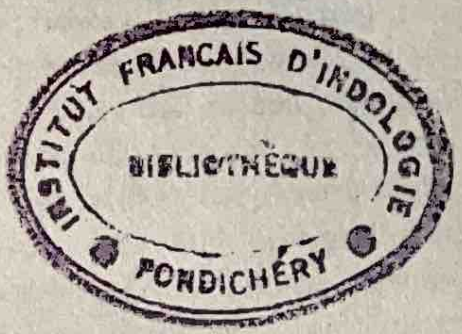
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A HISTORY OF KARNATAKA

(From the Earliest Times to the Present Day)



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PREFACE

The students of History and for that matter every lover of History and Culture has to be acquainted with the History and Culture of his region for evaluating the general History and Culture of the country in its true perspective. It is for this reason, regional history has been included in the curriculum of study in the universities of our country. The history of Karnataka has been taught for over a decade both at the under-graduate and post-graduate levels, in the Universities of Karnataka. For obvious reasons Karnataka History has been a compulsory paper; but not many books have been written to cater to the needs of the students. The two well known works in the field are : 'A History of Karnataka' by Dr. P. B. Desai and 'Karnataka through the Ages' published by the Government of Karnataka. The first work is a useful study of the History of Karnataka from the earliest times to the fall of Vijayanagara. The later history however has been summarily dealt with. Similarly the second work also suffers from certain lacunae; in that, to mention only a few, there is no chapter on the survey of the sources and no account of the growth of Telugu literature in Karnataka. Moreover, both the works are out of print.

It is this need to give the students of Karnataka History a continuous and connected account, a humble attempt has been made by us here. The work is primarily written to meet the demands of the degree students. Some details have also been given which might be found useful by the teachers.

We must express our deep appreciation and warm thanks to M/s. S. Chand and Co., Publishers, New Delhi, for kindly undertaking the publication of this book, and for the generous courtesy, patience and promptitude displayed in the execution and completion of the work within a short time.

We are specially grateful to Shri. E. N. Katkar, who lent us from his personal collection seven exquisite photographs and to Shri. V. C. Shekar for drawing the sketch of Ibrahim Rosa, included in the work. We are highly grateful to the Board of Studies in History, Bangalore University, for prescribing the book as text book for the First and Second Semester Course of the B. A. Degree. Our thanks

are due to Shri. G. B. Venkatesha Murthy and Kumari Shashirekha Maudgalya for preparing the index and Shri Venktesh. S. Maudgalya for typing part of the manuscript.

We express our sincere thanks to all those writers whose publications we have made use of with great profit.

H. V. Sreenivasa Murthy
R. Ramakrishnan

February 1977,
Bangalore.

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* Chapters I to V, including the Appendix I and II are by Dr. H.V. Sreenivasa Murthy and Chapters VI to IX are by Shri. R. Ramakrishnan.

KARNATAKA TO THE DAWN OF THE HISTORICAL PERIOD

1. ORIGIN AND ANTIQUITY OF THE NAME KARNATAKA

The Karnakata country, for the purposes of its history, has been taken to comprise that part of Dakshinapatha which extends from the Godavari in the North down to the Kaveri in the South; bordered on the West by the Arabian Sea and in the East extending approximately to 78 latitude. The *Kavirajamarga* informs us that in the 9th century A.D., there were four important countries where Kannada was spoken in all its purity, *viz.*, Puligere, Onkunda, Kopana and Kisuvolal. It is necessary therefore to determine the origin of the term Karnataka and to know how ancient is the concept of Karnataka.

Karnataka is a comprehensive and significant term denoting Kannada language, literature and culture. The earliest references to Karnataka appear in the Sabha Parva and Bhisma Parva of *Mahabharatha*. It is not, however, clear as to what position of the South the term Karnataka exactly stood for in the context. It appears to have been used as a generic form denoting several units like Vanavasi and Mahishamandala. The term might have also been used to specify the part where Kannada was spoken. In the later history, however, the term is used to indicate the alternative meaning. In the context of *Mahabharatha*, it may be surmised, the term was used to denote roughly South Karnataka and Kuntala (North Karnataka) of those days.

Karnataka as denoting a region or a people does not figure at all in the *Ramayana*, an earlier work than the *Mahabharata*. But in the descriptions of South India mention is made of the rivers like Godavari, Krishnaveni, Kaveri and others. The grammarians, Panini, Katyayana, and Patanjali make no reference to Karnataka. Nevertheless, Panini mentions Karnadhaka as a gotra name. The

Mrichchakatika of Sudraka mentions Karnatadesha and Karnataka. In a passage in the *Kathasaritsagara*, there is a reference to Karnata (Kannadiga) as having pleased the kings with his exploits. The work is itself based on Gunadya's *Brihatkatha*. It is possible to hold that the word 'Karnata' must have appeared in the work which is lost to us now.

The Tamil epic *Silappadikaram* mentions Karunadar while in the *Velvakudi* copper plate occurs the word Karunadagam. These appear to be Tamil variants of Karnatar and Karnatakam in Kannada. Varahamihara in his *Brihatkatha* mentions the name Karnta, while Rajashekara in his *Kavyamimamsa* mentions the name Karnata to indicate the people. The *Matsya* and *Skanda puranas* have called the Kannada country Karna, Karnataka, Kannataka. Even the *Markandeya purana* makes mention of Karnataka.

Inscriptions of Karnataka indicate the use of the word. A copper plate of the Kadambas dated 450 A.D. refers to 'Samagra Karnatadesha' or entire Karnataka. A record of Gangaraja Bhuvikarma refers to Kannadadesha as Karnataka. The term Karnataka has been used in several places with reference to the kings and queens. Bilhana in his *Vikramankadevacharita* refers to Vikramaditya as the 'Moon of Karnatka'. A Chalukyan queen is referred to as 'the beloved of the Karnatka King'. The inscriptions of Hoysalas cite the titles like 'The sun to the lotus of Karnata dynasty'. Inscriptions refer to Vijayanagara kings as the lords of Kannada Rajya and the lords of the jewel throne of Karnataka.

Nripatunga's *Kavirajamarga*, the first Kannada work, uses the word 'Kannada' both in reference to language and region. Pampa, in his *Adipurana*, describes the Kannada army in long drawn sanskrit compounds. Even *Chandombudhi* of Nagavarma, the earliest Kannada prosody, refers not only to Karnataka but also to the classification of special Kannada metres, under the title Karnataka Vishaya Jati. Thus Kannada poets, in several contexts, have used Karnataka.

It is clear from the above survey that the word Karnataka is being used since the days of *Mahabharatha*. The origin of the word 'Karnataka' however became a subject of controversy among Kannada scholars. According to Heras the people of Karnataka are apparently referred to in one of the seal inscriptions of Mohenjodaro as one of the ancient tribes of the land. The sign used to mention them is said to contain a symbol to denote an eye. In the

proto-Dravidian language of Mohenjodaro it will read 'Kan', eye or to see. The small sign placed above it is determinative of personality. Therefore, it will read 'Kannan', 'people who have eyes'. This evidently refers to a tribe. The ancient word Kannadiga by which the people of modern Karnataka are mentioned seems to be a modification of Kannanir.

Shambha Joshi traces the antiquity of the Kannada race to the earliest Vedic period by a study of Vedic mythology and etymology. In his view, the word Kannada, of which Karnata is a sanskrit rendering, stands for Kannada country in the main, its two components being Kan and nadu. Kan means the Kanna race, which is the ancient stock of the later Kannada people. The Kannas themselves are a branch of the earliest pre-Aryan Dravidians known as Kalavar or Kallar (meaning thieves) who belong to the Rigvedic era. The Kalavar race is said to be Mula Dravida and Kanna race Arya Dravida and their admixture gave rise to Karnata culture.

According to others Karnatka abounds with rich forests which grow such fragrant trees like the sandal and spices like pepper and cardamom, the sweet smell of which spread over a major part of the land. On this basis, it is argued that the word Karnataka is derived from Kammitu+Nadu=Kannadu yielding place to Kannada. It is also maintained that the melodious music of birds, bees and butterflies which were played into the ears of the people inhabiting the region, pleased them. Thus from Karna-ata the name Karnata must have been derived.

D.R. Bendre is of the opinion that there are two races at the source of Kannada-Kula, whose combination has evolved the Kannada race. They are the Kannas or Kalayas and Naras or Natas well known to the history and Puranic legend. The Natas intermixing with Kal-Kaleyas gave rise to Karnataka race.

It must be admitted that the origin of the term defies any approach to finality. Scholars are not agreed over the derivation of the word Kannada itself. Kannada is variously derived from Karunadu. This seems plausible bearing the geographical characteristics of the region inhabited by the Kannadigas. Karunadu at first meant the country and Karunadar, the people of this country. But when it assumed the form of Kannada, Kannada stood for the country, people and language as well.

2. INFLUENCE OF GEOGRAAHY ON HISTORY

It is a commonplace knowledge that the course of human history in a region is shaped by its physical features. These very features help us to determine the phases, which the region has passed through its geographical history in the dim vista of time. It was Richard Hakluyat who pointed out that "geography and chronology are the Sun and Moon, the right and the left eye of History". The influence of geography is said to account for certain pattern of culture and man's response to the challenge of Nature, which determines the future of a country. In the regions of extreme cold or heat there is no evidence of a high growth of civilization; but all the great cultures rose up in the temperate climate. Therefore, the climate, fertility of the soil, natural barriers of the sea or the mountains help the growth of civilizations.

Geographically speaking, Karnataka is one of the oldest parts of India. Situated in the heart of the Deccan plateau, Karnataka, extending over 1,91,756.07 square kilometres, occupies an important position in the middle of the western half of Southern India. The state occupies a central position in the southern part of the Indian peninsula between the longitudes 14—12E and 78—30E and latitudes 11—30N and 18—45N.

The State of Karnataka is bounded in the north, east and south by the states of Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Kerala. It has about 350 miles of coast line of the Arabian Sea in the west. It consists of a series of uplands with an average height of over 2,000 feet above sea level and a pattern of physical and topographical features typical of its own.

Karnataka may be broadly divided into six relief regions— (1) The Kanara coastal belt, (2) The Sahyadris, (3) The Eastern ranges, (4) The Southern plateau, (5) The Northern plateau and (6) The Submontane belt.

1. The Kanara coastline by the side of the Sahyadri slopes stretches for about 300 miles. It is about 8 to 20 miles wide in the north and 30 to 40 miles broad in the South. This region lowland, orienting towards the Arabian Sea, is traversed by several spurs and ridges which reach the western shores at some places. The level land being limited, agricultural activity is much restricted and only paddy and coconut are grown. This narrow strip is watered by the rivers Sharavati, Tadri, Bedti, rising from the western ghats and many territorial streams and riverlets. The numerous valleys of

this region are densely populated and are the centres of trade, commerce and culture. The rivers flow in the region making so many inlets and creeks, that there are small ports at or near almost every estuary. The most prominent among them are Karwar, Ankola Kumta, Honnavar and Bhatkal. In the southern part of the region Magalore and Malpe at the mouth of the Netravati are prominent ports. The influence of this region on the history of Karnataka is evidenced by the fact that in the early times, it was dominated by the Hindu Kingdoms in the interiors and therefore they served as the headquarters of the Palegars under them. The architectural remains of the Hindus and the Jains at Karkal, Gerusoppa and Nagarabatikere speak of the grandeur and the glory of the ancient times. The region in the later periods also succumbed to the influence of the Bahmani rulers.

The Kanara coastal region owed its economic progress to the numerous ports that provided anchorage to ships of small size. These ports acted as highways to the west and maintained commercial contacts, with the outside world, from the days of the Greco Roman civilization down to the period of the British. These ports facilitated the exchange of ideas by maintaining cultural contacts with Africa, Egypt and later on with Portugal and British.

The scenic beauty of the Kanara coast is enchanting and attracts many travellers and tourists. The natural setting in village clearings, the tall coconut trees and the curved snowwhite beeches, the thin streams seem to be charmed with beauty. As Ford aptly remarks, 'Nothing more beautiful is seen anywhere in Europe and Asia than the coast of Kanara.....the effect is a happy stuper of administration'. The nearness to the sea has provided much scope for the development of fisheries. The Coast of Kanara has rich coral deposits.

2. The Sahyadri mountain ranges, which run from north to the south form the backbone of the entire land. These mountains rise 2,000 feet to 3,000 feet above the sea level and in some places they rise to about more than 8,000 feet. Sahyadri region is well known for its forest wealth. The monsoon rains have fostered the growth of dense evergreen forests and the most important material that grows here is teak wood. As we proceed from north to south the forest wealth grows richer and richer. The steep slopes orienting towards the west are mostly bald and as the region extends to the east the forests get thinner, and deteriorate into small herbs and

thin bare trees. Next to teak sandal wood occupies the place of prominence and it has grown profusely in the southern part. This invaluable tree is made use of profitably in Shimoga, Honnavar, Sagar and other places. The economic importance of bamboo is evidenced from the development of the Dandeli and Bhadravati paper mills. Minerals which form the wealth of a nation is found in large quantities here. Manganese occupies the first place and the second place is given to iron ore. The Hydro-electric power station at Jog, iron and steel factory at Bhadravati, and paper factory have given a new turn to the development of the region. The minerals and the forest resources on which the industries depend predict the future prosperity of the place.

The Sahyadris are characterised by a complex geological structure and it is underlaid by Dharwar rocks in the north and granites in the south. These ranges, stretching from north to south, display a wild beauty with its soaring peaks, steep valleys, deep rivers and winding streams. The peaks are adorned with plantations of coffee, arecanut, cashewnut, tea, cardamom and coconut. The scenic beauty here can be easily compared with that of the land-scapes of Wales and the Norwegian fiords. The Drona Parvata or Baba Budan Giri and Kudremukh, with its steep lofty cliffs and wild secluded surroundings, impress us most.

3. In the narrow strip of land towards the east of the Sahyadris are the eastern ranges. It is 20 miles broad in the north and 30 miles wide in the south. The mountain ranges in this region becomes narrower and smaller and give place to small uplands and ridges. The soil and the moderate rainfall foster the growth of paddy and jowar crops, and the hilly regions consist of forests. Climate being pleasant the area is densely populated. Industrial development and transportation facilities have caused the establishment of cities. This region performs functions of linking the Sahyadri ranges with the plateau and of opening contacts with the south through the national highways and railways. Consequently this region has prospered and many cities and towns have sprung up as centres of culture and commerce among which Belgaum, Dharwar, Hubli, Harihar, Dhavangere, Shimoga and others occupy places of prominence. The Historical importance of this region cannot also be exaggerated. Halsi in the north, Banavasi, Belur and Halebid in the centre and Talakad and Punnata to the South are striking examples. The geographical location of these places has contributed to their prosperity. This narrow strip of land acted like pass routes

to the Muslim and Maratha invaders. Most of the parts of this region were ruled by strong rulers, who remained loyal to those kingdoms which were in power at that time. The Hindu and Jain monuments of which the temple at Belur and Sravanabelagola are prominent, stand as living examples of the cultural glory of this region.

The Southern portion is drained by Kaveri and its tributaries and the south-eastern fringe is watered by the upper tributary systems of Pennar and Ponnayar and the northern portion by the Tungabhadra. The region is rich in vegetation.

4. The Southern Plateau is featured by irregular shapes, adequate forest corner, and brownish soils. Ragi, Paddy, and coco-nuts are the major economic crops of this region. This region is thinly populated and is not economically prosperous. Still, the most important places like Bangalore, Mysore and Kolar Gold Fields, are located here. The economic prosperity of this region began with the establishment of the hydro electric project at Shivasamudra, on which are dependent many industries like the Sugar factory at Mandya and Kolar Gold Fields. Agro-industries like that of the vegetable oils have also developed. Bangalore is famous, not only because it is the capital of Karnataka but also because it is develop-ing into complex industrial centre. The Kolar Gold Fields has gained importance due to its production of gold. Historically speaking Kolar is a very ancient city and was once capital and also the capital of the royal representative of the Chola mandala. Simi-larly Devarayana Durga Doddaballapur, Nandidurga and Madugiri are important historically. In fact any place on the hills or moun-tain has its own historical significance.

5. Broad valley plains and rolling black soil topography relieved by residual chains and isolated hills form the main theme of the northern plateau. The plateau extends from Chickkamagalur to Chitradurga and further too. It is an extensive plain of black soil. The monotony of the landscapes is relieved by uplands and small hills. Agricultural activity in this region is restricted to wheat, jowar, cotton and oilseeds.

Chitradurga, which was once famous for its large and massive fortress, is now a centre of industries and commerce. In a land characterized by black soil, patches of red soil is also found. The land is made up of hills consisting of granite stones and dense forest growths. Gulbarga, Raichur, Bidar and Bijapur are parts of the

black soil extensions. Historically, this area has been the scene of events, seat of principal empires and an eyewitness to many dynastic vicissitudes. The south-eastern part of this region has been the battle field of the Cholas, the Gangas and the Pallavas. The eastern part of this region, in the ancient times, during the rule of the Chalukyas and Rastrakutas was in the forefront. Hindu rule in this part reached its highest watermark during the time of the Vijayanagara rule. Bijapur, Gulbarga and Bidar had been the capitals of the Bahmani rulers. Moreover the rule of the Bijapur sultans extended till northern Karnataka and had maintained its authority for a long time. When the rule of the Bijapur sultans weakened, the course of the history of this region was moulded by invasions of the Mughals and Marathas. When Hyder Ali and Tippu came to power in the southern part, the northern plateau between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra became the scene of battles. This region again came under the authority of the Marathas, whom the British defeated and occupied their territory. Then it came under the English rule and was placed under Bombay presidency.

Thus the history and culture of Karnataka has been moulded by the geographical features. This can be summarised as follows : The plateau land provided scope for the development of political and cultural revolution. The mountain ranges to the east, west and south of the plateau have caused the establishment of many political divisions. In ancient times and in the middle ages, the kings and the Palegars either established the feudal system or denounced it. But to decide to what extent it integrated the people of Karnataka is impossible. Climate and biological factors have contributed to the evolution of the regional settings of Karnataka. The Kanara coastlands enjoy mostly cool summers and cold winters. The plains although hot in summers are cold in winters. Thus Karnataka is called 'Roof of the South'.

Heavy rainfall in the Kanara coasts support a typical paddy and forest economy. The hilly regions are the south west monsoon belts. But the plateau region gets moderate rainfall which is augmented by tank irrigation. Karnataka is plentiful in flowers, fruits and all kinds of vegetables.

In fine Karnataka is a 'priceless gift of indulgent nature'. The absence of struggle for existence gave opportunities for intellectual pursuits and philosophic ideas. Favourable geographical factors facilitated the growth of a composite culture and civilization.

3. SURVEY OF THE SOURCES

It is truism to say that "History as a subject of study is more or less completely at the mercy of Sources". There is unanimity among the historians when they say "we obtain our knowledge from historical sources". The past history of a people can only be reconstructed on the basis of relics or traces left by them. The institutions, the customs, the religious doctrines, current ethical principles, traditions, legends, superstitions, etc., are all traces that live in societies. The whole present is a trace of the past. The present would be unintelligible and future would be meaningless without the past. The discovery of these traces must be completed before history could be reconstructed. That is why history is defined as "the attempt to discover on the basis of fragmentary evidence the significant things about the past".

For the study of Karnataka history adequate sources in different denominations are available. They may be broadly divided into two groups, viz., literary and archaeological sources. Literary sources are both indigenous and foreign. Indigenous literature is contained in such languages as Sanskrit, Parkrit, Tamil, Kannada and Telugu.

LITERARY SOURCES

Sanskrit

The Vedic literature may not directly contribute to the history of Karnataka. Since Karnataka adopted the Aryan way of life and thought, in a general way the Vedic literature helps the historian of Karnataka. The Sabha Parva and Bhisma Parva of the *Mahabharata* are important as the earliest references to Karnataka are found in them. The *Ramayana* makes the mention of the Kaveri and the janapadas like Ristika and Mahishaka indicating the region of the Rashtrakutas and Mysore region respectively. Puranas like the Matsya and Vayu refer to the names of the Satavahana rulers and their reign periods. But the information gleaned from one purana do not agree with the other. This hopeless confusion of the Puranas raise many doubts than solving any.

The *Ashtadhyayi* of Panini and the *Mrichchakatika* of Sudraka contain unmistakable reference to Karnataka. *Avantisunderikatha* and *Dasakumaracarita* of Dandin and *Harsacharita* of Bana throw incidental light on the history of the chalukyas of Badami. Rajasekhara extols the undiminishing heroism of Karnataka and the battle strategy of the Kannadigas in his works *Bala Ramayana*

and *Viddhashalabhanjaka*. The poet here no doubt alludes to the military exploits of the Rastrakutas in north India.

Vikramankadeva-charita of the Kashmirian poet, Bilhana, is of a little more historical interest. It glorifies the life of his patron Vikramaditya VI, the Chalukya king of the Kalyana. He traces the origin of the Chalukya dynasty, and describes, in the usual style of a Mahakavya, the battles fought and the pleasures enjoyed by Vikramaditya. It consists of 18 cantos and in the last canto he gives an account of himself and his literary adventures. Bhilhana has rendered the same service to Vikramaditya as Bana to Harsa. Though as a piece of history the work is full of blemishes, a critical analysis of the works helps us to get insight into the events of the time.

Of the treatises on statecraft, *Nitivakyamrita* composed by the Jaina scholar, Somadevasuri, under the patronage of the chalukyas of Venulavada, the Vassal rulers of the Rastrakutas and *Abhilashitartha chintamani* or *Manasollasa* of Somesvara are worthy of mention. *Nitivakyamrita* was written in 959 A.D. It consists of thirty-two discourses dealing with religions, meta-physical and administrative practices. The work is based mostly on the discussions of the topics in the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya. But Somadevasuri was anxious to teach rulers how they should behave with their people and therefore he takes more interest in the moral maxims than in administrative and military matters.

Manasollasa by King Somesvara is an encyclopedic work. It consists of five Prakarnas of twenty chapters each dealing with one hundred different topics concerning the royal house hold and the royal court. The author explains in the first prakarna 'general and religious ethics, social service, manufacture of idols, and diseases and their remedies.' The second Prakarna concerns itself with the organisation of the state. Such topics as the seven elements of sovereignty, the sixfold policy and the inter-state relations are discussed at length. Architecture, picture drawing, and painting, iconography, and pleasures of domestic life form the subject matter of the third prakarna. The last two Prakarnas concern themselves with amusements and recreation. The topics dealt in them include arithmetic, preparation of calendars, astrology, angury, omens, palmistry and training and medical treatment of horses and elephants, mining, alchemy, marriage and child-bearing, cookery, music, etc. In short, it 'is a veritable thesaurus'.[1] These works in addi-

1. *The struggle for Empire*; p. 338.

tion to throwing light on the development of political thought provide us welcom peeps into the contemporary life and manners of the people.

Gadyakarnamrita written by Kalakalabha, known popularly as second Vidyachakravartin, under the patronage of the Hoysala King, Viranarasimha II, is a historical romance. It refers to the war between Viranarasimha II and the confederacy of Pandya, Magadha and Pallava rulers. Vidyachakravartin III wrote *Rukminikalyana*, a mahakavya. He gives the geneology of the Hoysalas in the beginning of his work.

The period of Vijayanagara produced historical literature valuable to the modern investigator. Among the most important Sanskrit works mention may be made of *Rajakalanirnaya*, *Madhuravijayam*, *Varadambikaparinayam*, *Sringarabhushana Bana*, *Saluvabhyudayam*, *Sivatatva Ratnakara*, and *Sangita Suryodayam*.

Rajakalanirnaya by Vidyaranya traces the history of Vijayanagara since its foundation. Madhuravijayam by Gangadevi, queen of Kampana, deals with the subject of the overthrow of the Sultan of Madhura by Kampana. Archutarayabhyudam by Rajanatha and Saluvabhyudam by Rajanabha Dindima III describe the military exploits of Archyutaraya and Saluva Narasimha respectively. Varadambikaparinayam by Tirumalamba begins with the description of the war between Narasanayaka, father of Achyutaraya, with the Chola king and then gives his geneology. *Sringarabhushana Bhana* of Vamana Bhatta gives a glimpse of the civic life of Vijayanagara. *Sivatatva Ratnakara* of Basavaraja, a Keladi ruler, is an encyclopedic work. It deals with the history of both Vijayanagara and Keladi. Lakshmana Pandita, the court physician of Bukka II, narrates at length the history of the family of Bukka in the introduction of his work, *Vaidyarajavallabham*, a treatise on Ayurveda. *Sangitasuryodayam* by Lakshminarayana, natyacharya in the court of Krishnadevaraya, is a work on music. It, however, alludes to the history of Krishnadevaraya in particular and the history of the Tuluvas in general. The commentaries of Sayana and Madhava Mantri throw light on the origin of the Sangam dynasty and the rule of the early kings.

Historical events continued to attract writters in the post-Vijayanagara period. *Virabhadra Vijaya Champu* of Ekambarasastri details the history of the dynasty of Kempegowda. *Vijaya Puranakatha* by Panduranga deals with the history of Bijapur and

its Musli m rulers. *Suryachandradi Vamsavatarana* of Krishnaraja Wodeyar III describes the brave deeds of Yaduraya and Krishnaraja, the originators of the Wodeyars of Mysore.

Prakrit

In Prakrit, the first available work is *Gathasaptasati* or *Sattasai*, written by the Satavahana king, Hala. *Sattasai* is an anthology of 700 erotic verses. It is written in Maharashtri Prakrit and in Arya Metre. The collection throws incidental light on the contemporary social life. Gunadhya, who according to tradition was a minister of Satavahana, was the author of *Brihatkatha*. This work is extant only in fragments quoted by later writers. The historical value of the work is differently assessed by different writers. *Lilavai* alludes to the military exploits of King Hala in the eastern Deccan. These works obviously contain little trustworthy information.

Tamil

Tamil, which possesses the oldest literature among the south Indian languages, helps the historian of Karnataka to some extent. In the Tamil epic, *Silappadikaram*, composed after the Sangam age, the people of Karnataka are denoted by the word 'Karunadar'. It also refers to Kannada actresses and dancers, who entertained King Senguttavan in the Nilgiri hills. The Tamil chronicle, *Kongudesarajakkal caritram* (History of the Kings of the Kongu country) throws incidental light on Vijayanagara history. Under Krishnadevaraya, Kumara Saraswati wrote a poem dealing with the marriage of Krishnadevaraya with the daughter of Gajapati King of Orissa. It yields information regarding inter-State policy.

Kannada

The earliest literature in the language of the people of Karnataka, Kannada, that is accessible dates from the 9th century A.D. *Kavirajamarga* is the first extant work in Kannada poetics. The work is of inestimable value for the Kannada literary historian. We can glean from this work information about the land, the people, their language and literature.

Tenth century marks the beginning of the great period of Kannada literature. By this time, the historical biographies, must have been popular in Karnataka. But till we come to the 17th century, we do not come across in Kannada works extolling the heroic deeds of brave men and women, similar to the *Charanagitas* of Rajastov, *Shayars* in Persian and *Sahirgita* in Marathi. The Jaina poets,

Pampa, Ponna and Ranna, the celebrated trio of great poets, who made striking contributions to Kannada literature, wrote biographies. But the heroes of their works are either religious heads or mythological figures. Even the secular theme wears a mythological garb.

Pampa was most eminent among the Kannada poets and for this reason he is known in Kannada literature as 'Adikavi' or 'Pioneer poet'. His *Vikramarjuna Vijaya* is indeed *Arikesari Vijaya.* It contains the poet's version of a section of the story of the *Mahabharata* and hence called *Pampa Bharata.* Pampa makes Arjun the hero and identifies Arikesari II, his patron and the Rastrakuta feudatory of Vemulavada, with Arjuna. In the beginning of the work the poet gives the geneology of Arikesari. Pampa gives certain details regarding the northern campaigns of Indra III in which Arikesari also took part. He also spotlights on the contemporary society. He notices the existence of the caste system, but disapproves its rigidity. Though a Jaina, he looks with favour the Brahmanical sacrifices. Women were honoured and respected by society. He refers to the institution of ganikas. But the city prostitutes are condemned by Arikesari who also ridicules those people who succumb to their viles. The work contains interesting details on contemporary secular history.

The tradition of Pampa was continued by Ranna, also a Jaina, who enjoyed the title of *Kavichakravarti* or Poet Laureate. He was the court poet of the Kalyana Chalukya King Satyasarya Irivabedanga (997—1088). His *Gadhayudha* or *Sahasa-bhima Vijaya* has as its theme an episode from the *Mahabharata* about the last fight with clubs (gadha) between Bhima and Duryodhana. The poet identifies Bhima with Satyasarya and gives him the title Sahasa Bhima (daring Bhima). Ranna mentions the wars and achievements of Satyasarya as also the geneology of the Chalukyas. The work throws higher light on contemporary social life. *Chavundaraya Purana* of Chavundaraya contains useful information about the Gangas of Talakad.

The Virasaiva movement inspired and organised by Basava in the 12th century left its deep impress on religion, social life and literature of the period. The *Vachanas* composed by Basava and later by his followers yield much information regarding a new philosophy of life and religion. The evidence of *Keladinripa Vijaya, Kumara Ramanakathe, Bharateshavaibhava,* and a great number of *Bakhairs* and *Kaifiyats* furnish much information of value which

serves as key to the solution of some problems in Vjayanagara history on which the inscriptions throw little or no light.

Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali of Tirumalarya and *Chikkadevaraya Vijaya* are important to reconstruct the history of the Wodeyars of Mysore. But the most noteworthy is *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijaya* by Govinda Vaidya (1648). It is a historical biography in the true sense of the term. The theme of the work relates to the Karnataka campaign of Ranadulla Khan, the commander-in-chief of the Bijapur army, and his ultimate defeat at the hands of Narasaraja. The author gives an admirable account of the war camp of the enemy, the attire of the soldiers, and weapons of warfare. The war preparations of the Karnataka king, the bravery of his soldiers, and the *Gorilla* tactics they employed have been discussed at length. The importance of this work for any reconstruction of the social life of the time is necessarily much higher. The author tells us that the city of Srirangapatna was a planned one and each caste lived in the separate quarter. He then describes the market street, palace, the daily life of the king and courtiers, the dress of the people of different regions, and their manners and customs. The only blemish in an otherwise truly historical work is the investment of divine element in the birth of Narasaraja.

Telugu

Telugu literature has become one of the principal sources of Vijayanagara history. Tikkana is the first Telugu poet to trace the history of his patron's family. Vallabharaya's *Kridabiramam* gives interesting information on Bukka I and Harihara II. Tikkana refers to the activities of Devaraya I in his *Vikramanka charita*. Srinatha who was honoured by Devaraya II with the title of emperor of poets describes the life of the people at large and the court life. *Manucharitamu* of Peddana, *Parijatapaharanamu* of Nandi Timmana and *Krishnadevraya Vijayamu* of Kumara Dhurjati contain valuable historical information. *Amuktamalyada* written by emperor Krishnadevaraya is a treatise on statecraft.

It is true that most of the literary sources may not directly contribute to history; but they indirectly help the historian interested in the study of literatures. They also aid the historian 'to picture the social and religious milieu in which the characters of history lived and moved and acted'. Some works yield valuable data regarding the geneology, personal accomplishments and achievements of the rulers which are sometimes corroborated by the inscriptional evidence.

FOREIGN LITERARY SOURCES

The historian of a country attaches great importance to foreign sources because 'they enable him to know what impression it made upon the mind of such observers and estimate with great confidence the part played by it in the general history of the world'. Foreign travellers have left interesting and instructive information on the history and culture of Karnataka.

There were cultural contacts between Karnataka and Assyria and Babylonia. The maritime trade of Karnataka with the countries of Asia Minor attracted the attention of the classical historians. The *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* by an unknown writer, guide to the Geography of Ptolemy and the works of Pliny and Strabo throw considerable light on this maritime trade in which the Satavahanas played a remarkable role. The Periplus mentions the great inland market towns like Paithan, Tagara, Junnar, Nasik, Govardhana, and Vaijayanti. Dhamnakataka was the most important market town in the eastern Deccan.

The accounts left by the Chinese Buddhist Piligrim, Yuan Chwang, constitute an important source for the study of the history of the Chalukyas of Badami. Yuan Chwang visited Maharashtra (Karnataka) some time in 641 A.D. during the reign of Pulakesin II. He has interesting observation to make about the personality of Pulakesin, the soil, the climate, the character and the general condition of the people. Notices in the Persian historian Tabari provide peeps into the relations between Pulakesin II and Khusru II of Persia.

The Arab travellers, geographers and historians were attracted by India from the 8th century A.D. The early Arab writers deal with the country and its inhabitants rather than with history in the proper sense. The works of Suleiman, Al-Masudi, Al-Estarkhri and Ifn Hankal are important to the historian of the Rastrakutas. Suleiman visited the Rastrakuta empire and described Amoghavarsha as one of the four greatest kings of the world. The three other writers describe the Rastrakuta empire in glowing terms. Ibn Batuta, a traveller from Tangier(Morocco), has left an account on the Karnataka coast and the last days of Hoysala Ballala III.

The prosperity of the Vijayanagara Empire attracted Persian, Arab and Portuguese merchants to flow into the city to carry on trade. The splendour that was Vijayanagara formed the subject matter of the record of many travellers and chroniclers. They

wondered at the splendour and magnificence of the city and have devoted chapters only to the descriptions of the city.

The first foreign traveller to visit the city of Vijayanagara was Nicolo Conti from Venetia. He describes the city of Vijayanagara, its king and his harem and throws valuable light on social life. Abdur Razzak (1442-43), was a Persian Ambassador who visited Vijayanagara during the time of Devaraya II. He stayed in the capital and after his return to Persia he wrote 'History of Persia'. This work contains an account of Vijayanagara relating to its topography, administration and social life. Niketin, a Russian traveller, visited the city during the last days of the Sangama dynasty. He reached India in 1470, stayed for four years in Bidar and his account mainly concerns the affairs of the Bahmani Kingdom.

Trade interest brought many Portuguese to Vijayanagara. Frier Louis visited Vijayanagara in 1509. He was sent by Albuquerque to conclude an agreement between the Portuguese and the king of Vijayanagara. He refers to the condition of Vijayanagara on the eve of Krishnadevaraya's accession to the throne and the quarrel between the Vijayanagara ruler and the Deccan Sultan. Durate Barbosa visited Vijayanagara in 1514—15 in the beginning of Krishnadevaraya's rule. Domingo Paes visited the city in 1520. Their narratives give an intimate account of this great kingdom. The chronicles of Fernao Numia takes a premier place. He was the first traveller to evince interest in the early history of Vijayanagara. His chronicle consists of 23 chapters, of which the first four are devoted to the Sangama dynasty, 14 chapters for the life and reign of Krishnadevaraya, and the remaining chapters deal with the contemporary social condition and the rule of Achyutaraya. The battle of Rakkasatangadi and the decline of Vijayanagara are accounted by Caesar Ferdericci.

Of the Persian works that deal with the Bahmanis and Adilshas mention may be made of *Tarikh-e-Ferishta* by Ferishta, Ismai's *Futuh-us-Salatin*, *Burhan-e-Nasir* by Tabataba, *Zaffernama Nizamshahi* by Hussan Shauqi, and *Tarikh-e-Iskandari* by Mulla Nusrati. Ralph Fiteh, an Englishman, and two Frenchmen, Travernier and Maldelso, have left an account of the Adilshahis in their notices. Reference to Keladi kingdom can be had from the narratives of Pietro Della Valle, an Italian, and Peter Mundy, an Englishman.

The kingdom of Mysore acquired greater prominence during the period of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan. *Nishan-e-Hydari* by

Kirmani is a valuable work on Hyder Ali. Alfred Lyal, Elphinstone Abbe Dubdois and Piexto refer to the activities of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan.

The historian of modern Karnataka is not very much confronted with the paucity of the sources. The official records of the English, French, Dutch, and the Portuguese, travelogues, and memoirs of Public men yield rich informrtion. The Marathi records, popularly known as Peshwa Deftors give useful information. The newspapers and periodicals serve as an important source for the reconstruction of Karnataka history from the 19th century onwards.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES

K.N. Dikshit rightly remarks that archaeology is "a handmaid to history, but this handmaid is thoroughly faithful and can be relied upon the bear to the torch to correctly to the dim recesses of long forgotten passages of history". As archaeology means the systematic study of antiquities and the weaving of the earliest history of nations and peoples from the remains of buildings, burial places, implements and ornaments belonging to periods of which we have few or no written records, its importance to history as a valuable source can hardly be exaggerated. The archaeological sources may be classed under three broad divisions, *viz.*, epigraphy, numismatics and monuments.

Epigraphy

Epigraphy studies inscriptions or writings engraved on some object. The historian of ancient Karnataka attaches highest value to inscriptions as they constitute the prime source of information. We are chiefly dependent on inscriptions not only for the political history but also for literary, religious, social, economic and administrative developments. But the inscriptional evidence can by no means be regarded as definite or as conclusive. Conflicting evidence is often a common occurrence and this becomes amply clear when we compare data upon any one event drawn from inscriptions of different dynasties. To illustrate this point further we may refer to the wars between the Chalukyas of Badami and the Pallavas, and between the Chalukyas of Kalyana and the Cholas where both the parties in a fight claimed victories. Therefore, the historian has to exercise great care in solving these conflicts and reaching probable conclusions. For the study of history inscriptions are found in

such languages as Brahmi, Prakrit, Sanskrit, Kannada, Tamil and Telugu.

The Minor Rock Edicts of Asoka found at Brahmagiri, Jatinga—Ramesvara and Siddapura in Chitradurga District and Maski and Gavimatha—Palkigunda in Raichur District are the earliest. These inscriptions do not contain any information useful to Karnataka history. During the period after Asoka till the time of Kadamba Mayuravarma inscriptions were issued in Prakrit. The Satavahana inscriptions are composed in Prakrit language and Brahmi script. Prakrit yielded place to Sanskrit during the 4th-5th centuries A.D. Like most of the Indian Inscriptions, Karnataka inscriptions also are records of religious endowments or secular denominations. They record the grant of land either to religious institutions or individuals. The records clearly indicate the boundary of the lands so gifted. Since the grants were composed in Sanskrit language, they could not be easily understood by the common men and this sometimes occasioned boundary disputes. To overcome these difficulties, inscriptions began to be composed in regional languages such as Kannada and Telugu. The earliest known Kannada inscriptions so far discovered is the Halmidi inscription, in Hassan District, assigned to the middle of the 5th century A.D. Inscriptions composed wholly in the local speech becomes popular from about the 11th century onwards, but Sanskrit was not discarded.

Inscriptions are of two types, lithic records or stone inscriptions and copper plates. In Karnataka, stone inscriptions out number the copper plates, but for the study of the ancient history of Karnataka the copper plates constitute the prime source of information. The complete history of the eastern Chalukyas and much of the Western Chalukya history are constructed on the basis of the inscriptions.

Inscriptions supply valuable data for the study of political history. The geneology of the dynasty and the military achievements of the rulers can be gleaned from the inscription. There are some inscriptions which are intended to extol the personal qualities and military exploits of the rulers. To this category belongs the Nasik inscriptions of Gautami Balasri, Talagunda Pillar Inscription of Shantivarma and the Aihole Pillar Inscription of Pulakesin II. The Mahakuta Pillar inscription of Mangalesha and the Aihole Pillar Inscription throws light on the cultivation of Sanskrit literature. The extent of the land and the yield mentioned in the land grants are valuable to economic history.

