is said to have laid under tribute Kannāda words wherever necessary.¹

Thus the period under survey presents Karnataka language in its full glory. In the territory of the Chālu-
kyas and their feudatory chiefs it was the state language and came to be studied by every subject irrespective of his mother tongue. In the hands of the Viraśaiva reformers it turned to be the powerful medium for the propagation of religion, and created a literature racy of the soil. In the eyes of the Āndhra men of letters it was looked upon as the language of refinement and culture, setting for them a worthy example in order to cultivate their own sweet, honeyed Telugu.

¹ *Karnataka Gata Vaibhava*, p. 122. The original verse is quoted:—

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"कर्णनमुर्धाद योजना वयं स्वयम्भोजोच्छस्
| निर्भुवे संसारसदर्मं नावं

सुमलितानं, मोरवं भोज्या, नाना
| नारायणं श्रीकृष्णं नाना

भक्तिस्मृतिसंसारं, नाना नाना, नाना
| नाना नाना नाना, नाना नाना"
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CHAPTER XII

LITERATURE

The internal history of the times of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras will remain incomplete without a survey of Kannada literature of the period. We have already seen that some of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras were ruling the districts before the appearance of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi; and many of them continued to hold territories even after the fall of the Chālukyan Empire. Thus we have a period of about three centuries, say, from A. D. 960 to A. D. 1250, taking for example the duration of the Sinda dynasty of Belagavi. We, therefore, propose to deal with the literary history of Karnataka during these three hundred years.

The poet in this period seems to have played a prominent part in moulding the cultural life of the nation. He wielded political influence at the royal court; religious influence at the temple, and was a central figure in his village. The emperors and the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras, in ancient times, were delighted when great poets came to their courts. They enjoyed a good poem, honoured a true poet and encouraged literary art. In fact, the court of every chieftain was an academy where the poet attained wealth and fame according to his merit. Kannada literature of this period is as its best. It is of vast extent and range. We have books on poetics, prosody, grammar, lexicons and what is more on medicine, veterinary science, mathematics, astrology, cookery and even on horse breeding. Besides there are innumerable inscriptions composed in beautiful Kāvyā style. These edicts are so rich in diction and flowing in style that the reader sometimes forgets that he is studying history. He sees before him a treasure of Kannada literature clothed under the garb of epigraphs which are mostly grants.
This proud heritage produced in this period is the outcome of liberal patronage extended to literature by the ruling dynasties of the day. We all know that the great poet Ranna was a courtier basking in the imperial sunshine of the Chālukyas. But it will be wrong to suppose that it was only the Chalukyas who were responsible for the enrichment of our literature. Many a Mahāmanḍalēśvaro had his own court adorned by the poet-laureate. Pāśva Pandita, Bālachandra and Mādirāja shone in the court of the Raṭṭas. Rāvappayya was under the fostering care of the Sindas. Mallinātha was encouraged by the Sāntaras, and Madhusūdhanadēva was the poet of the Pāṇḍyas of Uchchangi. Ranna in his Gadaṇḍudhā clearly tells us that he began his literary career first under the patronage of the Mahāmanḍalēśvaras, and shone like a gem in royal darbārs of the “Māṇḍalihas”, the “Sāmantis” and the “Chakravarti” as a poet skilled in two languages. It is thus evident that the literature of this period is laid under a deep debt of gratitude to the feudatory chiefs who encouraged men of letters with due honour and riches.

We all know that literature is the embodiment of the emotions and thoughts of the people. The history of a country is reflected in its literature. From this point of view, we may classify the literary history of the period into the “Heroic age” and the “Age of Religious propaganda,” the dividing line falling somewhere at the end of the eleventh century.

First turning to the “Heroic Age”, we find that it was an age when Karnataka was busy in changing dynasties and her people in exchanging swords. The Chālukyas had just emerged victorious out of the struggle. The Pallavas and the Gangas had their battles to fight, and the powerful

(1) Ravnana Gadaṇḍudhā, I, 34.
(2) Ravnana Gadaṇḍudhā, I, 34, 37.
Cōlas were still ravaging the country destroying the Jaina shrines. "It was a time when the spirit of heroism and enterprise was constantly evoked". The literature of the period embodies this heroic spirit of the age.

Many of the poets of this period could handle the sword as well as the pen. In war they led the army and at court they wrote a Kātyā. It is well known to the student of Kannada literature that Chāvundarāya (A.D. 978) was the commander-in-chief under Rāchamalla of the Ganga dynasty. This celebrated poet-general tells us in his work Chāvunda Rāya Purāṇa that he was called "Ranaranga Singa" (Lion in the battlefield) on account of the victory he won, single-handed, in the famous fort of Uccangi. He possessed the military title "Viramāriṇḍa" along with the literary title "Kavijanakshara"; Nāgaravarma (A.D. 990) who wrote Chāndombudhi and translated the Kādambari, we are told, fought bravely in the battle, "like Arjuna, the son of Kuntī" (ಕುಂದಿನ್ನ ಕುಂದಿನ್ನ). Poet Ranna called his famous work, Sāhasabhima Vijaya (or Gadāyudha), a name which suggests the predominant heroic spirit of the age. In this work the poet institutes a beautiful comparison between Bheema the hero of the story and Chālukya Satyāsraya his royal patron. The whole Kātyā from beginning to end is full of heroic sentiment. (Virarasa). Moreover, the great scholar who revised this great work was a danḍanāyaka (General) by name Kēsi. Thus we see that some of the great literary masters of the period were brave generals as well.

In this period we have epics and the Purāṇas which strike us by their richness of diction and dignity of style.

(1) Karnataka Handbook, p. 172
(2) Chauvundaraya Purana, Adipurana, Intro. p. II.
(3) Chauvundaraya Purana Adi Purana, Introduction, p. II-III
(5) Ibid., p. 54.
(6) Rannana Gadayuddha, I 51.
the characteristic of all the works of the age. In addition to these, we have books on other subjects as well. But “the predominant note struck by the literature of the age was heroism, though out of the fullness and vitality of national life were produced works of other themes and interests. This period has bequeathed to us some of the most sublimely noble and magnificent examples of Kannada literature”.