Thus inscriptions supply valuable information which is at once fragmentary and genuine. They have not only brought to our knowledge the existence of dynasties unrevealed by other sources, but also, in most cases, they have enabled us to form correct judgements of men and things. Above all, they have proved to be of immense value by supplementing literary evidence in regard to the social, religious and economic history of India. In short, there is scarcely any conceivable topic of public or private interest which is not represented in the inscriptions.

Numismatics

Numismatics has been aptly regarded as a "handmaid to the muse of history". Coins constitute one of the valuable sources of study of our ancient past for, they vouchsafe light when light from other sources fails. They would have remained in dark had not the excavation brought to light the important hoards having remarkable bearing on the history and culture of the periods concerned. The coins, like other antiquities. have been the mute recorders of some of the important events connected with many a period of our history which would have either remained forgotten or ignored. As harbingers of culture they also speak various politieal upheavels that shape and change, from time to time, the currents of the annals of the country. Coins also help us to understand the different stages which mark the different and interesting phases of the evolution of human civilization.

Coins afford unmistakable evidence for the reconstruction of different aspects of history aud culture. The circulation of coins help us to determine the extent of the dynasty. It also elaborates evidence from other sources. For example, the victory of Gautamiputra Satakarani over King Nahapana and the total extirpation of the Ksatrapa dynasty is referred in the Nasik inscription. This event is further substantiated by Nahapana coins restruck by Gautamiputra Satakarani in commemoration of his triumph. The brisk maritime trade that existed between the Satavahanas and the Greco-Roman world is proved by the occurrence of masted ship's device on the coin of Yajnasri Satakarani and the Roman coins in different parts of South India. The dates recorded on the coins help us in fixing the chronology.

In the history of Indian numismatics, the Kadambas have left a deep impress by taking a bold and definite step which became a model to the coinage in South India. They replaced the punch-

marked coins by Padma Tankas. Padma Tanka has on the obvrese a Padma in the centre with four punch struck retrospectant lions round it and on the reverse a scroll ornament within a circle of dots. The coin attained its final shape under the Kadambas of Goa and became the pattern of South Indian varaha, which became so common under Vijayanagara and even adopted in part by East India Company of Madras.[1] Boar was the emblem of the Gold coins of the Chalukyas of Badami and Adilshahi rulers. The coins of Hyder Ali bear the figures of Shiva and Parvati. His son, Tippu Sultan, in addition to these, issued the Mohour type. His copper coins bear the device of elephants. The artistic devices and the shorter legends on the coins contribute towards the proper understanding of the artistic faculties and the religious beliefs of the people.

Monuments

It is a commonplace knowledge that the art of a country reflects to a fair extent its culture and thus provides key to the proper understanding of some higher aspects of its civilisation. Careful registration of the stratification of the ruins of ancient sites often gives valuable proof of date. The discovery of bricks, tiles, variously designed bangle pieces of pleasing colours in glass, shell and paste and beautiful beads of cornelian agate and rock crystal by M.H. Krishna at Chandravalli reveal the colourful life of the society during the period of the Satavahanas and their feudatories. The monuments of the Satavahanas, Chalukyas of Badami, Rastrakutas and others throw considerable light on the religious conditions of the period in addition to their being the main source to determine the high excellences to which artistic activity reached in the respective periods. The existence of monuments belonging to different religious persuasion side by side indicate the catholic outlook of the rulers in religious matters.

Thus, monuments supply facts for history. They are true signs of the prosperity and speak volume for the artistic taste of the people and kings. In some cases, they are often the only remaining evidence of a granduer forgotten by the historic documents.

4. PREHISTORIC CULTURES

"The terms prehistory, prehistorian, prehistoric are strictly speaking misnomers : there is no period before history begins and

1. Moraes, G.M., *The Kadamba Kula;* p. 386.

so to call a subject prehistory would at first sight appear absurd".[1] But it has become usual to use the word; and there are no more scientific expressions with which to replace them. Thus prehistory may be defined as the study of man from the time of his emergence as a man to the period when his history is recorded.

In order to understand that culture is the fruit of humanity we have to know how it reconciled itself to the conditions in those times. In fact the geography of mankind should enlighten us as regards the relationship that exists between geography and the condition of life and culture.

As the chronology of the prehistoric age is ultimately bound up with the chronology of rivers, the study of the rivers is very important for the prehistorian. The rivers have been the lifeblood of people at all times. The rivers at all times have supplied man with water, food and transport facilities. Moreover, the pebbles in the rivers served as raw materials for the manufacture of implements by the primitive man. Remains of the weapons of the primitive man have been found on the banks of the rivers. The Hampasagara on the Tungabhadra, which have been studied in detailed phases, may be cited. Some ancient stone implements were found beneath a few feet of loose black soil.

The stone implements used by the primitive man depended upon the availability of the source material. All stones do not possess the same strength and cannot be shaped in the same way. In northern Europe, before the new stone age, they used flint for their implements, because they could be given the desired shape. But in Africa and India the primitive man had to use the low grade local stones. This difference in the raw material can be very well observed by the finish given to the stone and other techniques used in the implements. The hand axe and the small broad edged axes are the best examples of industries of the old storage. The existence of hand axes exclusively in the southern plateau, Karnataka and South India, has a symbolic significance. The study of these hand axes remind us the axes of Europe and Africa. But the broad-edge axes resemble those of Java ann Burma.

A cave in Kibbanahalli village, Tiptur taluk, represents the most important settlement of the cave man in Karnataka. This settlement is found at the foot of the hills of Banasandra. Here there are many dried streams in which are found many weapons and

1. Burkitt, M.C., *The Old Stonage*, p. 1.

implements. In the collection are found Rastro carinate like tools, which was probably used for digging roots. Some weapons shaped in the form of a beak resemble the Clacton on sea of England. Lot of Abbemillian axes are found. Thinly shaped cutting implements were probably used to cut branches of the trees. Some round implements resemble the Acheulian weapons.

Thin scrapers made of wood are found. These were probably used to scrape the skins of animals. The availability of such scrapers in Kibbanahalli shows that the primitive men in addition to stone weapon also used wooden ones. The hallow scrapers were used to smoothen the surface of the barks of trees. These were found together with the bark of trees in England. But in India the trees are spoilt because of the tropical climate. The borers, another important of the implements, were used to make holes in the skin, after it was scraped.

In 1955 Joshi excavated 21 settlements on the banks of river Malaprabha. Among them Manasgi and Khyad in the Malaprabha valley are the most important retreats of the primitive stone age man. The implements like the hand axe and tools used for splitting belonging to the latter Acheulian period, found in the Khyad settlement, have been given fine polish and finish and they make interesting reading. The other important settlement brought to light by Foote and are fonnd in Chikkamagalur district to the southwest of Lingadahalli and Bellary in a village called Halukundi. Talya at Chitradurga, Nidaghatta in Chikkamagalur, Nyamati in the district of Shimoga, Kurikuppa in Bellary district Godinuru, Daroji and Anguru are other settements which Foote excavated. Another important settlement which the Archaeological Department of Mysore excavated recently, is in Bagalkot in Bijapur district.

In the centre of the Ghataprabha river is found an extensive stretch of stone bed. It is from here that the Abbeuilliam and Acheulian implements are collected in large numbers. Among these many implements are made of sandstones. The round shaped implements of the later Acheulian period are available here, but they are very few in number.

This is what we know about the primitive man in Karnataka. His life was an unenviable one and he spent most of his life in hunting and fishing, and in collecting food for himself and his family.

The transition from the old stone to the new stone age is called

the mesolithic age. The stone implements found in Salvadagri near Taliket interest the historians. The knife blades, borers and scrapers, found here probably belong to the second or third class of the stone age. These implments are large, but thin wood weapons are also available. But the sharp implements in the shape of a half moon are not found. Fluted cores and knife blade in the model of Harappa suggest that there existed relation between the stone age culture of Karnataka and the copper age in the Indus valley. But it does not suggest the existence of any relationship between the Indus Valley model of black-on-red- pottery and the Brahmagiri model.

Karnataka seems to have attracted the new stone age man more than other regions. This is because of the availability of the Trap dyke stone in abundance. This stone was the source material for neolithic man's implements like axes, adzes, and chisels. These instruments, more so, the cutting implements are given a fine polish in order to add strength to the blades. The Neolithic man in Karnataka, used to sharpen his implements on rocks, and the rocks scraped in this process are seen in the rock retreats in the northern hills of Bellary. These were discovered by Foote in Ahir Taluk at Helalagundi in 1899. In the opinion of H. De Terra these might have been caused by the manufacture of axes.

The word 'trap' was derived from the Swedish ward 'Trappa', which means stairs. Petrologically, the trap is composed in varying degrees and accordingly they are called andesites, Basalt and trachytes. The trap dykes which have been formed by a thick network of Lava constitute an excellent raw material. Of the 260 dykes, discovered by Foote, the Golla Lingadahalli dyke, beginning from Sandur syncline and extending for three miles to Kailasakonda, in the west of Rayadurga, is the longest. Besides these the neolithic man of Brhmagiri also used the dyke at Vaddarahalli near Jattinga Rameswara. Owing to the restriction of excavation no structural buildings are found, but the post holes found in the straight line in one of the by-ways suggests that some of their dwellings had a rectangular plan. Rough granite stone along with timber formed the construction of the low walls.

The two types of burial in vogue among the neolithic folk was that of inhumation burial and urn burial. Only two examples of burial are accessible to us and one skeleton is that of an eight year old boy. The boy is buried with his head toward the east and the existence of spouted pottery near his head and small earthern vessels near his knee suggests the type of disposing of the dead.

Urn burial was much in vogue but it was exclusively meant for the burial of children.

The man of the neolithic age used pottery of coarse grey fabric, usually burnished, hand made and of a simple shape. Also broad mouthed bowls, vases, both spouted and ordinary, and large ornamented pottery have been found. Occasionally the pottery is decorated by criss cross design carvings and having bone designs.

It is interesting to note that some of these burnished grey bowls and cups have their rims painted with red ochre. Burnished grey pottery have been found in the excavation at T. Narsipura and the neolithic retreat at Vattugallu in Lingasuguru Taluk. The fact that they knew the art of pottery, shows that the inhabitants of this settlement belonged to the neolithic age.

In Karnataka, it is difficult to draw a clear demarcation between the neolithic and the copper age, on the basis of the settlements so far discovered. But the discovery of bronze and copper material suggests the use of these metals. Bhadravati and Chitradurga have yielded to the spade of M.H. Krishna, some copper fish hooks, iron slag pieces, numerous microliths or 'pigmy implements' of chert, chaloedony, besides a tanged crystal arrow head, and finely ground colts, triangular in shape. This may perhaps indicate that in Karnataka, as it is in South India, iron age was as early as copper age.

2

KARNATAKA TO THE THIRD CENTURY A.D.

1. ARYANISATION OF KARNATAKA

The history of Karnataka begins with the advent of the Aryans. Literature and legend reflect the aryanisation of Karnataka. The epic, *puranic* and Rama legends indicate a gradual extension of the Aryan culture to Karnataka. The Agastya legend is well developed in the Mahabharata. According to this story Agastya is said to to have eaten and digested the flesh of vatapi, the brother of the daitya King of Manimati (Badami), prepared and served as food. Vatapi now called Badami, was the capital of the early Chalukyas. The tank at Badami is called Agastya Tirtha. The birth of river Kaveri at Brahmagiri in Coorg is the theme of another story. It is said that Lopamudra, wife of Agastya, was incorporated in the Ganga water contained in the water-pot of Agastya. When Agastya kept the water-pot on Brahmagiri, Lopamudra assumed the form of river and flowed as Kaveri.

The western coast from Bombay to Kanyakumari is known from ancient times, as Parasurama Ksetra. According to the legend, Parasurama after slewing his mother Renuka at the command of his father Jamadagni undertook an expedition to exterminate the Ksatryias to expatiate this sin. He undertook twenty-one such expeditions and at the end he gave the whole earth to the Brahmanas. Then he created a new land for him to live by throwing his axe into the sea. He threw his axe from Kanyakumari to Gokarnam and the extent of this land came to be known as the land of Parasurama According to *Skandapurana* Parasurama established seven Konkanas in this land. The Kannada inscriptions of the early 12th century A.D. also outline the Parasurama story in relation to the creation of Konkan. There are many places in Karnataka which bear the name of Parasurama. Parasagoda near Soundatti is one such town.

It is situated very close to Yellama hill where is settled Renuka, mother of Parasurama. Near this is the temple built for Parasurama.

In the *Ramayana*, as said before, there is no direct mention of Karnataka. But many places in Karnataka are associated with the incidents and heroes of the *Ramayana*. Vali and Sugriva are said to have lived near Hampi. The holy places like Sitimani in Bijapur District, Chaya Bhagavati near Muddebihala and Birakabbi in Bagalkote taluk, still retain the memory of Rama and Hanuman who camped there. The Jatinga Ramesvara hill in Chitradurga district is believed to be the place where Jatayu fought with Ravana and lost his life. This is supported by the Molakalmuru inscription of the 10th century A.D. The memory of Guha is seen in Harihara.

Kaivara in Kolar district is said to be the Ekachakranagara of the *Mahabarata*. The hillock near this place is believed be to the abode of Bakasura, who was killed by Bhima. Likewise Hanugal is considered to be the capital of the kingdom of Virata where the Pandavas spent the last one year in disguise.

These legends preserve in their own quaint way the aryanisation of Karnataka. There is no doubt that the vast and important cultural movement of the Aryans into the Deccan and South India provided historical basis for these legends. They attest to the fact that the aryanisation of Karnataka was complete and the people of Karnataka had adopted the Aryan way of life and thought, sometime before the Mauryas entered Karnataka.

2. THE MAURYAS IN KARNATAKA

Karnataka came closer into political contact with the imperial power in North India during the rule of the Nandas. A 13th century inscription from Karnataka informs that Kuntala which comprised the western Deccan and northern Mysore was included in the empires of the Nandas and the Mauryas. The use of the Nanda Era is indicated in the inscription from the former Hyderabad State. The Nanda Era could have been used only when the Nandas had actually ruled over this part of the country, and this shows the extension of the Nanda rule over Karnataka.

Chandragupta Maurya, the founder of Mauryan dynasty, besieged and conquered the last Nanda ruler, Dhana Nanda and thus became the master of the Nanda empire. That Deccan was also included in his empire becomes evident from the Jaina literature and inscriptions. According to Jaina tradition Chandra-

gupta is said to have spent his last days in South India and died there. It appears that there was a famine in Magadha and Chandragupta and his teacher came to Sravanabelgola, Hassan district, and stayed there. According to one Jaina tradition, Chandragupta died there on a hill now called Chandragiri.

Of the Eight Minor Rock Edicts of Asoka in South India six are in Karnataka. Of the six three are at Maski, Gavimatha and Palkigundu in Raichur district and the remaining three are at Brahmagiri, Siddapura and Jatinga Ramesvara in Chitradurga district. The Brahmagiri, Siddapura and Jatinga Ramesvara edicts were discovered by B.L. Rice in 1892. In 1915 Bedan, an engineer, discovered the Maski edict. In 1931 Narayana Rao Sastri of Koppal and G. Yazdani, Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad state discovered the Gavimatha and Palkigundu edicts.

The subject matter of these edicts are the same except for some minor variations. He seems to have issued the Minor Rock edicts in his 12th regnal year. Maski edict acquires great prominence for it mentions Asoka's name. In all other edicts he mentioned as Devanampriya or Priyadarsiraja. The Gujarra inscription which was discovered recently mentions his name. The Maski edicts begins with '*Devanampiyasa Asokasa*' (Thus says Devanampriya Asoka) ; while the Gavimatha edict begins with '*Devanampiyeaha*' (Thus says Devanampiya). Palkigundu is similar to Gavimatha edict. The Brahamagiri, Siddapura and Jatinga Ramesvara inscriptions carry the message of Aryaputra and Mahamatra of Suvarnagiri to the Mahamatra of Isila.

In the South of Suvarnagiri was an important province of the Mauryan empire. It was placed in charge of the prince (aryaputra). According to Hultszch, Suvarnagiri must have been the same as Kanakagiri between Hampi and Maski. Others think that since Asoka's Rock Edicts I to XIII were brought to light at Yerragudi, Yerragudi must have been an important town during his period and therefore Jonnagiri, near Yerragudi, must have been the same as Suvarnagiri. Brahmagiri or Siddapura or some other place near it must have been Isila in the days of Asoka. There were Mahamatras at Suvarnagiri and Isila. The Mahamatras were the superior officers in Mauryan administration who performed various functions. They may be compared to modern I.A.S. or I:C.S. officers. Asokan edicts other than the one discovered in Mysore speak of Antamahamatra (officer-in-charge of the border), Dharmamahamatra (censor of public morals), Nagaravayavaharika maha-matra (officer-in-charge

of the Judicial administration in the city), Rajavachanika mahamatra (special emissary of the king) and Sthri-Adhyakas mahamatra (officer-in-charge of the affairs of women). The Brahamagiri group of edicts introduce us to another officer called Lipikara whose business it was to engrave the inscriptions. His name is given as chapada.

Asoka is said to have erected his pillar edicts in big cities and Rock edicts and minor Rock Edicts on the borders of his empire. Therefore, Brahmgiri, Siddapura and Jatinga-Ramesvara which were included in the province of Suvarnagiri must have been in his southern frontier.

These edicts help us to understand the Asokan Law of piety. As mentioned before, the subject matter of these edicts, are the same except for some minor variations. Therefore, it will suffice our purpose if we notice one of his edicts here. In the Brahmgiri edict Asoka advices people to hearken to the advice of the parents and elders, to show compassion to animals, to speak the truth. The pupil must show reverence to his teacher and everyone must conduct himself properly with his neighbours and fellow beings. The main object of Asoka in issuing his edicts was to inculcate among his people the virtues of practical morality. The script used here is Brahmi and Brahmi was the parent of Kannada and Telugu scripts.

Thus, it is seen from the above a considerable portion of the Deccan was included in the Mauryan empire. This territory was ruled by the Vice-regal princes of Suvarnagiri and Tosali, the Mahamatras of Isila and Sampa, and officers in charge of the atavi or forest country. The Mauryas realised the importance of Daksinapatha from the commercial point of view. In fact, the architect of the Mauryan empire, Kautilya, desired to maintain communications with the Daksinapath 'for the sake of its diamond and gold mines, pearl and chank fisheries and numerous opulent marts'.

The expansion of the Mauryan empire into Karnataka had its own impact on Karnataka polity. The Satavahanas who stepped into the shoes of the imperial masters, the Mauryas, in the Deccan established a polity which was a prototype of the Mauryan polity. In other words, Satavahana administration was just a replica of the Mauryan administration, both in content and spirit. They even borrowed the names of the officers and administrative divisions

from the Mauryas. The paternalistic forms of the Mauryan Government was adopted by the Satavahanas and their successors. The Arthasastra of Kautilya became the manual for the administration in Karnataka. The princes were trained in the 'Kautilyan education for the princes' and his art of Government was practised. Karnataka polity conformed itself to the precepts of royal activity laid down by Kautilya in his Arthasastra. Kautilya says: "In the happincss of the subjects lies happiness of the king; in their welfare, his; he should not consider as good that which pleases himself: he should consider as good that which pleases his subjects." This principle was followed by all the Karnataka rulers. The Karnataka monarchs also continued the traditional policy of the welfare and happiness of the whole community—prajanamcha hite hitam. The influence was not confined to the nature of the Government only. But in the appointment of advisers to the king, in provincial, army, financial, judicial, local administration, in the formation of interstate relations, and also in conducting warfare this magnumopus of Kautilya was followed. The above account proves that Karnataka never lived as an isolated region.

3. THE SATAVAHANAS

The Satavahanas, who stepped into the shoes of their masters, the Mauryas, in the Deccan, established an extensive empire which extended up to Sanchi, in the north to Konkan in the south and up to the sea in the west and east. They were the first to establish an empire in the history of Karnataka in particular and that of Deccan in general. They were also the first Deccan power to establish their supremacy over North India and to bring about an integration between North and South India. This great dynasty which endured for more than four centuries had several important rulers like Gautamputra Satakarani, Vasistiputra Pulamavi and Yajnasri. Their rule witnessed intense commercial activity between India and the western world, which contributed largely to the economic prosperity of the land. The Satavahanas were the follower of Brahmanical religion but encouraged Buddhist religion and Prakrit literature. There was an outburst of artistic activity and the Buddhist art reached its great heights during the period. There is no wonder that the memories of these great achievements are enshrined in the Saka Era of 78 A.D.

Their Origin

The origin and the original home of the Satavahanas have been differently mentioned by different scholars. In the inscriptions, they are called the Satavahanas and Satakaranis, while in the Puranas they are referred to as the Andhras, Andhrabrithyah and Andhrajatiyah. The hopeless confusion of the Puranas has given rise to different theories. On the basis of the Puranic evidence, some historians have identified the Satavahana-Satakaranis with the Andhras. The protagonists of this theory locate the original home of the Satavahanas in the Andhra country comprising of the Godavari, Krishna and Guntur districts. R.G. Bhandarkar located the capital in Dhanyakataka, while V.A. Smith and J. Burgess located in Srikakulam. According to L. Barnett, the Satavahanas had as many as three capitals, the earliest capital was Srikakulam, then Dhanyakataka and finally Partisthana or Paithan.

The Satavahana-Andhra identity has been questioned by some scholars like V.S. Suktankar, K.P. Jayaswal, H.C. Roychoudhury and others. The main arguments of Suktankar are thus summed up by G. Venkatarao. "(*i*) nowhere in records are the Satavahanas called Andhras; (*ii*) other contemporary or nearly contemporary records, as the Hathi-Gumpha, Girnar, and the Talagunda inscriptions, always refer to them as Satavahanas and never as Andhras; (*iii*) Kharavela says that he 'without entertaining any fear of Satakarni sent a large army to the west'. If this Satakarni was in fact the ruler of the Andhras, Kharavela's army should have been sent to the South; (*iv*) all their inscriptions and coins were discovered in Western India. They had undoubtedly overrun and conquered the Andhra country; but their earliest possessions were, as revealed by archaeological discoveries, in western India." He further says Andhrabhritya means 'servants of the Andhra'. Thus the name refers to the western vassals of the Andhra or the South-east, and not to the Andhra in the strict sense. These vassals were eventually to outshine their suzerains. The term Andhrabhritya may also be compared to the compound Kumarabhritya 'one who looks after children and not one who has to be cared by the children'. The princes in question would mean those who support the Andhra. K.P. Jayaswal and Roychoudhury have subscribed to this view.

Recently, K. Gopalachari after carefully noting all the available material arrived at the conclusion that the early Satavahana power lay in the western Deccan. In an attempt to locate the city

of Pithumda said to have been destroyed by King Kharavela he writes: "Pithunda has to be sought for in Andhra-desa and not in Kharavela's Kalinga. The reference to the destruction of Pithunda along with reference breaking up of the confederacy of Tamil powers is corroborative evidence in the same direction. In such a case the destruction of Pithunda by Kharavela would have evoked immediate and tremendous hostilities (or would have been a result of such hostilities) between him and his Satavahana contemporary, if really the early Satavahanas had been ruling over Andhradesa. If such a confiict with 'the lord of the Deccan' had taken place, Kharavela would not have failed to make mention of it in an inscription which speaks of his wars with the northern kings, southern confederacies and western powers. The silence of the Hatigumpha inscription on this matter is, therefore, conclusive proof that the early Satavahanas were not ruling over the land of their birth in the third and the second centuries B.C.".[1]

It may also be noted in this connection that the inscriptions of the Satavahanas come from the Andhradesa country only from the reign of Vasishtiputra Pulamvi. "It is possible', maintains Gopalachari, "that the Satavahanas who were scions of the royal family in Andhradesa accepted service in the Western Deccan under the Mauryas thereby acquiring the title of Andhrabhritya". After the death of Asoka, they took advantage of the disruptive tendencies and set up an independent power under Simuka.

In fine: The original home of the Satavahanas must have been "Satahanirattha" mentioned in the Mayakadoni and Hirahadagalli inscriptions as including the present Bellary and Dharwar districts of the Karnataka State. They were not of Andhra origin and only after Gautimaputra Satakarani, they conquered the Andhra country and had come to be styled the Andhras. They claim to be of Brahmanical origin and the theory of Przyluski that they must have come from Persia cannot be accepted.

Chronology

The chronology of the Satavahanas, which has been the subject of great controversy, can be reconstructed by utilising the puranic evidence and the synchronism between Nahapana and Gautamiputra Satakarani. The purans like the Vayu and Matsya give the list of the Satavahanas rulers and their reign periods. According to Vayu

1. *Early history of Andhra Country,* p. 9.

Purana 19 princes ruled for a period of 300 years. The Matsya Purana mentions 30 kings as ruling for about 450 years. Some scholars who trust the puranic account reconcile difference between the two Puranas by assuming that the Matsya Purana gives the correct number of kings and the Vayu Purana the total duration of the dynasty. The difference of 150 years between the two Purana is approximated to the total duration of the rule of the Sungas and the Kanvas (112+45=157 years) and the Satavahanas and the Sungas were considered as contemporaries.

According to this view the Satavahanas and the Sungas commenced their rule in 188 B.C. Starting from 188 B.C. the Satavahanas ruled for 300 years and their rule came to an end in 188 B.C. — 300 = 112 A.D. The paranas say that the Satavahanas from Gautamiputra Satakarani ruled for more than 100 years and therefore he will have to be placed in 112 A.D.—100 years=12 A.D. Keeping in view the progress, political and cultural, the country had made during the period of Gautamiputra Satakarani, the commencement of his reign in 12 A.D. seems to be too early.

Some scholars who have implicit faith in the Vayu Purana evidence try to solve this question of the early date of Gautamiputra Satakarani by citing the puranic traditions which says that the first Andhra (Satavahana) destroyed the Sungas and the Kanvas and making the Kanvas and the Satavahanas contemporary. The Sunga rule came to an end in 188 B.C.—112 years=76 B.C. of the Satavahanas started their rule in 76 B.C. The 300 years of their rule came to an end in 76 B.C.—300 years=224 A.D. Even this theory is not satisfactory. The later chronology, however, becomes satisfactory, but the initial date of the Satavahana rule in the first century B.C. does not conform to the Nasik and Nanaghat inscriptions, the earliest inscriptions of the Satavahanas which on scriptural grounds, are placed in the beginning of the second century B.C. Thus it is clear that the Satavahanas ruled for 450 years and not for 300 years only.

The synchronism between Gautamiputra Satakarani and King Nahapana provides sound basis for the reconstruction of the Satavahana chronology. The Nasik inscription of Gautami Balasari, mother of Gautamiputra, informs us that the latter attacked, defeated and killed Nahapana and Ushavadatta and totally extirpated the Ksaharata dynasty. He commemorated this victory by restricting the coins of Nahapana. The last known date of Nahapana is the

year 46. Rapson thinks that the dates in the inscriptions of Nahapana refers to the Saka Era. He further thinks the evidence of Nahapana's coins restapped by Gautamiputra and the date (72 SE) in the Girnar Rock Inscription of Rudradaman prove that Gautamiputra defeated Nahapana in 46 SE equivalent to 124 A.D. Therefore, Gautamiputra has to be placed in 124 A.D. — 18 = 106 A.D. The Puranas say he ruled for 24 years and this he ruled from 106 A.D. to 130 A.D. According to the Puranas the Satavahana rulers up to Gautamiputra Satakarani ruled for 341 years and hence we arrive at 106 A.D.—341 years=235 B.C. as the commencement of the rule of the Satavahanas. The Satavahanas ruled for 450 years and therefore the end of their rule has to be placed in 235 B.C.—450 years=215 A.D.[5]

Political History of Satavahanas

The first king to set up the Satavahanas as an independent power was Simuka, who, according to Puranic statement, 'with his follow tribesmen, the servants of Susarman, will assail the Kanvayanas and him (Susarman), and destroy the remains of the Sunga power and will obtain this earth'. The earliest inscription of Simuka is found at Nanaghat where he is styled as Raya Simuka. He ruled for about 23 years. By entering into matrimonial alliance with the Pallavas and the Chutus of Kuntala, he secured political ascendency in South India.

The third king of this dynasty was Satakarani I. He was perhaps the contemporary of king Kharavela of Kalinga who claims to have defeated Satakarani.

Satakarani II

For the study of the life and reign of Satakarani we have the inscription on the southern gateway of Sanchi and 29 potin coins obtained from Western India which are attributed to this King. He had the longest reign of 56 years which he devoted mainly to build up the Satavahana power. He seems to have established his way over western Malva. The extent of the coins indicate the march of the Satavahana power from Telingana to Maharastra and from there into Central India. In the fitness of things he celebrated two Asvamedhas and one Rajasuya.

5. R. Sathianathaier, History of India, Vol. I, pp. 181-184.

Hala

The reign of Hala, the seventh king, constitutes a brilliant epoch in the literary history of the Satavahanas. His reign has become famous for peaceful pursuits. Prakrit was the official language under the Satavahanas and they liberally patronised the use of that language in literature. He was himself a great poet and Gathasaptasati, an anthology of erotic verses in Maharastri Prakrit, is attributed to him.

The reign of Hala was not bereft of any military achievments. According to Lilavai, Hala conquered Ceylon and married the Ceylonese princess at Sapta-Godavari-Bhimam or Draksharama in the east Godavari district. The conquest of Ceylon is placed by some scholars in 78 A.D. and in all probability Hala founded the Salivahana or Saka Era.

Ksaharata Invasion

The growth of the Satavahana imperialism received a set-back at the hands of a foreign power—the Ksatrapa who overwhelmed Malva, Narmada Valley, North Konkan, the western part of the Northern Bihar and Northern and Southern Maharastra. The Satavahana power was completely obliterated in Western India. This was indeed a crisis in the Satavahana history which continued for about half-a-century, until Gautamiputra Satakarani received their power.

Satavahana success, Gautamiputra Satakarani

Gautamiputra, the twenty-third king, was the greatest among the great Satavahanas. He succeeded to the throne at a critical period of her history when the glory and prestige of his family was at a low ebb. He proved himself worthy to the task of the day and succeeded in restoring the political supremacy of his family. He thus won great fame and his name finds a prominent place in the dynastic niche of the Satavahanas.

Soon after his accession to the throne, Gautamiputra set himself to the scared task of retrieving the fortunes of his family, by making elaborate preparations for war. Fortunately for him, the mighty Saka-Pahlava empire had dismembered and broken up into many petty principalities under independent satraps. In the 18th year of his reign he attacked, defeated and killed Nahapana and Usavadatta, son-in-law of Nahapana and totally extirpated the Ksaharata dynasty.

He commemorated this triumph by calling in the coins issued by Nahapana during many years, and restamping it in crude fashion with his own insignia.

By this victory, Gautamiputra not only recovered his ancestral dominions, but made additions to it. His empire included the territories of Asika, Asaka, Mulaka, Surashtra, Kukura, Aparanta, Anupa, Vidarbha, Akara and Avanti; the mountainous regions of Vindhya, Achavata, Pariyatra, Shaya, Kanhagiri, Siritana, Malaya, Mahendra, Seta, and Chakora and extended from the western to the eastern sea.

Gautamiputra distinguished himself both in arts of war and peace. He was, in fact, a great champion of Hindu religion and made liberal donations to both Brahmanas and Buddhists. He was educated in all the branches of learning necessary for the king in the discharge of his obligations to the people. He was a great warrior who never lost a battle and was a terror to his enemies. In short, a great administrator, a brilliant soldier, a gifted statesman, a skilled archer and a devoted son, Gautamiputra indeed appears great.

Vasishtiputra Sri Pulamavi

Gautamiputra died at an early age leaving his son Vasishtiputra who succeeded him. He inherited the vast and prosperous empire of his father peacefully and assumed the title of Dakshinapathesvara. But the Ksaharatas who were subdued by his father became powerful in the time of Pulamavi and Rudradaman I claims to have defeated Pulamavi twice between 130-150 A.D., though he was related to him. As a result of this victory, Rudradaman took away from Pulamavi most of the territory won by his father from Nahapana. Rudradaman's kingdom included all the territories north of the Godavari which had been conquered by Gautamiputra. Then Pulamavi felt that the empire should expand eastwards and established a new capital, Navanagara or Pratisthana on the Godavari and conquered the Telugu districts.

Yajnasari

After Pulamavi, Yajnasari Satakarani was the last prominent king, who reigned for 29 years. After ascending the throne, he renewed the struggle with the Ksaharatas and recovered some of the provinces lost by Pulamavi II. His inscriptions, found at Nasik, Kanheri, Karle and Amaravati and coins obtained from Saurastra, Maharastra, Northern Mysore and coastal Andhra, indicate the extent

of his dominions. But this was a shortlived glory; soon afterwards the empire of the Satavahanas fell on evil days and declined.

Not much is known as regards the causes that brought about the disintegration and downfall of the Satavahana empire. It is possible that Yajnasari was followed by weak successors who were not as distinguished as the great Gautamiputra. This was naturally taken advantage of by the scions of the Satavahana race who established their independent kingdoms in different parts of the Deccan. In the west the Abhiras appropriated the territory around Nasik and ruled independently. The chieftains of the Kura family became independent and ruled over southern Maharastra. A little later, Rudrasatakarani, a scion of the Satavahanas, took possession of Andhra districts, and ruled over them. A collateral branch rose to power in Berar and ruled over it till the Vakatakas exterminated it. Finally the Chutu-Satakaranis of Vanavasi conquered Western Deccan while at the same time, Santamula I of the subordinate Iksvaku family of Nagarjunikonda, conquered Eastern Deccan. Thus passed away the glory of the Satavahana empire.

Administration

The administration of Satavahanas was but a continuation of the administrative traditions established by their erstwhile masters, the Mauryas, with some striking innovations. The king was the hub of the administration. They had, in addition to the ancient title of Rajan, the title of Swamin. Gautamiputra Satakarani is called Rajrano, i.e., 'kings of kings'. He was the supreme commander of the armed forces and the fountain-head of justice. He led the army in person to the battlefield. The qualities of head and heart of Gautamiputra Satakarani as given in the Nasik inscription of Balasri may be taken as the true characteristics of the Satavahana kings: "he (Gautamiputra) was a model hero rivalling the achievements of the greatest kings known to history and legend. Above all, he was the ideal king granting boon of fearlessness to others, refraining from all injury to life, even that an offending enemy, identifying himself with the joys and sorrows of his subjects; levying and spending taxes justly and checking the contamination of the four varnas".

The Satavahana rulers were well educated in the "Kautilyan system of education for the princes". That conformed to the precepts of royal activity laid down in the Arthasastra of Kautilya becomes evident from Nasik cave inscription No. 2. Gautamiputra Satakarani is said to have "properly devised time and place for the pursuit of

the Tivage (i.e., Trivarga) and sympathised fully with the weal and woe of the citizens". Like the Mauryan monarchs, the Satavahana kings looked after both the material and spiritual welfare of the people. Though the Satavahana rulers assumed matronomic prefixes, the succession to the throne was hereditary in the male line. An important and original feature of the Satavahana administration was the association of queens in public life. Queen Nayanika acted as regent on behalf of her son Vedasri. Queen Balasri, mother of Gautamiputra Satakarani, jointly issued orders to a district officer to institute a charitable endowment.

The king was assisted by a council of ministers whose number is not known. The scanty information in the inscriptions when pieced together indicate the existence of the central services. It consisted of such royal officers as the Amatyas who acted as the governors of the Aharas; the Rajamatyas who attended on the king and were members of the advisory body; a Mahamatra who was entrusted with the execution of a special task; the Bhandagarika or the superintendent of the stores; the Heranika or the treasurer; the Mahasenapati or the commander of the army; the Lekhaka or the Secretary of state who drafted the king's documents and the Nibahdhakaras who were charged with task of registering the documents.[6] The appointment of the Mahasenapati dates from the time of Gautamiputra Satakarani and his son. Sometimes, the Mahasenapati also acted as governor. The existence of these officials and the detailed procedure that was followed in respect of the registration of official documents go to show that the Satavahanas had established a sound system of administration. They must have maintained all "essential departments such as those of police, finance, justice, army, commissariat, agriculture, industries, etc., although contemporary inscriptions do not actually refer to any of these".[7]

The empire was divided into various divisions such as Aharas like Soparahara, Govardhanahara, Manalahara, Satavahanahara, etc. The Aharas correspond to the Rashtra of the Pallava records. They were in charge of officers called Amachas (Amatyas) or governors. The Aharas were further divided into Nigamas (towns) and Gamas or Gramas (villages). We do not get adequate information regarding their administration in the inscription. The villages were in the charge of traditional headmen who are referred to as Gramanis in

6. The Early History of the Deccan, Vol. I, p. 135.
7. Ibid., p. 135.

Gathasaptasati. They looked after the administration of five villages and sometimes ten villages. The official in charge of the administration of the towns and villages enjoyed complete autonomy. The Nigama had an assembly called Nigamasabha which acted as the mouthpiece of the citizens.

The Satavahana feudatories were of three grades. The highest among them was called Raja. He occupied more or less the same position as that of the king. He also issued coins in his own name. Next to them in status were the Mahabhojas and the Maharathi's. This was confined to a few families of the eastern Deccan who held office on a hereditary basis. They enjoyed a rank and power much higher than the Amatyas. The 'titles were held to be such a patent of nobility that the wives regularly took the titles of their husbands'. This becomes evident from the Karle and Kuda records. The Maharathis looked after local administration of the country above the western ghats, while the Mahabhojas looked after northern Konkan. They performed different kinds of duties. Some exercised power over the locality under their charge and others looked after the administration at the centre.

Thus the Satavahanas were successful in establishing a sound system of administration which ensured a long period of peace in the country which in turn gave a tremendous impetus of cultural progress that the period witnessed.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The Satavahana rulers supported Vedic religion and claimed to have restored Varnasramadharma. The division of the society into four main castes had come to stay and the ascendency of the Brahmanas over other castes had been established. This period also saw the birth of many sub-castes based on professions. We have reference to such sub-castes as Golikas (shepherds), Halikas (cultivators), Sethis (merchants), Gadhikas (druggists), Vadhikas (carpenters), Kolikas (weavers), Talipisakas (oil-pressers), Kamaras (black-smiths), etc.

The structure of the Satavahana society was shaken to its very foundations due to the advent of the Buddhists and the incursions of Saka-Pahlavas. The foreigners embraced Buddhism, assumed such Indian names as Dharmadeva, Vrishabhadatta, Angivarma, etc. and their total assimilation with the local people was complete. Gautamiputra Satakarani took prompt measures to prevent pollution among the followers of Aryan Dharma. The Nasik inscription informs us

that he not only put to sword many of these foreigners but also drove many of them out of his kingdom. That the foreigners in spite of this secured a firm foot-hold in the country becomes evident from the donations made by them to the Buddhist monks and nuns. But the caste rules were not strictly observed. Inter-caste marriages were taking place now and then. There are instances of Kshatriyas adopting the occupation of the Vaisyas. The Brahmanas adopted the occupation of the Kshatriyas and the Satavahanas themselves belonged to the priestly class.