From the beginning of the twelfth century commences the era of extreme religious unrest. It was the age of theistic and religious reformers. The dominant note of the twelfth century and that of the following is the intensification of the religious consciousness of the people, and the consequent birth of aggressive and propagandist creeds which sought the aid of kings for their expansion. Rāmānuja began his missionary tours about the middle of this century. The Veerashaiva faith associated with Basava now began to make its influence felt throughout the length and breadth of Karnataka. Religions ran into extremes. All this produced much bitterness, engendered by a narrow spirit of advocacy, and was instrumental in bringing into existence a huge quantity of polemical and propagandist literature. It is from this century that Kannada began to be greatly influenced by Lingāyatism which gave us some of the best poets in the whole range of our literature. The Jainas wrote many Purānas to revive interest, in the Jain faith which now began decline amidst adverse environments. Of such Purānas mention may be made of Rāmchandra Charita Purāṇa and Mallinātha Purāṇa by Nāgachandra (A.D. 1100), Nāminātha Purāṇa by Kārnapārya (A.D. 1140), Neminath Purāṇa by Nāmichandra (A.D. 1170), Chandra Prabha Purāṇa by

(3) Ibid, p. 141
(4) Ibid., p.262.
Aggaśa (A.D. 1189), Vardhamāna Purāṇa1 by Ācārṇa (A.D. 1195), Pārśavānātha Purāṇa2 by Pārvat Pāṇḍita (A.D. 120), Anantanātha Purāṇa3 by Janna (A.D. 1209 ), Pushpadanta Purāṇa4 by Guṇavarma II (A.D. 1235), and Sautisavara Purāṇa by Kamalabhānav (A.D. 1235.) Among Brahmāna works of this period mention may be made of Jagannātha Vijaya by Rudrabhaṭṭa (A.D. 1180.)

We have numerous Lingāyat writers in this period, the prominent among them being Harihara (A.D. 1165), Rāghavānka6 (A.D. 1165), Kereya Padmarasa7 (A.D. 1165), Kumāra Padmarasa8 (A.D. 1180) Pālkurika) Sōmanātha9 (A.D. 1195), and Chakrapāṇi Ranganātha10 (A.D. 1195). Most of these rāasaiva writers—wrote either in Shatpadi or Ragaṇē which now come into vogue. The necessity of religious propaganda demanded the creation of a lucid, popular easily intelligible style and this was achieved by the new literary forms just mentioned. The hitherto dominating Champū form of composition which was not suited to simple Kannada, gave its place to Shatpadi and Ragaṇē. The Champū was composed in pure Sanskrit metres which are highly artificial to the Dravidian language Kannada. But the new forms now introduced by the Lingāyat writers were purely indigenous, and these gave a new grace and charm altogether to Kannada poetry. Shatpadi is a six-lined stanza which is divided into two halves of three lines each. Shatpadi are of six kinds namely Vārdhika, Parivardhini, Bhāmini, Kusuma, Bhōga, and Śara. Ragaṇē is a sort of lyrical composition which flows on without any refrains. It is divided into “Mandānī “Utsāha” and “Lalita”. The first poet to use Shatpadi was Rāghavānka (A.D. 1165) who was later on followed even.

(1) Ibid., p. 301. (2) Ibid., p. 324. (3) Ibid., p. 334.
(10) Ibid., p. 296.
by Jaina and Brahmana poets. From the end of the fourteenth century, Shatpadi becomes the most common metre freely used by writers of every faith. The master of "Ragale" metre was the great poet Harinarn (A. D. 1165), who wrote a lengthy book in this form, in praise of the sixty-three puratanas and other early Saiva saints. He used this metre with such beauty and lucidity that he was now popularly called "Ragale Kavi". Besides the Lingayat writers mentioned above, there was a big band of "Vachanakaras" who "flooded the country with tracts" commending the new creed preached by Basava. Of these "vachana" writers of the age of prominent arc-Basavang, Chennabasava, Prabhudev, Mahadeviyakku, Siddarama, Sodala Bacherasa, Madivala Machayya, Molligevu Marayya, Ambigara Chaudayya, Kola Santayya, Nuliya Channayya, Simmalligeya Channaya, and Jadore Dasimayya. Thus the twelfth century marks a very important stage in the history of Kannada literature as it saw the beginning of the "vachana" Literature. It will, therefore, not be out of place here to say a few words about the vachanas or the sayings.

The Vachana is a unique feature of the Veerashaiva Literature. It is particularly noteworthy for its crispness, its rhythmic cadence, and its chastic and severe diction. It is easily intelligible even to the man in the street. "In form the Vachanas are brief, disconnected paragraphs, each ending with one or another of the numerous local names.

(1) P. G. Halakatti, Basavoshavarana Vachanagalu, See the Introduction.
(3) Ibid., p. 180
(4) P. G. Halakatti, Mahadeviyakkana Vachanagalu, See the Introduction.
(6) Ibid., p. 187.
(7) Ibid., p. 183.
(8) Ibid., p. 189.
(9) Ibid., p. 192.
(10) Ibid., p. 192.
(11) Ibid., p. 191.
(12) Ibid., p. 195.
(13) Ibid., p. 201.
under which Śiva is worshipped. In style, they are epigrammatical, parallelistic and allusive. They dwell on the vanity of riches, the valuelessness of mere rites or book-learning, the uncertainty of life, and the spiritual privileges of the Śivabhaktas. They call men to give up the desire for worldly wealth and ease, to live lives of sobriety and detachment from the world, and to turn, to Śiva for refuge. They are seldom controversial, but almost entirely hortatory, devotional and expository.”¹ The prose used in those Vachanas is invested with dignity and beauty. They are simple, direct, full of power, pleasant even where the expression is a little rough, and gracious with simile and metaphor taken from village life; and flavoured with a humour which, strangely enough, is not out of place in the midst of so much seriousness. The vachana literature has done much for the development of Kannada prose. Some of the vachanas are full of alliterations, and they sound like proverbs. Much of the highest type of lyrical poetry in Karnataka Literature can be read in these. Moreover the vachanas are unique in the literature of India in the sense that no other vernacular can boast of them. Some of the sayings of Basavēśvara are so sublime in diction, language and the thought they contain, that they can be rightly compared to the gems of Gitānjali of poet Rabindranath Tagore. A few specimens of his previous vachanas will bring the truth of our statement nearer at home.

Specimens.

1. “Those who have means will not devote them to the building of a temple to God (Śiva.) Then I, though a poor man, will build Thee one, O Lord. My legs shall be the pillars, my body the shrine, my head the golden finial. Hearken, O Kūḍala-Sangama-dēva: The fixed temple of

(1) E. P. Rice, A History of Kannarese Literature, p. 56.
stone will come to an end; but this movable temple of the spirit will never perish.¹

2. “Like the dog placed in the palanquin is the mind. If it sees its old desires it reverts; it must run; fie on this mind: It runs to the pleasures of the senses. My God, it will not permit me to remember you constantly. My Lord Kūḍāla Sangam, grant that I may think of you, I pray you, O Good One:—”

3. “Make me lame so that I shall not waste time gadding about. Make me blind so that my eyes shall not wander looking on things. Make the ears deaf to aught but what concerns you. Let not my mind desire anything but the service of you saints.”²

One unfortunate feature of this period is the religious bigotry of some of the non-vachana writers. Religious enthusiasm led to narrow jealousies. Some of the writings are “tainted by a spirit of unseemly brutal intolerance.”² Dharmamrita by Nayasena (A.D. 1112), Samaya Parikshe by Brahmasiva (A.D. 1125) and Dharma Parikshe by Vrittavilāsa (A.D. 1160) are good instances in point. Another sign of national decay due to the luxuriant and prosperous conditions of the time may be seen in the partiality for erotic themes. The vira-rasa (heroic sentiment) of the heroic age now gives place to Srangāra (love sentiment). The heroes are not strong men of action and achievement, but psychopathic pervers grovelling in