Joint family system was the normal feature of the day. Inscriptions of the period refer to gifts made by all the members of the family in common. In such gifts precedence was given to the males over females. This shows that their society was patriarchal or patrilinear though the rulers assumed matronomic prefixes.

Women enjoyed an important position in the social life. The partiarchal family system does not appear to have restricted their freedom in any way. They even took part in the public life of their time. They took a prominent part in religious worship and charity. In the donations made to temples, sacred caves and other religious establishments women outnumbered men. The Amaravathi stone inscriptions inform us that mostly women made gifts and caused the construction of many monuments. The Satavahana records from Karle and Kuda record the gifts made by Mahabhojas and Maharathimis, wives of Mahabhojas and Maharathis. The Nagarjunakonda inscriptions are interesting as they refer to Mahasenapati and Mahatalavara, titles which were borne by the ladies. The Amaravathi sculptures depict women offering worship along with men, playing on musical instruments, offering hospitality to guests and taking part in the deliberations of an assembly. On one side of a stone pillar is depicted a religious disputation in which the participants are mostly women.

As regards dress and ornaments our only source of information are the sculptures. The sculptures of Karle and Amaravathi show that both men and women dressed scantily. Women wore a twisted cloth below the waist in two or three tiers with a knot at the right and the ends hanging from it. Generally they did not cover their breasts. In one sculpture a woman is shown covering the breasts. A loin cloth and a piece of cloth thrown over the shoulders constituted the dress of the male. Only in a few instances the cloth tied round the waist reaches the knee. They wore a head-dress of twisted cloth. In the sculptures of Amaravathi and Nagarjunakonda

some men seem to wear trousers and jackets. These are probably meant to indicate the foreigners.

Both men and women combed their hair and either plaited it or tied it into a knot. The general practice was to part the hair in the middle and tie the two locks into a knot. Sometimes the knot rested either on the right or left soulder or was placed towards the forehead. The oriental fondness for ornaments is met with both among men and women. Bangles, bracelets, necklaces and ear-rings were worn by both males and females. Women wore bangles reaching upto the elbows. The Bhattiprolu finds show that beads, emeralds, diamonds, pearls and gold were generally used in the manufacture of ornaments.

The status of the people in society was determined not only by the castes to which one belonged but also on the basis of one's occupation. That by and large people led a life of comfort becomes evident from the use of such household articles as jugs, jars, chairs, tables, stools, beds, etc., even by those who lived in cottages.

During the period of the Satavahanas agriculture continued to be the basis of the economy. The state levied taxes at the rate of 1/6 on land and land tax constituted a major source of revenue to the state. Salt was a monopoly of the state.

Trade and industry made great strides during this period. This was largely due to the role played by the trade and craft guilds. That the Satavahanas encouraged trade both internal and external is attested to by the Periplus. Among the prominent market towns of the period mention may be made of Paithan, Tagara, Junnar, and Karnataka. Nasik and Vijayanit were the two important centres of inland trade where merchants had their warehouses. The port towns such as Baryagaza (Broach), Sopara and Kalyana were the noted centres of sea-borne trade. Ptolemy refers to the part played by the ports on the mouths of the rivers Godavari and Krishna in the trade with Malaya and East-Indies. The flourishing trade of the Deccan reached its height in the second century A.D. It is worthy of note that a coin of Yajnasri Satakarani bears a masted ship. This indicates not only the maritime power and activity of the Satavahanas but also suggests that they must have possessed a fleet of ships for carrying on this oceanic trade.

Industries were based mainly on agriculture. Arts and crafts were organised into castes and guilds. The Nasik and Junnar inscriptions refer to various classes of workers such as Kularikas (potters), Odayantrikas (makers of hydraulic engines), Dhamikas (corn

dealers), Kolikas (weavers), Vasakaras (bamboo workers), Kasakaras (braziers), etc. These crafts were organised by their own guilds. The guilds had their own laws that were binding on members. The regulations of the guilds had the force of laws and the king was obliged to take cognizance of these rules in the administration of justice. By their honest dealings the guilds were able to win the confidence of the public. They not only served the interest of trade and commerce but also possessed banking facilities. They accepted deposits from members of the public and acted as trustees also. The Nasik inscription records two investments made with the guilds. According to the record Ushavadatta made a permanent investment of 200 Kahapanas at 1% interest per month and another 1000 Kahapanas at 3/4% interest per month for supplying "to every one of the 20 monks twelve Kahapanas as cloth money" and the rest to meet their other sundry expenses of the monks out of the interest. The deposits served as capital of the guilds which they lent in turn to commercial enterprises. Thus as R.C. Majumdar points out : "The guilds must have been long standing, and their operation characterised by honesty and fair dealing, for otherwise men would scarcely have made perpetual endowments with them". Guilds also made gifts on their own to religious institutions and participated in various kinds of social services.

Karshapana, Dramma, Pana, Gadyana and Dinara are the five coin denominations found in this period. Dinara, a Greek coin, must have come to the country through trade. But we have no means to determine the exact value of these denominations. They, however, weighed respectively from 35 grams to 560 grams in the ratio of 35, 70, 140, 280, 560 grams respectively.

RELIGIOUS CONDITION

The Satavahana rulers were the followers of Vedic religion and performed Vedic sacrifices. The third ruler of the dynasty performed a number of Vedic sacrifices and even named one of his sons Vedasri. Gatha Saptasati opens with a passage in adoration of Siva. Gautamiputra Satakarani though claims to have protected the Brahmanas, is said to have made a gift of large sum of the Buddhists. "He is said to have emulated the examples to the epic heroes Rama, Kesava (i.e., Krishna) and Arjuna. The pantheon of Hinduism included Indra, Vasudeva, the Sun and the Moon, Siva, Vishnu, Krishna, Ganesha and Pasupati. Temples of Gauri, the consort of Siva, are

mentioned in the Saptasati as also the obscure Vrata (vow) of fire and water".[8]

But the rulers of this dynasty practised complete religious toleration. Some rulers of this dynasty followed Buddhism. In fact the Satavahana rule witnessed the glorious epoch of Buddhism in the Deccan. That the reigning Satavahana monarchs made donations to the Buddhist Sangha is borne out by the Nasik, Karle and Nanaghat inscriptions. The Buddhist monuments at Patal-Khora, Kolhapur, Ghantasala, Bhattiprolu, Jaggayapeta, Amaravathi and Nagarjunakonda show that Buddhism also commanded a large following. Saptasati refers to worship of the feet of Buddha. Numerous monks and nuns lived in different parts of the Deccan. There were several sects among them. The epigraphs speak of the following sects flourished in the Deccan at that time; 'the Bhandya at Nasik and Kanheri, the Mahasanghikas at Karle, the Dharmattariyas at Sopara and Junnar, the Chetakiyas at Amaravathi and Purvasailas and Avarasailas at Nagarjunakonda'.[9]

Jainism entered Karnataka much earlier than Buddhism and the Digambara sect had become distant in Karnataka in the first century A.D. The Digambara teacher, Kundakundacharya, was the teacher of the Satavahana princes. The existence of the Jaina antiquities in many parts of Andhra Pradesh was also noticed by Sewell.

LITERATURE

Maharashtri Prakrit seems to have been the State language under the Satavahana replacing Pali or Andhramagadi of the Mauryan time. The Digambara Jain scholar Kundakundacharya was a great writer in Prakrit. He wrote Jaina philosophical works like *Prabritasara*, *Rayanasara*, *Samayasara*, *Pravachanasara* and *Dvadasanuperksha* in Prakrit. A collection of stories called the *Brihatkatha* is Paisaci dialect was compiled by Gunadya. The *Brihatkatha* is extant only in fragments quoted by later writers. The historical value of this work is differently assessed by different writers. Another important work is the *Gathasaptasati* by King Hala. It is an anthology of seven hundred erotic verses, written in the Maharastri Prakrit and in Arya metre. "The collection presents a great diversity. Some verses are frivolous, other witty and yet others are sad and

8. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: Development of Religion in South India, p. 32.
9. The Early History of the Deccan, Vol. I, p. 145.

sentimental, some breathe high philosophy while others describe love episodes of all sorts". The *Lilavai*, a Prakrit work, alludes to the military exploits of King Hala in the Eastern Deccan.

Sanskrit was becoming the national language. The stone inscriptions are composed in Prakrit and Sanskrit languages; Sanskrit words were liberally used along with Prakrit words. The grammar of the Panini was found to be too difficult to learn and a shorter grammar, called the *Kautatra*, was compiled by Sarvavarman, a minister of a Satavahana king, for the benefit of the king. It was very popular not only in its day, but even today it is much in use in Eastern Bengal and Kashmir.

FINE ARTS

The Satavahana period became memorable by its great contribution to Indian art. Numerous sites in Andhra like Goli, Jaggayapeta, Bhattiprolu, Ghantasala, Amaravathi and Nagarjunakonda have revealed the remains of stupas and sculptures. The largest and perhaps the most interesting of all these stupas was that of Amaravathi. The drum of the stupa was 20 feet high with its four rectangular offsets. It was surrounded by a railing 192 feet in diameter and 600 feet in circumference. It stood 13 or 14 feet high above the pavement. This concentric railing outside enclosed the pradakshinapatha of about 15 feet wide 'having free standing pillars at intervals bearing miniature stupas or similar symbols as their capitals'.

Amaravathi school is renowned throughout the world for its exquisite treasures of plastic art. Amaravathi sculptures show the influence of Gandhara and Mathura schools to some extent. But as pointed out by Marshall, "There is great originality, freedom of treatment, spontaneous exuberance in the arts of Amaravathi." Further he says: "The reliefs of Amaravathi indeed appear to be as truly Indian in style as those of Bharhut and Ellora. They followed as a natural sequence on the Mauryan art, when that art was finding expression in more conventionalised forms. They have inherited certain motifs and types which filtered from the north-west but these elements have been completly absorbed and assimilated without materially influencing the indigenous character of the sculptures". Nature, particularly the tree, is depicted in a most charming manner. Animals such as elephants are carved beaming with vigour and activity. The human figures are extremely refined and graceful. Indeed the Amaravathi artist attained a magnificent height in the

creation of the ordinary human being. Some human figures are undoubtedly sensuous. "Female figures with slim waists, and symmetrical arrangement of physical beauties, loosely dressed with garments of fine texture, full of softness of a slender creeper and inviting gracefulness, deeply sensitive of the luxuries of nature sometimes playing upon musical instruments in beautifully artistic poses, rather a little coquettish, they are found in the company of men, who seem to possess keen powers of appreciation. If we have eyes to see perchance we may catch a glimpse of the exchange of significant looks passing between a maid in one corner and her lover in the opposite side giving flashes of sensual suggestions which are not easy to miss."[10]

For the first time in Indian art, the Amaravathi school depicted Buddha as a divine being receiving worship. 'In Gandhara the Buddha is portrayed as a guru or precepter, at Mathura he assumes the garb of a local yogin, while Amaravathi transforms him into a preaching monk or a public orator.' Unlike that of Gandhara and Mathura, the Amaravathi school failed to create any type of Buddha. It merely adopted the Gandhara type. Among sculptures which depict events relating to the life of the Buddha, 'the taming of elephant', 'the conversion of Nanda' and other scenes are of outstanding artistic merit.

The Amaravathi school marks the culmination of the early phase of the art of sculpture in India. It has 'struck a quite novel and unique chord in the symphony of Indian plastic art. In the achievement of pure form in all the modulation, in the subtle delineation of the elusive moods and sentiments of human heart and the picturesque representations of the vibrations of the stirring soul, it stands unrivalled.'

Another noted centre of artistic activity was Nagarjunakonda. Here the Amaravathi tradition is continued in the scupltures that depict the life of the Buddha and a number of Jataka stories though not as refined as at Amaravathi; yet they are strong and attractive. The most significant feature of these sculptures is the common occurrance. Some sculptures depict the Buddha as sitting on the serpents, in others the serpents spread their hoods over his head like an umbrella and in a third type, they seem to carry the stupas. It seems probable that the Buddhists of the region brought into vogue the Naga tradition of their ancestors.

10. B.C. Sen: I.H.Q., Vol. III, p. 272.

Of the rock-cut halls of the Western Indian group the one that is complete and noted for its architectonic skill is the Chaitya hall at Karle. It was the last in series of eight Chaityas executed in the second and first century B.C., the seven others being the ones at Kondane, Pitalkora, Ajanta (No. 10), Bhaja, Bedsa, Ajanta (No. 9) and Nasik.

The Chaitya hall at Karle is the one that is the most magnificent of all in India. Here the rock-architecture of the Hinayana period reached its highest watermark. The hall is more than 124 feet long, 46 feet broad and 46 feet high. The stupa is of cylindrical type with two rail courses. It has the original wooden umbrella. The facade of this Chaitya hall consists of three doorways and an upper gallery over which is seen the enormous Chaitya window.

The Chaitya hall consists of the garbhagriha, the pradaksina and the mantapa. The pradaksina is separated from mantapa by means of a colonnade on either side and each colonnade consists of fifteen pillars. Seven pillars that encirle the garbhagriha have plain octogonal shafts. Each pillar of the colonnade consists of the following elements, viz., a plinth, vase base, octagonal shaft, spreading abacus and a belled shaped capital. The capital is of the 'persepolitan' type. An exquisite group of sculptured statuary that is found above this produces the effect of a frieze and cornice. 'To the conception of the colonnade the interior owes much of its strength in repose, but it is from the figure composition it supports that the principal vitality of effect is obtained.' From them rises the high arched vault of the roof with wooden ribs attachad to it. The spaces between the doorways in the lower storey are decorated with sculptures belonging to two periods. They include two human figures, probably representing donor couple, that are of massive type and very grandly executed. The sculptures representing the Buddha belong to the second period and they are not very vivid. An outer porch is obtained by means of 'setting back of the entrance into the face of the rock', and 'the sides of which are sculptured in architectural facades of several storeys, the lowest supported by huge elephants, the second decorated with sculptured figures' similar to those found on the lower stage of the facade. There must also have been a wooden antechamber preceding to the entrance and 'further outside stands one of the two original monolithic dvajastambhas with a capital of four lions which once supported a wheel.' Light and air into the Chaitya hall must have entered only through the doorway and the elegant Chaitya window in which the structural wood work remains. In the

words of Percy Brown, "There are few lighting effects more solemnly beautiful than the soft luminous atmosphere diffused in their manner through the sun-window at Karli."[11]

In paintings, Ajanta school starts with the Satavahanas and Cave X, the earliest, is assigned to the second century B.C. contemporaneous with Bharhut and Sanchi. Buddha is shown here seated on a cushion wearing red robes and there is a chandan mark on this forehead. By his sides are standing monks and a householder, showing that the human representation of Buddha had become conventionalised in painting as well by the second century B.C. Some other caves have been attributed to the Satavahana times, but they probably belong to the early Gupta or Vakataka period.

To sum up: The Satavahana who established the first empire in South India acted as a link between the North and the South. Though they disappeared from the scene, they have left their deep impress on all aspects of history of their time, more particularly in the sphere of foreign trade, literature and art.

11. Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu), p. 25.

3

THE KADAMBA—GANGA PERIOD

1. KADAMBAS OF BANAVASI

The history of the Kadambas of Banavasi who held the destinies of Karnataka from the third to the seventh centuries A.D. forms an important chapter in the history of Karnataka. They were the heirs to the power and glory of the Satavahanas. Under the Kadambas Karnataka culture reached a new mile-stone. When they dominated the political scene, their contemporaries, the Pallavas and the Gangas in the South and the Vakatakas in the north, were friendly with them. This friendship was reinforced with matrimonial alliances with the Vakatakas and the Guptas. In the cultural history also the Kadambas have left their mark. In fine arts, the Kadambas initiated a movement which became the model for the later art styles in Karnataka.[12]

Origin of the Kadambas

The origin of the Kadambas has been a matter of great controversy. The inscriptions which form the mainstay of the historian give divergent accounts. The legends, many in number, add more to our confusion. The historian has to use his lively imagination in placing together the different accounts to determine their origin. There are four theories: the theory of divine origin, the Nanda origin, Jaina origin and finally the theory associating the progenitor of the dynasty with the Kadamba tree or Kadamba flowers.

The Prabhudeva Gaddige copper plates inform us that the progenitor of the dynasty descended from the three eyed and four armed Kadamba, who was himself born from a drop of sweat that fell to the ground from the broad head of Hara under the Kadamba tree. In

12. G.M.Moares : The Kadamba Kula.

another record Mayuravarma is described as the son of Siva and Prithvi. Since he was born and grew up under the shade of the Kadamba tree, his family was so named.

An inscription of the Nagarkhanda branch of the Kadambas speaks of the Nanda origin of the Kadambas. According to this, when the wrath of Parasurama fell on the Ksatriya family, Asvathama or Isvaramasa gave refuge to a king named Soma of the lunar race and saved his life. He also instructed him in the use of weapons. Thinking that their escape was due to the blessings of Lord Siva, they went to the Kailasa mountain to offer their worship. There they saw the Nanda king worshipping Siva for a number of days to be blessed with a son. But he was returning disappointed as there was no response. On one occasion when he was returning thus disappointed some Kadamba flowers fell before him and simultaneously a heavenly voice assured Isvaramasa that two brilliant sons would be born to the king under the name of the Kadambakula and that he was to teach them the use of weapons. Thus the Kadambas dynasty came into existence.

According to the *Grama Paddhati*, a Kannada work dealing with the history of the Tulu Brahmanas, when Siva and Parvathi were rejoicing at the creation of Parasurama, a child was born to Parvathi under the Kadamba tree. He was named Kadamba and was placed in charge of the Western Ghat region. In this line was born Mayura Sarma who made Banavasi his capital.[13]

According to another account, a king named Manivarman was ruling the kingdom of Banavasi. He had no issue for a long time. At his old age, he got two sons, Kanakavarma and Viravarma. The Pandyan king named Sibi Pandya invaded the kingdom and captured it. The preceptor of Manivarma with the two princes went to the kingdom of Varakula (Barakur). There the king had died without a successor and the royal elephant with a garland in its trunk was in the streets to pick out the new king. Being anxious to get the throne, the two princes met Rishi Markandeya who told them that the elephant would garland only those who killed the peacock that lived on a mango tree on the north-east of the Barakur city and drank its blood. This being done, Viravarma was duly garlanded by the royal elephant. He was enthroned under a new name Lokaditya Mayuravarma.[14].

13. K.K. Kudva : Dakshina Kannada Ithihasa, pp 32-34.
14. K.K. Kudva : Op. cit., pp. 34-36.

A Jaina record dated 1077 A.D. says, "a kingdom having been procured for him from the Sasana Devi, and the forest (vana) being formed into a country for that prince, a crown was placed on his brow composed of pacock's feathers, whence he obtained the name of Mayuravarma, the revered one (or progenitor) of the Kadambakula".

And finally we may turn to the Talagunda Pillar Inscription. As Rice says, "This learned inscription is full of interesting and important matter from beginning to end. It gives what appears to be a realistic and true account of the Kadamba line of kings, free from numerous legends that are current regarding it".[15] The contents of this inscription may thus be summed up. The Kadamba family was of orthodox Brahmana extraction which derived its descent from Hariti and belonged to Manavya gotra. They were devoted to the study of the Vedas and the performnce of Vedic sacrifices. A Kadamba tree grew near their house and hence they were called Kadambas. To this family belonged Mayurasarma, who with his preceptor, Veerasarma, went to Kanchi, the Pallava Capital, to complete Vedic studies. There he took part in a fierce quarrel with a mounted Pallava guard, and being enraged at the treatment meted out on this occasion and considering it a dishonour to the Brahmanas, he gave up the scholar's cell for the battle field. He defeated the Pallava frontier-officials and entrenched himself in the dense forests round-about Sriparvata after levying tribute from the subordinates of the Pallavas. He successfully withstood and harassed the Pallava forces sent against him. Finally, peace was established when the Pallavas recognised his sovereignty over the territory extending from the Amara ocean to the Premara country.[16].

One significant feature we notice in the above accounts is the intimate relationship between the progenitor of the dynasty with the Kadamba tree or Kadamba flowers. Secondly, the dynasty was divinely ordained. With this background, we may now attempt to reconstruct the origin of the Kadambas.

While editing the Talagunda Pillar inscription Rice makes an important statement. He says, "there is an evident design to exalt the Brahmanas at the expense of the Ksatriyas". This statement is full of meaning and deserves serious consideration.

It is too well known that at the time of the Brahmana period caste relationships were clearly fixed. The position of the priests

15. E.C. VII ; Introduction, p. 9.
16. E.C. VII ; SK. 176.

as intermediaries between man and God was solidly established. The Brahmanas had their higher authority and were independent of the king. The Brahmana is compared to the mind and Ksatriya to the will and mind was conceived to be independent of will. But as will relies on intelligence, Ksatriya could not exist without a Brahmana. Brahmana was not subject to the temporal authority, but Brahmana's co-operation with the political class would add to the realisation of the aims of both.

It is clear from the above discussion that the preservation of Vedic Dharma was the duty of the king. When the king neglected his duty, the Brahmanas did not hesitate to step in. It was that struggle that provided an opportunity to Mayurasarma to establish the Kadamba dynasty. According to Varnadharma, it was the duty of the Ksatriya to protect the life and property of the people. He soon assumed Ksatriya status and even gave up the Brahmana surname of Sarma and assumed the Ksatriya surname Varma.

After establishing the dynasty, the question of naming the empire must have engaged his attention. The Kadamba tree that grew near his house served the purpose and, therefore, the dynasty was designated as Kadamba.

The stories in which the progenitor of the race figures as a demi-God start coming in from the 14th century A.D. This is not difficult to explain. The early Kadamba dynasty came to an end in the seventh century A.D. By the time their representatives established their power at Hangal, Goa and other places, the real history of Mayurasarma had been forgotten and he had already become the hero of the legends. The legends received recognition in the Grama paddhati of the Tulu Brahmanas, thus giving credence to the theory of divine origin of the Kadambas. The representatives of the early Kadambas were not slow in capitalising such a position. It served their purpose very well. With a view to command respect from the ruled, they claimed themselves to have been descended from a demi-God. Many such instances are met with in Indian history.

Political Geography

It would not be out of place here to note the political geography of Karnataka on the eve of the foundation of the Kadamba dynasty. There were many petty states ruling over different parts

f Karnataka. The Banas ruled over a territory which included the istrict of Kolar in Karnataka; Tiruvallam, Vanapura and Mahabali-uram in Tamil Nadu; and Cuddap in Andhra Pradesh. Alupas uled over the Western Ghat region; the kingdom of the Sendrika ncluded Nagarakhanda and Jagadur (Jedda in the present Shimoga listrict). Nalas ruled over the districts of Bellary and Kurnool and the Punnata kings ruling in the region south of the city of Mysore. Among them Sendrikas and Punnatas were defeated by Mayuravarma and were thus ruling as his feudatories. Others ruled as the Mandalikas of the imperial powers that came to be established in Karnataka.

Mayuravarma

Mayuravarma was the founder and the first historical figure of the Kadambas. He was born at Talagunda in Shimoga district, then under the suzerainty of the Pallavas. While he was young, he went to Kanchi along with his teacher Veerasarma to study the Vedas in the Ghatika at Kanchi. But soon a quarrel arose between him and a Pallava mounted spy. When he failed to obtain justice at the hands of the Pallava king, he exchanged his sacrificial implements for weapons of war. To quote Talagunda inscription: "with the hand dexterous in grasping the Kusa grass, the fuel, the stones, the ladle, the melted butter and oblation vessel, he unsheathed a flaming sword, eager to conquer the earth". To fulfil his vow he left Kanchi and went to the forest-hill track in the northern frontier of the kingdom where he took to warlike exercises. There, he succeeded in gathering a band of adventurous youths and with this handful of followers he overpowered the Pallava frontier guards and established himself at Triparvatha (Srishaila in Kurnool district). Soon he grew so powerful as to exact tribute from the Banas and other kings, who were the vassals of the Pallavas. The Pallava king installed him as 'king' over a territory extending from the Amara ocean (Western Ocean) to the Premara country. He now exchanged his surname 'Sarma' indicative of the Brahmana caste to 'Varma' indicative of the Ksatriya caste.

The Chandavalli inscription, according to M.H. Krishna's reading, attributes Mayuravarma the conquests of Trekuta and Abhira, on the West coast, Pallavapuri or Kanchi in the east, Sendrika and Punnata in Mysore, Pariyatrika and Sakastana in the Punjab and the North-west and Mokari or Maukhari in Kanauj. However, K.P.

Jayaswal's reading limits Mayuravarma's kingdom only to Karnataka. Mayuravarma does not appear to have fought with the Pallavas for a second time. The Chandavalli inscription seems to allude to his encounter with the Pallava frontier guards. Till the contrary is proved his military exploits in North India may be taken for granted. In commemoration of his spectacular achievements he is said to have celebrated the Asvamedha sacrifice and granted 144 villages to the Brahmanas of Talagundur.

Mayuravarma was undoubtedly the greatest ruler of the Kadamba dynasty. He not only established the nascent imperialism of the Kadambas but also extended its power beyond the Vindhyas. This success he achieved against heavy odds speaks greatly for his organising ability and statesmanship. In a word, as a warrior, an administrator, a reputed scholar, a popular leader of men, and above all as a self-respecting individual, Mayuravarma is one among the great kings of India. When he died leaving the throne to his son Kangavarma, he must have died with the great satisfaction of realising his dream of founding an empire on a solid foundation.

Kangavarma

After his accession to throne Kangavarma had to involve himself in many expensive wars. The petty rulers who were reduced to the status of feudatories by Mayuravarma tried to become independent and Kangavarma was successful in re-establishing his authority over them. Towards the end of his reign he had to wage a war with the Vakatakas of the Besien branch. According to Ajanta inscription in cave 16, king Vindhyasena invaded Kuntala and conquered it. The identity of the Kadamba adversary of Vindhyasena is not determined definitely. But according to many historians this Kadamba adversary was no other than Kangavarma. After this victory, the Vakatakas styled themselves as the lords of Kuntala. "The fact that the Vakataka rulers began to be described as lords of Kuntala as a result of this victory", writes A.S. Altekar, "might suggest that a portion of Kuntala was annexed to the Vakataka kingdom as its sequel..... very probably the Kadambas had claimed only a nominal overlordship over this territory and did not much regret this loss"[17]. There is no doubt that this defeat shook the very foundations of the Kadamba dynasty as this was the first defeat they suffered after coming to power. Kangavarma did not live for many days

17. Early history of the Deccan, Parts I-IV.

after this defeat. Thus, the reign of Kangavarma which began on a bright note ended in disaster.

Bhagirathavarma

He was the son and successor of Kangavarma. He is extolled as "the sole lord of the lady the Kuntala land, the great Sagara himself scarcely born in the Kadamba Kula"[18]. By his achievements he squarely proved that they are not mere empty boasts. Moraes is of the view that Bhagirathavarma retrieved the losses of the family, and restored the kingdom to its pristine greatness. But this view is doubted, for the Vakataka inscriptions indicate that they continued to possess the territory they won earlier and the contrary is not found in the Kadamba records. Thus the Kadambas appear to have lost that region permanently. S. Srikantha Sastri thinks that the coins bearing the legend 'Bhagi' must have been his issues. *Sringaraprakasika* of Bhoja mentions that Chandrgupta II Vikramaditya sent the embassy of Kalidasa to Kuntala.

Raghuvarama and Kakusthavarma

Raghuvarma, styled himself Raghu Parashiva, was the eldest son of Bhagiratha. He along with his Yuvaraja and younger brother, Kakusthavarma, subdued the local chiefs. He also waged a successful war against the Pallavas, in which he lost his life.

Since Raghuvarma had no children, Kakusthavarma succeeded to the throne. Under him the 'Kadamba empire reached the acme of its greatness'. The Talagunda inscription hails him, 'The ornament of the Kadamba family and the Sun among kings of widespread fame'.

Even as a Yuvaraja, he assisted his elder brother in the administration and took part in his wars. In the operations to subdue the local chiefs he was in danger of losing his life, but was saved by the timely action of his general Srutakirti. This action of his justifies the praise in the Talagunda inscription that he was 'a formidable warrior'. The fact that he concluded matrimonial alliances with the prominent ruling families of the day shows that he must have extended the boundary of his empire and made it a power to be reckoned with.

Kakusthavarma had many daughters. He gave his daughter Mahadevi Ajjhitabhattarika to Vakataka king Narendrasena; another was married to the Gupta king; a third daughter was wedded to the

18. E.C. Vol. VII, SK 176.

Alupa chief Pasupati; and a forth was given in marriage to Madhava II, the Ganga ruler. An inscription says that the last one was concluded during the reign of his son, Krishanavarma.

Kakusthavarma was also an understanding and sympathetic administrator. He did not oppress the people with heavy taxation. Inscriptions inform us that he attended to the needs of the people in time and maintained internal peace by entrusting this job to a newly created internal protective force. People moved from one part of the country to another without any interference from thieves, dacoits and plunderers. Even the strangers felt secure in his kingdom. By his policies he justified the titles Dharmaraja and Dharmamaharaja he assnmed.

In importance to the Kadamba dynasty, Kakusthavarma ranks second only to Mayuravarma. Halsi plates describe him as the glory of the Kadambas. His Halmidi inscription attests to his devotion to work, the active interest he took in the welfare of his people, his character and his other many sided activities. Kadamba power reached its heyday during the reign of Kakusthavarma. He was truly a successful monarch.

Later Kadambas

After Kakusthavarma the Kadamba dynasty was spilt up into two. Shantivarma, the son of Kakusthavarma, who issued the Talagunda inscription ruled for only a short period and died, even before his father. Kakusthavarma assumed the reins of the government for a while and then transferred it to his grandson Mrigeshavarma. But this arragement was not to the liking of Krishnavarma, another son of Kakusthavarma, who was placed in charge of the Southern region of the empire. He declared himself independent and began ruling over the southern provinces with his capital at Triparvatanagara. A third son of Kakusthavarma, Kumaravarma, ruled over the eastern provinces of the empire also as an independent king. He had his capital at Uchchangi.

Mrigeshavarma ruled over the main branch with his capital at Vaijayanti. Krishnavarma by marrying a princess of the Kekeya family and by establishing friendship with the Pallavas was trying to contest for the supremacy with the Vaijayanti Kadambas. Astute statesman as he was, Mrigeshavarma also entered into matrimonial alliance with the Kekeyas and thus averted any danger from that direction. Later the Kekeyas migrated to South India and established t heir supremacy over a part of Karnataka.

Mrigeshavarma is credited with victories over the Ganga and Pallava kings. He was impartial in administering justice and in this respect he is compared to Yudhistira. He was a patron of learning and literature. Though an inscription describes him as Parama Brahmana, he made land gifts to both Brahmanas and Jainas, and in religious matters he followed the ancient tradition of tolerance.

Ravivarma was quite young at the time of his father's (Mrigeshavarma's) death. This led to a civil war in which Ravivarma came out in brilliant colours. Later he defeated Vishnuvarma I of the Triparvata branch and united the Kadamba kingdom. The most important political event of his reign was the war with the Vakatakas in which he defeated the Vakataka king and extended the boundary of his kingdom as far as the river Narmada. He also defeated the Ganga ruler Avinita.

Ravivarma is indubitably one of the greatest kings of the Kadamba dynasty. His forty years' rule constitutes an important epoch in the Kadamba history. Inscriptions extol the qualities of his head and heart. For the convenience of administration he made Halsi his capital and issued an ordinance requiring the people of the city to support the ascetics during the four months of the rainy season. He was a born fighter and in his prowess and ability he equalled Kakusthavarma. He is certainly entitled to a place along with Mayuravarma and Kakusthavarma.

Harivarma, son of Ravivarma, was the last ruler of the main branch of the Kadamba dynasty. His eight or nine years rule is not of much consequence to the Kadamba history. He was defeated by Harisena Vakataka and lost to him the southern provinces of Karnataka. Krishnavarma II of the Triparvata branch seized the kingdom after defeating him. Then followed the reign of Krishnavarma II, Ajavarma, Bhogivarma and Madhuvarma. They were unable to raise the fallen fortunes of the family to its former glory. In the beginning of the sixth century the Kadambas suffered an eclipse by the rise of the Pallavas of Simhavishnu line and Chalukyas of Badami.

Administration

The administration of the Kadambas was not different from that of the Satavahanas. The founder of the dynasty was a Brahmana well-versed in the sacred lore. It is natural to expect that he brought to bear in his administration the ideals of government enunciated in the sacred texts. The statements in the inscription and the

titles Dharmaraja and Dharmamaharaja they assumed prove that they were Dharma-pravartakas, well wishers of the people and the friends of the poor.

A feature of the Kadamba administration is the existence of the post of Yuvaraja. The Yuvaraja was appointed in the life time of the ruling monarch. He was generally placed in charge of a region of the empire to get him acquainted with the administration and to train him up to take independent decision. Some Yuvarajas stayed in the capital and assisted the king in the administration. For instance Mrigeshavarma who looked after the administration of Naridavilanadu was recalled to the capital to assist the aging king Kakusthavarma who took over the administration for a second time after the death of his son Shantivarma. The appointment of Yuvaraja forestalled the war of succession to throne to some extent.

Many dynasties in South India did not possess a formal council of ministers. Moraes thinks that they had a council consisting of five ministers, divided into five categories according to the nature of the work. They included (1) the steward of the house (*Manevargade*) who looked after the income and expenditure of the royal household; (2) The *Tantrapalas* or Councillors who were placed in charge of external affairs; (3) the minister of state or *Pradhana* who was perhaps the chancellor of exchequer; (4) the steward of betel leaf or *Tambula Parupatyegara* who regulated the affairs of the royal court; and (5) the Secretary of the council who prepared minutes of the cabinet meeting.

Great care was taken in the selection of ministers. Persons well versed in sastras, science of logic, rhetoric and politics, intelligent, loyal and capable of giving advice to the king both in times of peace and in times of war were selected as ministers. In addition to this they were to possess qualification of military leadership. By their character and honest work they were able to bring an indirect influence on the policies of the king.

The Kadambas appear to have maintained a central secretariat. An inscription of Mandhatrivarma belonging to the fifth century A.D. speaks of *Rahasyadhikrita* or private secretary. The correspondence between the king and the provincial governors passed through him. He attended to the work of writing and publishing of the inscriptions. Among other officials mention may be made of secret policy framers, *mahamatras*, *Rajjukas* or officers in charge of revenue and *Lekhakas* or writers.

Provincial Administration

For purposes of administrative convenience the empire was divided into four divisions. When the empire was at its height these divisions were not only big but they were difficult for proper management. The extent of empire was reduced when northern Karnataka fell into the hands of the Vakatakas. There were only three divisions during the time of Kakusthavarma. The western and northern parts of the empire were constituted into a division with Halsi as its capital; the southern parts of the empire were found into a division with its capital at Triparvata; while third division comprised the eastern parts of the empire. Uchchangi was the seat of the government. Shantivarma, Krishnavarma and Kumaravarma were ruling as viceroys over the respective divisions.

The Viceroys were appointed by the king and were responsible to him. The king watched their doings very closely and often sent his nobles to supervise their work.

The next administrative unit was the district. Manneyas were in charge of administration. Village was the last unit of the administration. Gramika or Grama-mukhya looked after the administration of the village.

Judicial Administration

King was the fountain-head of justice and was the final court of appeal. There were a number of courts. Dharmadhyksa was the chief justice. They dispensed with civil suits whereas important cases were decided by the king himself.

Punishments depended on the gravity of the offences. 'The law strictly forbade the assult of one person by another, even though the man attacked happened to be a thief, robber, burglar, enemy or evil minded person'. The violators of this law were to pay a penalty of three gold coins. There was no capital punishment and even for murder the guilty was fined. An inscription records that a murderer paid one hundred gadyanas to the relatives of the assassinated and half of this sum to the state as fine. In some cases the suspected was made to undergo fire ordeal.

Army Administration

Details are lacking regarding the army administration. King was the commander-in-chief of the army and he led the army in person to the battle-field. The ministers, who also possessed military

qualifications, assisted the king in his wars. It is possible that they must have assumed direct charge of the minor wars. The Kadamba army was trained in guerilla methods. Their success over the Pallava frontier guards was largely due to the employment of this method. Forts played an important parts in ancient warfare. The capital city of the empire and the provincial headquarters were surrounded with impregnable forts. In Aihole inscription Ravikirti praises the Banavasi fort highly. The Kadambas appear to have maintained a large and well equipped army which was augmented by feudal levy.

Financial Administration

In their financial administration Kadambas followed the principles laid down in the Smritis. They did not burden the people with heavy taxes. Land tax constituted the major source of revenue to the state. Among other sources may be mentioned tax on oil presses, beasts of burden, betel leaf and salt. The spoils of war represented a recognisable source of revenue to the state. In short, the Kadambas followed a sound financial policy.

A noteworthy feature of the Kadamba administration is the role played by village Panchayats. They were autonomous units free from the interference of the state. We do not know anything about its composition and functions. An inscription of the Kadambas informs us that the people of a certain village met at a place to take decision in an extraordinary manner. It may be presumed that they maintained law and order in the village and also decided village disputes.

In a word, the Kadambas evolved administrative institutions which served the interests of both the state and the subjects.

Social and Economic Conditions

The structure of the Kadamba society was based on Caturvarnya system. The migration of the foreigners into the Deccan and their Indianisation must have created confusion in the social order. This explains why Mayuravarma invited Brahmanas from Ahichchatra (in Rohilkhand) and settled them in Tulunadu. It is worthy to note here that the existing Brahmana divisions such as Shivalli, Haiga, Sahavasi, Virabananju and Sarasvatha have a northern origin. The other castes that existed in the earlier period continued to occupy the same old status and position in society. But there was complete harmony among the different castes.

The joint family system was the common feature and it was patriarchal. There was freedom for women in society. They associated themselves with the charities made by their husbands and at times made grants independently too. Generally marriages were arranged by the parents of the couples, although love marriages were not unknown. Monogamy was the general practice.

The food of the people conisted of rice, wheat, gram, vegetables, milk and its products, and the flesh of animals like the sheep. The Brahmanas did not eat meat, but drank soma during sacrifices. The dress and ornaments of the people did not vary much from the early period. The use of mirrors is indicated by the sculptures in the temple at Dega. People spent their leisure usefully listening to the discourses on Purana, Bharata and Bhagavata conducted regularly in the mathas and agraharas, and witnessing dance, drama and musical recitals. Instrumental and vocal music was familiar to the people. Musical instruments like the Veena and Flute were known.

Land continued to be the basis of economy. It was classified under different categories depending on the fertility of the soil. There were three kinds of tenures, the *Sarvanamasya*, the *Tribogha* and the *Talavritti*. The holder of the first tenure paid tax at the making of obeisance to the god; the second type was enjoyed by the private persons, gods and Brahmanas jointly;[19] and the third type must have been enjoyed by those who performed public duties in the villages. Lands were surveyed and measured regularly.

Though agriculture was the basis of the economy, there were flourishing cities and urban life was known. Among the cities of this period mention may be made of Golakhapuri, Belligami, Banavasi, Halasi and Velugrama (Belgaum).

Inland trade was in the hands of Virabanajigas. Kadambas had trade contact with Western countries. Arabian merchants had their establishments at Goa, Mangalore, Honnavar, Ankola. Goa and Chaul were the important port towns.

Industries of the period were mostly domestic in nature. Spinning, weaving, stone-work, brass and iron works, wood-works, jewellery, basket making and oil-pressing were some of the important domestic industries.