(1) Translated by M. Venkatesha Iyyangar, Sayings of Basavanna in the Q. I. M. S., Vol. XXII, p. 41. The original runs:—

“�ವುದೆ ಕೆಳಕೆಲಾದ ಕೆಲ ನಂತರದಲ್ಲಿಂದ ಕೆಲ್, ಕುಂಚಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ನಂತರದಲ್ಲಿಂದ ಸೇರಿದ ನಂತರದಲ್ಲಿಂದ ಕೆಲ್! ನಂತರದಲ್ಲಿ ಸೇರಿದ ನಂತರದಲ್ಲಿಂದ ಕೆಲ್! ನಂತರದಲ್ಲಿ ಸೇರಿದ ನಂತರದಲ್ಲಿಂದ ಕೆಲ್! ನಂತರದಲ್ಲಿ ಸೇರಿದ ನಂತರದಲ್ಲಿಂದ ಕೆಲ್!” (Basaveshwarana Vachanagalu, p. 10. (Basaveshwarana Vachanagalu, p. 10.)

(2) Karnatak Handbook, pp. 175-176,
eroticism. Lilāvati by Nāmichandra (A. D. 1170), Sthānasatāka by Kavikāma (A. D. 1200) and Madanavijaya by Āndayya (A. D. 1235), may be cited as good examples. There is not a single Kāvyā in this period which can stand comparison with the great Epic Sāhasabhima Vijaya, the glory of the heroic age.

There were a great number of literary figures during this period which is a proud chapter in Karnataka history. The Cālukya Emperors, who were themselves Kannadigas, were great patrons of letters. The Mahāmanḍalēśvaras under them were imbued with a taste for literature, zealous of their mother-tongue and anxious to enrich Kannada culture which was their own. The court of every chief became a resort of the wandering minstrel and the ambitious poet. The poet, too, had inspiring themes to perpetuate in song and verse. The Cōla was ever ready at the Southern gate and the Cālukya with his Maṇḍalēśvara to strike him straight. Those were stirring times of great heroes and glorious battles, of love and valour and of splendid victories. Then commences the "Age of religious propaganda," aided by the poet. We find numerous writers and the output enormous. New literary forms arose to disseminate knowledge among the masses. On the whole, it was a period which provided a splendid opportunity for self-expression and for the display of individuality.

Ranna (A. D. 993).

We have already said something about this great poet, the third member of the trio, the other two being Pampa (A. D. 941), and Ponna (A. D. 950). Ranna is the author of Ajita Purāṇa, Sāhasabhima Vijaya (also called Gadāyuddha) and Ranna Kanda, which are all extant. From a verse given at the end of Ajita Purāṇa, he seems to have also written Paruṣarāma Charita and Chakrēśvara Charita, which are lost to us.
The poet narrates his early history in the Purāṇa. In the year A.D. 949 he was born of poor parents who belonged to the Vaiśya caste. His father, a native of Mudhol, was a bangle-seller by profession and a Jaina by faith. Ranna married two wives Jakti and Saṇti. He had a son called Rāya and a daughter by name Attimarbe. His Guru was Ajita-Senāchārya. Ranna wrote under the patronage of Taila (A.D. 973 to 997) who bestowed on him the great literacy title “Kavichakrāvarī” or the “Emperor of Poets.”¹ In his Sāhasabheema Vijaya he tells the story of how Bhīma fulfilled his vow to break the limbs of Duryūdhana with his “Gadda” and slay him. Throughout the poem the Royal patron Ahavamalla Chālukya is compared to Bhīma. It is one of the few greatest works ever produced in the literature of Karnāṭaka. It is strange enough that such a great poet devoted some of his precious time to write a lexicon, already mentioned, (Ranna Kanda). Ranna’s learning in Sanskrit and Kannada is prodigious and his flow of inspiration sustained. In the weaving of words his skill is extraordinary. The descriptions are delightful, and conversations cunningly managed.²

Śrīdhārāchārya (A.D. 1049).

The importance of Śrīdhārāchārya lies in the fact that his Jātakahilaluḥa is the earliest extant work on astrology. The author tells us that as there was not a single Kannada book on astrology, many Pandits requested him to write one on the subject. From his title Gaddapadya Vidyādhara, he seems to have been a master of both prose and verse. Jātakahilaluḥa, however is composed in “Kanda” and “Vritta” metres. He also wrote Chandraprabhāpurāṇa which has not come down to us.³

(1) Gaddapadya, I, 32.
(2) See his Gaddapadya.
Nāgachandra or Abhinavapampa (A. D. 1100).

The next prominent poet who draws our attention is Nāgachandra, a native of "Vijayapura" or modern Bijapur which was then included in the territory of the Sindas. He is the author of Rāmachandrarācharita Purāṇa (also called Pampa Rāmāyaṇa), and Mallinātha Purāṇa the first of which is his master-piece. Devachandra (A. D. 1838) in his Rājāvati Kathe informs us that Nāgachandra also wrote Jīnakshara Māle. A book called Jīnakshara Māle, which is now published is attributed to Nāgachandra by some scholars. But Mr. Narasinhacharya who has studied the poets' style is of opinion that it cannot be the work of Nāgachandra.

Rāmachandra Charita Purāṇa has unique value as it preserves for us a Jaina version of the Rāmāyaṇa which differs in important respects from the Brahmanical version. In Nāgachandra's Purāṇa the whole atmosphere is Jaina. The Rākshasas are called Vidyādharas. In place of the supernatural marvels we have a comparatively natural narrative. Sugreeva and his followers are not monkeys; but human beings whose standard bears the figure of a monkey. Rāvana possesses only one head instead of ten. The real hero of the story is Lakshmana, and not Rāma.

Nāgachandra takes his place in the rank of great inspired poets who owe their achievements not to laborious training but to born talents. His Rāmāyaṇa is full of sonorous and sweet words. It has the complicated sympathy of an orchestra.

Nayāsena (A. D. 1112).

Nayāsena, the author of Dharmāmṛita, is the next important writer. He belongs to Mulagunda in the

(1) Ibid., P. 99.  
(2) Ibid., P. 99, 100  
(3) See Rāmāchandrarācharita Purāṇa.  
(4) Ibid.
Dharwar district which was then included in the territory of the Guttas. His style is easy and pleasant to the ear. The book is a discourse on morals including courage, truthfulness, justice, chastity etc. He was a staunch Jain, and also the leader of the school which was opposed to the use of needless sanskrit words into Kannada.  

Rājāditya (A. D. 1120).