In the history of Indian numismatics, the Kadambas have left a deep impress taking a bold definite step which became a model to

19. Kadamba Kula, p. 27.

the coinage of South India. They replaced the punch marked coins by Padma Tankas. Padma Tanka has on the obverse a Padma in the centre with four punch struck retrospectant lions round it and on the reverse a scroll ornament within a circle of dots. The coin attained its final shape under the Kadambas of Goa and became the pattern of South Indian Varaha, which became so common under Vijayanagar and even adopted in part by East India Company of Madras.[20]

Religious Conditions

In their patronage to religion the Kadambas did not make any distinction between the orthodox and heterodox religions. As has been mentioned earlier, the founder of the dynasty was a Brahmana and he and his successors followed Brahmanical religion. An inscription from Kadur taluk describes Vishnuvarma, son of Krishnavarma I, as 'protector of Brahmana faith'. They also performed the Asvamedha sacrifices. Yet they extended patronage to all the religious faiths.

Jainism was the first to enter Karnataka. It was patronised by the Satavahanas, Kadambas and later rulers. Kadamba king Ravivarma took the advice of the Jaina scholar Kumaradatta in matters concerning religion and administration. He also issued an ordinance requiring people to stock things sufficiently for the celebration of Jinendra festival during the month of Kartika. This led scholars like J. F. Fleet and K. B. Pathak to think that the Kadamba rulers must have followed Jainism. But it was not so; it only proves that they were broad-minded only liberal in religious matters. It must, however, be noted that the royal grants to Jainism, helped it to grow rapidly. Jaina ascetic communities like Svetaputas, Upaniyas, Kurchakas and Nigrantas exercised control in the government. Jainism was in a flourishing condition during this period and the Jaina monasteries at Kuppalur, Bhandavapura and Belgami attracted large numbers of Jaina population. The Kuppalur monastery also received the patronage of Queen Maladevi.

Buddhism also prevailed in Karnataka during this period; but it was not as popular as Jainism. Yuan Chwang who visited Banavasi when that city had come under the occupation of the Chalukyas noticed the existence of 100 sangharamas wherein lived 10,000 monks belonging to the Hinayana and Mahayana froms of Buddhism. In the city of Banavasi there were two sangharamas and three stupas. One

20. Ibid, p. 386.

of the sangharamas contained the miraculous sandal image of Maitreya. Recent excavations at Banavasi attest to the existence of Buddhismin the region.

Saivism, the prominent religion of the people, withstood the competition of the heterodox religion and reasserted itself in the course of time. The Kadamba rulers, by and large, followed Saivism Inscriptions inform us that Kakusthavarma and others offered worship in the Saiva temple at Stanakundur (Talagunda). There were also Saiva temples and Saiva mathas. Talagunda inscription gives details of the daily performance of Brahmanical rites. We have reference to the existence of such Saiva sects as Pasupatas, Kalamukhas, Goravas and Kapalikas.

If proper names of the rulers are any indication to the religion they followed, then the names of Kadamba rulers like Ravivarma, Harivarma, Krishnavarma, Vishnuvarma, etc., show that they followed Vaishnavism. It is possible that after the Kadambas concluded matrimonial alliance with the Guptas, who were Parama Bhagavatas, Vaishnavism must have become popular. It may be remembered here that the Kadambas of the Hangal were Vaishnavas.

Education

The period of Kadambas witnessed progress both in primary and higher education. In the village schools Iyyas taught reading, writing and arithmetic. These schools were in every important village. The Jaina and Buddhist monasteries were also centres of elementary education.

The Agraharas, Brahmapuris and Ghatikas were centres for advance studies where education was imparted to all irrespective of caste. Both religious and secular subjects were taught in the Ghatikas. The Ghatikas also provided platforms for religious disputations. Scholars and propounders of new theories flocked to these institutions for the propagation of the truths of doctrines they professed. The member who distinguished himself in the discussion was known as Ghatika Sahasa.

The Agraharas were residential universities where free boarding and lodging facilities were provided for the students. The most famous agrahara of Kadamba period was Belligami. It attracted students and scholars from different parts of the country. As a cultural centre this agrahara spread its glory over all parts of the country. The Talagunda agrahara was equally important. Here the curriculum to study included the Vedas, Vedangas, Mimamsa, six kinds

of logic, eighteen major puranas, Smritis, architecture, music and other fine arts.

The Mathas at Belligami, Kuppatur, and Bhandavapura were famous during this period. Distinguished scholars were selected as professors in these mathas. The mathas also played an important part in the cultural life of the people.

Language and Literature

Prakrit, Sanskrit and Kannada languages were cultivated during this period. Prakrit was given the prominent place and the early inscriptions of the Kadambas are in Prakrit. From the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. Sanskrit began to gain prominence. It became the language of the court and the medium of instruction. Kannada inscription was patronised from 5th century onwards. Halmidi inscription assigned to the 5th centry A.D. is the earliest Kannada inscription discovered so far. But Sanskrit was not neglected by the scholars and inscriptions were continued to be composed in Sanskrit.

Literary talents were not lacking in the period becomes evident from the inscriptions. But we have no reference to the poets who flourished in the Kadamba kingdom.

Art and Architecture

Monuments of the Kadamba period are few and far between for a dynasty which ruled for about three centuries. The only three examples that have come down to us are the Jaina Basadi and Kallesvara temple at Halasi and the Pranavesvara temple at Talagunda. The Jaina Basadi of Pranavesvara temple follow the dvi-kuta plan and consist of a garbhagriha and Sukhanasi, while the Kallesvara temple has an additional cell in mukha mantapa.

Based on the primitive structural design of the Satavahanas, this Jaina temple was built by Mrigeshavarma. Simple in appearence, the temple has a garbhagriha smaller than the Sukhanasi. 'The walls are made by big boulders of granite roughly hewn and piled up in a vertical position.' This shows that the builders were beginners in the art of building construction.

The Pranavesvara temple at Talagunda shows some improvement from the earlier examples. M.H. Krishna considers this Siva temple as the first among the early temples of South India. The stone masonry in this temple bears a certain refinement as the stones are

cut smoothly. The monolithic pillars which are either square or cylindrical have no base nor abacus, but are ornamented with geometrial designs. The figures of the dvarapalas are merely sculptured at the bottom of the pillars. The lintels of the door way are carved with floral designs and on the dedicatory block is the image of Ganesha. In the middle of the garbhagriha is the presiding deity of the temple, the Pranavesvara in linga from, the family deity of the Satavahanas and the Kadambas. The temple is said to have been rebuilt by Prabhavati, queen of Mrigeshavarma, and her son Ravivarma.

The Kallesvara temple is in the Tri-kuta plan with a garbhagriha, Sukhanasi and mukha mantapa. That the designers were beginning to aim at aesthetic quality becomes evident from the novel method they followed in pillar designs. The shaft is divided into cubical and octagonal sections. Moraes thinks that they were most likely crowned by the Kadambas.

The movement of temple architecture thus initiated by the Kadambas of Banavasi was further developed under the later Kadamba branches.

Of the sculptures of the Kadambas the best and perhaps the most impressive is the image of Durga. 'The charming pose of the Goddess, the graceful inclination of her head, the ease with which she holds the emblems and the tail of the buffalo alike manifest a high degree of artistic skill in the sculpture'.[21] The Goddess is represented in a dynamic pose as if killing the buffalo, indicating that artist had mastered the technique of stone cutting. He has shown the felicity in carving the battle scenes on the Viragals and Satikals.

2. THE GANGAS OF TALAKAD

"Of the ancient dynasties of South India", writes M. V. Krishna Rao, "the Gangas were one of the most illustrious who ruled over the greater part of the Mysore country, then known by the well-nigh forgotten name Gangavadi which survives only in the designation of a community of Mysore people known to this day as the Gangadekar Vokkaligars".[22] The Gangas rose to power along with the Kadambas and ruled over the southern parts of Karnataka. They did not rule as independent rulers for long, but they acted

21. G.M. Moraes; *Op. cit*, p. 315.
22. The Gangas of Talkad, p. 1.

as powerful feudatories under the Karnataka empires. They were successful in arresting the penetration of Tamil powers into this part of Karnataka and saved her from falling a prey before them for nearly six centuries. They also enriched Karnataka culture.

The origin of the many dynasties of rulers of India is enveloped in mystery, and different views are held by different scholars about them, and the origin of the Gangas is equally a matter of controversy. Traditional accounts connect the progenitor of the dynasty with Harischandra of the Iksvaku family. Harischandra's wife is said to have begot him by the blessings of the river Ganga. Kalinga Ganga inscriptions repeat the same story. Here Purvasu, son of Yayati, obtained a son Gangeya, also with the blessing of the river Ganga. Gummareddipura plates trace the lineage of Durvinita to Sri Krishna. The Gangas call themselves Janhaveya and of the Kanvayana gotra. On this basis K.P. Jayswal suggests that under the Pallavas a sub-kingdom of the Brahmana Kanvayanas came into existence, and they adopted the dynastic name Ganga after their original home. According to a legendary account the two Iksvaku princes, Didiga and Madava, after the dismemberment of the Iksavaku kingdom, came southwards and reached a place called Ganga Perur where they met Simhanandi, a Jaina teacher, who helped them in founding an empire.

In the beginning the Gangas had their capital at Kuluvala (present Kolar). Later it was shifted to Talakad or Talavanapura. Their royal residence was fixed at Mankunda and in the seventh century it was shifted to Manyapura, north of Nelamangals.

The founder of this dynasty was Didiga or Konganivarma. He fought with the Banas and led a successful expedition to Konkan coast. By these victories he was able to plant the Ganga power on firm foundation.

The Gangas grew from strength to strength in course of years and attracted the attention of the Kadambas. Perhaps a daughter of Kakusthavarma had been married to Talakad Madhava II and their son was Avinita, Avinita's son Durvinita (605-650 A.D.) was the most remarkable of the early Ganga rulers, equally proficient as a warrior and man of letters. He fought a successful war with the Pallavas. He was also responsible for establishing the Chalukya prince Jayasimha Vallabha on the Pallava throne. An inscription says that Chalukya Vijayaditya came from Ayodhya to the south and died in a battle with Trilochana Pallava. His queen who was a

daughter of Durvinita is said to have re-established his daughter's son on the Chalukyan throne.

Durvinita celebrated many sacrifices and therefore the early Gangas were not followers of Jaina religion. But he patroinsed the great Jaina teacher Pujyapada, on whose grammar *Jinendra Vyakarana*, he wrote a commentary, *Sabdavatara*. There is a tradition that the poet Bharavi had come with the prince Vishnuvardhana on hunting expedition and later visited Durvinita's court. The Pallava king Simhavishnu subsequently invited Bharavi to the Pallava capital. Durvinita is said to have written a commentray on the fifteenth Canto of Bharavi's *Kiratarjuniya* and also rendered into Sanskrit Gunadya's *Brihatkatha* from the Paisachi language. Durvinita was not only a Sanskrit scholar, but is mentioned as a great Kannada poet by Amoghavarsha in his *Kavirajamarga*.

After Durvinita, Muskara, Bhuvikarma and Sivamara I reigned in succession. Then came Sripurusha (726-788), 'one of the most distinguished rulers of the dynasty'. Prior to his accession to throne he ruled as Viceroy over Kerekunda 500, Elenggarnad 70, the Avanyanad 300 and Ponkunda 12. Later he won a glorious victory over Nandivarma Pallava in the battle at Vilande. Nandivarma was slain and Sripurusha took away from him the title Permanadi.

Sripurusha was not an undefeated warrior. He was defeated by Rajasimha Pandya and agreed to give him daughter in marriage to his son. He was also defeated by Rastrakuta Krishna I and Gangavadi was converted into a vassal power of the imperial Rastrakutas.

The rule of Sripurusha was so beneficient that this kingdom came to be called Srirajya or fortunate kingdom. He wrote a treatise on elephants known as *Gajasastra*. He was an authority in the matter of elephant warfare.

Sivamara II, son of Sripurusha, had to bear the full brunt of the Rastrakuta invasions led by Dhruva and Govinda III. Sivamara was an authority of logic, philosophy, drama, grammar, etc. He wrote *Gajasataka* in Kannada dealing with the methods of elephant management. He is credited with the authorship of another work, *Setubhanada*.

After Sivamara II, Rachamalla I made a successful attempt to re-establish Ganga independence. This was made possible by the conciliatory policy followed by Amoghavarsa. Amoghavarsa also

gave his daughter, Chandrabbalajji, in marriage to Yuvaraja Bhutuga I. Bhutuga's son was Nitimarga II. His successor Rachamalla II was ousted by Krishna III and Bhutuga II was placed on the throne. Bhutuga rendered invaluable assistance to Krishna III in the battle of Takkolam. He was followed by Marasimha III and Rachamalla IV. Rachamalla's reign is made memorable by the many-sided activities of Chavundaraya, his minister. He bore the title Viramarthanda. Chavundaraya is the author of *Chavundaraya Purana* in Kannada. The work deals with the lives of 24 Thirthankaras. He also erected Chavundaraya Basadi and the statue of Gomatesvara, both at Sravana Belgola. The Gangas were finally overpowered by the Cholas under Rajendra I.

Contributions of Gangas to Karnataka Culture

The contributions of Gangas to Karnataka culture in particular and that of South India in general are by no means negligible. The administrative institutions of the Gangas bore resemblance to those of Kadambas both in spirit and content. There was no change in the social structure. Women continued to take part in the public life. The system of sati was becoming popular with royal women. The popularity of Jainism during this period gave encouragement of Sallekhana or religious suicide. Jaina Sravakis had most often starved themselves to death by the rites of Sallekhana. Royal servants and chiefs undertook vows of selfsacrifice to show fidelity to their masters or in fulfilment of a cherished desire. Inscriptions record the vow of a cowherd to give his head "to swing on the pole before gods", if the king should obtain a son; a woman promised to give up her life on the day of the death of her chief's mother.

In religious matters toleration was the accepted principle of the state. Ganga rulers like Madhava II made grants to Buddhism and Jainism. But gradually Buddhism declined in Gangavadi owing to the preponderance of Jainism. Simhanandi, who is said to have helped Madhava, Konganivarman in establishing his power, Vakragriva, Vajranandin were able to maintain the supremacy of Jainism over other religions. The Gangas from the time of Srivikrama were staunch followers of Jainism. Rulers like Nitimarga, Bhutuga and Marasimha were proficient in Jaina philosophy. Kings and ministers made liberal grants for temples and temple buildings. Chavundaraya, the minister of Rachamalla IV, constructed Chavundaraya Basadi and the colossal statue of Gomatesvara. The numerous Jaina

movements of the kingdom of Gangavadi justify the statement that the hey-day of Jainism in Karnataka began under the Gangas of Talakad. But Jainism suffered a temporary eclipse when the country came under the domination of the Cholas.

Brahmanism strengthened itself by incorporating in itself the ethical aspects of Buddhism and Jainism. The early rulers of the dynasty like Todangala Madhava, Avinita, Durvinita and Muskara were great patrons of Brahmanical Hinduism. Saivism, Vaishnavisim and other sects like Pasupata, Kapalika and Kalamuka flourished during this period.

Popular, technical and intensive specialisation in any branch of knowledge received the attention of the rulers. Ghatikas, Agraharas, Brahmapuris, Mathas catered to the needs of those who sought specialisation in any field of knowledge. Jaina Mathas and temples were centres of both elementary and higher education. Ganga period witnessed great advancement in industrial education largely due to public and private patronage. Of the most highly organised and efficient of the industrial classes mention may be made of goldsmiths, coiners, blacksmiths, carpenters and masons. They enjoyed a social status which was certainly better than in later times.

Gangas were patrons of literature and art. The Jaina authors also wrote works in Sanskrit. Pujyapada (Devanandi) wrote a commentary on Panini's grammar called *Sabdavrata*. His other works include *Sarvarthasiddi*, a philosophical work, *Jainabhiseka*, a treatise on poetics and prosody and *Samadhisataka*. He also wrote *Jinendra Vyakarana*. King Madhava II wrote *Dattakasutravrithi*. Durvinita wrote a commentary on the fifteenth canto of Bharavi's *Kiratharjuniya* and rendered into Sanskrit Gundya's *Brihatkatha*. Sripurusha was the author of a treatise on elephants called *Gajasastra*. Hemasena alias Vidyadhananjaya alias Dhananjaya lived in the court of Bhutuga and Rakkasaganga. He was the author of *Raghavapandaviya* or *Dvisandhanakanya*. His disciple Vidhibhasimha wrote *Gadyacintamani* and *Ksatracudamani*, on the model of Bana, in prose. The themes of these works are Jaina ethical stories. Viranandi and Agasa wrote *Chandraprabhapurana* and *Vardhamanapurna* respectively.

In Kannada Durvinita is mentioned as a great poet in Kavirajamarga. Sivamara wrote *Gajasataka* and *Setudhanada*. Chavundaraya, a contemporary of Pampa, was a great scholar in Kannada and Sanskrit. He was the author of *Chavundarayapurana*, 'an account mostly in prose of the twenty-fore Thirthankaras which he

wrote in 978 A.D. This work has been regarded as a great work of 'the southern school' with a lot of admixture of Prakrit and Tamil words. Nagavarma, the author of Chandombudhi, claims that Rakkasaganga was his patron.

Ganga rulers gave great encouragement to art and architecture. Their capital, Talakad, was in fact a temple town. But unfortunately most of their magnificent temples are submerged in sand. Stone pillars are found scattered throughout the town. Square at bottom and tapering like the trunk of a palm tree, their ends are fitted into a wheel below the abacus. Some of these pillars are used in later buildings. Arkesvara, Patalesvara and Somesvara temples at Maune are brick structures. The Kapilesvara has 'a navaranga with pillars and pierced stone windows, ornamented creepers with dancing figures represented in all convolutions'.

Of the monuments of the Gangas at Sravanabelgola Chandraprabha Basadi and Chavundaraya Basadi are worth noting. The former was built by Sivamara in about 800 A.D. The two-storied Chavundaraya Basadi was built by Chavundaraya in 982 A.C. It consists of a garbhagriha, Sukhanasi, Navaranga and a porch with vestibule attached to it. 'The outer walls of this temple are decorated with plasters and crowned with three fine friezes, one of small ornamented niches, the second of the head and trunks of yalis, mostly in pairs facing each other and the third of larger oramental niches with seated Jina and other figures at intervals.' It contains a vimana of the Dravidian order.

The Kallesvara temple at Aralaguppe in Tiptur taluk is assigned by the late M. Seshadri to Ganga period. Though it was rebuilt at a later date, he thinks that the door jambs and the beautiful carvings in the navaranga ceiling are sufficient proofs to assign it to Ganga period. In the precincts of the temple is found a viragal belonging to the period of Satyavakya Rachamalla Permandi.

The ceiling of navaranga contains nine Bhuvanesvaris. In the central Bhuvanesvari Siva in Tandava pose is depicted surrounded by astadikpalas. The latter, sitting on their vahanas, are accompanied by their wives and have raised their right hands to pay their reverence to Siva. The images of Varuna and Indra are exquisitely carved and we do not come across sculptures of this type in South India during this period. In the corners of this Bhuvanesvari are depicted the gandharvas with flower garlands in their hands. They are rendered artistically.[23]

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23. Karnatakada Parampare. Vol. I, pp. 235-36.

The distinctive contribution of the Gangas to the art history of the country is seen in the pillars. "If any one wished to select one feature of architecture which has its perfection and weakness", writes Fergusson, "there are probably no objects more suited for this purpose than these stambhas or free-standing pillars". There are two types of pillars—Manasastambhas and Brahmadevastambhas. The manasastambhas have a pavilion at the top containing standing Jina figures facing the four directions. The Brahmadevastambha has at the top the seated image of Brahma. The colossal Brahmadevastambha built in memory of Marasimha (674 A.D.) and Tyagada Brahmadevastambha built by Chavundaraya are illustrious examples of the series. The monolithic Tyagada Brahmadevastambha is rounded and decorated with 'a graceful scroll of fine bell-shaped flowers and beautiful flowering climbing shrub'. On one side at the base are the figures of Chavundaraya and his teacher Nemichandra accompanied by Chauri-bearers.

For the rhythm and natural bearing in Ganga sculptures one has to see the scene depicting the fight between the hound and the boar on the Atakur stone inscription of Bhutuga. Both with their tails turned up in anger are trying to ward off the blows of each other. They 'are very natural, realistic and life-like'. The sculpture depicting the scene of Nitimarga's death on the Doddahundi stone inscription has a severe dignity of its own. The king has shown as resting on a double pillow attended by his son and servant. The physical exhaustion of the king, the anguish of the son at his father's death and the inaffable joy of the major domo at his opportunity for self-sacrifice are portrayed very vividly.[24]

The craze for colossal is best seen in the statue of Gomatesvara at Sravanabelgola cut out of solid rock in 983. In the words of V. S. Agrawal, "57 feet in height, it is one of the largest free-standing images in the world".

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24. M.V. Krishna Rao, The Gangas of Talakad, p. 240.

4

THE GREAT EMPIRES

1. THE CHALUKYAS OF BADAMI

The role of the Chalukyas of Badamai constitutes a brilliant epoch in the history of Karnataka in particular and Indian history in general. It was the first Karnataka dynasty to establish its name and fame throughout India. If the identification of the painting in the Cave I at Ajanta is correct, their fame had spread as far as Persia. They were Dharmic monarchs who always ruled bearing in mind the welfare and happiness of the people. The hand of the Chalukyan king was not wanting in any department of culture. Architecture reached its highest watermark under the Chalukyas and the monuments that stand to this day at Aihole, Badami and Pattadakal speak volumes for the glory and grandeur of the Chalukyas.

Origin of the Chalukyas

The origin of the Chalukyas of Badami, a dynasty of rulers who ruled over Karnataka for well-nigh over two hundred years (except for an interval of about fifteen years) and enriched Karnataka culture in more ways than one, has been the subject of great controversy among scholars, both oriental and occidental. Many theories, such as the hero of the family was created by Brahmadeva, or treating them as belonging to Gurjara of Scythian group or originating from Ayodhya or Andhra country, have been put forward to determine their origin. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the problem afresh to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion.

The theory of the legendary origin of the Chalukyas is put forward by Vidyapati Bilhana, court poet of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramaditya, in his work *Vikramankadevacharita*. He says, on one occasion when Brahmadeva was engaged in his morning sandhya

devotions, god Indra came up to him and complained of the ever-increasing sinfulness of the world in which no man performed the Brahmanical sacrifices and rites or offered oblations to gods. He prayed god Brahma to create a hero powerful enough to destroy the wicked people and put an end to sorry state of affairs. The appeals of Indra moved Brahmadeva to action, who, thereupon, looked at his Chaluka, i.e., the hallow of his palm where he held water in the course of devotional exercise for purposes of pouring out libation; and from it sprang a mighty warrior capable of protecting the three worlds. He became the eponymous ancestor of the line. In this line were born two great heroes, Harita, and Manavya, who after punishing the erring rulers of the world raised the family of the Chalukyas to a distinct position. Bilhana further informs us that their original home was Ayodhya and in course of time they migrated to Daksinapatha and established their power.

This story finds its echo in the Ramastipundi grant of Vimaladitya of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty. This record is comprehensive and gives the most elaborate and full account of the Chalukyas. The first part of the preamble of the record gives their legendary origin and a mythical genealogy.

The historians of the Chalukyas have dismissed the story of Vidyapati Bilhana as unworthy of any credence. They argue that Chalukya is not a Sanskrit word, though Bilhana transforms into Chalukya and derives it from chaluka. As Hoernle aptly remarks: "Despite the attempted Sanskrit derivation of the genealogists I would suggest the name (chalukya) is not a Sanskrit word at all ....."[25] From the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. onwards attempts were made by rulers of many South Indian dynasties to give themselves respectable pedigrees with the assistance of their court poets, generally claiming descent from the sun and the moon.[26] The same claim was also made by the Vengi and Kalyana branches of the Chalukyas and this explains the above story.

Hoernle derives the word Chalukya from a Turki root chap meaning gallop and chapaul meaning a plundering raid a charge of cavalry ?[27] V.A. Smith, citing the Bombay gazetteer, Vol. I, Part I (1924), writes, "The same (Pulakesin) occurs in a chapa genealogy which is the only instance known to (Sir John) Fleet of its occurrence

25. J.R.A.S., 1905, p. 12.
26. Early History of the Deccan, p. 206.
27. Quoted from the Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. II, p. 207.

outside the Chalukya family. This fact supports Jackson's view that the Solankis or Chalukyas were connected with the Gujars, of whom the chapas were a branch".[28] According to the speculations of Rice, the word Chalukya resembles seleukia and that bitter wars between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas may be explained as a continuation in South India of the quarrels of the Seleucidae and the Arsacidee (Parthians), the Pallavas being regarded as the Parthians.

There is little evidence to support the above views. The derivation of the word from the Turki root is unsatisfactory and the supposed identity of the Chalukyas and the Gurjars does not bear any resemblance to the different forms of names that occur in the Chalukyan records. Regarding the Pallava and Parthian identity, it is argued that the words 'Pallava' and 'Pahlava' may be same philologically, but historically the two terms refer to two different peoples. This is clear from Rajasekhara's *Bhuvanakosa*. In this work, the author regards the Pallavas and the Pahlavas as different peoples occupying South India and the Trans-Indus valley respectively. As the identity between the two words has lost its weight, Rice's view loses its force.

We may now examine the preambles of the early and late Chalukyan records to elicit solution to the problem of origin. The Badami Cave inscription of Kirtivarma I (578 A. D.), the earliest record of the family, speaks of them as meditating at the feet of the sacred swami (Kartikeya of the later inscriptions) and as having their heads purified hy the final ablutions after the performance of the Agnishtoma, Agnichayana, Vajapeya, Paundarika, Bahusuvarna, and Asvamedha sacrifices. The Hyderabad grant of Pulakesin II (A. D. 612) states that "the family of the Chalukyas who are Haritiputras of the Manavyagotra which is praised throughout the world, who have been nourished by the seven mothers who are the mothers of the seven worlds; who have acquired an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity through the protection of Kartikeya; who have had all kings made subject to them at sight of the boar crest which they acquired through the favour of the divine Narayana".

These preambles reveal a striking identity between the family of the Chalukyas and the Chutus who called themselves as Satavahanas and the Kadambas. The Satavahanas and the Kadambas were the two noted Brahmana dynasties that ruled Karnataka

28. Early History of India (First Edition), p. 440.

before the Chalukyas. The Chalukyas, like the Kadambas, belonged to Manavya-gotra and they were also descendants of original ancestor Hariti. Again, like the Kadambas, the Chalukyas were the worshippers of Kartikeya and being Brahmanas of kingly race they performed Vedic sacrifices. These similarities naturally suggest that they were Brahmanas, who, like the Kadambas, took to arms when the situation demanded it. The statement in the Hyderabad grant, 'who have had all kings made subject to them at the sight of the boar-crest which they acquired through the favour of the divine Narayana' is very significant and symbolic. 'This crest was adopted to indicate the nature of their work, that of protecting the earth from molestation by bad rulers, by suggesting a comparision with the task achieved by lord Narayana in his boar incarnation'. When the Kadamba rule fell on evil days their feudatories began to assert their independence. In resultant confusion that followed the Chalukyas seized power and stepped into the shoes of their erstwhile masters.

Thus the identification of Chalukya with the Mahasena Mahatalavara Vasistiputra Kandachaliki Remmanaka, the feudatory chief under Iksvakus of Nagarjunakonda and thereby treating them as Andhras seem far-fetched.[29] He is called Vasistiputra and belonged to the family of Hiramnaka or Hiranyakas, whereas the Chalukyas were Haritiputras and belonged to Manavyagotra. Likewise, the statement in the Kauthem grant of Vikramaditya V that 'fifty-nine kings of that lineage reigned at the city of Ayodhya and passed away, and after that, sixteen governed the Dakshinapatha or region of the south' is equally unconvincing. The record speaks of Ayodhya as their original home. In the first place, the lateness of record makes its account suspect. There is a gap of about five centuries between the foundation of the Chalukya dynasty and the Kauthem grant. By this time the real history having been forgotten, they took to new inventions. This explains the location of their original home at Ayodhya and assigning for themselves the solar and the lunar races. The story of Vijayaditya's (a prince of the family) death in an encounter with Trilochana Pallava, the upbringing of his posthumous son, Vishnuvardhana, by Vishnubhatta-Somayajin and the successful attempts he made later to establish the Chalukya power seems at best imaginary. The story of the founder of a dynasty being born fatherless of a mother in adversity and then

29. B.V. Krishna Rao, Early Dynasties of Andhradesa, 'cf' P.I.H.C., Vol. III.

gaining power by the favour of the gods is usual with many dynasties. It merely explains the Brahmana Chalukyas attempts to assume Ksatriya status.

More fanciful is the interpretation of the name khanda caliki remmanaka by Sten Konow. He takes this to be a Kannada word and writes: "Thus kanda means child in Kanarese and chali, 'cold'. Chalikiremannanaka probably is chelikiramaka, *i.e.*, 'Moon'." Such irregular splitting of the word, instead of taking it as a whole compound, can give only fanciful meaning. The proper thing to do is to take it as Kandachaliki of Skandachliki and the terms ranaka or ramaka being honorific prefix or suffix of the proper name chaliki.

In the records of the Western Chalukyas the name of the family is given as Chalukya (Badami inscription of Kirtivarman I), Chalikya (Nerur grant to Mangalesa), Chalikya (Mahakuta Pillar inscription of Mangalesa), and Chalukya (Aihole Pillar inscription of Pulakesin II). The Lohner grant of Pulakesin II appears to read the name as Chulukikin, whereas the intended reading appears to be Chalukika. In later records we have the forms Chalukya, Cḥalukki (Nausari grant of Avanijanasraya Pulakesin of Gujarat) and Salukki (Guntur plates of Gunaga Vijayditya III). As K.A. Nilakantasastri rightly points out, whether the name of the founder of the family is Chaliki or not, there is now little room for doubt that the Chalukyas like the Chutus and the Kadambas to whom they bear many resemblances, and like the Rashtrakutas, were an indigenous clan which rose to importance in the service of the later Satavahanas and their successors. They belonged to the Karnataka country, sometimes also called by the name Kuntala, and their mother tongue was Kannada.[30]

Writing in Maharashtra State Gazetteer, N. Lakshminarayana Rao has positively proved that the Chalukyas were Kannadigas. His arguments may thus be summed up: Some of the names of the rulers of the family end in a typical Kannada regal suffix arasa or king. Inscriptions refer to Kirtivarman I as Kattiarasa, Kubja Vishnuvardhana as Bittarasa, Vinayaditya of the Gujrat branch as Mangalarasaraja and Kirtivarman II as Kirtivarmarasa. The name of the first paramount ruler of the dynasty, Pulakesin, further suggests their Karnataka origin. Pulakesi in Kannada means 'tiger-haired' or having a coat of short, thick and close hair like that of the tiger. Pole in Kannada means impurity of child-birth, *i.e.*, of

30. Early History of the Deccan, p. 205.

the natal chamber, Kesi as a shortened form of Kesava. The Vemulavada inscriptions of Arikesarin II, who belonged to a branch of this family and who was the patron of the Kannada poet Pampa, gives to this ruler some titles which are in Kannada : *e.g.*, Noduttegelvom and Priyagallam though the inscription itself is in Sanskrit.[31] All these suggest that the Chalukyas were Kannadigas.

POLITICAL HISTORY

Pulakesin I (547-567)

The first ruler who laid the foundations of the Chalukyan dynasty was a chieftain named Pulakesin I. He was the grandson of Jayasimha who fought the Rattas and the Pallavas, and the son of Rajasimha. Pulakesin made himself the master of the town of Vatapi and established a kingdom of modest dimensions. "The choice of the capital (Vatapi) was dictated by strategic considerations", writes K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, "and its neighbourhood soon became studded with Chalukya monuments. Vatapi itself stood on the defensible eminence within three miles of the Malaprabha river; among the hills to the east of Mahakuta, five miles farther in the same direction and on the river is Pattadakal, and another eight miles down the river is Aihole—all these witnesses of the Chalukyan ascendancy being noted for their ancient temples and inscriptions".[32] At the capital, Pulakesin built forts and began the excavations of the rock-cut temples. He proclaimed his paramount position by the performance of an Asvamedha. He is said to have performed the Hiranyagarbha dana too. He assumed the titles of Satyasraya, Sri Prithivi Vallabha and Ranavikrama.

Kirtivarman I (567-598)

Kirtivarman succeeded his father Pulakesin I. He extended his ancestral dominions both in the east and the west. He is said to have conquered the Nalas, the Mauryas of the west coast and the Kadambas of Banavasi. He also secured control of the Arabian sea coast with its flourishing ports.

Mangalesa (598-608)

Kirtivarman was succeeded by his brother Mangalesa as Kirtivarman's son Pulakesin II was still young. Mangalesa continued

31. Part I, 1967, pp. 201-206.
2. Early History of the Deccan, p. 207.

the policy of expansion and conquered the Kalachuries, who were the masters of Gujarat and Khandesh. He also captured Goa or Revatidvipa, an important port. He attempted to pass on the sovereignty to his own son, Sundaravarma; but Pulakesin II, who had gone into exile. defeated his uncle with the help of his loyal friends and became the king of Badami. Mangalesa lost his life as well as his kingdom.

Mangalesa was not only a great warrior but also well versed in the arts of government. He must have also helped his father and brother in building the empire of the Chalukyas. He caused a hall to be cut in the rock at Badami, dedicated it to Vishnu in the name of his brother, Kirtivarman, and granted the village Lanjesvara (Nandikesvara) for regular worship at the temple. His Mahakuta pillar inscription show the state of Sanskrit learning during the period.

Pulakesin II (608-642)

He was the greatest among the great Chalukyas. He was the foremost monarch of his time and by virtue of his extensive conquests became the most powerful monarch of South India. At the time of his accession to the throne, the country was passing through internal troubles. The struggle for the throne initiated by Mangalesa had created disorder and confusion in the Chalukyan kingdom. This was taken advantage of by the feudatories of the Chalukyas who ventured to shake off allegiance to the imperial power. Pulakesin faced the crisis with remarkable prowess, determination and success and made himself the undisputed master of the Chalukyan kingdom and raised the Chalukya power to greatest heights.

Conquests

According to Aihole inscription composed by the Jaina poet Ravikirti, soon after his accession to throne Pulakesin launched upon a career of conquest and the subjection of his enemies. He first attacked the two Rashtrakuta chiefs, Appayika and Govinda, and repulsed one of them and received the other into favour. Next he turned to the west against the Kadambas and the Mauryas of North Konkan and reduced them to submission. The others who felt the weight of Pulakesin's arms were the kings of the Alupas, the Gangas, the Latas, the Malavas and the Gurjaras. As a result of these campaigns, Pulakesin extended the northern frontiers of his kingdom up to the river Mahi. He placed one of his brothers, Jayasimha, as the governer of Gujarat.

About this time, a powerful empire was established by Harsha of Kanauj, who after establishing his overlordship on the whole of Uttarapatha made an attempt to extend his sway into South India. This naturally brought the two powerful monarchs face to face and war became inevitable. It is very difficult to follow the course of the events. According to Ahiole inscription, Pulakesin met the army of Harsha north of the Vindhyas and compelled Harsha to flee in fear. This has been corroborated by the accounts of Yuan Chwang. The piligrim says: "The great king Siladitya (Harsha) at this time was invading east and west, and countries far and near were giving in allegiance to him, but Mo-ha-la-cha (Maharastra) refused to become subject to him". That the conquerors of Northern and Southern India met in actual fight is stated by the biographer of Yuan Chwang: "Siladitya, boasting of his skill and the invariable success of his generals, filled with confidence himself, marched at the head of his troops to contend with this prince but he was unable to prevail or subjugate him". This evidence is further corroborated by the Aihole inscription: "Harsha, whose lotus feet were arrayed with the rays of the jewels of the diadems of hosts of feudatories, prosperous with unmeasured might, through Pulakesin had his harsha (joy) melted away by fear, having become loathsome with rows of lordly elephants fallen in battle". Pulakesin is said to have established frontier stations against Harsha at the Vindhyas and the Narmada. In the fitness of things, he assumed the second title of Paramesvara. Thus by virtue of his powers of mastery and valour, Pulakesin became the supreme lord of the three countries called Maharashtrakas comprising of 99,000 villages.

Next, turning to the east, he conquered Kalinga either from Sasanka or Harsha and then reduced the fort of Pisthapura. For the Andhra provinces he appointed his another brother, Kubja Vishnuvardhana who become the celebrated founder of the Eastern Chalukya kingdom. Then near Kaveri, he defeated the Cholas and accepted the submission of the Keralas and Pandyas.

Chalukya-Pallava Conflict

The causes for the Chalukya-Pallava conflict in which each considered the other as its natural enemy are not found stated anywhere. Venkayya thought the different religions they pursued must have caused this hatred. The Chalukyas were Vaisnavas and had the boar for their crest, whereas the Pallavas were the devotees of Siva and had the bull for their crest. Nevertheless he himself suggests

that there is no reason to suppose that in those early days religious bigotry has assumed such serious proportions as to cause conflict between two dynasties. In his last edition of the Mysore Gazetteer, Rice has this to say: "The name Chalukya bears a suggestive resemblance to the Greek name Seleukeia, and if the Pallavas were really of Parthian connection, as their name would imply, we have a plausible explanation of the inveterate hatred which inscriptions admit to have been existed between the two, and their prolonged struggle may have been but a sequel of the contests between the Seleucidae and the Arsacidae on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates". To strengthen this view, Venkayya mentions the tradition that suggests that the Chalukyas migrated to South India from Ayodhya in the north and the first thing they did after reaching the south was to defeat the Pallava king Trilochana. The theories of foreign origin of both the Chalukyas and Pallavas are now given up and therefore the suggestion of a transference of hatred from Mesopotamia to South India appears untenable. The Late J.F. Fleet opined that Badami and Vatapi, from where the Chalukyas marched down to the South, "was originally the western India stronghold of the Pallavas and that it was from them that the Chalukyas wrested it". The Velurpaliayam plates inform us that Narasimahavarman I after defeating Pulakesin II and his allies took from them the pillar of victory that stood at Vatapi. On this basis Krishna Sastri argues that it is likely that the pillar of victory had been set up there by one of the ancestors of Narasimhavarman. A fragmentary rock inscription at Badami refers to Vatapikonda, a title assumed by Narsimhavarman I, and the pillar of victory. Fleet infers from this record that Vatapi was temporarily taken by the Pallavas from the Western Chalukyas. An analysis of these facts show that originally the Pallavas were settled at Vatapi and from this place they were driven to south. After they had well settled in their new home, they launched upon a series of expedition to recover their lost northern capital as well as the territory.[33] In the absence of any definite information this suggestion appears to be more plausible though not certain.

The hereditary struggle began during the reign of Pulakesin II. The Aihole inscription gives an account of the first war between the Pulakesin II and Mahendravarma I, the Pallava monarch. It says : "With his sixfold forces, the hereditary troops and the rest, who raised spotless chowries, hundreds of flags, umbrellas and darkness,

33. Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 543-44.

who churned the enemy elated with the sentiments of heroism and energy, he (Pulakesin) caused splendour of the lord of the Pallavas, who had opposed the rise of his power to be obscured by the dust of his army and to vanish behind the walls of Kanchipura".[34] Pulakesin met the Pallava army at Pullalura (Pullilore) and forced them to turn back. "This was the first move", writes K.A. Nilakantha Sastri, "initiating what developed into one of the most persistent lines of conflict in South Indian history; it became almost a social law that kingdom centred in Karnataka and those centred in Tamil country should not tolerate each other, but should keep up an almost perpetual war in which the rulers of the Mysore country and the Andhradesa mingled and took sides, sometimes in their own interest, at others in that of their suzerains".[35]

After these military activities, Pulakesin returned triumphantly to his capital, Badami, and reigned in peace.

Pulakesin II was now at the height of his power. His fame crossed the limits of India and spread as far as Persia. Khusru II of Persia received an embassy from Pulakesin carrying letters and presents to one sent by him. This 'unusual political relations between Persia and India' is represented in scene in Cave I at Ajantha.

Yaun Chwang's Accounts

The Chinese traveller, Yaun Chwang, passed through Karnataka, in about 641 A.D. and describes the culture of the country. According to the piligrim, Banavasi had more than 100 Sangaramas of both Mahayana and Hinayana sects. He also mentions the stupa erected by Asokaraja. Going north through a wild forest he came to Maharastra. Its king was Pu-lo-ki-she of the Ksatriya caste and his influence was very wide. Siladitya Maharaja had attempted to subdue these people with armies from all parts of India, but could not conquer them.

Of the people of Karnataka the piligrim had the following to say : "The inhabitants were proud-spirited and warlike, grateful for favour and revengeful for wrongs, self-sacrificing towards supplicants in distress and sanguinary to death with any who treated them insultingly. Their martial heroes...went into conflict intoxicated, and their war elephants were also made drunk before an engage-

34. E.I., Vol. VI, p. 11.
35. Early History of the Deccan, p. 216.

ment. Relying on the strength of his heroes and elephants, the king treated neighbouring countries with contempt... The benevolent sway of this king reached far and wide and his vassals served him with perfect loyalty".[36]

"When the general loses a battle they do not punish him, but present him with women's clothes so that he is driven to seek death for himself. In his country there is both Mahayana and Hinayana monasteries and stupas of Asoka."

On the north-eastern frontiers, in a dark valley, a Samgharama was constructed. Its lofty halls and deep side aisles open into the face of the rocks. Storey above storey they are backed by the crag and face the valley. In the great Vihara there is a stone figure of Buddha about 70 feet high. Above it there is a stone canopy of seven stages, apparently without support. On walls of the Vihara are painted the different scenes in the life of Buddha, the wonderous signs of good fortune which attended his acquirement of Nirvana. These scenes have been cut out with the greatest accuracy and fineness. This convent was built by Arhat Achala or Achara.[37]

Second war with the Pallavas

Pulakesin's success against the Pallavas was not destined to last much longer. The successor of Mahendravarman I, Narasimhavarman I, was very active against the Chalukyas since his accession to throne. He wanted to avenge the defeat of his father and with this end in view he largely extended his sphere of influence. It appears, after the death of Mahendravarman, Pulakesin invaded the Pallava kingdom for the second time, but he was defeated by Narasimhavarman in three battles, Pariyala, Manimangala and Suramara. Then the Pallava army pursued the Chalukyas and entered the Chalukyan capital triumphantly. To quote Kuram plates of Paramesvaravaraman I : "Narsimhavarman... who wrote the syllables of (the word) vijaya, as on a plate, on Pulakesin's back, which was caused to be visible in the battles of Pariyala, Manimangala, Suramara, etc., and who destroyed Vatapi, just as the pitcher born Agastya destroyed the demon Vatapi.[38] The city was plundered and many people including women and

36. Watters, T., On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, Vol. II, p. 239.
37. Sources of Karnataka History, Vol. I, p. 44-47.
38. South Indian Inscriptions I, p. 152.

children lost their lives. In one of the gallant battles, Pulakesin himself lost his life. The Pallavas erected a pillar of victory at Badami. The Pallava victory 'disorganised the whole administrative machinery of the Chalukyan empire, so much so that Emperor Vinayaditya, the grandson of Pulakesin could truly say in his Sorab grant that the lord of Pallavas had been the cause of the humiliation and destruction of the family (of the Chalukyas)'. Thus from 642 to 655, for a period of thirteen years, the power of the Chalukyas, which Pulakesin had striven so hard to exalt, remained in abeyance, while the Pallavas dominated South India.

Pulakesin was undoubtedly one of the greatest rulers of South Indian history, great alike in the arts of war and peace. He was not like Samudragupta, an undefeated general, for he had to taste defeat at the fag end of his career at the hands of the Pallavas, his natural enemy. Though the record of his conquests was broken down by the Pallava king, his imperial achievement is creditable when we bear in mind the initial difficulties he had to face and ultimate success over almost all the kings of South India and over Harsha, the North Indian overlord. As an administrator, he was active and just and devoted his personal attention to details of administration. He may rightly be regarded as the real founder of the Chalukyan imperialism and should be credited with a remarkable share in the advancement of culture characteristic of his dynasty.

Vikramaditya I (655-680)

According to the arrangements made by Pulakesin himself, after his death, Vikramaditya succeeded to the principal seat of the Chalukyan government, while his brother Chandraditya ruled the outlying provinces, when the Chalukyan kingdom was enveloped in darkness and confusion due to the defeat of Pulakesin at the hands of the Pallava king, Narasimhavarman. The feudatories of the Chalukyas, the Latas and others asserted their independence thus threatening the strength and unity of the empire. Thus the restoration of the unity and the fallen prestige of the family became the first concern and consideration of this new ruler, Vikramaditya. In this great task, Vikramaditya received a good deal of help by the Ganga king, Durvinita, his grandfather. Taking advantage of the disturbances in the south, Vikramaditya shattered the power of the Cheras, the Cholas, the Pandyas and the Kalabhras. He inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pallava king, Paramesvaravarman I and

captured the city of Kanchi, thus revenging the disgrace suffered by his great father. An account of this is found in the Karnal and the Gadval Plates of Vikramaditya I and the Sorab Grant of Vinayaditya. The Gadval Plates state : "Victory was achieved by the Lord Srivallabha, who crushed the glory of Narasimha, who caused the power of Mahendra to be dissolved, who subdued Isvara by polity... He, who being fond of fighting and possessing splendid powerful shoulders, deservedly bears his own title of 'wrestler with kings' (Rajamalla), (because) he has caused the destruction of the Mahamalla family. The king who defeated Isvara-Potaraja, seized like the girdle of the southern region, (the city of Kanchi) whose larger rampart was insurmountable and hard to be branched, (and) which was surrounded by a great moat, unfathomable and hard to be crossed.[39] Paramesvaravarman I being unable to face the full force of the Chalukyan army took refuge in a fort. While the Chalukyan army rested on their military achievement, the Pallava counterpart made all preparations and attacked the Chalukyas 'unaided'. According to Pallava records, the unexpected attack of the Pallavas forced Vikramaditya to flee 'covered only by a rag', to quote the language of the Kuram Plates of Paramesvaravarman I.

The reign of Vikramaditya saw the birth of a new branch of the Chalukyas, the Chalukyas of Southern Gujarat. The first ruler of this line was Jayasimhavarman Dharasraya, brother of Vikramaditya.

Vinayaditya (678-696)

Vinayaditya succeeded his father Vikramaditya in 678. His reign of eighteen years was one of the peaceful, prosperous and dynamic epochs of Chalukyan history. He claims to have levied tributes from the Pallavas, Kalabhras, Keralas, Haihayas Malavas, Cholas, Pandyas and others. He is said to have levied tribute from the kings of Kavera (probably refers to Kaveri Valley), Parasika (Persia) and Simhala. "Although the claims appear to be extravagant", writes D.C. Sircar, "it is not improbable, in view of the troubled condition in both Simhala and Persia about this period, that a Ceylonese prince and a Persian chief had taken refuge at the Chalukyan court". Like his grandfather, Vinayaditya also defeated a lord of Uttarapatha. According to R.C. Majumdar, Vinayaditya's North Indian adversary was Yasovarman of Kanauj.[40]

39. E.I., Vol. X, p. 105.
40. Classical Age, p. 130.

But S. Srikanta Sastri thinks that he was probably Adityasena (672 A.D.).[41] Among his other feudatories were the Alupas and the Gangas.

Vinayaditya was succeeded by his son Vijayaditya II (696-733). He also appears to have fought with the Pallavas. He constructed the Siva temple called Vijayesvar now called Sangamesvara at Pattadakal.

Vikramaditya II (733-743)

Vikramaditya succeeded Vijayaditya in 733 A.D. Soon after his succession to the throne he resolved to uproot the Pallava foe, who had robbed the splendour of the former kings of his line. According to Kendur and Vakkaleri plates of his son Kirtivarman II, Vikramaditya inflicted a crushing defeat on his natural enemy, Nandivarman Pallavamalla and 'entered, without destroying it, the city of Kanchi, which was, as it were, a girdle adorning younger lady, the region of the south', and endowed with many temples. "The disgrace of the Pallava occupation of Vatapi and the inscription left behind Narasivavarman I near one of the great temples of the city rankled in the mind of the Chalukya, and he paid his foe back in the same coin by putting up an inscription of his own language on the largest and the most beautiful of the numerous temples of the Pallavas in their capital city". The triumph of the Chalukyas was complete this time. Vikramaditya also reduced the Cholas, the Pandyas, the Keralas and the Kalabhras and erected a pillar of victory on the shores of the Southern Ocean.

The last king of the Chalukya dynasty was Kirtivarman II. He also claimed to have defeated the Pallavas. But in the northern Karnataka, the Rastrakutas were growing in power. Rashtrakuta Dantidurga defeated Kirtivarman in 735 A.D. and also claims victories over the Pandyas, Malavas and Gurjaras. As Dantidurga had no son, his uncle Krishna succeeded him and he finally put an end to the Badami Chalukyan power. The glory of the Chalukyas of Badami thus came to an end.

Administration

The form of the Chalukyan government was monarchy and all the administrative powers were concentrated in the king himself. Though it can be accused of not being in accordance with the principles of the popular government as in modern times, it was based

41. Op. cit., p. xii.

on the sound principles of imperial system of the federal type well established in the land. The monarch was not absolute and his actions were well regulated by religious injunctions. That the king was benevolent and his beneficent actions were felt over a great distance is noticed by Yuan Chawng. The king devoted his personal attention to details of administration and spent most of his working time in the audience chamber or one of the battle fields at the head of his forces. He toured his kingdom constantly and fixed the camp in different places so as to keep in touch with all parts of the realm. The law of Premogeniture was strictly adhered to with regard to to succession to the throne. Generally the reigning monarch appointed his successor as Yuvaraja who helped him in administrative activity. The conquered territories were, in many cases, left in charge of the respective rulers whose submission was accepted by the Imperial Suzerain.

For the purposes of administration, the Empire was divided into Visayas and Rashtras. The provincial governors were mostly related to the king. Another practice followed by the Chalukya monarchs was assigned to the newly conquered provinces either to the ruling sovereign's brothers or sons. As mentioned earlier, Pulakesin II assigned to his brother, Vishnuvardhana, the Andhra province after defeating the Pallavas. Then after subduing Lata and Malva he placed another of his brother, Jayasimha, as the Viceroy of Gujarat. This practice was continued by his successors. Sometimes women of the Royal family were appointed as Viceroys of the provinces. For instance, Akkadevi, sister of Pulakesin II and a princess of the Chalukya family, was not only in charge of a province but took part in wars as well. Some provinces were ruled by feudatories and others by independent allies. The provinces were denoted by numerical suffixes as Banavasi 12,000 Puligere 300 and etc.

Grama was the lowest unit of the administration. It had its own popular assembly consisting of heads of all families in the village. They constituted the Mahajana of the town or city. The heads of the village assembly, the Gramakuta, was the Gauda. The Mahajanas assisted him in the administration of the village. The king sought the assistance of those popular assemblies in administration of the charities, protection and promotion of education, mobilization of the militia in times of necessity and organising public festivals and fairs.

A special reference may be made to the local functionaries like the Pattanasvami or Pattanasetti who was the head of the town or

city. There also existed in the Chalukyan period (which continued its functions even later) the five hundred Svamis of Ayyavole, who are also popular as virabananjus, or the Guild of the Five Hundred. This body exerted much influence on the king, king's officers and in addition to carrying on their profession of trading in jewellery etc., with defensive weapons and also a sceptre and a royal charter. They successfully discharged diplomatic functions and even acted as intermediaries between the kings and avoid circumstances of war or hatred between the kings and thus bring about peace and friendly environment in the dominions.[42]

King was the fountain head of justice. He was the final court of appeal. The village courts decided disputes arising in the villages and rural tracts. The prevailing political condition and their constant wars with the Pallavas necessitated strong defence for the Chalukya kingdom. They maintained the traditional four-fold divisions of the army—infantry, cavalry, elephants and chariots. The war chariots were of small size drawn by one horse. Among the weapons of warfare are mentioned swords, shields, spears, clubs, lances, bows and arrows etc. That the Chalukyas maintained a well organised and efficient navy is brone out by their victories in the west coast. The splendid success of the Chalukyas in the directions speak highly of the administrative organisation of the period.

Social and Economic Condition

During the times of the Chalukyas of Badami the social and economic implications of the caste institution had come to be realised fully. The Chalukya rulers subscribed to the view that it was their duty to uphold the social order. The existence of the four major castes and professional castes were noticed by Yaun Chwang who visited Badami during the reign of Pulakesin II. The Brahmanas were wedded to the principle of simple living and high thinking. A Brahmana by name Dhruvasarma was proficient in the Veda, Vedanga, Kavya, Purana, Natyasastra and other sacred literature. He also performed Yajnas and other sacrifices. This shows that the Brahmanas adhered themselves strictly to their duties. They were also respected by other members of the society for their learning and character. The Ksatriyas who came next pursued the Ksatra Dharma to the letter and spirit. Yuan Chwang had naturally extolled them. The third varna included both the traders and agri-

42. C.V. Rangaswmy, Administration under the Chalukyas of Badami, a Paper read in the Seminar on the Chalukyas of Badami.

culturists. The word parada or harada denoted vartaka or trader becomes evident from an inscription. But the society was not free from social restrictions. This was particularly true in matters of food and marriage. In fact 'the emphasis was on the performance of duties attaching to one's status rather than on the rights of the individual or group.'

Women were accorded a place of honour in the society. Our sources are not helpful to form an estimate on the status and position of women in the ordinary rung. It may be surmised that they did not suffer from any such social restrictions as was the case with women of higher social status. But the princesses of the royal household interested themselves in literature and fine arts. Vijayabhattarika, wife of Chandraditya, brother of Vikramditya I, was a poetess of no mean repute who even won the praise from literary circles. Some were devoted to charity. For instance, Vijayabhattarika, princess Kumkumadevi, the younger sister of Vijayaditya, and Vinayavati, the pious ladies connected with the Chalukya family, issued grants independently or interested themselves in the acts of piety and creation of endowments. Lokamahadevi, the Haihaya princess and queen of Vikramaditya II, built a temple at Pattadakal. Princess Kumkumadevi took personal interest in the construction of a Basadi at Gudigere. She also persuaded her brother to sanction a grant to a Brahmana scholar while they were in a camp at Kuhudinagar.

Ladies of the royal household took part in the administration of the day. Princess Kumkumadevi was present with her brother in the war camp. "An undated inscription of Vijayaditya mentions Lokantikamahadevi as administrator of Kuruttakunta. If she is identified with Lokamahadevi.....then this reference might suggest active interference of the queen in the administration".[43]

The Ganikas or the courtesans held a recognised place in social life. They were highly accomplished being proficient in music, dance and drama. They even took part in charitable endowments. Vijayaditya's beloved mistress, Vinapotigal, performed the hiranyagarbha at Mahakuta and presented to the deity a pedestal set with rubies with silver umbrella over it. Chalabbe, another noted courtesan, endowed three pillars in the Vijayeswara temple. Matibhodhamma contributed to make two pillars.[44] Courtesans were even honoured by villagers for their public benefactions.

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43. B.N. Puri, History of Indian Administration, Vol. I, p. 210.
44. Early History of the Deccan, Vol. I, p. 235.

As regards the general character of the people, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim has this to say: "The inhabitants were proud, spirited and warlike, grateful for favours and revengeful for wrongs, self-sacrificing towards supplicants in distress and sanguinary to death with anyone who treated them insultingly".[45] This is significantly mentioned, almost in similar words in a Kannada epigraph of the 7th century A.D. It draws the sketch of a hero as good to the good, sweet to the sweet but deadly to the foe.

Karnataka in the period of the Chalukyas was mainly an agricultural country with an abundance of rural settlements. Rural economy centred round communities of peasant proprietors. Lands were classified according to the fertility of the soil as black and red land, wet land, garden land, waste land.

Industries were organised on corporate basis. Trade, both inland and foreign, flourished. We have reference to trade with China and other countries. Ports on the west coast like Kalyana, Mangarut (Mangalore) and Male were important centres of trade.

Inscriptions of the Chalukya period mention a variety of local weights and measures. Among them mention may be made of *mana* (11.2 Kg.), *peru* (17.28 Kg.), *visa* (5 seers) and *Bhandaperu*. *Rajamana* was a standard measure. *Mattara* or *Mattala*, (4 or 5 acres) and *nivartana* were land measurements.

Religion

The observations of Yuan Chwang make it very clear that "in the sphere of religion, the people of Maharashtra continued orthodoxy with heterodoxy". He noticed the existence of the Buddhist Viharas. "There are about 100 Sangamas with some 10,000 priests. They study both the great and little vehicle. They also highly reverence the devas and there are several hundred temples in which many sectarians dwell together". He also noticed the existence of five stupas built by Asoka.

Jainism was the first to enter Karnataka, even before Buddhism. It counted among its followers some nobles and high officials of the State. Ravikirti, the composer of the Aihole inscription, was a Jaina. The flourishing state of Jainism has been attested to a number of Chalukya inscriptions.

But by and large, the members of the Royal family were the followers of Saiva or Vaisnava ways of life, as the titles of Parama-

45. Watters, T., On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, Vol. II, p. 238.

maheshvara and Paramabhagavata assumed by the Chalukya kings show. The principle of religious toleration adopted by the rulers of the dynasty was largely responsible for the prevalent religious harmony among many existing creeds. This in turn gave tremendous impetus to the construction of Brahmanical and Jaina temples.

Fine Arts

The Chalukya monarchs were liberal patrons of art, architecture and sculpture. They evolved and developed a new style of architecture known as the Chalukya style which is distinct from the Gupta style of temple architecture, developed possibly side by side, without the one influencing the other. The attractive specimens of architecture and sculptures of outstanding beauty stand to this day to proclaim the outburst of artistic endeavour of the people.

The Chalukya monuments resolve themselves into two classes, viz., rock-cut halls and the structural temples. The excavated temples are found at Badami and Aihole. The most noteworthy is the Badami where there are four 'cave' temples, two dedicated to Siva, one to Vishnu and the other being Jaina, dug out of the local soft-stone formations, viz., sand stone. The earliest and the largest one is cave No. III, dated 578 A.D., excavated during the reign of Mangalesha and dedicated to Vishnu. It consists of an open forecourt, a pillared verandah, a pillared hall, and a square garbhagriha. The facade is made up of six pillars and two pilasters on either side, while there are fourteen pillars in the hall. Cave No. I, dedicated to Siva, is of smaller dimension, while cave No. II is smallest with a width of 33 feet. What strikes these temples are not their dimensions, or the arrangement and decoration of the exterior, but their richly decorated interiors, where "the rock carver has concentrated his utmost skill, so that the spectator, passing from the bright sunlight outside into its darkened pillared halls, finds himself bewildered by the wealth of symbolism and mystical imagery which surrounds him on all sides and appears to extend indefinitely into the exterior gloom".[49] Cave No. IV, the earliest of the Jaina cave temples, cut near the top of the rock, is only a small essay in rock. The Jaina cave temple at Aihole, excavated into the low sandstone outcrops, contains a rectangular front mandapa and it is an exact copy of 'mandapa type cave-temple'. It is worthy of note that it was Chalukyas who initiated the movement of Brah-

49. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture, Vol. I, p. 54.

manical rock-cut halls (mandapas) in this part of the country which served as a cue to the Pallavas, who, under Mahendravarman I, excavated the first cave temple at Mandagapattu (South of Arcot District) for the Hindu trinity—Siva, Vishnu and Brahma.[50]

The Chalukyas who are rightly regarded as the architectural ancestors of the temple building activity that continued right up to the 13th century A.D. have left to us some remarkable examples of structural temples. The early experiments in the temple building are first met with at Aihole which alone consist of 70 temples. Then the main building activity centred round the two other important towns of Chalukyas, Badami and Pattadakal, both in the neighbourhood of the Aihole.

Rightly called 'the cradle of the Indian temple architecture' Aihole represents the best Chalukya architecture. Of the 70 temples at Aihole three are noteworthy. They are the Ladh Khan, so called because a Moslem of the name had a hut close by and lived in it, the Durga and Hucchimalligudi temples belonging to the period 450-650 A.D.

The Ladh Khan temple has certain characteristics of rock-cut halls. It is in fact a low flat roofed mandapa, 50 feet wide, enclosed by walls on three sides, with a porch on the east side, the pillars of which are carved with the Ganga-Yamuna motif. "Architecturally the temple is significant for two main reasons. We see in the pilasters at the exterior angles of the structure the beginnings of the later Dravidian order with the tapering upper end of the shaft and a capital with the expanded abacus supporting the bracket. Another feature which stayed on and influenced later Chalukyan temples is the flat roof which consists stone slabs groved at the joints, and held together by long narrow stones which fit into the groves". In short the temple impresses the visitor very much.

Built on the model of the Buddhist Chaitya hall, the Durga temple 'contains a new feature, namely, a vestibule or antarala which is an intermediate chamber between the cellar and the main hall. It has a sikhara over the garbhagriha which has fallen. The Hucchimalligudi temple which seems to be earliest of the Aihole group contains a sikhara of the Nagara type.

There are as many as ten temples at Pattadakal belonging to this period, six of whom follow the Dravidian style. The most celebrated one is that of the temple of Virupaksha. It was built by queen Loka-

50. K.R. Srinivasan, Temples of South India, p. 35.

mahadevi, Vikramaditya II's queen. It has many features in common with the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchi. To quote Percy Brown: "there is a bold beauty in the appearance of the Virupaksha temple as a whole which is best seen in the exterior." It is a comprehensive scheme as it consists not only of the central structure, but of a detached Nandi pavilion in front and it is contained within a walled enclosure entered by an appropriate gateway. The main building measures 120 feet. The interest of the architect to ornamental details is best seen in the mouldings, pilasters, brackets, and cornices and also the perforated window. The exterior body of the temple consists of the niches in which are kept life-sized statues. The temple consists of a square sikhara. To sum up in the words of Precy Brown: "The Virupaksha temple is one of those buildings of the past in which the spirit still lingers of the men who conceived it and wrought it with their hands".

In paintings, Cave I at Ajanta is assigned to the Chalukya period. Among the remarkable scenes mention may be made of 'the Temptation of the Buddha' and 'the Persian embassy.'

2. THE RASHTRAKUTAS OF MALKHED

The period from 700 A.D. to 1000 A.D. constitutes a brilliant epoch in the political and cultural history of ancient Karnataka. During this period the Rashtrakutas dominated the scene and richly contributed to the political and cultural history of India. Of the importance of the Rashtrakutas S. Srikantha Sastri writes: "If there was any period of the Indian history when Karnataka affected the fortunes of all India, it was during these centuries, for not even the later Vijayanagar empire, which was powerful for three centuries in the south, wielded any influence on North India. It may also be pointed out that in contrast with the chequered history of the city of Kanauj, Manykaheta was a continuous centre, not only of a vast empire from Cape Camorin to Uttar Pradesh, but of unique literary, artistic and religious activity, especially under Amoghavarsha Nripatunga.

".....The Rashtrakuta dynasty for nearly 2½ centuries produced illustrious rulers like Dantidurga, Krishna I, Govinda III, Dhruva, Amoghavarsha, Krishna II, Indra III and Krishna III, whose sway was acknowledged not only by the south Indian dynasties but both the Palas and the Pratiharas felt the full brunt of the Rashtrakuta power. From the political point of view the Rashtra-

kuta empire constitutes the most brillant episode in the history of the ancient Deccan. No other power south of the Vindhyas played such a dominant role in the history of Northern India, until the age of the Maratha Peshwas in the 18th century. It may be added that it was not only in the political sphere but in culture also, Karnataka influenced India—of the dominance of the Advaita Philosophy of Sankara, in the Sanskrit and vernacular literature of the Brahmanas and the Jainas, in the architecture of Ellora and Elephanta, etc., in music and other fine arts, in the Smriti literature and in the propagation of culture in Greater India''.[46]

Political History

The origin of the Rashtrakutas has been traced by some scholars to the Rattas or Rashtrikas, a tribe politically important, mentioned in the Asokan Rock Edict. But H. Krishna Sastri derives the name of the Reddis of the Andhra country, who were village headmen, belonging to agricultural class. Historically, the Rashtrakutas claim to be Yadavas.

The Rashtrakutas began their political career as the feudatories of the Chalukyas of Badami and ultimately they founded their own dynasty in the middle of the 8th century, supplanting the Chalukyas. The founder of the Rashtrakuta dynasty was Dantidurga, a monarch of remarkable abilities. During the course of his career he is said to have conquered Sindabhupa, Pallava, Nandivarman and the kings of Pandya, Chola, Paramara, Malva, Kalinga, Lata and Kosala. He did not live long after this and died at the age of 'thirty-six or thirty-seven' in 756 A.D.

Krishna I (756-775)

Dantidurga died childless and therefore his uncle Krishna succeeded him. His reign of about 19 years constitutes an important epoch in the art-history of the Rashtrakutas. After consolidating his position at home, he proceeded towards the Chalukya capital and broke down their last resistance. Then he invaded the Ganga kingdom, defeated Sripurusha and accepted his submission. The Eastern Chalukya ruler, Vishnuvardhana IV, was forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Krishna. These victories brought him the southern frontier of the Chalukya territory and a part of Eastern Chalukya dominion. He also conquered Konkan.

46. Quoted from his Review of "The Age of Imperial Kanauj".

Krishna was a great builder. He constructed the rock-cut temple of Kailas, originally known as Kannesvar, at Ellora. V.A. Smith regards it 'the most marvellous architectural freak in India... by far the most extensive and sumptuous of the rock-cut shrines..... one of the wonders of the world, a work of which any nation might be proud, and an honour to the king under whose patronage it was executed."[47]

Govinda II (775-780)

Govinda II succeeded his father Krishna I in 775 A.D. He was an indolent and pleasure loving prince. Naturally therefore he left the reigns of the government in charge of his younger brother Dhruva, a prince of great prowess and ability. Dhruva grew powerful and attempted to seize the throne. But Govinda soon realised his mistake and assumed full powers. Dhruva was not prepared to submit to his brother and civil war ensued. Dhruva came out of this conflict in flying colours by vanquishing his brother and his ally Sivamara, the Ganga king. He then became king as Nirupama (the Incomparable).

Dhruva (780-794)

Soon after his accession to throne Dhruva wanted to take revenge on the Ganga king who had given a good deal of help to his brother. After setting his house in order, he invaded the Ganga kingdom, defeated Sivamara and captured and imprisoned him. He then proceeded to humble the Pallavas and made their king Dantivarman pay a tribute of elephants. He then invaded the Eastern Chalukya kingdom and wrested some territories of Vishnuvardhana, who had to purchase peace by giving his daughter, Silamahadevi, in marriage to the Rashtrakuta king. By these victories he became indubitably the greatest monarch of the Deccan.

Dhruva was an ambitious monarch who was not satisfied with these victories in South India. He interested himself in the political developments in Northern India and was closely watching the situation. After making full preparations, he invaded the Pratihara kingdom and inflicted a severe defeat on its king, Vatsaraja. It is said that being unable to face the superior force of Dhruva, Vatsaraja fled from the capital to the deserts of Meru. He continued his victorious march from Malva and attacked and defeated the

47. The Early History of India, p. 428.

Pala suzerain Dharmapala, in a battle in the Ganga-Yamuna Doab region.

Dhruva was notably one of the ablest of the rulers of India. Under him the prestige and glory of the Rashtrakutas reached its highest watermark. "For the first time since the period of the Satavahanas, after a lapse of more then 800 years," writes A.S. Altekar, "a Deccan army marched under him into Northern India, penetrated into the heart of the Doab, and signally defeated each of the two rival aspirants for the overlordship of Northern India. At the time of his death in 793 A.D., there was no state in the whole of India which could challenge the Rashtrakuta power."[48]

Govinda III (793-814)

According to the arrangements made by Dhruva, Govinda III, his third son, succeeded to the throne. But a year or two later, his eldest brother Stambha or Kambha made an unsuccessful bid to secure the throne for himself with the help of a confederacy of twelve kings. But this came to nothing as the ever vigilant Govinda foiled the venture by defeating his brother and the allied forces. But he treated his rebellious brother kindly and reinstated him in the vice-royalty of the western Ganga kingdom. He placed his younger brother in charge of the Lata provinces.

After securing his position at home, Govinda turned his attention to North Indian politics. In the meantime, the successor of Vatsaraja, Nagabhatta II, had set himself to the task of rehabilitation of the fortunes of the Pratihara family. He defeated Chakrayudha of Kanauj and shifted his capital there, thus becoming its virtual master. Realising that the Rashtrakutas might undo his work, he formed a confederacy to check their advance. He then tried to establish his supremacy over Malva again. This ambition of the Pratihara king led to the inevitable conflict between him and Govinda. Govinda marched with his army to North India and inflicted a crushing defeat on Nagabhatta. Flushed with this success, the Rashtrakuta king proceeded further and received the submisson of Chakrayudha and Dharmapala, the Pala king.

The absence of Govinda from Deccan was taken advantage of by the Pallava, Pandya, Kerala and Ganga rulers, whose combined army attacked the Rashtrakuta territory. Govinda soon rushed

48. Early History of the Deccan, p. 265.

with his victorious forces to the Tungabhadra and overwhelmed the forces of the enemies, thereby securing a unique position throughout India. He also accepted the submission of the Ceylonese king.

Govinda was the most distinguished member of the Rashtrakuta family and 'his achievement go far to justify the claim of his court poets that after his birth the Rashtrakutas became as unassailable as the Yadavas after the birth of Sri Krishna'. There is no doubt that he was one of the ablest emperors and generals who have arisen in India.'

Amoghavarsha I Nripatunga (814-878)

Amoghavarsha Nripatunga who succeeded his father Govinda at a very young age had a long reign of more than 64 years and was an illustrious king of Karnataka. In the beginning of his reign he had to overcome many enemies in Northern India and his uncle Kakka or Karka of Gujarat and his chief minister Patalamalla helped him so that Amoghavarsha's sovereignty was acknowledged all over South India. There were rebellion of the Pandyas and Eastern Chalukyas and Nripatunga suppressed them and thus established peace in his empire which lasted well-nigh over 50 years. He made alliances with the Gangas of Talkad and the Pallavas. In the Ganga kingdom there was rivalry between Bhuguta I who had married a Rashtrakuta princess and Vijayaditya who tried to become independent. But Nripatunga supported Bhuguta I and Gangas became loyal servants of the Rashtrakutas. A daughter of Amoghavarsha was married to Pallava Nandivarma III and the eastern Chalukyas also acknowledged the suzerainty of the Rashtrakutas.

Towards the end of his reign Amoghavarsha had to face the rebellion of his son Krishna II who had fled to Talakad. Amoghavarsha's favourite general, Bankesha, came marching to the south, captured the fort of Kaidala and crossing the river Kaveri, besieged Talakad. He captured Krishna and took him as a prisoner to the emperor. The emperor was pleased with Bankesha and gave him the governorship of Banavasi province. The city of Bankapura was built in his name.

The Arabian traveller Suleiman visited the Rashtrakuta empire and described Amoghavarsha as one of the four greatest kings of the world, the other being the Emperor Constantipople, Khalifa of Bagdad and the Emperor of China. Amoghavarsha allowed the Arabian merchants to carry on trade and settle down without molestation.

Towards the end of his reign a great calamity befell the kingdom and the Emperor sacrificed himself for the sake of the people. The Sanjam Grant says that some great calamity befell the kingdom and Nripatunga cut off the fingers of his left hand as a sacrifice to the Goddess Mahalakshmi of Kollahpur and the calamity was averted. Probably he abdicated the throne soon after and became a Jaina monk.

The period of Nripatunga was remarkable for the growth of Kannada and Sanskrit literature. He was an author both in Kannada and Sanskrit. The earliest extant work in the Kannada, *Kavirajamarga*, was written during his reign. He wrote Prasnottara Ratnavali in Sanskrit. He also patronised scholars like Ugraditya, Prabhachandra and others.

Krishna II (880-914)

After Amoghavarsha, his son Krishna succeeded to the throne. During his reign there was a revival of Rashtrakuta and Eastern Chalukya conflict. It took a serious turn when Vijayaditya III invaded and captured the capital of Rashtrakuta, Malkhed or Manyakheta. Krishna II submitted to the Eastern Chalukya king who restored him the capital. Krishna who was smarting under this defeat reorganised his armed forces and after full preparations marched into the enemy country and defeated Bhima, Vijayaditya's successor. This victory of the Rashtrakuta king was only shortlived for Bhima made another bold bid and secured the independence of the Vengi kingdom from the Rashtrakutas.

Indra III (914-928)

Indra III succeeded his grandfather Krishna II. He carried on war against Mahipala, the Pratihara king, and defeated him. Indra's inscriptions are found near Delhi. After Indra there were brief reigns until Krishna III succeeded Amoghavarsha in 939 A.D.

Krishna III (939-966)

Once again under Krishna, the Rashtrakuta power revived and attained its climax. He was the brother-in-law of Bhutuga II of Talakad and both had taken part in capturing many forts in North India. Meanwhile, Chola Parantaka I had overcome the Cheras and the Pandyas and was expanding the empire in the north. He took advantage of the two rival families of the Gangas to invade the Kolar region. Therefore Bhutuga and Krishna started on an expedition against the Cholas in 949 A.D. The Chola crown prince

Rajaditya, the eldest son of Parantaka, met the Karnataka army at Takkolam. Bhutuga managed to kill Rajaditya and the Karnataka army captured Kanchi. It is said that Parantaka fled to Ceylon. Krishna celebrated this signal success by assuming the epithet of Kanchiyum-Tanjaiyum-Konda (the conqueror of Kanchi and Tanjore) and rewarded Bhutuga with the governorship of Banavasi, the Belvol, the Puligere, the Krisukad and the Begenad.

Krishna then continued his victorious march to further south and reduced the Cheras and the Pandyas. He occupied Ramesvaram and set up a Pillar of victory there. He also accepted the voluntary submission of the Ceylonese king.

As long as Krishna was alive Parantaka was in exile and made no attempt whatsoever to recapture the Chola territory from the Rashtrakutas.

But the glory of the Rashtrakutas did not last long. After Krishna, Kottiga and Karkka II ruled up to 973 A.D. The Paramaras of Malva under Harsha Siyaka invaded the Rashtrakuta dominion and sacked their capital. Meanwhile Tailpa II, who was waiting for an opportunity, took advantage of the weakness of the successors of Krishna III, drove out the Rashtrakutas and established the dynasty of the Chalukyas of Kalyani. The last representative of the Imperial Rashtrakutas was Krishna III's grandson Indra IV who fled to the Ganga kingdom. Narasimha II Ganga made a vain attempt to restore Indra but failed and committed suicide at Bankapura. Indra also lived up to 982 near Sravanabelagola and died there. Once again the Chalukyas regained their supremacy over the Deccan.

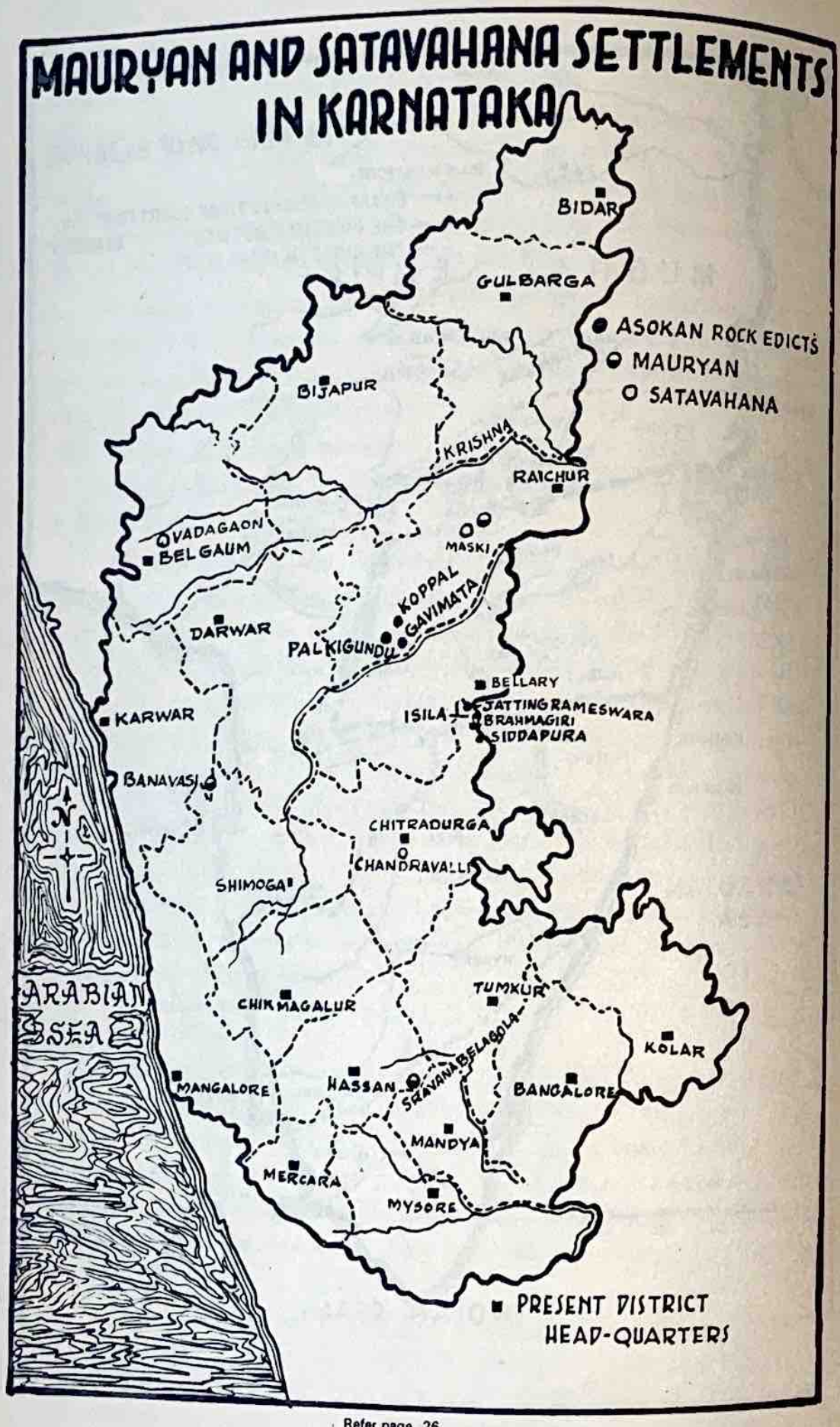
Administration

The administrative system under the Rashtrakutas remained more or less the same as at the time of the Western Chalukyas. It was an absolute and benevolent monarchy, regard being had to the welfare and happiness of the people. The existence of Council of Ministers and the village popular assemblies acted as checks on the absolute authority of the king. Succession to the throne developed from father to son.