Rājāditya is the first Kannada writer who devoted his poetical talents to the elucidation of mathematical subjects. It may be interesting to note that a similar book was composed in Telugu by Mallana in the same century. Rājāditya was the native of "Poovinabāge which shone like an incomparable gem in the Kūndi Mandala" (రోహయోగం, కుండి మణింత, కుండి మణింత) which was then under the rule of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti. As he describes himself as "One worthy to adorn the Royal court," he seems to have been a poet-laureate to some king. The poet mentions a certain Vishnunripāla in his vyavahāraratna. Mr. Narasinhacharya presumes that this Vishnunripāla was Vishnuvardhana of the Hoyasala dynasty who ruled from 1111 A. D. to 1141 A. D., and that Rājāditya was at his court. If this can be accepted as true, it is strange enough that the Raṭṭas known for their patronage of literature allowed Rājāditya to leave their kingdom and seek his fortune elsewhere. With regard to this poet's ability, Mr. Narasinhacharya speaks in high praise of his skill in composition and scholarship in mathematics.

Nāgavarma II (A. D. 1145).

Nāgavarma is one of the great grammarians of the Kannada language. He is known as the author of Kāvyā-

(2) Chenobiah and Bhujanga Rao, A History of Telugu literature, p. 50.
(3) Narasinhacharya, o. c. p. 123.
(4) Ibid., p. 125.
valokaṇa, Karnatakahāṣṭā-bhūṣaṇa and Vastukūsa. Of these the first two are “two notable grammars of the language one in Kannada verse, the other in Sanskrit sūtras, which are the earliest known systematic treatises on the subject.” The last is a compilation of Sanskrit-Kannada glossary, the earliest work of the kind in Kannada.

Nāgavarma was a Jaina by faith. He seems to have also composed a Jaina Purāṇa, as poet Janna (A. D. 1209) includes him among the earlier Purāṇa-writers. He possessed the titles “Abhinavaśarvavarma,” “Kavi Karpūra,” “Kavīgaṇūdaya” and “Kavi Kanṭhābharaṇa,” and has been praised by Āchārya (A. D. 1195), Janna, (A. D. 1209), Śālva (A. D. 1550), Devadatta (A. D. 1600) and other poets.

Durgasinha (A. D. 1145).

Durgasinha is one of the few non-Jaina writers of this period. He has rendered into Kannada the stories of the Panchatantra. He tells us in his work that he was a Śāiva Brahmana of Sayyaḍī in the Kisekaḍa Nāḍu, the territory ruled by the Sindas of Yelburga. After completing his education in the Agrahāra of Sayyaḍī, he found favour with a Chālukya dandanḍayaka and was appointed as the minister of war and peace (Sandhivigraha).

Jagaddāla Sōmanāṭha (A. D. 1150).

The importance of Sōmanāṭha lies in the fact that his Kalyoṇahāraka is the earliest extant Kannada work on medicine. It is a translation of Pūjyapāda’s Sanskrit treatise of the same name. The poet possessed the title “Vichitrakavi,” or “Strange Poet.” The book is divided into eight adhyāyas. The treatment it prescribes is entirely vegetarian and non-alcoholic.

(1) Rice, A History of Canarese Literature, p. III. 
(2) Narasinhacharya, o. c. p. 144. 
(3) Ibid., p. 149. 
Haribara (A.D. 1165).

Haribara, the author of *Girijākalyāṇa*, *Pampāṣṭaka*, *Śivaganada Ragāle* and *Mudigeyā Asākā*, is the first prominent Vīra-Śaiva poet. He was an accountant at the court of Narasinhaballāja (A.D. 1141 to 1173), and a devotee of god Virūpāksha of Hampe.

The real greatness of Haribara is that he was far ahead of his times. It was his life ambition to compose poetry for the layman and to infuse culture in him. Though he was a great Sanskrit scholar, he hated to Sanskritize his style, unlike many a poet of his day. He first wrote the *Girijākalyāṇa* in the traditional "champu" form. But soon finding it inadequate to the unsanskritized Kannadiga in the street, took the hitherto neglected indigenous Ragāle metre and composed in it scores of books giving out the biographies of ancient *Shivabhaṅgās*. Hence he came to be called "Ragāle Kavi".

As for the literary qualifications of Haribara, very few poets can stand comparison with him. In *Girijākalyāṇa* he fully displays his individual ability. *Basavaraṇā-devara Ragāle* bears impressive testimony to his simple and lucid

(1) It is recorded in tradition that people began to make fun of Haribara calling him "Ragāle Kavi", and challenging him to write a "Champu" which was more difficult to compose owing to rhetoric restrictions. Haribara responding to this challenge, it is said, wrote *Girijākalyāṇa*. Mr. Rice seems to believe this traditional story, as he says that *Girijākalyāṇa* was written after the Ragāles (*A History of Kannarese Literature* p. 60). It is difficult for us to agree with Mr. Rice. If we turn to the internal evidence, the truth of our statement becomes clear. The whole atmosphere in *Girijākalyāṇa* is Brahmanical. For example the marriage between Śiva and Pārvatī is celebrated according to Brahmanical rites. It is thus evident that Haribara was a Brahmana when he wrote this work, and afterwards became a convert to Lingayatism. It cannot be other wise, as he died a Lingayat. Hence *Girijākalyāṇa* seems to be his early work. We therefore, place it before the Ragāles. Besides, Haribara was a man of remarkable independence, caring little for the public opinion. It seems incredible that he paid any attention to jokes poked at him.
style. It is a rare work full of honeyed words, apt comparisons and delicate and polished imagery. As a work of art it occupies a high place in Kannada literature. ¹

Rāghavaṅka (A, D. 1165).

Rāghavaṅka was the nephew and disciple of Harihara. He is the author of six books namely Harischandra-kāvya, Sōmanātha-Charitra, Siddharāma Purāṇa, Vireśvara-Charitra, Śurabha Charitra and Harihara Mahatva, of which only the first three are now extant. He is the first man who made an attempt to write in Shatapadi metre and curiously enough was crowned with success. In point of literary merit, Harischandra-kāvya is the best of his compositions.

An interesting story is told in Padminarājapurāṇa of how Rāghavaṅka was compelled to compose five of his works. We are told that poet Harihara, the uncle of Rāghavaṅka, was displeased at his having written the praise of a Vaiśṇava king Harischandra and broke of his nephew’s teeth. And it is said that as soon as Rāghavaṅka wrote the five Śaiva “Kritis” he recovered his lost teeth. ²

Nēmichandra (A, D. 1170).

Nēmichandra is known for his Lilāvati, the earliest specimen of the Novel. Mr. Rice calls it “a genuine work of fiction”. ³ The plot is woven after a Kadamba prince Kandarpa who saw Lilāvati in a dream; she likewise dreamt of him. Both the hero and the heroine, after a long search for each other, got married and lived happily at Banavāsc. Mr. Narasinhacharya informs us that the whole story is composed in a fascinating style which reveals the poet’s command of the language and his power of imagina-

¹ See Basavarājadevara Ragaḍa.
³ Rice, E. P. A History of Kannarose Literature, p. 43.
tion. It may however be noted that the work is marred by excessive erotic passages.

Nāmichandra possessed many titles among which Kalākūnta, Śrīngāraratnākara, Kavirāja Kunjara and Chaturbhūshachakravarti, may be mentioned. He was prominent at the court of Viraballāja and at that of the Mahāmanḍalēśvaras Lakshmana Rāja of Kolhapur.

Rudrabhaṭṭa. (A.D. 1180)

Rudrabhaṭṭa is the first Brahmana writer to compose a Brahmanical Purāṇa in Kannada. He wrote Jagannāṭhavijaya which reproduces in Champu the narrative of the Vishṇu Purāṇa. A doubt is often expressed as to when Rudrabhaṭṭa lived. But both Dr. Samasastri and Mr. Narasinhacharya agree that he was the contemporary of Viraballāja who ruled from 1172 to 1219 A. D.

Rudrabhaṭṭa’s style is very pleasing which can bring satisfaction both to the Pandit and the Pāmara (layman). As he calls himself “Kavi Śrīradābha Chandrātaparudra” and “Kavirājarājam” he seems to have possessed these titles. Rasakaliṅkā which is attributed to him by Sālva (A.D. 1150) has not come down to us.

Janna (A.D. 1209).

“Janna was a man of varied gifts and considerable munificence, being both court poet and minister at the Ballāla court, and also the builder and beautifier of temples”. He is the author of Yaśōdhara Charite, Anantarātha Purāṇa and Smaratantra, the last of which

(2) Ibid, p. 256.
(3) Jagannathavijaya, See the Introduction and Narasinhacharya O. O. p. 271.
(4) Jagannathavijaya, Asvasa I, Verse 17.
(5) Ibid Asvasa I, verse 22.
(6) Rice, E. P. O. C. p. 43.
is lost. It is on account of his *Yāśodaḥharacharite* that Janna
deserves a very high place in the republic of Kannada
letters. It relates how a king Māridatta was about to
sacrifice two boys of noble birth to Māri, but was so moved
by their story that he released them, and abandoned the
practice of animal sacrifice. Janna's method of expres-
sion is really wonderful. His style is full of grace and
dignity. Many of the later poets praise him highly. Janna
in our opinion is the greatest literary figure in the
thirteenth century.

**Śiśumāyana.** (A. D. 1232).

The last important poet of the *Mahāmanḍalēśvarian*
days is the Jaina poet Śiśumāyana. He will be ever re-
membered as the first writer who tried the *Sāṅgatya* metre
and attained considerable success. *Sāṅgatya* is a form of
composition which is peculiarly suited to be intoned to the
accompaniment of musical instrument. Like "shatpadi",
"Ragaḷe" and "Tripadi," it is essentially Kannada in origin.

Besides these literary figures, who wrote big works on
palm leaves, there are innumerable poets who have display-
ed their merit in the inscriptions. We shall enumerate
here a few of them without whose compositions Kannada
literature and epigraphy would have been undoubtedly
poorer.

**Kamāladiṭya (A. D. 980).**

From an inscription found at Sōgaḷ in the Belgaum dis-
trict we understand that he was the composer of that
Śūsana. Mr. Narsinhacharu informs us that he was a
Brahmana poet. The poet extols Taila II and Kaḷṭa, that
is, the *Mahāmanḍalēśvara Kāṛtavīrya* I of the Raṭṭa dynasty

(1) See *Yāśodaḥharacharite*.
(2) Barnett, Sōgal Inscription of the reign of Taila II, Ep. Ind.
XVI, p. 9.
who was the lord of the Kāndi district. This indicates that Kamaladevi was under the royal patronage of the Raṭtas. Mr. Edwards rightly remarks that he was perhaps the court-poet of Kārtavirya I. It is interesting to note that this Śaiva poet found favour in the court of a Jaina King.

Kappanaṇa Bhaṭṭa (A.D. 1032).

An epigraph found at Sorab states that it was written by one Kappanaṇa Bhaṭṭa. He had the title “Kavirājavallabha” which indicates that he was a poet of considerable merit. He was the contemporary of Jayasimha I the Chālukya Emperor.

Nāgavarman (A.D. 1047)

A record found at the Śivalingasvaram temple in the Mailār village, Hadagali Tālukā, Bellary district, says that it was composed by the poet Nāgavarman. It registers certain religious donations made by the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaru Kalima-Ayya to some gods through the disciple of Pandīta. Maulī-Maduva and Tējōrāsi. Mr. Edwards remarks, “The excellence of the composition proves that Nāgavarman must have been a pre-eminent master of poetry.”

Indrakirti. (A.D. 1055).

There is an inscription near the Jain temple of Kāgali in Bellary district. Indrakirti is described in this record as possessing many titles such as “Kavi Chunchochārya,” “Sarvaśāstrajīna,” “Kavikundarāja.” This indicates that he must have been an excellent poet of great eminence. We are also informed by Mr. Edwards that Indrakirti was a poet of high literary attainments, a supposition corroborated by the fine diction of the inscription. Unfortunately we have not come across any of his works.

(1) Edwards, Kannada Poets, Int. Ant., LV, p. 73.
(4) Ibid.
(5) Ibid.
Rāvappaya. (A. D. 1059).

Rāvappaya was the Kulakarni of Sundī in the Dharwar District, and the composer of an inscription of the time of Sūmēśvara I (Trailōkyamalla). It is to be remembered that Sundī was the capital of the Kisukād seventy, which was included in the hereditary territory of the Sindas of Yelburga. Rāvappaya was the contemporary of Muhāmanapālēśvara Barmma of this Sinda family. "The poetry of the inscription is very fine, and the style of writing is admirable, the inscription in fact is a poem."

Mallinātha (A. D. 1062).

Poet Mallinātha was under the patronage of the Muhāmanapālēśvara Bīrā Sāntara Dēva. He seems to have been the composer of two inscriptions found at Nagara. It is registered in the epigraphs that Pattunāsvāmy Nokka, who held office under Bīra Sāntara, made some gifts to temples. The diction of the records indicates that he was a poet of no mean order.

Rājavallabha. (A. D. 1067).

From an inscription at Hollūr in the Dharwar District we understand that Rājavallabha composed it. He is introduced to us as a "poet of clever speech brilliant with bright word, a treasure of discretion" (किंवदापि वाच अभिव्यक्तिधर्म्मं प्रमुखं जवःज्ञनं धनं) This shows that he was a poet of some literary value. The description of Mārigāvunda in the inscription bears impressive testimony to his flowing style. It may however be noted that this Śāsana was corrected and amplified by one Chandrabhaṭṭa.

(2) Ep. Car, VII, Nr. 57 and 58.
Hariyana. (A.D. 1075).

This Jaina poet is the composer of a Śāsana found in A.D. 1075, when Mahāmaṇḍalāśvarā Kirtideva of the Kadamba dynasty was ruling the Banavase-Nāḍu. It registers a grant to the temple of Brahmajina by Malalā Dēvī, the queen of Kirtideva. The best portion of the inscription, revealing the literary merit of the poet, comprises the natural description of the gardens of Kuppatūr.¹

Karparasa. (A.D. 1084).