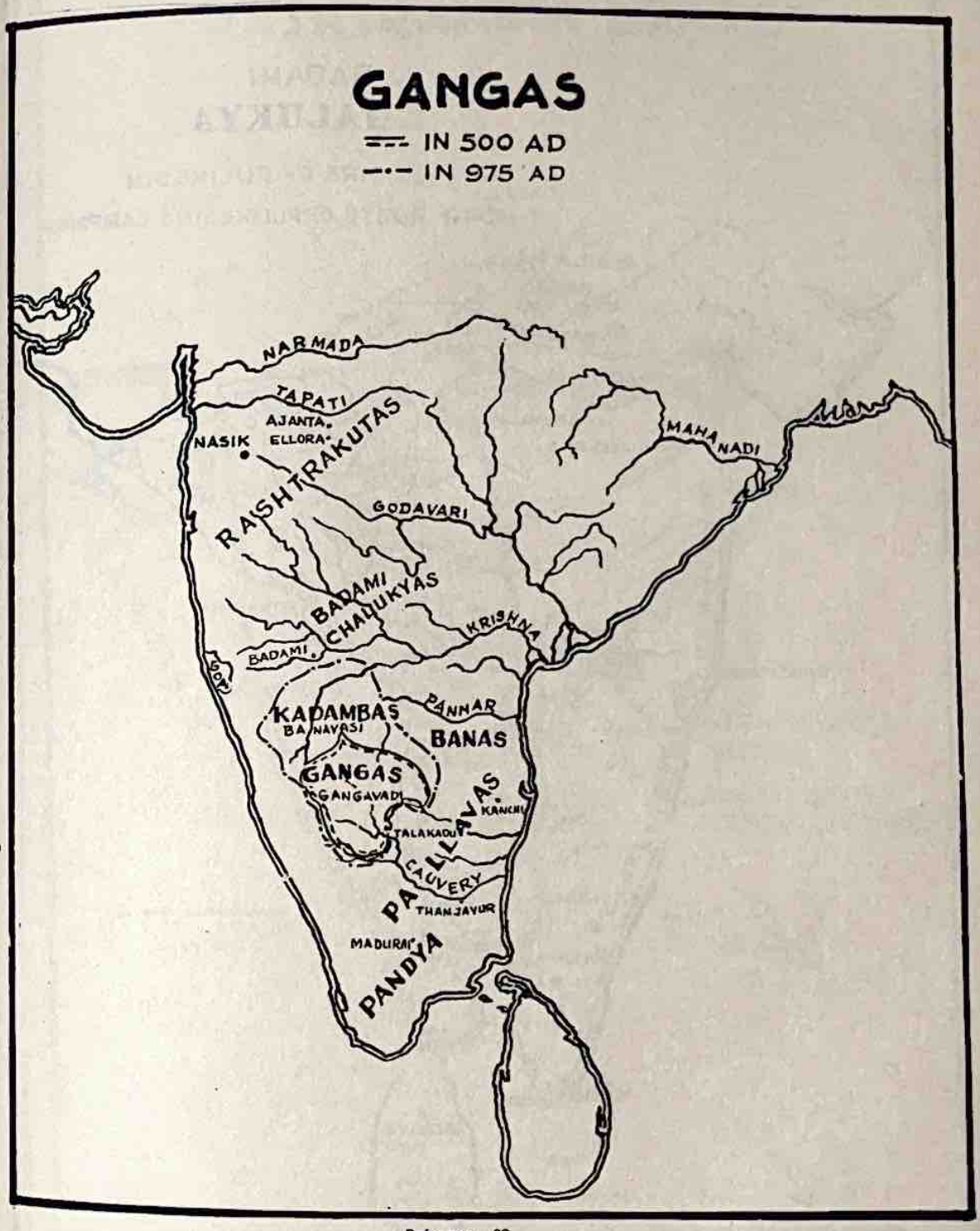
The dominion of the Rashtrakutas was divided into Rashtras or Mandalams, Visyas and Bhuktis. Rashtra was the biggest unit of the empire and was governed by Rashtrapati. Visaya corresponding roughly to a modern district was in charge of an officer known as Visayapati. Bhukti or Tehsil was governed by



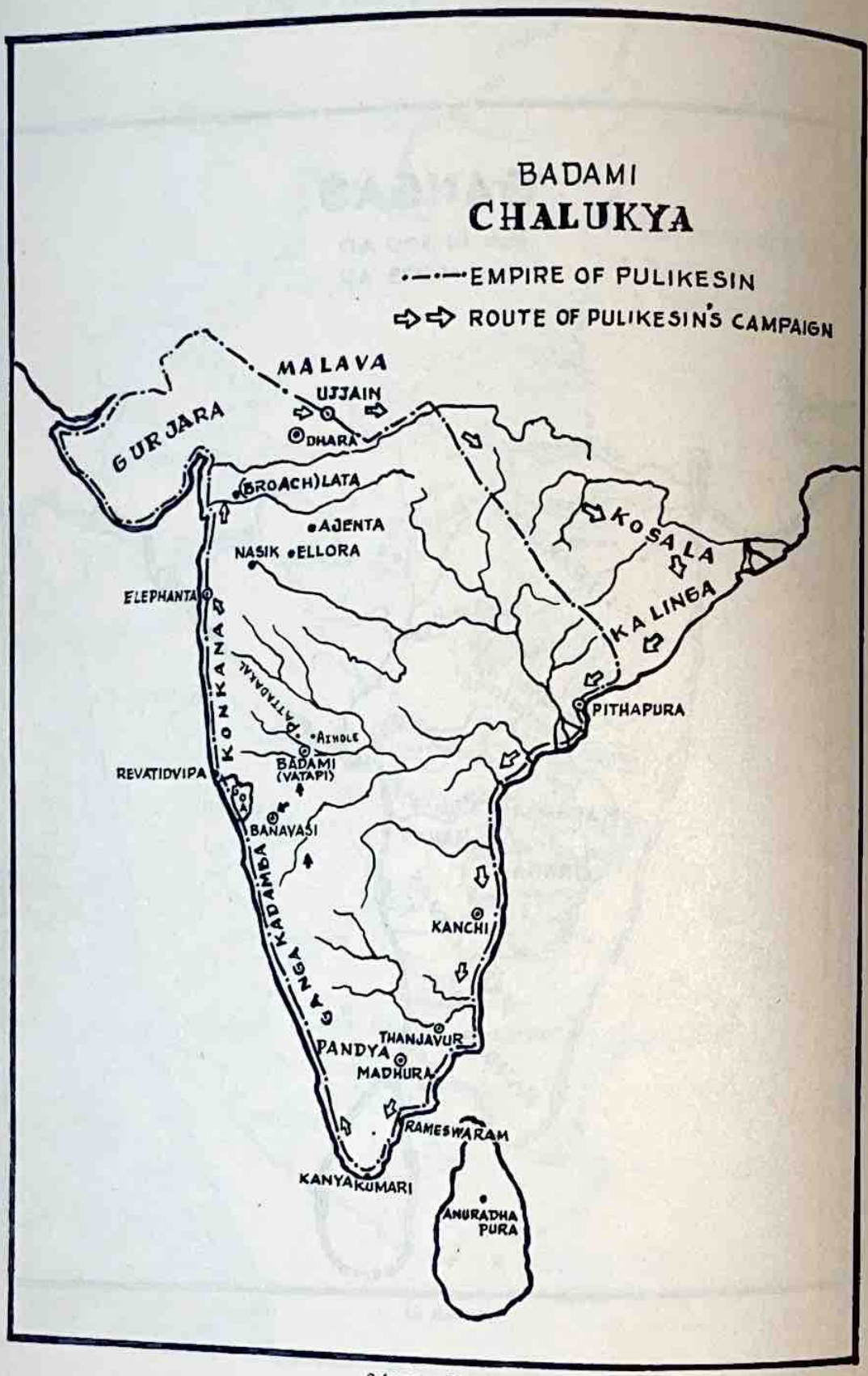
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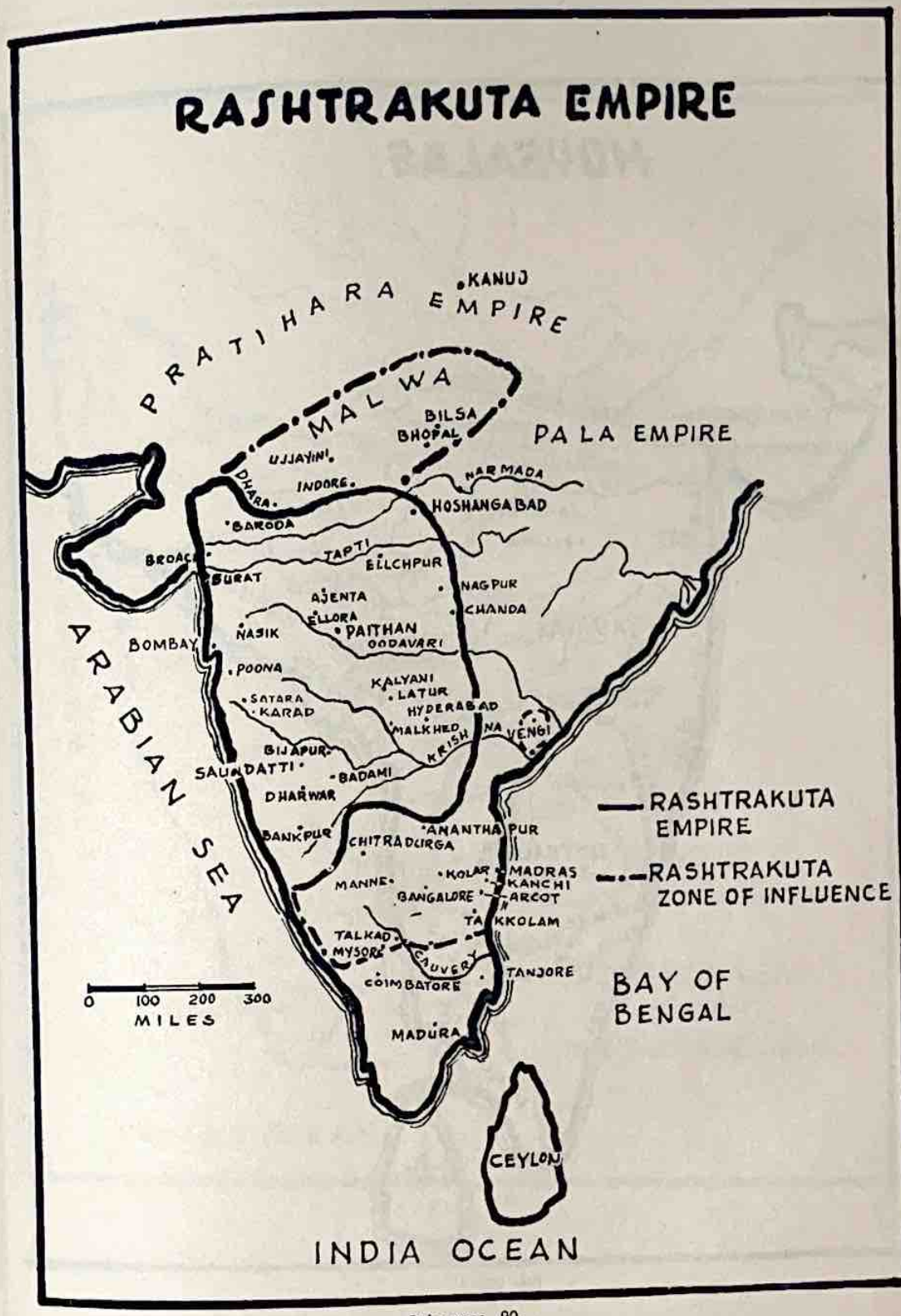
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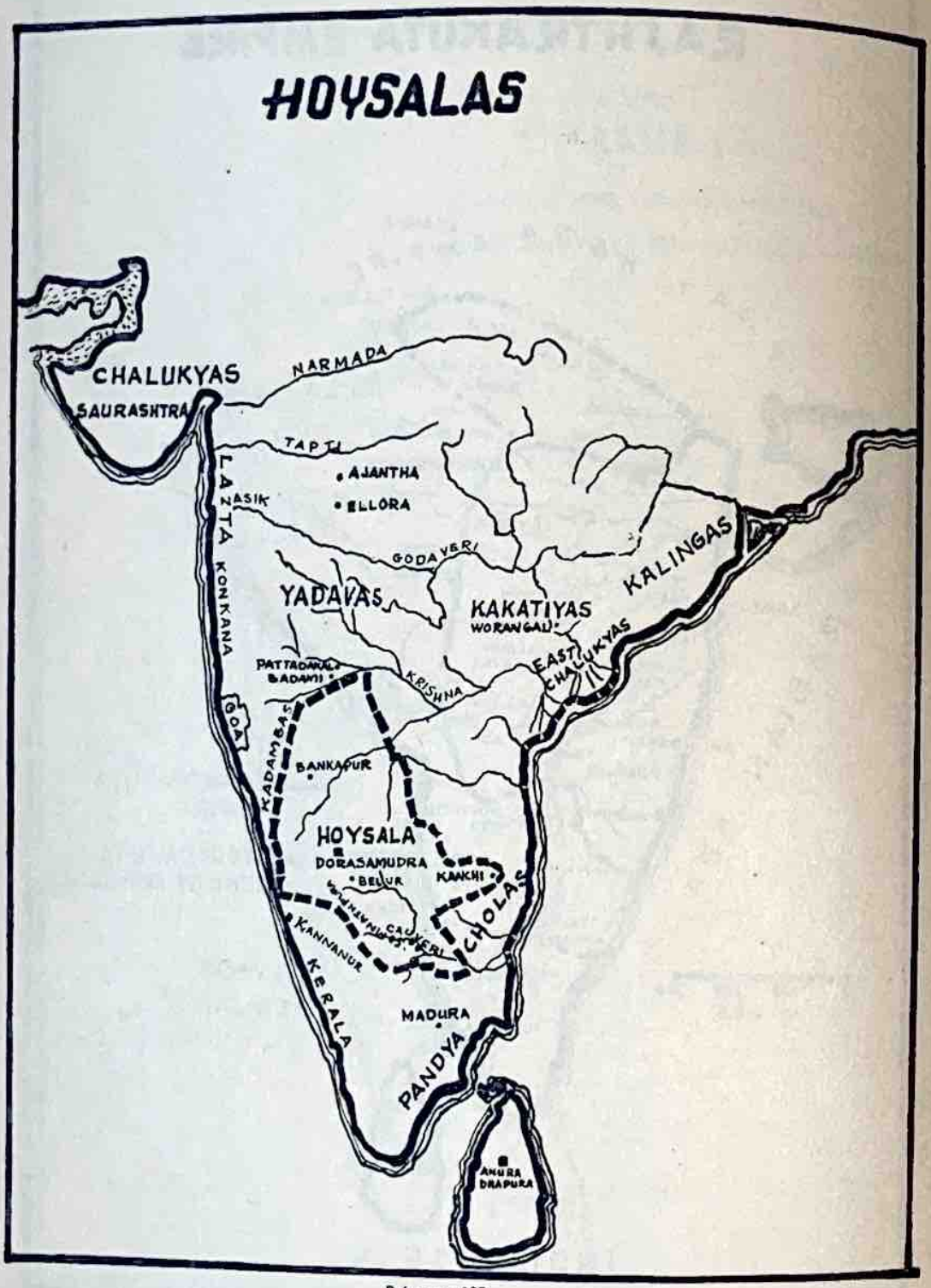
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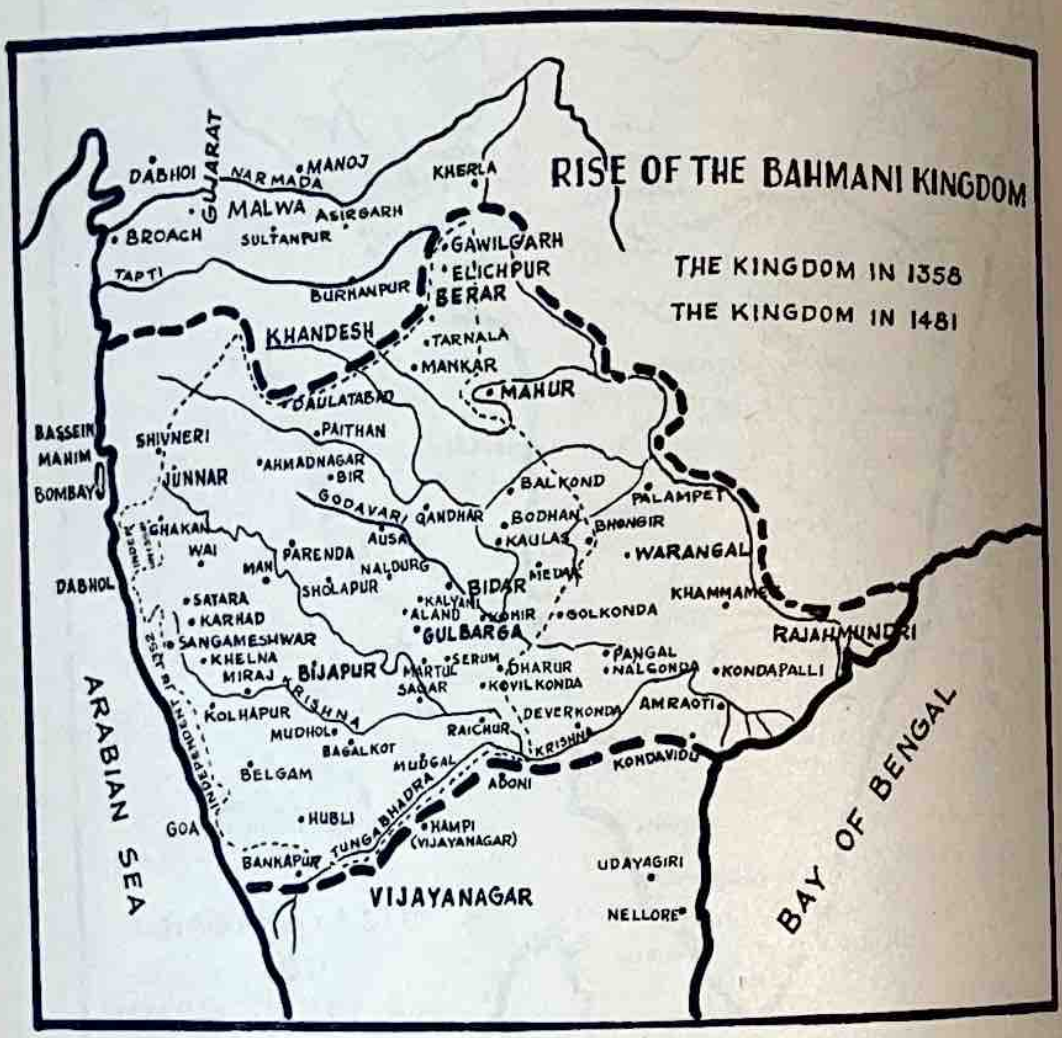
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Bhogapati or Bhojika. As usual, village was the lowest unit of administration.

As regards the feudatory provinces some were governed by the representatives of the Emperor. Those that were ruled by the feudatory chiefs enjoyed complete autonomy.

Social and Economic Condition

The Dharmasastras of the Rashtrakuta period and the accounts of the Arab writers help us to form a picture of the society during this period. There were four castes and a number of other social groups. There was a tendency among the major castes to subdivide themselves into high and low. The new Dharmasastra regulations permitted the first three castes to adopt occupations of castes next to them in adverse circumstances. A section of the Brahmanas followed the usual duties. But others accepted offices, civil and military, in the state. Some took to Vaisya and Ksatriya occupations. When they adopted occupations other than their own, they were liable to pay taxes. There were also two classes among Ksatriya, Sat Ksatriyas (Subkufrias of the Arab writers) and ordinary Ksatriya. The ruling class and the nobles were included in the first category. The ordinary Ksatriya, in the nature of things, could not practise Vedic studies. They were either traders or agriculturists. The Vaisyas also did not remain as a single community. They also neglected Vedic studies and were reduced to the status of the Sudras.

The period witnessed great improvement in the position of the Sudra. The Bhakti movement led by Nayanars and Alvars which preached the footing equality of man with man narrowed down the gulf between the high and low castes. Though the Sudra was not still permitted to read the Vedas, he became eligible for Smarta practices. Many of the taboos stood him in good stead. He became rich by the pursuit of agriculture, trade and industry. He was enlisted in the army and some of them were military leaders and petty rulers.

The untouchables had come to be excluded from the main stream of life. Among other social groups that were held in low esteem mention may be made of shoe-makers, bamboo-workers, fishermen, washermen, sweepers, etc.

When compared to the previous period, the only improvement in the position of woman was that, her right to inherit the property of her husband was slowly recognised.

In the sphere of economy, agriculture continued to receive the attention of the government as ever before. But the period made much progress in mining and industry. There are references to the working of copper mines in the districts of Bellary, Bijapur, Cudappah, Dharwar and other places. But the productions were by no means recognisable. Mines in Golkonda and Ceded districts yielded precious stones. Malkhed, the capital city, which is said to have resembled the city of God Indra, was a famous mart for jewellery.

Textile industry, which was the principal industry of the period, made considerable progress. Cloth was manufactured in sufficient quantities to meet internal demand and to leave a large surplus for export. Gajarat, Bihar, and Telangana were noted centres for the manufacture of cloth. Foreign trade must have been handled by the Arab merchants who had by now become intermediaries in India's overseas commerce. There were pockets of Arab settlements on west coast. Though they were the settlements of traders, they also indulged themselves in conversion activities. It is said that the Rashtrakuta rulers did not take serious note of it as the number involved was negligible.

Pack of bullocks and ponies constituted the chief means of transport. There was no state currency under the Rashtrakutas thuogh records refer to gold Drammas. Barter system was in vogue.

Religion and Literature

If monuments are any indication for the prevalence of religious persuasions, all the three main religions, Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism were followed by the people during the period under review. Jainism seems to have enjoyed a measure of kingly attention. For instance, Amoghavarsha I was a great patron of Jainism and is also said to have become a Jaina sanyasi towards the close of his reign. Gunabhadra, a famous Jaina scholar, was a preceptor of Krishna II. But most of the Rashtrakuta kings were Saivas.

As in the field of fine arts, so in the field of literature, the contribution of the Rashtrakutas is at once rich and many sided. According to Amoghavarsha, 'the people of Karnataka were born poets and even the illiterates were highly intelligent'. Amoghavarsha patronised a number of Jaina scholars, such as Harisena, the author of *Harivamsa* and *Adipurana*, Jinasena, the author of

Parsvabhyudayo and *Sri Vijaya Kavisvara*. Amoghavarsha was himself an author and wrote *Prasnottara Ratnavali* in Sanskrit. The first extant work in Kannada, *Kavirajamarga*, the authorship of which was ascribed to Amoghavarsha, is now attributed to Sri Vijaya, a court poet of Amoghavarsha.

As mentioned before, *Kavirajamarga* is the earliest extant treatise on poetics in Kannada. The work is a free rendering *Kavyadarsan* of Dandin. It mentions some earlieer authors on Kannada prose and poetry such as Vimala, Udaya, Nagarjuna, Jayabandhu and Durvinita 'which enables us to place the rise of Kannada literature. It describes the kingdom of Karnataka as extending from Kaveri to the Godavari. It also describes the personal character of the Emperor (Amoghavarsha) and the contemporary political condition'.

Krishna III was also a liberal patron of literature. In his court flourished two great Kannada poets, Pampa, Ponna and Chavundaraya. Chavundaraya has written the earliest Kannada prose work *Chavundarayapurana*. Pampa wrote *Adipurana* and *Pampabharata* in Kannada. But the poet laureate of the time was Ponna who wrote *Santipurana* for which he received the title Ubhaya Kavichakravartin from Krishna III. There were many Sanskrit poets among whom Somadeva wrote *Yasastilaka* and *Nitivakyamrita*. Ranna, the author of *Ajitapurana* and *Gadayudha*, was a younger contemporary of Chavundaraya.

Fine Arts

But their splendid contribution the Rashtrakutas have created a unique position in the domain of art, architecture and sculpture. The famous rock-cut shrines at Ellora and Elephanta belong to this period. Of the 34 rock-cut shrines that were constructed by the rulers of this dynasty, 'the most extensive and sumptuous' is the temple of Kailasa at Ellora. This celebrated temple is hewn out of a rocky hillside with all the details of temple complex by Krishna I in the 8th century. It closely resembles the Lokesvara temple at Pattadakal. It is hewn out of a great rectangular quarry and measures 276 feet long and 154 feet wide with a scrap of 107 feet deep at the back The temple divides itself into four main parts, the main shrine, the entrance gateway to the west, a Nandi pavilion and cloisters all round the courtyard. Possibly the supplementary shrines were excavated at a later date. "There is an immense profusion of sculptured ornament in high relief and the most outstanding feature

in this respect is the huge frieze of elephants and monsters around the plinth.....which rather unexpectedly succeeds in bearing the obvious weight of the superstructure despite its contorted frenzy of movements". The sculptured panels of Dasavatara Bhairava, Ravana vigorously shaking the mount Kailasa, Dancing Siva and Vishnu and Lakshmi listening to music carved in bas relief are superb. To sum up in the words of Percy Brown: "The temple of Kailasa at Ellora is not only most stupendous single work of art executed in India, but as an example of Rock architecture it is unrivalled. Standing within its precincts and surrounded by its grey and hoary pavilions, one seems to be looking through into another world, not a world of time and space, but one of intense spiritual devotion expressed by such an amazing artistic creation hewn out of the earth itself. Gradually one becomes conscious of the remarkable imagination which concevied it, the unstinted labour which enabled it to be materialised and finally the sculpture with which it is adornned, this plastic decoration is its crowning glory, sometimes more than a record of artistic form, it is a great spiritual achievement, every portion being a rich statement glowing with meaning. The Kailasa is an illustration of one of those occasions when men's minds, hearts and ideal. It was under such conditions of religious and cultural stability that this grand monolithic representation of Siva's paradise was produced".[51]

Among other rock-cut shrines of the period mention may be made of Dasavatara temple (Cave XV), the only Brahmanical example in two storeys, Ravana-ka-khai (Cave XIV), Ramesvara (Cave XXI) and Dumar Lena (Cave XXIX) which has great resemblance to the Elephanta Caves. Of these, Dasavatara is by far the largest and simplest. There are figure sculptures of great size surrounding the walls depicting both the Vaisnava and Siva temples. The outstanding sculpture among them is the Hiranyakasipu relief. Of this Ananda K. Coomaraswamy speaks thus : "It would be difficult to imagine a more splendid rendering of the well known theme of the impious king who met his death at the hands of the avenging deity in man-lion form. The hand upon the shoulder, the shrinking figure with the mocking smile that has had no time to fade—what could be more terrible?"

There are five rock shrines belogning to the followers of the Jaina persuasion. In this group the outstanding structur

51. India's Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu,

Chota Kailasa, Indra Sabha and Jagannatha Sabha. Of the excellence of workmanship of the Jaina group of shrines Percy Brown makes special mention of 'the richly carved details and perfect finish, particularly of the pillars' and 'the finish and accuracy of the cutting'. 'Moreover', he says, 'as in many of the productions of the Jains, in spite of the beauty of the embellishment, or perhaps in some obscure way on account of it, there is a cold and impersonal feeling in the rock-cut halls, which is not found in those of the Buddhist or Hindus, a circumstance of some irony in view of the pronounced humanitarian character of the creed that inspired them'.

But the great or Main shrines at Elephanta is superior in its sculpture when compared with the Ellora group of Shrines. For instance the sculptured reliefs Nataraja and Sadasiva are decidedly better executed than the Bhairava relief at Ellora. To put it differently, the sculptures of Ellora seem to be 'less accomplished in technique, though more florid in style'. The sculptured reliefs of Ardhanariswara and Trimurth in Mahesamurti at Elephanta are particularly noteworthy. Here the God is represented in 'triple form' corresponding to the three aspects of his functions, the creation, the protection and the destruction of the Universe. This essays the Vedantic conception of God as One who can manifest Himself in diffirent forms in accordance with the functions he is to perform. As Grousset admirably puts it : "The three countenances of the One Being are here harmonised without a trace of effort. There are few material representations of the divine principle at once as powerful and as well balanced as this in the art of the whole world. Nay, more, here we have undoubtedly the grandest representation of the pantheist God ever made by the hand of man".

It may be presumed that some of the shrines were originally decorated with paintings which are now lost to us. However, fragments of paintings are even now seen in the porch of the Great temple of Kailasa at Ellora, and the celings of the Mahesamurti shrine at Elephanta.

The account of the artistic activity under the Rashtrakutas would justify the statement that the foremost contribution of the Rashtrakutas to the world of culture lay largely in the field of architecture and sculpture.

3. CHALUKYAS OF KALYANA

The decline of the power of the Rashtrakutas was followed by the rise to power of the main line of the Chalukyas. They "emerged from the obscurity of two centuries, and once more filled the stage of the Deccani history with Kalyanapura, 'the best of all cities in the world', for their capital". Their rule of over two centuries is marked by prolonged wars with the imperial Cholas for Sovereignty over South India.

POLITICAL HISTORY

Taila II

Taila II who raised the sunken fortunes of the family to its former glory was the son of Vikramaditya IV. Taila began his career as a feudatory of Krishna III in Bijapur district. By dint of his merit he rose to the position of mahasamanta and was rewarded with the district of Tardavadi 100 miles from Krishna. Every increase in his status and position has followed by steady weakness of the Rashtrakuta power under Krishna's successor. In the confusion that followed after the invasion of the Paramaras of Malwa under Siyaka Harsa and the plunder of the Manyakheta, the ambitious Taila thwarted all the efforts of Marasimha Ganga in placing Indra on the throne, re-established the Chalukya sovereignty and assumed full regal titles in about 976 A.D. The feudatories of the Rashtrakutas like the ruler of Banavasi region, the Rattas of Sundatti, the Sindas of Bijapur, the Silaharas of North Konkan and the Seunas acknowledged Taila's suzerainty. Taila thus became the master of the Rashtrakuta territory with the possible exception of their Gujarat provinces.

Taila then turned his attention to the Paramaras. He despatched a force under his commander Basappa who defeated Munja, brought him as captive to the capital where he was put to death. The political developments in the eastern Chalukya kingdom brought about a war between Taila and Rajaraja the great. The Kogali inscription informs us that Taila defeated the Chola king and seized from him 150 war elephants.

Satyasraya

Satyasraya Irivabedanga succeeded to the throne in 997. During his reign the war with the Cholas continued. This war was the result of the aggressive policy pursued by Rajaraja who after conque-

ring Gangavadi and Nolambavadi brought the Eastern Chalukya politics under his sphere of influence. Naturally Satyasraya could not tolerate this extension of the Chola power. He invaded Vengi (1006), reduced the forts of Dharamikota and Yanamandala and stationed himself at Chebrolu, in the Guntur district. Rajaraja soon despatched a strong army under the command of his son Rajendra. Rajendra ravaged the Chalukya territory so mercilessly that women, children and Brahmanas were massacred and girls ravaged. Finally Satyasraya withdrew from the Vengi Kingdom and was successful in freeing his country of the Chola army.

Satyasraya assumed the title of Akalankacharitra. He married a daughter of his to Iriva Nolamabadiraja. He patronised the great Kannada poet Ranna, the author of *Gadhayudha* or *Sahasabhima-vijaya*.

Jayasimha II

After Satyasraya, Vikramaditya V and Ayyana ruled for a short period. In 1015 Jayasimha had to fight many wars. Bhoja, who succeeded to the Paramara throne, wanted to avenge the defeat suffered by Munja at the hands of Taila. Therefore he invaded the Chalukya kingdom, defeated the rulers of Lata and Konkan and annexed the northern part of the Chalukya kingdom, with the active co-operation of his trusted generals and chiefs like Chavanarasa, Chattuga and Kundamarasa. Jayasimha however recovered the territories annexed by Bhoja.

Vengi continued to be the bone of contention between the Chalukyas and the Cholas. There was a contest for the Vengi throne between Rajaraja and his half-brother Vijayaditya. Jayasimha espoused the cause of the latter and Rajaraja sought the help of Chola king, Rajendra, In the war that followed Rajendra defeated Jayasimha in a pitched battle that was fought at Mausangi (Maski) in the Raichur doab. Tungabhadra became the frontier between the two kingdoms and there was peace on this part for about 20 years.

Someswara I

Jayasimha was succeeded by his son Someswara who bore the titles of Ahavamalla and Trailokyamalla. During his reign the Chalukya capital was shifted from Manyakheta to Kalyana. He carried on bitter warfare with the Cholas almost from the commencement of his reign. The interference in the Vengi politics was the

reason for this fresh prolonged war after a period of twenty years. The war began with Someswara's invasion of Vengi. Rajendra was too old to lead the army in person and therefore sent his trusted general. An indecisive battle was fought at Kalidindi. There was an interlude during which Rajendra died and Rajadhiraja I succeeded to the throne. He continued the war and defeated the Chalukyas in Dhanyakataka battle. The Cholas wanted to press home this advantage. They advanced to the Chalukya territory and set fire to the fort of Kollipakkai (Kulpak). On the western front the Cholas sacked the palace at Kampili, defeated the enemy in the Pundur battle, and the same fate of Kampili befell on the Chalukyan capital.

Someswara was not the person to lose heart at the reverses. By about 1050, he was able to free his country of the Chola forces. He compelled the Vengi ruler to pay homage to him and sent a successful and daring expedition to Kanchi. The Cholas retaliated and in the battle at Koppam (1050) Rajadhiraja lost his life. Rajendra II however continued the war and won and created a pillar of victory at Kollapur. The war did not stop here. To avenge this defeat Someswara continued the war but was defeated in the battle at Kudalasangama. Someswara was preparing himself for a renewed fight with the Cholas. Unfortunately this could not be realised because Someswara, who was suffering from an incurable disease, ended his life by drowning himself in the Tungabhadra river at Kuruvatti on 29th March 1068.

In his north Indian expedition Someswara was comparatively successful. He overthrew Paramara Bhoja in 1055 and defeated Lakshmi-Karner of Tripuri. By these moves 'he extended his power along the Southern districts of modern Madhyapradesh into Kosala and Kalinga, and imposed his sovereignty on the Nagavamshi ruler Dharnesha of Chakrakuta'. It is worthy of mention here that Prola I Kakatiya assisted Someswara in his wars against Konkana and Chakrakuta.

Someswara II

Someswara who held the title of Bhuvanaikamalla succeeded to the throne in 1068. He was the eldest son of Someswara I. Soon after his accession to the throne the Chola king Virarajendra renewed the war. But a bloody war was averted by a truce concluded between Vikramaditya VI and Virarajendra. The latter also gave one of his daughters in marriage to Vikramaditya. "Thus it looked as if", writes K. Nilakanta Sastri, "the eternal feud between the

Cholas and Chalukyas had at last come to an end". Vikramaditya thus became almost an independent ruler of the southern half of the Chalukyan empire.

Vikramaditya was thus preparing the ground to oust his brother. Virarajendra died in 1070 and Adhirajendra succeeded to the throne with the help of Vikramaditya. Soon there was a popular revolt in which the Chola king lost his life. The Vengi ruler Rajendra united both the kingdoms and succeeded to the Chola throne under a new name Kulottunga I.

Being baffled by this development, Vikramaditya now tried to win over Someswara's feudatories, Jayasimha, his younger brother, Kadamba Jayakeshi, the Hoysala chiefs, Vinayaditya and Ereyanga, the Uccangi Pandya ruler and the Devagiri chief supported the claims of Vikramaditya. When his position became hopeless Someswara sought and obtained an alliance with Kulottunga I. The combined army clashed with Vikramaditya at Nangili in which Vikramaditya was defeated. Kulottunga pursued the enemy up to the Tungabhadra and brought Gangavadi under his sway. However, Someswara fell a prisoner into the hands of Vikramaditya and the latter proclaimed himself king in 1076.

Someswara was equally unfortunate in his north Indian expedition. He made a confederacy with Karna of Gujarat and was able to defeat Jayasimha, the successor of Paramara Bhoja. But this victory was only shortlived for Paramara Udyaditya with the help of the Chahamanas drove Someswara out of Malwa.

Vikramaditya VI (1076–1126)

Vikramaditya VI is known as the most distinguished ruler of the Chalukya dynasty. He marked his accession to the throne by founding the new era called the 'Chalukya Vikrama Era'. It not only abolished the Saka era but became a model for some of his successors to found eras in their own reigns. The new era was used throughout his dominions during the reign and was continued for about half a century whereafter it fell into disuse. Viewed in terms of his achievements, both in the field of battle and in the realm of policy, Vikramaditya undoubtedly stands out as the most illustrious ruler of his dynasty.

Vikramaditya's long reign was comparatively a peaceful one. He had fought many wars prior to his accession to the throne.

Towards the close of his reign he had to take to arms to punish his recalcitrant feudatories. Some six or seven years after he commenced his rule, his younger brother Jayasimha rose in revolt. Vikramaditya's effort to turn his brother from evil ways proved futile. He took the field in self-defence and after initial setbacks, he defeated Jayasimha in a hard-fought battle, took him prisoner, but released him shorty afterwards.

The Chola front was peaceful for some time. In 1085 Vikramaditya seized Kanchi from the Cholas and in about 1093 he burnt Vengi, and wrested Andhra from the Cholas. Kulottunga regained it in 1099, but soon lost it to Vikramaditya.

Vikramaditya's relations with the Hoysalas were strained during the reign of Vishnuvardhana, one of the greatest kings of the line. Hoysalas were the loyal feudatories of the Chalukyas and expanded their power and prestige while being feudatories. The ambitions of Vikramaditya brought about this conflict. Vikramaditya firmly dealt with the situation with the help of his feudatories like Sinda Aeugi II. After a bitter struggle Vishnuvardhana was forced to submit and return to the allegiance of Vikramaditya. Then he punished the Pandya ruler of Uchangi, Kadamba Jayakesi of Goa, the Silaharas and the Seunas.

Vikramaditya also interfered in the Paramara politics. After the death of Udayaditya there was a quarrel for the throne among his three sons, Jagaddeva, Lakshmanadeva and Naravarma. Vikramaditya helped Jagaddeva and secured the throne for him. This arrangement was upset when Naravarma forcibly seized the throne. Vikramaditya once again helped Jagaddeva in securing the throne. Vikramaditya looked after Jagaddeva affectionately as he would in the case of his own son. In consideration of this the Paramara ruler abdicated the throne, came to the court of Vikramaditya and took a leading part in many of his wars.

Vikramaditya was indubitably the greatest king of the Chalukya dynasty. His empire 'extended up to Hassan, Tumkur and Cuddapah districts in the south, Khammamet district in Hyderabad and Godavari district in the east and south-east, and the Narvada in the north'. He even sent an embassy to the court of the Ceylonese king Vijayabhanu in 1083. Under him, Kalyani, his capital, became one of the greatest cities in India. His court was adorned by great scholars like Bilhana, the Kashmirian poet, the author of *Vikramankadevacharita*. Another scholar, Vijnanesvara, wrote a commentary

called *Mitaksara* upon the Yajnavalkya-smriti and this work became the present law code for Hindus throughout India except Bengal where *Dayabhaga* is followed. Speaking about the splendour of Kalyana and its ruler Vijnanesvara has this to say : "There has not been, there is not, and there will not be, on the surface of the earth, a city like Kalyana; and never was a monarch like the prosperous Vikramanka seen or heard of". Vikramaditya founded a new city called Vikramapura and built a big temple there.

Somesvara III

Vikramaditya's son Somesvara was a peaceful monarch. During his reign Hoysala Vishnuvardhana made a bold bid to declare himself independent, but Somesvara was able to prevail over him. He however lost the Andhra country to Kulottunga II. Somesvara is particularly remembered by his work *Abhilashitartha Chintamani* or *Manasollasa* in Sanskrit. It 'deals with the acquisition of political power, its retention and its enjoyment, and with intellectual pleasures and amusements of various kinds, and which exhibits his knowledge of polity, administration of justice, medicine, elephants, archery, astrology, arms and rhetoric'. He was also called Sarvajna.

Somesavra was followed by Jagadekamalla. Soon he had to face the revolt of his feudatories. He is said to have suppressed all of them with the help of Sinda Permadeva. Vishnuvardhana was found well entrenched at Bankapura. In 1143 Jagadekamalla set on the northern expedition and Hoysala Narasimha also accompanied him. They dethroned Jayavarma Paramara, defeated the Gurjara king Kumarapala and plundered Lata.

Now the Chalukya empire began to show signs of disintegration. Kalachurya Bijjala occupied Kalyana and established his dynasty. Somesvara IV (1184-1200), son of Taila III, overthrew the Kalachuris and re-established his dynastic power. But he could not enjoy this long. Soon the Chalukya power disappeared and north Karnataka was occupied by the Yadavas while the Hoysalas became masters of Southern Karnataka.

Administration

In administration, the Kalyana Chalukyas followed their ancestors of the Badami period. In nature, the government was a loose confederation and there were numerous centres of power. The feudatories were practically independent. Yajnavalkya and his commentators say that 'whenever branches of law and custom may

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occur during the temporary conditions of a conquest in progress, yet once this is completed the overlord is bound to protect the traditional established order of the conquered country exactly as he does that of the home territory.....' The Chalukya's as a rule conformed to this principle.

Like their predecessors Chalukyas maintained a central Secretariat. During this period the machinery of the Government became so complicated as to necessitate the multiplication of the offices. Among the prominent offices mention may be made of Thane Vergade or Chamberlin, Bhanasa-Vergade or Steward, Antharpuradhyaksha or Superintendent of the harem. Kadita Vergade, Antharpal and Sandhi Vigrahika and so on. Manasollasa prescribes for a sandhivigrahika such qualifications as acquaintance with many languages and scripts, skill in dealing with feudatories and vassals and expertness in diplomacy and finance. More than one office appears to have been attached to one officer.

For the sake of administrative convenience the empire was divided into a number of territorial divisions like Rashtra, Visaya, Nadu and Thana. They were administered by Rashtrapathi, Vishayapathi, Nadarasa, Gramakuta. Nadarasa was sometimes called as Nad-Prabhu. Thana appears more as a fiscal unit rather than a territorial unit. The judicial, revenue and military administration of the Chalukyas resembled those of their ancestors.

Social and Economic Conditions

We have already referred to the changes that were taking place in the structure of society under the Rashtrakutas. Though the society was based on the traditional Varnasramadharma, it was being modified to meet the damands of the time. The spirit of self-sacrifice and loyalty to the leader and lord continued to be an important social trait. Somesvara committed self-immolation by drowning himself in the Tungabhadra river. The Jaina rite of Sallekhana and Sulabrahma (casting oneself on spearpoints from a height) were also practised. Sati was not unknown and there are recorded instances of this custom, though they are not numerous.

Women took part in administration and acts of charity. Princes Akkadevi, elder sister of Jayasimha, carried on the adminstration of a province and actively engaged herself in fighting and sieges. Lakshmidevi, queen of Vikramaditya VI, is described as ruling the kingdom of Kalyani as did the emperor. Some queens

were noted for their learning and musical attainments. The courtesans accomplished in music, dance and drama. "They certainly enjoyed much wider latitude in society that was not otherwise particularly noted for taking life easy".

Both elementary and higher education came up for king's patronange. Regular schools imparted elementary instructions. The Ghatikas and Brahmapuris were the centres of higher education. As K.A. Nilakantha Sastri said : "Education in all its stages was vitally connected with all social life and institutions, and was productive of more abiding and tangible benefit to the people than appears in our days".

Agriculture was the backbone of the economy. Importance of irrigation to agriculture was realised, and attention paid for the proper maintenance of tanks. The Chalukyas followed the land system as prevailed in Karnataka before them. Domestic industries prospered and trade with foreign countries was maintained.

Trade and manufacture were organised by corporations formed for purposes of economic activity. These autonomous guilds were playing a vital role in the economic life of the country. Guilds had their own rules and regulations which were binding on their members. They had insignia and maintained their own militia. Among the merchant guilds, the most celebrated were the five hundred Swamis of Ayyavolepura. Another merchant guild, the Mummuridandas, had their headquarters in Halebid which was later shifted to Kurgodu in the Bellary district. They dealt with both wholesale and retail trade in all commodities.

The urban life as depicted in an inscription from Terdal shows that in spite of the numerous invasions and plunder and burning there was economic prosperity during this period.

Religion

Saivism was the popular religion of the land. Most of the ruling monarchs were Saivas and they often visited the celebrated shrine at Srisaila. The Pasupata, Kalamukha and Sakta cults also flourished. Mailadevi, queen of Somesvara I, made a gift to a Pasupata Jnanarasi. Kollahpur Mahalakshmi was the centre of Sakti worship. The pantheon honoured included Vishnu, Vinayaka, Hanuman, Hatakesvara, Mallikarjuna, Nandi, Mahakala Bhairava, Durga, Aditya and Chandra. There was also a shrine of Aditya.

References to the worship of Kartikeya and Vishnu also occur in the inscriptions.

Jainism maintained its popularity. A noted Jaina devotee of the period was Attimbbe, popularly known as Danacintamani. Balagamve and Dambal were the flourishing centres of Mahayana Buddhism. The Jayanti-Buddha-Vihara at Balagamve received grants from officers for the worship of Tara Bhagavati, Kesava, Lokesvaram, the Buddha and other deities. The Buddhavihara at Dambal also received public grant.

Thus it is seen that all the major religious sects of land flourished during this period. Whatever be the personal religion of the king, it did not come into conflict with the flourishing religion of the land.

Literature

Kannada literature attained greater perfection of form during this period. The Jaina authors continued to enrich Kannada literature and the greatest Jaina author who carried forward the classical tradition in Kannada under the influence of Pampa was Ranna, the author of '*Gadayuddha*' or '*Sahasabhimavijaya*' and '*Ajithapurana*'. He 'rose to the rank of Kavichakravarti in Taila's court, and enjoyed the honours of the golden rod, the chauri, the elephant, the umbrella, and the rest'. Ranna has drawn the theme for *Gadayuddha* from the concluding portion of the Bharata war. He has identified his patron Satyasraya with Bhima, the hero of this work, and calls him Sahasa-Bhima. The plots are woven anew to suit his objective in presenting the *Mahabharata* story. He has been marvellously successful in "his object of presenting a tragedy of situation through deep character study, dealing only with a few characters and making an effective use of dramatic technique". The work is partially valuable for the study of contemporary social condition. *Ajithapurana* has for its theme the life of the second Jaina tirthankara. Ranna is also credited with the authorship of *Parasuramacharita* and *Chakresa-charita*; but they are lost to us.

Nagavarman I, contemporary of Ranna, was the author of '*Karnataka Kadambari*' and '*Chandombudhi*'. He was the first non-Jaina poet being a Saiva Brahmana. It is based on Bana's *Kadambari*, a romance in prose in Sanskrit. His '*Chandombudhi*' 'ocean of prosody' is the earliest work on the subject in Kannada.

To the end of the 10th century belong to '*Malatimadhava*', by Kannamaiah, Karnatakesvara Kathe and Sringarapinda. Neither the theme of the writers of the last two works are known to us.

Chavundaraya II who lived in the court of Jayasimha II wrote 'Lokopakara', an encyclopaedic work to which a reference has already been made. Chavundaraya was the author of 'Madanatilaka', a work on erotics. Sridharacharya composed '*Jatakatilaka*' during the reign of Somesvara I. It is the first work in Kannada of astrology. Kirtivarma, a Chalukya prince who bore the title of 'Vidyaratna wrote Govidya, a work in veterinary science. Durgasimha was the author of 'Panchatantra'. Santinatha, an officer under Lakshmanaraya, a feudatory of Banavasi, was the author of 'Sukumaracharite'. Among other works mention may be made of 'Chandracudamanisataka' by Nagavarmacharya and Nayasena's 'Dharmamrita'. "Nayasena was among the earliest to raise his voice in protest against the introduction of an undue proportion of Sanskrit words into Kannada language, and to demand a proper standard of Suddha-Kannada as he calls it.

Another great Jaina scholar was Nagavarma II. He was both a poet and grammarian and bore the title 'Abhinava Sarvavarma'. He 'gave to Kannada for the first time nearly all the scientific words on what is known as Kavyanga, consisting of grammar, lexicon and poetics, and furnished the aspiring writer with all the necessary aids to literary composition'. Only three of his works 'Kavyavalokana', 'Bhashabusana' and 'Abhidhanavastukosa' are available to us.

Brahmasiva was the author of 'Samayaparikse', a work in which different sects are examined. He was originally a Jaina but embraced Saivism later and finally returned to the Jaina fold. A foundation for the Virasaiva literature was also laid during this period.

Sanskrit literature was also patronised by the Chalukyas. Vidiraja, a court poet of Jayasimha II, wrote '*Paravanthacharita*' and '*Yasodharacharita*'. But the greatest Sanskrit writers of the age are Vidyapati Bilhana, Vijnanesvara and Bhulokamalla Somesvara III. They wrote respectively, Vikramankadevacharita, Mitaksara and *Abhilashitaracintamani* or *Manasolassa*. Dhananjaya's 'Namamala' and Jayakirti's 'Chandonusasana' are said to belong to this period.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

The Chalukya style possesses distinct characteristics of its own. Henry Cousens who has made a special study of the Chalukya monuments has shown that the vimanas of the Chalukya temple follow

the earlier Dravidian order. The Chalukya temple is surmounted by a pyramidal sikhara of storeyed elevation with a dome shaped crowning member. But here the heights of the storeyed stages of the vimana are compressed and decorated with ornamental niche motifs which are repeated one above the other up to the top. This produces the effect of having the vertical bands an in Nagara style. Another distinctive feature of the Chalukya temple is that the cells of the temlpe are enclosed within a covered ambulatory. Thirdly, the Mandapas are generally larger than the vimanas. Fourthly, the doorways of the Chalukya temples are elaborately carved. Lastly, in the treatment of the exterior walls of the temple both the Nagara and Dravida ideas are blended. 'The walls are broken up by ratha offsets in the characteristic Nagara fashion, further spaced at regular intervals by pilasters in accordance with the usual Dravida mode'.

The descriptions of the city of Kalyana as given by Vijnaneswara leaves us in no doubt that the city was studded with beautiful buildings and temples. It is now a small town and the remains of these buildings stand today. The Siva temple at Jalasangvi near Humnabad appears to be the oldest. The Nrityaganapati found on the walls of the temple is a remarkable sculpture. The only specimens of a star shaped pean and one with an inner ambulatory round the garbhagriha are the temple of Doddabasooa at Damtal and Saraswati Mandir at Gadag respectively.

The temples of Navalinga and Kallesvara at Kukkanur provide us clues to the transition from the Dravidian to the Chalukyan. The Navalinga built in sand-stone has a sikhara of the Pattadakal type. But on the top of the doom are noticed subtle changes. The Kallesvara consists of a garbhagriha, Sukhanasi, Navaranga and Nandi mantapa. The temple measures 67 feet long and 37 feet wide with a sikhara 37 feet in height. The navaranga contains four pillars. The slender pilasters placed at regular intervals with a shrine motif break the exterior wall effectively. A notable modification is the replacement of figure sculptures with structural motifs. "Further, the storeyed stages of the tower are reduced in height, and the domical apex, with a double curve, also introduces a significant innovation. Again, a gable-shaped motif in the middle of each storeyed stage on each face indicates the beginning of that stimulated vertical band up the height of the tower which so distinctive of the later Chalukyan temples".[52]

52. The Struggle for Empire, p. 625.

For the next stage in the development of temple architecture we have to turn to the Jaina temple at Lakkundi. It is built of a fine-grained black chlorite sepist with a reduced masonry. As Cousens observes, "The change in the material was conducive to the change in style". It is similar to the one just described, but is decorated with rich sculptural motifs.

The style attained its perfection in the 12th century. To this stage belongs to the temples of Kasivisvesvara at Lakkundi, Mallikarjuna at Kuravatti and Mahadeva at Ittige. The Mahadeva distinguishes itself from the Mallikarjuna by the largeness of its dimensions and detailed sculptural decorations. It comprises a garbhagriha, a vestibule, a closed hall with porches towards the north and south and opened pillared hall at the sides, all axially combined from west to east. The hypostyle has its original range of 68 pillars. The varied and complicated desings of the pillars show the imposing conception of the builder. The four central pillars "have angular carving arranged vertically both in the shafts and capitals; the design, although very rich, seems quite in harmony with the elaborate pattern of the other architectural parts of the building".[53] Speaking of the ornamental work on the pillars and door-frames Meadows Raylor says, 'no chased work in silver or gold could possibly be finer'.

The northern and southern doorways of the inner hall are adorned with profusion of sculpture. The top of the Sikara is missing. Sikara itself is divided into three distinct stories which are not decorated in detail. "The little cusped niches, which decorate the centre of each storey, rising one above the other, are exceedingly handsome and the deep canopy of the roll moulding, which is pointed with little hanging buds, is designed in very graceful curves. Their delicate lace-like workmanship is further enhanced by the background of rich dark shadows of the niches". According to an inscription found on the rock here the temple was built by Mahadeva, the Dandanayaka of king Vikramaditya VI of the eastren Chalukya dynasty. The inscription aptly describes the temple as 'Devalaya Chakravarti', 'a very emperor among temples'.

The Hoysalas adopted the Chalukyan style with certain modifications. The temples of Kuppagadde and Kupattur near Belligamve Silalakoppa are the perfect examples of this model. On the panels of the Tripurantaka temple at Belligamve are represented the

53. Rarly History of the Deccan, Vol. II, p. 738.

stories from the *Ramayana* and *Panchatantra*. The schemes depicting the stories of 'rat and tortoise', 'fox and goats', 'swans and tortoise', and 'crocodile and monkey' are faithfully executed. The panel depicting Umamahesvara, accompanied on either side by Kumara and Ganapati, are exquisitely carved. The monolithic gandabherunda pillar set up at Belligamve by Kadamba king Chavundaraya, a feudatory of Somesvara I, is an inspiring monument. Thus the Chalukyas enriched the art heritage of Karnataka by their magnificent creations some of which stand to this day too in their ancient glory.

4. THE KALACHURIS

In the inscriptions the Kalachuris are variously known as Kalachuri, Kalatsuri, Katatchuri. How they came to be so called is difficult to say. We have an explanation in an inscription dated 1174 A.D. It says, the founder of this family, Soma, a disciple of Asvathama, grew beard and moustache, according to the instructions of his guru, to save himself from the wrath of Parasurama. Thereafter this family came to be known as Kalachuris, Kalli meaning long moustache and churi meaning a sharp knife. But majority of their inscriptions claim that they descended from Siva.

The Kalachuris of northern India came to be divided into different branches. A branch of them, called the Kalachuris of Gorakpur, were ruling from Sarayupura and the Ratnapura or Tammani branch was ruling from Ratnapura. But the most important was the Raipura branch, ruling from Tripura, near Jabbalpur. They are also called the Kalachuris of Chedi. This branch appears to have ruled originally at Kalanyar in Bundelkhand. They claimed to have come from Hiahaya family. During the days of the Badami Chalukyas a branch of the Kalachuris was ruling over Gujarat, Khandesh and parts of Malva. Budharaya who was defeated by Mangalesha must have belonged to this branch.

Kalachuri Bijjaladeva was a vassal ruler of Somesvara I. He was ruling over the Uttangi region in Bellary District in 1064. Ravarasa, a vassal of Prema Jagadekamalla, was ruling near Yevur. He called himself king of Mahishamati and belonging to the Hiahaya family. In the 11th and 12th centuries a province included the present districts of Bijapur and Solapur from Mangalavada as vassals. It is this Kalachuri branch which played a prominent part in the history of Karnataka during the 12th century.

The ancestors of Bijjala who seized power from the Chalukyas belonged to the Chedi family. In this lineage was born Kannama. His son king Raja had three sons named Ammugi, Sankama I and Jogama. Jogama's son was Perumadi or Hemmadi and his son served as the feudatory under both Jagadeka malla II and Taila III. He was placed in charge of the southern divisions of Chalukya kingdom. Bijjala, who was making a bid for the sovereignty of the Deccan, found in the defeat of Taila III at the hands of the Kakatiyas an opportunity to realise his object. With the help of Shilahara Vijayaditya and the Banavasi chief Racha he seized the throne of the Chalukyas.

Bijjala began his rule as an independent ruler in 1162 and bore the titles 'Tribhuvanamalla', 'Nissomkamalla', 'Shanivarasiddhi', 'Maharajadhiraja', 'Kalyanapuravaradhishvara', Kalachurichakravarti' etc. He devoted the early years of his reign to put down disturbances in the south. Santarajagadeva was defeated. Hoysala Narasimha I also suffered a reverse in his war with Bijjala. Vijayapandya was subdued. He is also said to have defeated the Cheras, Cholas, Andhras, the Kalinga, Gangas and the Kalachuris of Chedi. He is also credited with successful campaigns against Halawa, Nepala, Lata and Gurjara.

Bijjala, an able ruler, introduced many reforms in the administration. His reign is specially noted for the rise of Veerashaivism. The founder of this sect was Basava, the minister of Bijjala. He was born at Bagevadi in the Bijapur district. He was born to Shaiva Brahmin, parents Madarasa and Madalambike. He married Gangadevi, daughter of Baladeva, his maternal uncle and a senior officer in the Kalachuri kingdom. This matrimonial connection raised Basava's prestige and he was offered an important position in the administration. By dint of his ability he established his reputation as a faithful officer. In Bijjala's administration he held the posts of the prime minister, commander of the army and the treasurer. By introducing changes in the administration he also increased the revenue of the state. Basava, a devotee of Shiva, was a centre of veneration for many Shivabhaktas who came frome different parts of India. His preachings were however not liked by the orthodox members of the society, who, it is said, poisoned the ears of the king by complaining that Basava understood the mind of the king, resigned his post and retired to Kudalasangama where he died in 1167.

Basava's relinquishing the post did set the controversy at rest. His antagonists not only continued the agitation but wanted to destroy the very religious movement started by Basava. Basava's followers at Kalyan were now exposed to all kinds of harassment. This reached its height when Haralaiah's son, an untouchable, married the daughter of Madhuvaiah, a Brahmana. The orthodox people who opposed it complained to the king who had them blinded and killed. This was a signal for revolt and those who sympathised the movement rose in revolt and in the anarchy that followed Bijjala was murdered in 1168.

Bijjala had four sons, Somesvara, Sankama, Ahavamalla and Singhana. Somesvara bore the title of Raya-Murari. He is said to have conquered Cholas, Gurjaras, and Latas. He plundered Khasa, Kalinga, Kammira, Turushka, Chera and Saurashtra. After his death in 1177, his younger brother Sankama succeeded to throne. He ruled for three years. The next ruler was Ahavamalla. He is credited with two victories over Kulottunga III, Hoysala Ballala II, Silahara Aparaditya II, Paramara Vindhyavarman and others. He is also said to have frustrated the attempts of Somesvara IV to conquer the Deccan. However, Somesvara was able to reconquer a greater portion of the Deccan, including Kalyana, with active assistance rendered by the governor of Banavasi. Even after this defeat Ahavamalla continued to rule Belvola and Banavasi for another two years. The ruler of the dynasty was Singhana who surrendered to Somesvara Belvola and Banavasi and accepted his supremacy in 1184. Nothing is heard of this dynasty after this date.

The Kalachuris who ruled only for 26 years occupy a significant place in the history of Deccan. It may be remembered here that it was their rise to prominence that caused the decline of the Chalukyas of Kalyana. Indirectly, they paved the way for the rise of greatness of the Seunas of Devagiri and Hoysalas of Dorasamudra. The period also witnessed the renaissance of Saivism in the form of the Virasaiva sect and the latter was largely responsible for the decline of Jainism and Buddhism.[54] All things taken together the rule of the Kalachuris constitutes by no means a negligible chapter in the history of medieval Karnataka.

5. THE SEUNAS

The Seunas of Devagiri who came into prominence towards the end of the 12th century ruled as vassals of the Rashtrakutas and

54. Karnataka Parampara, Vol. I, p. 352.

Chalukyas of Kalyana for over three centuries. During the heydays of their glory, they ruled over major parts of Karnataka. Since they were constantly fighting with the Hoysalas, the extent of their empire changed from time to time. They were defeated by Alla-ud-din Khilji and their dynasty declined. This contributed its own share for the foundation of Vijayanagara. During the period of their rule they successfully arrested the progress of the Muslim invasions, thus saved India of the far South from Muslim onslaughts for a time.

Hemadri, a minister of the Seunas, who lived towards the end of the thirteenth century, has given an account of the achievements of the family in the 'Vratakhanda' of his work 'Chaturvarga Chintamani'. However, his account is not only incomplete but inaccurate as the account he records was that of at least 300-year old. They claim descent from Yadu, one of the sons of Yayati, a Puranic hero, who lived in Dvarakavati (in Gujarat). Whether this can be accepted or not, at least this much is clear that they were originally immigrants into the Deccan.

The founder of this feudatory family was Dridhaprahara, son of Sabahu, king of Dvaraka. He had his capital at Chandradityapura (modern Chandor) in Nasik district. According to inscriptions his son Seunachandra I, who secured the feudatory status for his family for the first time, founded a new city on the Sindineri, called after his name Seunapura, and his kingdom came to be called Seunadesa.

Seunachandra was succeeded by Dadhiyapra, Bhillama I and Rajiga respectively. The next ruler Baddiga married a Rashtrakuta princess and took part in their wars with the Pratiharas. He was followed by Dhadiyasa and Bhillama II. Bhillama assisted Taila II in his wars with the Paramaras, acquired the title Vijayabharana and erected a temple at Sangamner. He also acquired the status of Mahasamanta. His successor was Vesugi and he was succeeded by Bhillama III. He married Avalladevi, daughter of Jayasimha I, and assisted him in his war with Bhoja I. Seunachandra II came to power after Yadugi and Bhillama IV.

Seunachandra restroed the status of his family and rose to the position of mahamandalesvara. He improved the administrative organisation. He was a skilful diplomat. He supported Vikramaditya IV in his civil war against his elder brother. After him his two sons Erammadeva and Simharaja ruled up to 1120.

After Simharaja the Seuna history enters on a period of obscurity for about 50 years. Then we have the rules of Seuna-chandra. Mallugi, Amaragangeya and Karna was successful in securing the throne.

Bhillama V

Bhillama was the first ruler to raise the status of the Seuna family from feudatory to the paramount power in the Deccan. He was served by a number of able generals who co-operated with him in raising a large army consisting of 2,00,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry. He now launched an expedition and wrested for him Kalyana, Kisukadnad, Tardavadi, Belvola and other territories. Then he came into conflict with the Ballala II and overran Ballala's kingdom up to Srirangapatna. From there he entered the Chola country and defeated Kulottunga III. But Ballala inflicted a crushing defeat in the Ingalakuppe battle.

Bhillama also led an expedition to northern India and defeated the Paramaras of Malva and Chalukyas of Gujarat. He was defeated by the Chahamanas of Marwar. In the closing years of his reign he had to fight the Hoysalas again. Ballala defeated him in the battle at Sorapur. Bhillama did not survive this defeat long and died three years later.

Hemadri informs us that he founded the city of Devagiri and made it his capital. Bhillama was a great warrior, and statesman who by means of tact and vision was successful in making his family the overlords of the Deccan. As Dr. A.S. Altekar observes: "He had well and truly laid the foundations of the Yadava empire.....like most founders of the empire, Bhillama was a solider, a statesman and a man of tact and vision".

Jaitugi

Jaitugi (Jaitrapala, Jaitrasimha), son of Bhillama, succeeded to the throne in 1193. He had taken part in many expeditions of his father prior to his accession to the throne. The throne on which he sat was no bed of roses. It was in a critical state as the Hoysalas were trying to press home the advantage of their victories. A courageous and resolute Jaitugi, unnerved by these none-too-happy developments, strained his nerve to rehabilitate the military glory of his army.

Jaitugi failed to recover Kisukad and Belvola lost to Ballala II by his father. He however defeated Pandyas of Nolambavadi,

vassals of the Hoysalas. But he could not extend his empire further in the south. The northern part of the Kurnool district fell into his hands and his kingdom was extended up to the confluence of the Krishna and Tungabhadra, bordering on the Kakatiya empire. Jaitugi now began to press hard on the Kakatiyas. In the battle that followed Rudra, Kakatiya monarch, lost his life and according to A. S. Altekar that either in this fateful battle or soon thereafter Ganapati, the nephew of Rudra, was taken prisoner. Mahadeva, Rudra's brother, succeeded to the throne and continued the resistance. He too lost his life and the whole of the Kakatiya kingdom lay prostrate before him. He now freed Ganapati, placed him on the Kakatiya throne and assumed the title 'Tailungaraya Stapanacharya'. In the north he defeated Paramara Subhatavarma and Chalukya Bhima II and the Seuna army plundered their territory. He also clashed with the forces of Qutb-ud-din Aibak who were on a plundering raid in Gujarat.

Jaitugi was a patron of learning and literature. Lakshmidhara, son of Bhaskaracharya, the famous astronomer, was the chief pandit in his court. Like the father, Lakshmidhara was a great scholar being proficient in Veda, Tarkasastra and Mimamsa.

Singhana

Singhana was the great and the most distinguished ruler of the Seuna family. If Bhillama V laid the foundations of the nascent imperialism of the Seunas, it was Singhana who raised the superstructure of the empire on it. Under him the empire reached the zenith of its glory by putting into shade the two other prominent powers of the Deccan, the Hoysalas and Kakatiyas. His long rule of about 36 years was also a period of cultural progress.

He came to throne having acquired the necessary training both in administration and conduct of military operation. He served his father as Yuvaraja for a period of ten years and assisted him both in his administration and wars. The defeats that his father suffered in the hands of Ballala II must have rankled in his ears, and he wished to wreck vengenace on him. He made an extensive preparation for this purpose and launched his expedition against Ballala II in 1211. The Hoysala army suffered series of reverses in the battles of Balligrama, Bandalike and Uddare. Within two years he extended his empire up to the banks of the Tunga river. He repeated the feat of his grandfather by marching his victorious army to the Kaveri

river and returned to his capital. By these victories he recovered the lost territories from the Hoysalas and Tunga river became the southern boundary of his empire. He forced the petty chiefs of the Goa, Kadambas, Rattas, Silaharas of Kollapur and Abhiras to surrender. He could not however prevail over the Kakatiyas.

Singhana next turned his arms against his northern adversaries. He defeated Paramara Arjunavarman and his feudatory Sindhuraja, and the latter lost his life. The Gujarat ruler Bhima II and the Lata ruler Sanka, son of Sindhuraja, were defeated. Singhana led two more expeditions to Gujarat. He made confederacy with Lata and Malva rulers, but the project was however abandoned. He entered into treaty with the Gurjara king, Lavanaprasada. It must be noted here that Singhana was not quite successful in his aggressive operations in the north.

Singhana did not exhaust himself in warfare only, but patronised literature and music. The two famous astronomers Changadeva and Anantadeva lived in his court. Changadeva made use of his liberal patronage to establish an astronomical college at Patana (in Khandesh) in memory of his grandfather, Bhaskaracharya. Anantadeva wrote a commentary on a chapter of Brahmagupta's *Brahmasphutasiddhanta*, as he did also on the *Brihadjjataka* of Varahamihira. Sarangadeva wrote '*Sangita-ratna-kara*', a treatise on music. Kamalabhava, a Kannada poet, the author of '*Shantisvarapurana*', also lived in his court. Singhana held the titles of 'Samastabhuvanasraya', 'Maharajadhiraja' and 'Prithvivallabha.

Krishna

Krishna was the grandson of Singhana. His reign saw the beginning of an "unending struggle between the Yadavas, the Chalukyas, and the Paramaras, which permanently benefited none of the combatants but eventually weakened them all". The Paramaras power had become weak and they had lost Bhilsa and Ujjain to Iltumish. Krishna defeated the Malva king Jaitungideva and won fresh laurels. His war with Visaladeva of Gujarat was inconclusive. He defeated the Sindhas and annexed their kingdom to his empire. His general Chamunda wrested Kogali division from Hoysala Somesvara. Thus he had more territories to the empire he inherited from his grandfather.

Being a follower of Vedic religion, Krisha performed many sacrifices. Bhilhana Pandita, his counsellor and the commander

of the army, wrote '*Suktimuktavali.*' Amalananda wrote '*Vedanta Kalpataru*', a commentary on Sankaracharya's '*Vedantasutrabhasya*'.

Mahadeva

Mahadeva, younger brother of Krishna, carried on the aggressive policy begun under Singhana. He defeated the ruler of the Silaharas of Konkan, incorporated their territory in his empire and assumed the title 'Konkan Chakravarti'. Mahadeva is said to have won a decisive victory over the Vahela Visaladeva. He does not seem to have been successful against the Hoysalas and Kakatiyas.

Hemadri was the famous minister of Mahadeva. He was the author of '*Chaturvarga Chintamani*' and '*Kaivalya Dipika*'. He has also written a commentary. '*Ayurveda-Rasayana*', on Vaghbhata's '*Ashtangahridaya*'. His name is given to a particular style of architecture called Hemadpanti.

After the death of Mahadeva civil war broke out between his son Ammana and his brother's son Ramachandra. Ammana ruled for only a few months and was killed by Ramachandra.

Ramachandra

Ramachandra succeeded to the throne in 1271. He was not successful against the Hoysalas and Chalukyas of Gujarat. He was however successful against Durjanavarman II, king of Malva. During his reign Ala–ud–din, the governor of Kara, invaded Devagiri in 1274. Ramachandra's efforts to stop the enemy at Lasura failed and he withdrew to the citadel. Ala-ud-din rapidly marched to the capital and pillaged the city. Ramachandra purchased the peace by paying the invader a heavy amount of gold and agreeing to pay an annual tribute. It is also said that the raider obtained the hand of one of the daughters of Ramachandra. The news of the invasion soon reached the ears of Sankaradeva, son of Ramachandra, who rushed to the capital and disregarding his father's advice, attacked the forces of the raider. Ala-ud-din defeated him and imposed a much heavier indemnity.

'The signal failure of Ramachandra even to save his own capital from rapine and plunder irretrievably impaired the political prestige of the Seunas'. Their enemies, the Kakatiya Prataparudra and the Hoysala Ballala III, were able to make territorial gains. In 1307 Malik Kafur invaded Devagiri, and defeated Sankaradeva, king Ramachandra was taken prisoner and sent to Delhi. The Sultan

treated him kindly and after keeping him there for about six months sent him back to rule over a kingdom extended by the addition of the district of Naosari. For the rest of his life he remained loyal to him and offered all facilities to his army in their operations in the South.

Ramachandra died in 1310. He was succeeded by his son Sankaradeva. He did not pursue the friendly policy towards the Sultan. Malik Kafur invaded Devagiri, defeated and killed Sankaradeva and annexed the kingdom to the empire of Delhi. In the confusion that followed after the death of Ala-ud-din, Harapaladeva with the help of Raghava seized the fort of Devagiri and established his independence. His rule lasted only for three years. Eventually he was defeated by Khusrau Khan, Mubarak Khalji's favourite slave. Khusrau Khan reorganised the administration and Malik Yak Lakhy was made the governor. Thus the glory of the Seunas met an ignoble end in 1318.

Administration

The Yadava administration was in no way different from the administration of other dynasties in Karnataka. They maintained the tradition of hereditary kingship in the male line, appointment of the Yuvaraja and granting freedom to the vassal rulers. We have no clear indications to the administrative divisions during the period.

For the good governance of the kingdom they possessed a council of ministers. The Viceroys had their own ministers, as also the feudatories. They had a ministry which consisted of the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, the Revenue Minister, the War Minister and the chief Secretary. We have no means to know the composition of the ministry. It is possible that the Prime Ministers were sometimes appointed as provincial governors. Ministers were expected to be proficient in warfare. The qualification was however dispensed with during the reign of Mahadeva. The Seunas maintained a Central Secretariat which controlled the provincial and district officers. The village Panchayat not only looked after the village administration but also dispensed justice in cases involving minor offences and civil suits at the Village Chavadi. They maintained an efficient and considerate administrative machinery which was largely responsible for the gains they made both in political and cultural spheres.

The Seunas maintained a large army which consisted of infantry and cavalry. They also maintained a small navy. We know that it was pressed into service once, to conquer Puri, the capital of the Silaharas.

Social and Economic Condition

The bhakti movement which led a crusade against the existing caste system and other social evils had its own impact on the Seuna society. It is true that there was not much transformation in the caste system. But it must be noted that it was not that rigid and the rigidity confined only to interdining and intercaste-marriages. Caste was no bar for recruitment into state services. The Ksatriyas and Vaisyas were reduced to the status of the Sudras.

There was no improvement in the position and status of women. Early marriages were becoming popular and female education was neglected. Even women in the royal household did not take active interest in the administration. We have only two instances of the princesses assuming responsibilities of administration. Lakshmi, a sister of Kholesvara, the Khandesh feudatory of Singhana, governed her brother's principality during the minority of her nephew. Bhagubai, who governed Tardewadi, appears to be a relative of Singhana.[55] Sati was becoming popular among the Ksatriyas. When Ramachandra died several of his queens committed Sati. The Brahmana widows did not commit sati as it was not permissible to them. A widow was entitled to inherit property.

Devagiri was known for its wealth and splendour. The treasure that Ramachandra surrendered to Ala-ud-din consisted of 1,500 pounds of gold, a large quantity of pearls and jewels, 40 elephants and several thousands of horses.[56] It was in fact the glittering gold of Devagiri that helped him to seize the throne. This is proof positive for the flourishing state of economy during the period. The Seunas issued only gold coins of the Padmatanka variety weighing about 57 grains. Small transactions were done by barter. Trade and industries were organised by the guilds. A prominent trade guild of the period was the Virabalanja with its headquarters at Aihole. There was disparity between the rich and the poor as it was in the Rashtrakuta period. The rich lived in palatial buildings while poor lived in thatched houses. Generally, life was not an unbearable one.

55. Early History of the Deccan, Vol. II, p. 552.
56. *Ibid.* p. 557.

Religion

Of the three religions of the Land, Hinduism and Jainism continued to flourish while Buddhism declined and its monasteries disappeared from its stronghold. Hinduism continued to be the popular religion of the Land. There was complete harmony between Hinduism and Jainism and intermarriages were taking place between them. An inscription describes the Brahmanas 'as bees at the lotus feet of Jaina'.

The spirit of harmony was disturbed by the rise of Virasaivism and the quarrels between the Jainas and Virasaivas became frequent. But there was no religious persecution and Seunas extended patronage to all the religions. Singhana made a grant to a Virasaiva temple, Trikutesvara, at Gadag.

The period witnessed the birth of neo-Vaisnavite movements of which the Mahanubhava and Vithoba cult deserve special mention. The founder of the Mahanubhava sect was Chakradhara who preached a religion of Bhakti, which knew no caste, creed, colour or sex. He advocated the worship of Krishna and Datta. He preached the religion of Bhakti and laid emphasis on Ahimsa and good conduct. He also admitted women into his sect and permitted the acceptance of food by his followers from all, irrespective of their castes. It is said that the sect attracted even king Ramachandra, who with his queens became its members. Subsequently however he renounced his allegiance. The Mathas of this sect were founded in the Punjab.

Vitthala (Vitoba) Panduranga of Pandarapur was the centre of another bhakti movement. It became very popular towards the end of the 13th century due to preachings of the Bhakti saints of Maharastra, notable among whom was Namadeva. These movements undermined the caste system and 'introduced democracy into the field of religion'.

Literature

In the literary history of Karnataka the period of the Seunas is marked by the composition of many works on astronomy. Kavichakravarti Bhaskarabhatta founded the great family of astronomers who were patronised by the contemporary rulers of the period, and they enriched this branch of literature. We have already referred to Lakshmidhara, Changaladeva and Anantadeva who lived in the Seuna Court. The greatest writer of the period was Hemadri, commander of the elephant brigade. He was a prolific writer in Sanskrit and his principal works include '*Chaturvarga-chintamani*', the '*Kala-*

nirnaya', the '*Tithinirnaya*', the '*Parjanyaprayoga*', the *Trusthali-vidhi*', the '*Ayurvedarasayana*', the '*Danavakyavali*', and the '*Artha-kanda*' and '*Harilila*'. '*Harilila*' contains the summary of the *Bhagav-sta*. Hemadri is said to have brought into practice the 'modi' method of writing, a form of writing followed in Ceylon. The famous Marathi writer Jnanadeva came into prominence during Hemadri's time. He was the author of '*Jnanesvari*', a commentary on '*Bhagavadgita*' in Marathi.

The Agraharas, temples and capital cities mainatained educational institutions to cater to the needs of higher education. Institutions were also founded to satisfy the demands of education in special branches. It may be recalled here that Changaladeva founded an astronomical college at Patana in Khandesh in memory of his grandfather, Bhaskaracharya.

Thus the rulers of the dynasty, in spite of their pre-occupations in constant warfare, found time to attend to the cultural needs of the empire.

6. THE HOYSALAS

The rule of the Hoysalas which spread over a period of more than three centuries forms the brightest chapter in the history of medieval Karnataka. They began their rule as the feudatories of the Chalukyas of Kalyana and when their power was on the wane, the Hoysalas asserted their independence and established their supremacy over the Karnataka as it stands today. Some parts of the Tamil country were also included in their empire, for a short period. The dynasty produced illustrious rulers like Vishnuvardhana, Ballala II and Ballala III who by their military exploits increased the power and prestige of the family. It was also a period of great religious activity. Jainism was in a flourishing condition. The great Visistadvaita teacher Ramanuja found refuge in the Hoysala kingdom and Srivaisnavism made a promising beginning. They also encouraged Kannada and Sanskrit literature. Their rule is remarkable in the history of Indian art. They gave their name to their style of architecture, the Hoysala style, and their principal temples which stand to this day at Halebid, Belur and Somanathapura speak eloquently for the architectural skill of their craftsmen. All things taken together the period of the Hoysalas constitutes one of the glorious epochs in Karnataka history.