Karparasa had composed an epigraph found at Naragunda in the Dharwar district. He was the son of the glorious Mahā Sandhivigrāhi Daṇḍanāyaka Kālidāsahattā.² The parents of the poet were “Chandra, a very sun in the Brahmana family” and Champāmibike, a virtuous lady. The record further informs us that he had the title “Kavita-manōhara.” Mr. Narasinhacharya doubts whether the poet was the son of Chandrarāja the author of Madanatilaka.³

Dāmarāja. (1085 A.D.)

Dāmarāja dictated a “Śāsanagabba” (poem-epigraph) which refers to a grant made by Ganga Permādi Dēva as a subordinate of Vikramāditya VI, to Jain Basadis constructed by Pugade Nokkayya. He was a Jaina poet. It is to be noted that Dāmarāja was a Sandhivigrāhi as stated in the record.⁴ The language and the style of the inscription show that he was not a man of high poetic talents.

Śrikanṭasūri. (A.D. 1099).

Śrikanṭasūri is mentioned as a poet in an inscription belonging to the reign of Vikramāditya VI. It registers some gifts made to Abhinava Sūmēśvara by the Mahājanas

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¹ E. C. VIII, 86, 266.
² Pathak, An Old Kanarese Inscription at Hodali, Ind. Ant. p. 94.
³ Narasinhacharya o. o. p. 97.
⁴ Edwards, Kannada poets, Ind. Ant. LV, p. 74.
of Kiruvatti. Kanthaśuri’s poetry as exemplified in the inscription is very sweet. (कथाशृंखला)\(^1\)

Mallikārjuna Bhatta. (A. D. 1102).

Mallikārjuna Bhatta, a Brahmana by faith, seems to be a poet far famed for his learning and literary attainments. Though no work of his has come down to us, he is known as a composer of two inscriptions at Sikārpura. “Aśukavi-niṭilāksha” was his title. Both the śāsanas register some grants to the famous temple of Kedārāśvara. His literary greatness is thus described in the records, “With approved sweet expressions, in order that it might give dignity to his smaller utterances and become a śāsana of fame, did he write this śāsana—the Nitalāksha (Īśvara) among fast (or extempore) poets (āśukawi). On examination, who is equal to the lord Mallidēva? If two from two sides should together come writing it down from the end and reading it out, he would arrange the poem so read out, and whatever it might be, as a new poem; repeat four stories from hearing them related; and make calculations in any given figures; all this was to be able to do by mental effort, a full born Sāravata, a Brahma of speakers, an emperor of many modes of ascertainment (avadhārana), is Mallikārjuna Bhatta, the lotus born among poets.”\(^2\) He was the disciple of one Sōmēśvara Panḍita Dēva who bore the title “Sārasva-tamahōdaya.” The poet seems to have held some high office as he is called “Lord” Mallinātha (Mallidēva Prabhau).

Ācharāja and Mallidēva. (A. D. 1104).

An inscription at Ablūr informs us that the record was composed by the facile poet Ācharāja and the born poet Mallidēvi (Sukarākaviyāppa Ācharājanum Sahajakavi Mallidēvanum). It registers a grant to the temple of Brahmesvara

(1) Ibid. \(\quad\) (2) E. C. VII, Sk. 98.
Dēva by Mahāsāmanṭādhipatī Gōvindarasa at the request of one Ēchagāvunda.¹

Mādirāja. (A. D. 1124).

At the end of the sāsana found at Dāvaṇagere it is stated that the record was composed by poet Mādirāja.² We do not know anything about his literary talent from the inscription. He seems to have been under the patronage of the Mahāmanṭalēśvara Rāya Pāṇḍya of Uchängi, who is praised in the inscription.

Mahādēva Bhaṭṭa and Mallidēva (A. D. 1144).

They were the composers of an inscription of 1144. The lines at the end of the Śūsana tell us that “the born poet the Upādhyāya Mahādēva Bhaṭṭa and Mallidēva the nephew of the Śenabhūva Boppimayya,” wrote it.³

Madhusūdanadēva. (A. D. 1147).

Madhusūdanadēva seems to be a poet of great fame. He had the privilege of being the teacher of Pāṇḍita Pāṇḍya, the brother of the Mahāmanṭalēśvara Vīra Pāṇḍya. He wrote an inscription found at Dāvaṇagere which refers to a gift made by Vīra Pāṇḍya.⁴ The poetry of the inscription is of a high order. Mr. Narasinhachar remarks, that his style as revealed in the Śūsana is fascinating.⁵

Mukhya Pāṇḍita (A. D. 1147).

At the end of an inscription found at Lakshmīśvara it is said that the sāsana was written by one Mukya Pāṇḍita, who bore the title “Karnataka Sukavi” (Eminent Kannada Poet).⁶

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² Ep. Car. XI, Dg. 2.
⁴ Ep. Car. XI, Dg. 41.
Sānkara Vibudha. (A.D. 1150).

Sānkara Vibudha is the composer of a Śāsana found ati Sorab, which describes him as a very wise and faultless poet (Kaṭhujānam Sal-Kavindra Sānkara Vibudham).1

Hamsudēva. (A.D. 1161).

The Chikkāṇāyakanahalā! Inscription No. 32 (Ep. Car. XII) was composed by a poet called Hamsudēva. He was the contemporary of the Muhāmaṇḍalēśvara Hoysala Narasimha (1141 to 1173).

Rāmadēva. (A.D. 1180).

Rāmadēva is the composer of two inscriptions one dating A.D. 1180 and the other A.D. 1208.2 He is the son of one Lakshmīdhara as stated in the records. Both the epigraphs refer to the Sindas of Belagavartī. As the poet extols the sindavamsa, it may be presumed that he was under the fostering care of the dynasty. He is a Bruhmana poet. With reference to his literary abilities, Mr. Narasinhachar remarks that his style is lucid 3. The verse describing the fame of Īśvara Sindā bears testimony to the poets' skill in using chaste Kannada with a sprinkling of sweet Sanskrit words.

Bālachandrakaviḥandarpa. (A.D. 1204).

Bālachandra seems to be one of those great poets who basked in the royal sunshine of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras. He has composed two beautiful inscriptions both in the "Champū" style4 (mingled prose and verse). He was a poet, far famed for his scholarship and literary achievements. The great poet Janna (A.D. 1209) mentions Bālachandra in his Anantānātha Purāṇa as the teacher of his (Janna's) wife Lakumādēvi,5 and praises him as a

(4) Barnett, Two Inscriptions from Belgaum, E. I, XIII, p. 15.
(5) Narasinhacharya o.c. p. 321.
literary savant known for his "Vakrōkti" (వాక్రోక్తి). We are very unfortunate not to come across any of his works except the inscriptions, which belong to the prosperous reign of the Mahāmandalēśvara Kārtavirya IV of the Rāṭṭa dynasty, the patron of the poet. Bālachandra’s abilities are thus described in the records “Free from faults, remarkable for significance is the decrees which the Kavikandarpa, whose verses are equal to nectar, an emperor of the poets of the four tongues, has joyfully related. (This is) the decree related by Bālachandradēva, swan in the lotus-wood of everlasting literature that has risen from tasting the nectar of the utterances of the blessed Mādhavachandra emperor of masters of the triple lore” ¹.

Pārśva Paṇḍita. (A.D. 1205).

Pārśvapāṇḍita, the court-poet of the Rāṭṭa, is known to posterity as the author of Pārśvanātha Purāṇa. There is a Rāṭṭa inscription composed by a poet called Pārśva ². Mr. Narasinhachar rightly points out that this Pārśva was the same as the writer of the Purāṇa. ³ Both the Purāṇa and the kāśana extol Kārtavirya IV, the royal patron of the poet. Pārśva Paṇḍita possessed the titles “Sukavijana-mano-harsasyaprabhavartham”, “Vibudhajananamana ha Padmi- neepadmamgram” and “Kavikulatilaham” ⁴. In this Purāṇa he mentions a good number of earlier Kannada poets prominent among whom are Pampa, Ponna, Kanna, Guṇavarma, Nāgachandra and Nēmichandra.

Mādirāja. (A.D. 1229)

“Acquiring the benefits of good deeds performed in a former state of existence, Mādirāja, is termed the son of the Lord Kēśirāja, has in accordance with the wishes of that Lord composed and written this.”

CHAPTER XIII

MUSIC

Music has received considerable patronage at the hands of the Mahāmaṇḍalāśvaras. We are told that the court of king Kārtavīrya Raṭṭa was perfect in the possession of a Saṃśaṅga which included a songster among other requisitos.¹ King Kannakairā was skilled in the art of music and dancing.² But the greatest lover of music among the Raṭṭa feudatories was King Eraga who “being acquainted with the Science of music,” says the inscription, shone in the earth.³ Again the Saundatti inscription of Kārtavīrya II describes Eraga as one who “Was a very lotus-born in respect of his acquaintance with all incomparable accomplishments, charmingly acquainted with the art of music”⁴.

It is also said of king Pemādaliva of the Sinda dynasty that he took great delight in enjoying the sentiments of poetry and singing.⁵

A record of 1095 ⁶ describes the Bēḷūr Kadamba chief Dayasimha as a “critical examiner of poems and drama... a four-faced in proficiency in logic, grammar, painting, music and many of the sixty-four arts.”

Similarly the Chālukya emperors were also great patrons of music.⁷ The kings’ Court in ancient Karnataka must

have been a favourite resort of eminent songsters who
were always eager to display their talents before
the monarchs.

The period of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras was an age when
men and women greatly indulged in the beauties of music
and of other allied arts. It is really interesting to note
that some queens were good musicians of considerable
merit. Thus the queen Lachchalādēvi, the wife of
Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Udayāditya, was skilled in all
accomplishments, and was specially devoted to music.¹
Lokamāhādevi, the queen-consort of Vikramāditya VI, was
a lover of music.² She took great delight in bestowing land
to eminent singers.³ We further learn from a lithic record
of 1103 that the three daughters of a certain dvandanāyaka
namely Boppalādēvi, Padmalādēvi and Chāvalādēvi grew
up highly skilled in singing and dancing, and were therefore
considered worthy to be queens of three separate royal
capitals.⁴ It is thus apparent that the art of music was
given an honourable place by the ruling families of ancient
Karnataka.

From the available lithic sources it can be gathered
that music was highly cultivated by our ancients. It
was recognised as a subject for study in some of the
famous agraharas and mathas of the period. A certain
professor of the Belāgīme University is described as a
master of music. We are told that he could rejoice the
hearts of the Chālukya kings "by the notes of wild-
instruments sounding sa, dha, and ri; by the modulations of
the seven notes⁵ combined in the enchanting songs of
singing women; and by the sounds of the mridajaga and
other drums.⁶

³ Ibid. ⁴ Ep. Car., VI, Om., 160.
⁵ The seven notes are — sa, ṣadja, ri, rishabha; ga, gandhara; ma,
madhyama; pa, panchama; dha, dhaivata; ni, nishadha.
⁶ Rice, Mysore inscriptions, No. 46.
The Yēvūr inscription of Vikramāditya VI presents to us the high musical attainments of a Brahmana general called Rāvīga.¹ His music was so enchanting that he is addressed as a Vidyādhara.² That part of the record describing the beauties of his singing is worthy of quotation:

"It is no matter for mere conjecture, that when he plays music, those swelling quivering instants display the regular character of a painted wall-surface or display regularity of division, correct decorative lines or correct tones being fully separated and combined."

"The unique manner in which the General Ravi makes music, combining smoothness and sweetness in a singular manner, so that it is said: 'is not this a downpour of fresh honey, or a river of nectar, that is falling upon us? Say: does it not cause delight to the ear of the whole world?" The Kannada genius for music is best illustrated by this description.

Every temple of any importance had some provision for the regular performance of music both vocal and instrumental. Singing-girls attached to temples are very frequently mentioned.³ Temple was not only a religious sanctuary but a popular social institution as well. Endowments were often made for the maintenance of singers. Thus the emperor Vikramāditya VI made a grant of land to the Nilgunda temple of Bhīmēśvara for the provision of dancing, singing and instrumental music.⁴ The Śiva temple of Śivanūr possessed on its staff four dancers, a drummer and a flute-player.⁵ Grants made to the flute-players and drummers of the Singanur temple are recorded.⁶ Similar instances can be multiplied.

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¹ Ep. Ind., XII, p. 287.
² Ibid.
³ Ep. Ind., XII, p. 146; p. 334; XIII, p. 33, Ep. Oar. VII, Sk. 295; VII, HI, 14, etc.
⁴ Ep. Ind., XII, p. 146.
⁵ Ep. Ind., XV, p. 93.
It appears that there was a class of bards who were professional singers and musicians. They went from place to place displaying music and thus earning their livelihood. They were in many places given free board and lodging in the local mathas. Thus we are told that there was provision made in the Kedārēśvara temple of Belgāme for the free distribution of food to singers, drummers, flute-players and dancers.¹

Special instruments were beaten and sounded as befitting the different occasions such as marriage, worship, procession, festival, war etc. Different Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras, entitled to the honour of Pañchamahāsabda, were heralded in the public by different instruments. For instance, the Sindas were entitled to the sounds of Mallalī² and the Kadambas of Goa to that of Permatī.³ It seems that these instruments such as Mallalī, Permatī and Bhēri were displayed at the time of war in order to infuse enthusiasm in the hearts of the warriors.⁴

Among other musical instruments that were in use many are mentioned in inscriptions. They are the Muddaḷe⁵, the damaruga, the tūrya, the nirghōshaṇa,⁶ the flute,⁷ the guitar,⁸ the trivali,⁹ the Samudra-ghōsha, the Kaṭuma-khavāditra¹⁰ and the drum.¹¹

A number of them are also referred to in the Kannada literature of the period. The Basava Rāja Dēva Ragale written by Harihara speaks of the instruments that were most common. Among them the Mridaṅga, the Kahalā, the Śaṅkha, the bhēri,¹² the paṭaha,¹³ the

ghante, the Kausāla, the Maddale, the Aunje, the Kari, the nissāla, and the dundhubhi, were distinguished. It is important to remember that Harihara mentions only such of the instruments that were sounded on the occasion of temple-rituals and processions. He further tells us that the Kaha was sounded in the front while the bhāri and nissāla in the rear during processions. Different kinds of sounds created by these various instruments are also described.

Representations of some musical instruments are to be seen sculptured in the temple walls in many parts of the province. The flute is frequently to be seen in the representation of Vēṇugopāla in the Hoysala art of the twelfth century. The Vīṇā has been from very early times been popular as the chief musical instrument of the Kannadigas. It has also been depicted in the Hoysala art, especially in the representation of Sarasvati at Halebid.

As music was liberally patronised by many kings, there was ample scope for the musical theory to be worked out in a systematic way in this period. Only a few years after the fall of the Chālukyan Empire, there appeared in the Deccan the renowned musician Śāṅgadeva who wrote Saṅgeeta

(1) Ibid., VII, 103-104. (2) Ibid., XI, 101.
(6) "धन्त भवनम् वनस्पतिः कथामय।
   "वनस्पति पदार्थसंगीतन् महत् भवनम्।"
   "सङ्गनुसारे केकडे होकोऽसः यस्तवः।"
   "सङ्गनुसारे साधुः पदार्थसंगीतन् होकोऽसः।"
   "सङ्गनुसारे साधुः पदार्थसंगीतन् होकोऽसः।"
   "सङ्गनुसारे साधुः पदार्थसंगीतन् होकोऽसः।"
(9) Bhandarkar, Early History of the Dekkan, p. 111.
Ratnākara, "the greatest and the most important work" on music.

From the above facts, it is evident that the art of music was assiduously cultivated by the ancient Kannaṅgas. The worthy tradition has been constantly kept up even to this day. The present Mahārāja of Mysore is a great lover of music. In this court flourish some of the best musicians of Modern India. Mysore is famous to-day for its excellence in vīna-playing. "The gracefulness of style, clearness of intonation, and softness of execution, perfected by Śeshaṇā have won for Mysore the premier position in the art of Vīna-playing in the whole of India".

(1) United Karnataka, p. 73.
(2) Hayāvadana Rao, Mysore Gazetteer, II, part I, p. 397.
CHAPTER XIV

DANCING

Dancing is closely related to music. It has been well said that ‘music is the dance of words and dance is the music of human limbs’. ¹ Both are the artistic expressions of one’s emotions.

Unfortunately for the history of dancing during the period of our study, not much information can be culled out of inscriptions. However, there are a few references to show that the art was to a certain extent practised by the ancient Kannada. Thus we are told that the King Kannakaira of the Raṭṭa dynasty was skilled in dancing. ² A Sorab inscription dated 1208 A.D. describes the King Vira-Ballāla as an actor performing the lānjavā dance like Śiva; ‘his stage is the battle-filed; the heads of his enemies cut off are the cymbals; the music on the stage is that of the hobgoblins; the sound of the beating drums at his victory is the sound of the musical instruments playing; and the skulls of his enemy kings form the garland of his neck.’ ³ It is evident from this description that the author of these verses had a clear idea of the well known dance of Śiva. We may therefore safely presume that in those days the art of dancing was studied even in its technical aspects.

Dancing was recognised as a mode of amusement among the royal families of the day. We are informed in one place that kings preferred to marry those girls who grew

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¹ Quoted by Dikshitar, Studies in Tamil Literature and History, p. 288.
skilled in the art of dancing.¹ A Hoysala King is said to have “Joyfully inclined to the cultivation of dancing”,² while another of the same dynasty is described as highly skilled in it.³ Dancing appears to have been so common that it is sometimes used as a simile in inscriptions.⁴

Dance was a popular institution indulged in by all classes of people. Even the poor could enjoy the high class dance performed by the professional dancers of the village temples. For we definitely know that girls were engaged to dance in temples and in return they enjoyed the produce of certain temple lands.⁵ Rich people seemed to have employed them to sing and dance on important ceremonies and grand occasions.⁶ Thus there arose a dancing community as such. The practice was to train the girls of that community while they were still young and thus to prepare them for their hereditary calling.

There is reason to believe that the ancient form of Kannada drama called Bailāṭa existed in this period.⁷ This indigenous institution must have contributed much more than any thing else did for the spread of dance among the common folk. Traces of bailāṭa are still lingering under the name of Yakshagāna. The Yakshagāna which compares favourably well with the Kathakaṭi of Malabar is a “compound art, and its predominant dramatic character is vividly reinforced with dance, music, poetry and painting.”⁸

(1) Ep. Car, VI, Om., 160.
(2) Rice, Mysore Inscriptions, No. 146.
(3) Ibid.
(6) Ramachandra Charita Purana, IV, verses 23 and 29.
Representation of various dancers are common among the sculptures of the twelfth-century Karnataka. Many dancing figures are depicted in the Channakesava temple at Belur. The god Śiva dancing under the name Tāṇḍavēśvara is to be seen in the Lakshmi temple at Doddagadavalli, in the Panchalinga temple at Gōvinda-haḷḷi, in the Avalī temple at Mosaḷe and in the Jagatēśvara temple at Anekoṇḍa, to mention only a few instances. Figures of Sarasvati in dancing posture are sculptured in the Panchalinga temple mentioned above. Vishnu is made to dance in the Avalī temple. Besides these deities, a large number of human dancers are beautifully depicted in the architecture of the period. It is really interesting to see the god Gaṇapati with his big belly dancing on the walls of Panchalinga temple. Animals and birds of various kinds in dancing posture are carved in outline in many places, notably in the temple of Nāḍakaḷaṇi.

Some of these images are fully expressive. They exhibit not only the high artistic degree then attained by the art of dancing, but also the skill on the part of sculptors in representing it in stone.
CHAPTER XV

ENGRAVING

Engraving is an art closely connected with inscriptions. The very existence of a large number of Chalukya inscriptions, beautifully engraved, is a clear indication that the art was highly cultivated. The Abbalur stone inscription disclosing the story of Rāmayya may be taken as a fine specimen of the period.

Many of these inscriptions mention the name of the engraver. We are told that some of these cutters were famous throughout the Chalukya Kingdom. The Chitalkalan inscription dated 1067 A. D. was engraved by the Rādra Sculptor Mahākāla Brahmā, of whose ornamental lettering, it is said: “When he can entwine the forms of elephant, lion, parrots and many other forms so as to shine among the letters, will you madly compete with such a sculptor?” 1 Again, Ikkudōja, who engraved a grant made at the Koḍangār agrahāra in 1113 A. D., was also known for his skill. He “so well understood how to engrave the different parts of the letters with their head strokes.” 2

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2 Ep. Car., XI, Dg. 149.
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