The origin of the Hoysalas has been the subject of a good deal of controversy. According to inscriptions the progenitor of the Hoysala dynasty was Sala, an eponymous hero, who was a devout

Jaina. On a certain occasion, we are told, he went to worship at the temple of Vasantikadevi, his family deity, at Sosavur or Sasakapura. After worship, he came to his guru, Vardhamana of Sudatta, to receive religious instruction. While he was receiving instructions, a fierce tiger came out of the forest and flared at them with rage. At this the sage said with reference to the fierce tiger 'poy sala' (strike sala); and from this circumstance he adopted the sage's words and his name (Poysala or Hoysala), as also the tiger crest.[57] This story or a modified version of it is given in all the accounts of the origin of the Hoysala dynasty. Similar stories are also found in the Tamil country.

Derrett regards inscriptional story as 'charming'. He says, "it is not impossible that their original stock was racially distinct from that of the majority of their followers. They may have descended from the founders of the Megalithic civilization, which is believed to have come into being in northern Mysore in the 3rd century B.C., they may have been the stock of Aryan conquerors of the south-west Deccan long since overwhelmed by stronger successors frome amongst their own kin; it is however useless to speculate on their social origin". Rice says, "they were a famiy of hill chiefs to start with on the Western ghats". Accepting this Joshi equates them with a community of people in North Kanara district viz. Hoselaru, pronounced as Hoisaleru. Sewell is of the view "originally the Hoysalas were a family of hill chiefs residing in the extreme west Mysore near the ghats, at Angadi in the Mudigere Taluk". N. Subramaniam tries to associate the Hoysalas with ancient Velir, an order of Tamil feudatory chieftains whose valour and generosity was superior to those of the three crowned monarchs of the Tamil kingdom.

The Hoysalas trace their descent to Yaduvamsa and claim to be the Lords of Daravati (Dwarka in Gujarat) and style themselves as *'Yadavakulatilaka'*, *'Yadava-Kulambara-dyomani'* and 'Dvaravati *Puravaradhisvara'*. There is absolutely no doubt that they were an indigenous people, originally settled in the Western Ghats. With the conquest of Gangavadi by the Cholas the Jainas were naturally unhappy as their cherished monuments had become the objects of their attacks. It is not improbable that they were waiting for an opportunity to dislodge the Cholas from Gangavadi. Jainism prospered under the Kadambas, western Chalukyas and Rashtrakutas. The Jaina gurus in this part of Karnataka were equally interested in

57. E. C. II. S. B. 132. B.C. VI Cg 20 and 137.

the freedom of Gangavadi. They found in Sala a leader who was equal to the task. They not only blessed the new dynasty and must have placed at his disposal the wealth of the Jaina church. The crest of the Hoysala depicting Sala fighting with a tiger, and the tiger mentioned in the inscription represent the Cholas, as tiger was their emblem. This should not surprise us, for, the Cholas themselves had in their crest the emblems of the Pandyas and Cheras at the feet of the tiger to show that they had established their mastery over them. This is further supported by the hostility that existed between the Hoysalas and the Cholas. It may also be remembered here that the early rulers of the Hoysala dynasty steadfastly followed Jainism and actually patronised it, though it was, not at the cost of the existing religions of the land. A connection between the Jainas and the founder of the dynasty can hardly be doubted. The Jaina Suddata Vardhamana must have asked Sala, pointing towards Gangavadi, to klll the tiger (i.e. Cholas) so that they could save themselves and their principality. There is therefore nothing incredible in the story. Since the dynasty came to be originated under the circumstances described above, the utterance of the Guru 'Hoy' (Poy) Sala itself became the mame of the dynasty. The Hoysalas succeeded in expelling the Cholas from Mysore in the beginning of the 12th century. Vasantikadevi was their family deity. Originally they had their capital at Sosavur or the Sanskrit Shashakapura and later it was transferred to Halebid or Dorasamudra.

POLITICAL HISTORY

The Hoysalas were originally a family of hill chiefs and they started the building of an empire by subduing their neighbours. The very first to be subdued were the hill tribes known as Malepas. In memory of this achievement, they assumed the title of '*Maleparoleganda*' or 'the Lord among the Malepas'. The Hoysala chief who achieved this success must have been Nripakama, who is identified by some with Sala. He appears to be a leader of proven ability and bore the title Rajamalla Peruman Adi. Nripakama laid the foundations of the Hoysala empire. He had established his control over the modern Mudagere Taluk. It was for his successors to preserve and expand what they had inherited.

Vinayaditya

Nripakama was succeeded by his son Vinayaditya in about 1040 A.D. The political condition of the Deccan at that time favoured the expansion of the Hoysala power. The Cholas had wiped out the

Ganga imperialism and the latter had sought shelter under the Chalukyas. The fall of the Gangas provided Vinayaditya a good field for expansion. But he was not prepared to incur the hostility of the Chalukyas, which was tantamount to a political suicide. Knowing fully well this danger, he played his game, and made a bid to improve his position even continuing as the Chalukya vassal. Vinayaditya was a subordinate of Somesvara I and Vikramaditya VI and rendered active help to Vikramaditya in his wars against Somesvara. To allay the fears of the Chalukyas that the rising power of the Hoysalas might oppose them, a princess of the house, Hoysaladevi, was given in marriage to Somesvara.

Vinayaditya had to overcome many opposition before he could ensure the safety of his small principality. Though the Changalvas and the Kongalvas had lost much of their force, they had to be faced. Vinayaditya is said to have conquered them near Coorg and freed himself of any danger from that quarter. He then attacked the hill tribes, Malepas, and won a complete victory. He transferred his capital from Sosavur to Halebid and named it as Dvaravatipura.

Somesvara appointed him as governer over certain districts and this considerably strengthened his position. Soon he captured a large part of the neighbouring country and became the master of Kongu, Alavakheda (modern South Kanara), Bayalnadu (Wainad), Talakad and Savimale The Hoysala empire under Vinayaditya had also included Kadur, Hassan, Shimogga and Tumkur districts and part of Mysore. All these districts were then included in the Gangavadi 96,000 division. Vinayaditya is called Tribhuvanamalla-Poysaladeva and ruler of Gangavadi 96,000.

His son, Ereyanga, the Yuvaraja, served under Vikramaditya VI. An inscription informs us that he carried out the behest of Vikramaditya and compelled the Chola king to wear leaves as robes. He is also described as the right hand man of the Chalukya emperor who gained success over the rulers of Chakrakuta, Kalinga, and Dhara. Unfortunately, this young prince of proven ability died before his father.

Vinayaditya was a talented ruler and he was successful in establishing the power of the Hoysalas family. He was also a great builder and is said to have built many Jaina temples.

Ereyanga had three sons, Ballala I, Bittiga also known as Vishnuvardhana, and Udayaditya. Ballala I succeeded his father

in 1101. Even during the lifetime of his father Ballala showed his displeasure towards continuing the feudal status of the family. But Ereyanga did not allow him to revolt against the Chalukyas. He now felt free to extend his dominion. In 1104 he defeated the Changalvas and with his brother he undertook an expedition to Nolambavadi. He transferred his capital to Belur (Velapura) and Halebid continued to be an alternative capital. He ruled only for a short period and died about the year 1106. He had no sons and therefore his younger brother succeeded to the throne.

Vishnuvardhana (1116-1152)

Vishnuvardhana is indubitably the greatest ruler of the Hoysala dynasty. He was the first Hoysala to raise the banner of revolt against their imperial masters, the Chalukyas of Kalyana, and expanded his dynasty in all directions. Though he was defeated by the Chalukyas more than once, he did not swerve from the sacred task of freeing his family and launching it on its imperial career. He was, however, not fortunate to see it. But as long as he ruled he ruled more as an independent sovereign than a feudatory, much less a mahasamanta. The vassalage sat upon him lightly, and he felt it rarely. His reign was also remarkable in the history of Srivaisnavism. It was a period of intense activity in the field of art and architecture. All things considered Vishnuvardhana marks himself out as the real founder of the Hoysala dynasty. S. K. Iyengar regards him as the 'real maker of Hoysala kingdom'.

According to some scholars when Vishnuvardhana succeeded to the throne he had not attained the age of coronation and therefore it was delayed till 1111 A.D. and in that year his coronation took place. He had also participated in his brother's expedition before his accession to the throne.

Vishnuvardhana was a most distinguished soldier with an ambition which equalled his military prowess. He inaugurated his career of conquest with an expedition to Gangavadi. The Eastern part of Mysore territory including Talakad had come under Chola rule in the time of Rajendra and Kulottunga I. This Vishnuvardhana could not tolerate. With the help of his general Gangaraja, he seized Gangavadi from the Cholas about 1117, and assumed the titles *Viraganga* and *Talakadugonda* (captor of Talakad). This was a decisive event becomes evident from the fact that his gold coins bear this significant legend '*Sri Talakadugonda*' in Kannada. In commemoration of this achievement he built the Kirthinarayana temple at Talakad.

The victory achieved in Gangavadi became a prelude to many famous victories. He then pursued the Cholas along the eastern part of Mysore and drove them out. Kongu, Nangili, Nolambavadi and Coimbatore came under his sway. His inscriptions inform us that he made a successful expedition as far as Ramesvaram. We learn from an inscription that he assumed the title of *Kanchigonda* (captor of Kanchi). It is further mentioned that the capture of Madurai and the destruction of Janathapura by his general was also announced at Kanchi. When returning from his southern campaign after conquering the Cholas and Cheras, he stayed at Marbalatirtha and made a grant to a Siva temple on the Chamundi hill.

After having secured the southern frontier against the Cholas, Vishnuvardhana attacked the territory of his imperial master Vikramaditya VI. He overran the Bellary and Dharwar districts up to Gadag and established his camp at Bankapura. He then invaded the west coast and attacked the Kadambas and the Alupas who became his subordinates. The Belur copper-plate record gives a cross section of affairs of the time when the Hoysala had won a good number of initial victories. He had also won many allies either by force or they joined him with ulterior motives of their own. Vishnuvardhana's cause was supported by the Pandya ruler of Uchchangi, Jayakesi II of Goa and others. The growing power of Vishnuvardhana naturally provoked the Chalukyan emperor. Though old, Vikramaditya VI, accompanied by Jagaddeva, opposed the Hoysala army at Kannegala in the Hassan district. Hoysala inscriptions say that Vishnuvardhana and his general Gangeya attacked the imperial army in the night and drove them back. But the Chalukya inscriptions, on the other hand, say Vikramaditya forced Vishnuvardhana to seek refuge in the mountain passes and in token of his success Vikramaditya assumed the title of Vishnuvardhana. In the face of the conflicting evidences we can only say this expedition of Vishnuvardhana did not bring the expected results. Though it did not result in the loss of territory, he was however forced to accept the nominal suzerainty of the Chalukya emperor. An inscription from Sindiger (1135 A.D.) describes Vishnuvardhana as 'the crest-Jewel among the feudatory chieftains of the Chalukyas.'

Vishnuvardhana was an ambitious ruler and grudged even the nominal acceptance of the Chalukya suzerainty. He made a second attempt for freedom during the reign of Somesvara III and successfully seized Hangal (1137 A.D.). During the reign of Jagadekamalla II he was ruling Gangavadi, Nolambavadi, Banavasi,

Hangal and Huligere up to Heddore (Krishna) from Bankapura as his nelevidu.[58] To commemorate these victories, Vishnuvardhana is said to have established five Vijayanarayana temples in Talakad, Belur, Melkote, Gadag and Bankapura respectively.

The reign of Vishnuvardhana witnessed the advent of Srivaisnavism into the Kannada country. The period also marked the heyday of Jainism. His beloved queen Santaladevi, who was an expert in the arts of music and dance, and some of his most prominent generals including Gangaraja were Jainas. They constructed Jaina Basadis and made grants to Jaina. Whatever might have been his personal religion, Vishnuvardhana's patronage was equally distributed to Jaina, Siva, Srivaisnava institutions. He was a great builder and built temples at Belur, Talakad, Melkote, Tonnur, Gadag and Haradanahalli. A tank at Tonnur called Tirumalasagara was built during his reign. He transferred his capital from Belur to Halebid (Dorasamudra). He was a munificent patron of art and literature. During his reign a famous Jaina scholar, Rajendra, wrote '*Ksetraganita*' and '*Lilavati*', works on mathematics in Kannada.

Vishnuvardhana was a many-sided genius, great alike in war and in peace. His many titles such as Talakadugonda, Mallparoleganda, Gandagirinatha, Kadanaprachanda, Satyaratnakara, Vivekanarayana, Sahasabhima, and so on speak eloquently for his military abilities and for his great personality. His empire included Kongu, Nangili, Talakad, Gangavadi, Nolambavadi, Banavasi, Hangal, Huligere and Halasige and Belvola provinces. He earned fame as a matchless warrior and a cultured king. Vishnuvardhana may thus "be regarded as the maker of the Hoysala kingdom, although he did not assume independence, which was to come half a century later under his grandson". We may thus justify the statement of S. K. Iyengar that Vishnuvardhana "is the real maker of the Hoysala kingdom, corresponding to modern Mysore".

Vijaya Narasimha I (1152—1173)

Vishnuvardhana was succeeded by his son Vijaya Narasimha. He was associated in the government of his father. It is said that while Vishnuvardhana was ruling from Bankapura as his nelevidu Narasimha, with his seat at Dorasamudra, acted as his ally and supporter. He was, however, not as powerful as his father, and

58. *The Early History of the Deccan*, p. 373.

spent much of his time in ease and pleasure. The Seunas were able to occupy the northern parts of Mysore. He lost Nolambavadi, the region on the banks of Tungabhadra and Banavasi. In religious matters he pursued his father's policy. He paid homage to the Gommatesvara at Sravanabelgola. He is described as the protector of the four creeds. In 1162, he paid a visit to the God Viranarayana of Belur and performed the pavitraropan (putting silk garland round god's neck). In 1162 he granted the Dharmapura agrahara for the maintenance of the Keshva temple in the presence of the councillors. Sumanobana, father of Janna, was a poet in the court of Narasimha. Among poets, Kereya Padmarasa was proficient both in Kannada and Sanskrit. He was the author of *'Deeksha Bodhe'* in Kannada and *'Sanandacharitre'* in Sanskrit. Harihara, another famous Kannada poet, was in service in the court of Narasimha.

Ballala II (1173—1220)

After Vishnuvardhana, Ballala II, also known as Vira Ballala, was the greatest ruler of the Hoysala dynasty. He expanded the dynasty in all directions and the title of *'Daksninada Chakravarti'* (Lord of the south) was not a mere empty boast. From him the dynasty obtained the name 'Ballala'.

Ballala was given the necessary training in the art of government. He also did not appreciate the life of a sensualist that his father lived and viewed with concern the defeat that his father suffered He, therefore, revolted against father when the enemies had reduced the Hoysala territory. He subdued the Changalvas and the Kongalvas and suppressed the disorder in the empire. His first campaign was directed against the fort Uchchangi near Chitradurga and was successful in capturing the impregnable fort. Since he obtained this success on a Saturday he got the title *Sanivarasiddhi.* Next he attacked Vikrama Chola and Kulottunga II in the east and cleared Karnataka of the Chola rule.

The Kalyana Chalukya kingdom was passing through a critical stage after the death of Vikramaditya VI and there was a steady erosion in their imperial prestige. During the reign of Taila III Kalachuri Bijjala staged a successful occupation of Kalyana, and the Chalukya 'empire was as good as non-existent'. Ballala was as ambitious as the great Vishnuvardhana, to secure the paramount position for his family in the Deccan. He now made a bold bid to secure the imperial position at the cost of the tottering

empire of the Chalukyas. Bhillama V, the Seuna ruler, was not to allow his cause to suffer. Both invaded the Chalukya empire. The Hoysala cavalry and the strong elephant phalanx outplayed and outmanoeuvred the Chalukya forces and Ballala captured Kalyana as Somesvara made no arrangement for the defence of his capital.

It was now the turn of Bhillama. He invaded the Hoysala territory and it is said that Seuna Ballala had 'to beat a retreat' to his capital. This was not to stop here. Ballala soon established his supremacy over Banavasi and Nolambavadi and marched victoriously through the Bijapur and Dharwar districts, his ultimate aim being the capture of Kalyana. Bhillama mustered a strong force consisting of 20,00,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry to oppose Ballala. Ballala met him at Saratur near Tungabhadra, fought a sanguinary battle and drove Bhillama back with great slaughter. He further pursued Bhillama up to Gadag and Badami. A contemporary Hoysala record says : "In order further to sow the seeds for the growth of his glory this emperor of the south prepared the ground by his conquest and from Soratur as far as Belvola, made it fit for being turned up by the ploughshares of the cultivators, having manured it with the bodies of myriad brave warriors of the Seuna army". It is said Ballala proceeded to the north and captured a number of forts. Malaprabha river became the border between the Hoysala and Seuna empire. In Gadag Ballala made several grants to the temples of Viranarayana and Trikutesvara. In 1193, Lokkigundi, in Dharwar district, became his temporary capital. This victory marks the complete independence of the Hoysalas and was celebrated by the starting of a new era by Ballala. The independence of the Hoysala kingdom may be dated from this time. Ballala assumed the imperial titles like Maharajadihraja, Rajaparamesvara, Samasthabhuvanasraya, Sri Prithvi Vallabha, Parama Bhattaraka, Pratapa Chakravarti, Yadava Chakravarti and Dakshinadisvara.

An interesting aspect of the Hoysala history during this period is entry of the Tamil country by Ballala where he left his powerful influence. Having secured his northern frontier, Ballala began to interfere in Chola politics. In the Chola country Rajaraja II and Rajendra II were joint rulers. But powerful chieftains like the Sambhubarayans and Perunjinga had risen in revolt and imprisoned Rajaraja. Ballala, therefore, undertook a campaign accompanied by his son Vira Narasimha. Vira Narasimha led

an expedition to Srirangam. Both by the show of arms and diplomacy Ballala was able to prevail over the rebellious Chieftains, restored Rajaraja II on the Chola throne and assumed the title *Cholarajya Pratistacharya* (establisher of the Chola kingdom), and *Pandyagaja Kesari*. His son Narasimha bore the title *Cholakulakaraksha*.

Being engrossed in Chola politics, Ballala could not look after the northern dominions in his last years. Singhana, the Seuna ruler of Devagiri, was able to win back the country north of the river Tungabhadra. Ballala died in 1220.

Ballala II was the first Paramount ruler of the Hoysala dynasty. He was responsible for transforming the Hoysalas into an important power which from now onwards played a conspicuous part in the South Indian history, till the foundation of the Vijayanagara. He was a zealous warrior and fought almost throughout his long reign to raise the greatness of his family and when he died he must have died with satisfaction being a paramount ruler on his lips. He supported all the religions. He was also a patron of literature. Janna who lived in his court wrote '*Yasodhara Charita*', his masterpiece. He held the title of Kavichakravarti. Rudrabhatta wrote *Jagannatha Vijaya*'. Neminatha wrote *Lilavati Prabandam* and *Neminatha Purana* also called *Ardhanemi*, as half of it being incomplete.

Narasimha II

The glorious reign of Vira Ballala ended in 1220, and his son Narasimha succeeded to the throne. He was the worthy son of a worthy father and continued the rich traditions of the family. He was then a youth of only twenty-two years.

As a yuvaraja, he had already taken part in the expeditions against the Cholas. After his accession to the throne, he turned his attention towards the Seunas. Mahadeva, the Seuna ruler, attacked Narasimha and Hemadri claims victory for the Seuna ruler. Hoysala inscriptions, on the other hand, detail how 'underrating the power of Narasimha, the Seuna king Mahadeva entered the battle on his elephant in grandiose style; how, being unable to withstand the enemy's attacks, he took to his horse; and how, overcame by terror, 'he galloped away at night, thinking that his best hope under the circumstances'. As. A. S. Altekar opines : "This detailed and circumstantial description leaves no doubt that Mahadeva was in fact completely defeated by the Hoysala forces".[59] Thus by this

59. *The Early History of the Deccan*, Vol. II, p. 547.

victory Narasimha secured his northern frontier and became the master of the Dharwar district.

After his victory over the Seunas, Narasimha once again began to interfere in the politics of the Cholas. Troubles had broken out in the country and Rajaraja III and Rajendra III had been dispossessed by Kopperunjinga, the prominent among the Kadava Chieftains, and the refractory vassal of the Cholas. He imprisoned the Chola emperor Rajaraja III in the fort of Sendamanglam and employed his troops to devastate the Chola country and desecrate its temples. Rajaraja and Rajendra were related to Narasimha as maternal uncle and nephews and therefore Narasimha took a vow to destroy Kopperunjinga. The Tiruvendipuram inscription of Rajaraja gives a graphic description of the campaign of the Hoysala Dandanayakas in great detail. Starting from Dorasamudra, continues the inscription, Narasimha took a vow 'saying that he would not allow his trumpet to be blown until after he had re-established his name as the defender of the Chola monarchy (*Chola-mandala-pratishtacharya*). Narasimha defeated a chief by name Mu near Kolar border and entering Salem district put down Sambuvarayan and besieged Sendamangalam. He despatched his two Dandanayakas, Amitaiah or Amritaiah and Samudra Gopaiah, with the orders to destroy the country of Kapperunjinga and reinstate the Chola emperor in his place. Kopperunjinga agreed to restore the Chola emperor at liberty and the Hoysala Dandanayakas received Rajaraja with honour and accompanied him back to the country. They also captured the treasure of Kopperunjinga and after having visited all the sacred places as far as Madhurai and Chidambaram came back to the camp of Narasimha.

Narasimha reorganised the Chola Administration and established a Hoysala capital at Kannaur, on the north bank of the river Kaveri, about four or five miles from Srirangam. From Kannaur the Hoysalas were able to control the whole of South India. According to '*Gadyakarnamruta*' Narasimha made the Pandyan king Mahavarma Sundara Pandya to pay tribute to him.

Narasimha is said to have defeated one Bijjana and waged war on the Rattas of Saundatti.

The empire of the Hoysalas under Narasimha was extended up to Kanchi in the east, Bayalnad in the south, Belur in the west and Peddore in the north. It was extended up to Kannanur in the Tamil country. During the life-time of Narasimha Hoysala power

remained supreme and unchallenged. His rule of 15 years (1220-1235) saw the expansion of the Hoysala power into the heart of the Tamil country. At the time of his death in 1235 he had made the Hoysala empire the formidable force in South India.

A great scholar himself, Narasimha had the titles of *Sarvajna* and *Sahityaratnakara*. He patronised both Sanskrit and Kannada literature. The greatest Sanskrit scholar of the time was Vidyachakravartin II, son of Vidyanatha. His student, Trivakrama or Vikramadeva wrote *Kadambari Sara Sangraha* in ten canots. If the identification of Sindivige Anandabhodaprabhu with Anandabhoda is correct, then his works *Naya Makaranda*, *Pramanamula* and *Nyaya Dipika* must have been composed during this period. Taruna Vachaspati, the author of a commentary on the *Kavyadarsha* of Dandin, was a contemporary of Narasimha and Somesvara. Among the Kannada authors may be mentioned Polava Dandanatha of *Haricharita*, Kavi Nagadeva, Munichandra, Madiraja, Chidananda and Sri Vijaya Dasakirtideva.

Narasimha was also a great builder. During his reign the Harihara temple at Harihara, Mulasangesvara at Belur, Kallesvara and Galagesvara at Heggere, Somesvara and Kesava at Harnahalli, Mallikarjuna at Basral, Lakshminarasimha at Bhadravati, Somanatha at Bennikal, Gopaladeva at Magala and Tudankesvara at Mavinamage were constructed.[60]

After Narasimha his son Somesvara or Sovideva succeeded to the throne. He spent most of his time in the Chola country and only occasionally he visited Halebid. Nevertheless, he played an important part in upholding the balance of power in South India. To support his Chola relatives against Kakatiyas and Telugu Chodas in the north and the Pandyas in the South he undertook several campaigns against Telugu Chola Tikka and the Pandya rulers Maravarman Sundara Pandya and Jatavarman Sundara Pandya. Finally Jatavarman Sundara Pandya defeated and killed Somesvara and occupied Srirangam. Ganapati and his daughter Rudramadevi occupied the Telugu country. At about this time the Seunas under Krishna crossed the Tungabhadra and seized some region in the Chitradurga district.

Somesvara had divided the Hoysala empire giving the Karnataka districts to his son Narasimha III and the Tamil country to Ramanatha, another son of his by a Chola princess. But the brothers

60. *New Indian Antiquity*, Vol. IV, pp. 149-166.

were not satisfied with the divisions and Ramanatha was constantly invading the Kannada country up to Ramanathapura. However, with the death of Rajendra Chola in 1279 the decline of the Chola dynasty began. It was later absorbed in the Pandya empire completely. The Pandya ruler Maravarman Kulasekhara established his mastery over the Tamil Districts but Ramanatha soon brought under his control the districts of South Arcot and Tiruchanapalli. After Narasimha's death Ballala III succeeded to the throne and he was able to unite the Tamil districts in the Kannada dominion after the death of Vishnunatha, son of Ramanatha.

Ballala III

Ballala III was the last great ruler of the Hoysala dynasty. P. B. Desai regards him as "an eminent and colourful personality in the history of India".[61] To quote M. V. Krishna Rao : "His life was a perpetual battle aganist Muslim invasions.....Thus, Viravallabha's period was an 'age of ferment' to reinstate antiquity, to gather up afresh the products of the great classic past and so to bled them with the spirit of the Age as to generate some energising principle which would animate his contemporaries with an exalted sense of patriotism in defence of the unity of their heritage and the solidarity and preservation of their culture". Throughout his long reign Ballala tried his best to stem the onslaughts of the Muslims into the South and sacrificed his own life for the sake of his sacred ideals. His very ideals paved the way for the foundation of Vijayanagara empire.

At the time of his accession to the throne the Hoysala dominion included all the country between the Tungabhadra and the Kaveri, and from the eastern to the western ocean. There were five strategic capitals—Bankapura and Lokkigundi in the north, Dorasamudra in the centre, and Tiruvannamalai and Kannanur in the South.

Ballala started his conquests first from the north. He despatched a large force under the command of his general Gangeya Sahani to invade the dominions of the Seunas in 1303. Both the armies met in the battle at Sirisi in the Banavasi kingdom. Two years later (1305) Ballala personally led an army against Ramachandra and won from him Banavasi, Santalige and Kogali. He then turned his arms against the Pandyas. After the death of Kulasekhara Pandya civil war broke out between his two sons, Vira Pandya and Sundara

61. B. Sheik Ali (ed.), *The Hoysala Dynasty*, p. 329.

Pandya. Ballala started from Dorasamudra to Kannanur on a successful expedition to the south. A 'large part of Tondaimandalam, including perhaps Kanchi, the capital of the district' passed into his hands. He maintained his position as the supreme monarch of South India till 1310.

The year 1310 can be considered to be a turning point in the history of the Hoysalas. It was in that year that Ala-ud-din sent his general Malik Kafur on an expedition to Dorasamudra and Malbar. He at first camped at Devagiri and Ramachandra of the Seunas was too glad to help him against Ballala, his enemy. After subduing Prataparudra and realising that Ballala's absence from the capital was an opportune moment, he captured Dorasamudra without much resistance. Ballala III hearing this came hastily from the Tamil country and averted the destruction of the capital by paying a large subsidy. Thereafter, Kafur continued his march to the Tamil country. Ballala restored the capital and it is said that he established another capital in the name of his son Vijaya Virupaksa near Hampi and this became the later Vijayanagar.

The Khalijis were replaced by the Tughlugs. By the time the Tughlug dynasty declined Madurai had come to be ruled by a Mahammedan dynasty. This sultan established a strong garrison at Kannanur. As S.K. Iyengar puts it, "these were like nails driven into the coffin of the Hoysala kingdom". As a zealous lover of independence, Ballala could not compromise himself to this blatant violation on his independence. In 'order to clear South India of these Muhammadan garrisons', he fought bravely. In the battle of Trichinopoly in 1342 Ballala lost his life almost at the moment of victory. With the death of Ballala the glorious rule of the Hoysalas came to an inglorious end, though his son ruled for some time.

Ballala III has left a deep impression on the history of South India in general, on the history of the Hoysalas in particular. P.B. Desai aptly sums up the achievements of this great ruler thus: "He appeared on the scene as the champion of freedom and saviour of the people in the most critical period of Indian history when the entire southern peninsula was being submerged under the outslaught of the alien invader. He assumed international leadership and forged for the first time unity among diverse peoples and potentates of the south. He paved the way for the future glories of Vijayanagara empire. Treacherously killed by the enemy in 1342 A.D. at Madura, he became immortal as a martyr."[62]

62. *Ibid.*, p. 343.

Administration

The Hoysalas who inherited the glorious tradition of administration as prevailed in Karnataka before them conformed themselves to the precepts of royal activity as laid down in ancient works on polity. As dharmic rulers, the kings maintained the traditional laws of the state, and attended to the economic prosperity and sociological needs of the people. The Hoysala state was neither a military nor despotic nor a dictatorship but a constitutional government in which the constitution was designed in the interests of the people at large. Though it was a monarchy the kings could never become absolute as the Dharma and the council of the Panchapradhana acted as powerful checks in circumscribing the royal authority to a great extent. At best it was a culture state.

King was the most busiest official of the State. He concentrated in his hands the executive, legislative and judicial functions of the state. With the possible exception of Narasimha II, most of the Hoysala rulers zealously guarded the independence of the state and spent much of their time in the battlefield. But they never neglected the defence of the state as we find them establishing capitals at strategic points and stationing large forces there. The Hoysalas were the most enlightened rulers. They were able to make the people adhere to the rules of the Chaturvarnya, extended equal patronage to all the existing religions of the land, made liberal grants to religious institutions and to men of learning, created proper atmosphere conductive to the growth of literature and built monuments of great artistic merit. By their precepts and practice the Hoysalas set a worthy model for others to follow.

An important feature of the Hoysala administration is the exaltation of the council of ministers to a powerful institution. The council consisted of five ministers and was popularly known as the Panchapradhanas. These five ministers are Sandhivigrahi, Srikarnadikari, Hiriyabandari, Senadipathi and Mahapasayata. Great care was taken in the appointment of ministers. They were required to be proficient in the four tests of character, viz., loyalty, disinterestedness, countenance and courage. Most of them came from noble families with great administrative experience and military acumen. The expansion and consolidation of the Hoysala empire was in no small measure due to the hard work of the ministers. The posts of the ministers were hereditary. By and large the Hoysala rulers listened to the advice of the ministers. But they

did not blindly follow their advice and sometimes acted contrary to their advice if the interests of the state demanded it. It may be recalled here that when Malik Kafur captured Dorasamudra, Ballala III was away in the Tamil country. He hastened back to his capital immediately after hearing the news of the Muslim occupation. He ignored the suggestion of his ministers to give a fight to the Muslim invader and instead he paid him a large subsidy and sent him back. If he had fought with him the destruction in men and material would have been certainly greater and he thought the interests of the state would be better served if the enemy was made to leave the territory without much violence and bloodshed.

The empire was divided into provinces for purposes of administrative convenience. The provinces varied from time to time depending upon the new acquisition or the loss of territory. During the reign of Vishnuvardhana Talakad, Kongunad, Nangili, Gangavadi, Nolambavadi, Hangere, Halsige, Banavasi were some of the important provinces. The provinces were named according to their revenue field. The heads of the provinces were either members of the old ruling family of the relations of the kings or the queens. The Yuvaraja and the queens were sometimes appointed as provincial governors, e.g., Bamalla, wife of Vishnuvardhana, was placed in charge of the province Asandi 500. Ballala II's queen Cholambadevi was ruling Kumbala. Belleyanayaka, nephew of queen Shantaladevi, was governor of Maligi. The administration of the provinces was just the replica of the central administration. The governors discharged both civil and military functions. They were made responsible not only for the peace, tranquillity, law and order, but also for efficient administration.

Within the provinces were the Nadus. The head of the Nadus called variously as Haggade Karana, Rajadhyashara Karana, Rajya Heggade, was under direct charge of the governor. Their work was mainly confined to the collection of revenue, disbursement, settlement of the local disputes and undertaking military operation both for offensive and defensive purposes.

The Hoysala maintained a large and efficient force. It consisted of the infantry, the cavalry, the elephant corps and the chariot. The depiction of open battle in Hoysala sculpture coupled with the mention of Bandiyakara or cartmen in the Hoysala inscriptions show carts also participated in the fields of battle.

Cavalry and the elephant formed a very important limb of the army. They gave a good account of themselves in their wars against the Seunas of Devagiri and the Cholas and Pandyas in the Tamil country. Service in the military was not the prerogative of any particular community. There were Brahmins, goldsmiths and barbers in the army. Some of the greatest Dandanayakas were Brahmins. The vassal rulers and the Dandanayakas maintained their own contingent. In times of necessity mercenary soldiers were also engaged for a period of time. Each limb of the army was headed by an officer who looked to its various needs. The fact that the Hoysala army gave a good account of itself in many of the wars they fought shows that it was kept in readiness to meet any eventuality.

The Hoysala retained the old character and functions of the village assembly. The village assembly was called the Mahasabha. The assemblies received deposits and spent the amount of interest accrued on the deposit for specific purpose as originally indicated. We have reference to the village assemblies receiving gifts of money for providing worship in a temple from out of the interest. Reference also occurs to the mahajanas receiving village tax. The mahasabha possessed land and revenues of its own. U. N. Ghosal refers to the mahajanas of a village granting certain custom duties for the benefit of a temple, and of these, along with certain gavundas and prabhus, granting lands to the temple. There is an interesting reference to a judicial trial by a collective body of villages on record which says that when dispute arose about the boundary of a field, men of nine nadus assembled together and gave their decision after examination of the boundaries.

This survey shows that the Hoysalas established a sound administrative system which imparted its own strength to the fabric of their empire.

Social and Economic Condition

In the section on administration we have maintained how the Hoysala rulers considered it as their duty to secure people's compliance to the Chaturvarnya regulations. The titles such as Chatussamaya Samuddharama Sakalasmaya Ruksamani show that they were the protectors of the traditional order. There was even no provision for the mixing of castes becomes evident from an inscription of the time of Narasimha I. In spite of this the caste rules were not followed strictly. We have references to a number of Brahmana

Dandanayakas, a post for which vaisyas were also selected. The tendency of the lower castes to rise in social status continued and the merchant class, the sculptors, examiners of diamonds, goldsmiths, carpenters, masons and brass-workers occupied an important position.

Generally people practised monogamy though the kings, nobles and rich people had more than one wife. An interesting feature of the social life during this period is the loyalty exhibited by the soldiers to their commander and rulers. This loyalty is found expressed in an institution popularly known as the 'Garuda'. The Garudas were taken into life-long service under the ruler. They had to swear allegiance to him in life. They were not merely his bodyguards, but they identified themselves with the life and aspirations of the ruler. The Belur inscription extols the ideal character of Kuvaralakshana, a minister of Ballala II, who was ready to sacrifice his wealth and life for the prosperity of Ballala. He killed himself along with his wife and a retinue of 1,000 soldiers immediately after the death of Ballala. Samanta Signeyanka also killed himself along with his wife on the death of Narasimha II.

Unlike under the Seunas, the queens of the Hoysalas took active part in the administration. Umadevi, queen of Ballala II, accompanied him during his expedition to the north and actually participated in the raids organised aganist Mallidevarasa of Belagutti. She even carried on the administration of Dorasamudra during the king's absence. Abhinavaketaladevi, another of his queen, issued orders to the Gowdas and Settis of Kundavada to establish weekly fairs on Wednesdays. We have already referred to the queens who looked after provincial administration.

Queens interested themselves in the meritorious work. Santaladevi who set a model by administering the whole kingdom made munificent donations. She built Savti Gandha varna Basadi at Sravanabelgola. She also obtained from Vishnuvardhana a garden of 50 kelugas and granted the same. Basadi Achiyakka, wife of Chandramouli, a Brahmin minister of Ballula II, erected the Ajkaba Basadi at Sravanabelgola.

Women also played an important role in the fields of literature and fine arts. Kanthi earned a name being the first poetess in the history of Kannada literature. Santaladevi was proficient in the arts of music and dance. Queens of Ballala I were highly accomplished in music and dance. Grants were made for the maintenance

of theatrical performers. This may be taken as extending liberal patronage for enacting dramas or exhibiting religious scenes. It may be recalled here that among the temple officials there was an official who looked after the arrangement of dramas.

Agriculture was encouraged by the Hoysalas by providing the necessary facilities to the cultivators. Those who brought new areas under the plough were exempted from taxes. Irrigation facilities were provided by constructing new tanks, wells and canals or repairing the old ones. The maintenance and upkeep of these irrigation works was entrusted to the village headmen. Industry and trade were organised by the guilds. The workers in metals, carpenters and potters were also organised by guilds. As mentioned before the Virapanchalas were specially favoured by the ruling monarchs.

State gave encouragement to both inland and foreign trade. The Banavara inscription dated 1188 A.D. informs that Kammata Chatta Setty imported horses, elephants and pearls and sold them to the king. His brother Desaiah Setty dealt with the transport of goods from east to west and from north to south. During the reign of Somesvara, Kunjanamubisetty supplied goods to the rulers of Malva, Kalinga, Chola and Pandya. He was not only a merchant but also an ambassador. Mosale, Belagola, Arsikere, Dalige were the great centres of trade. Cotton textiles, muslin, betelnut, coconut and ivory were some of the important articles that were exported to other countries.[63] The wealth and splendour of the Hoysalas as indicated by the numerous magnificent monuments show that the economy was in a flourishing state during this period.

Literature

The Hoysala rulers patronised poets and scholars and they produced a large literature in Kannada, Sanskrit. Nagachandra called Abhinava Pampa wrote '*Ramachandracaritapurana*' and '*Pamparamayana*'. Poetess Kanti, a contemporary of Nagachandra, lived in the court of Ballala. Rajaditya wrote '*Ksetraganita*', '*Vyavaharaganita*' and '*Lilavati*' during the reign of Vishnuvardhana. Under Ballala III the poet Janna held the title of Kavichakravarti and wrote '*Yasodharacharite*' and '*Ananthanathapurana*'. Santinatha wrote '*Sukamaracharite*' and Mallikarjuna an anthology called '*Suktisudhruva*'. It throws light on the origin of the Hoysala dynasty. He gives a graphic description of Somesvara's brave deeds. Kesiraja wrote a Kannada grammar 'Sabdamanidarpana'. Jagadda-

63. Karnataka Parampare; Vol. II, p. 346.

la Somanatha was the author of '*Karnataka Kalyana-Karaka*' and Kumudendu was the author of '*Kumudendu Ramayana*'.

The works mentioned above in addition to those works mentioned under the patronage of each ruler of the dynasty show that Kannada literature was enriched during the period. Some inscriptions of the period are also noted for their literary merit.

In Sanskrit also there were eminent poets and philosophers. A hereditary family of poets called Sakalavidyachakravarti existed from the time of Ballala II down to the foundations of the Vijayanagara empire. Among them Vidyachakravarti II was honoured by the Hoysala, Chalukya and Chola emperors. The Pandyan king honoured him with the title of Vallabha. Vidyachakravarti III wrote '*Rukminikalyana*' and commentaries on the '*Kavyaprakasha*', the 'Alankarasarvasva' and the 'Prayogadipika'. He is said to have composed an inscription of Ballala III found at Kanchi.

Religious Condition

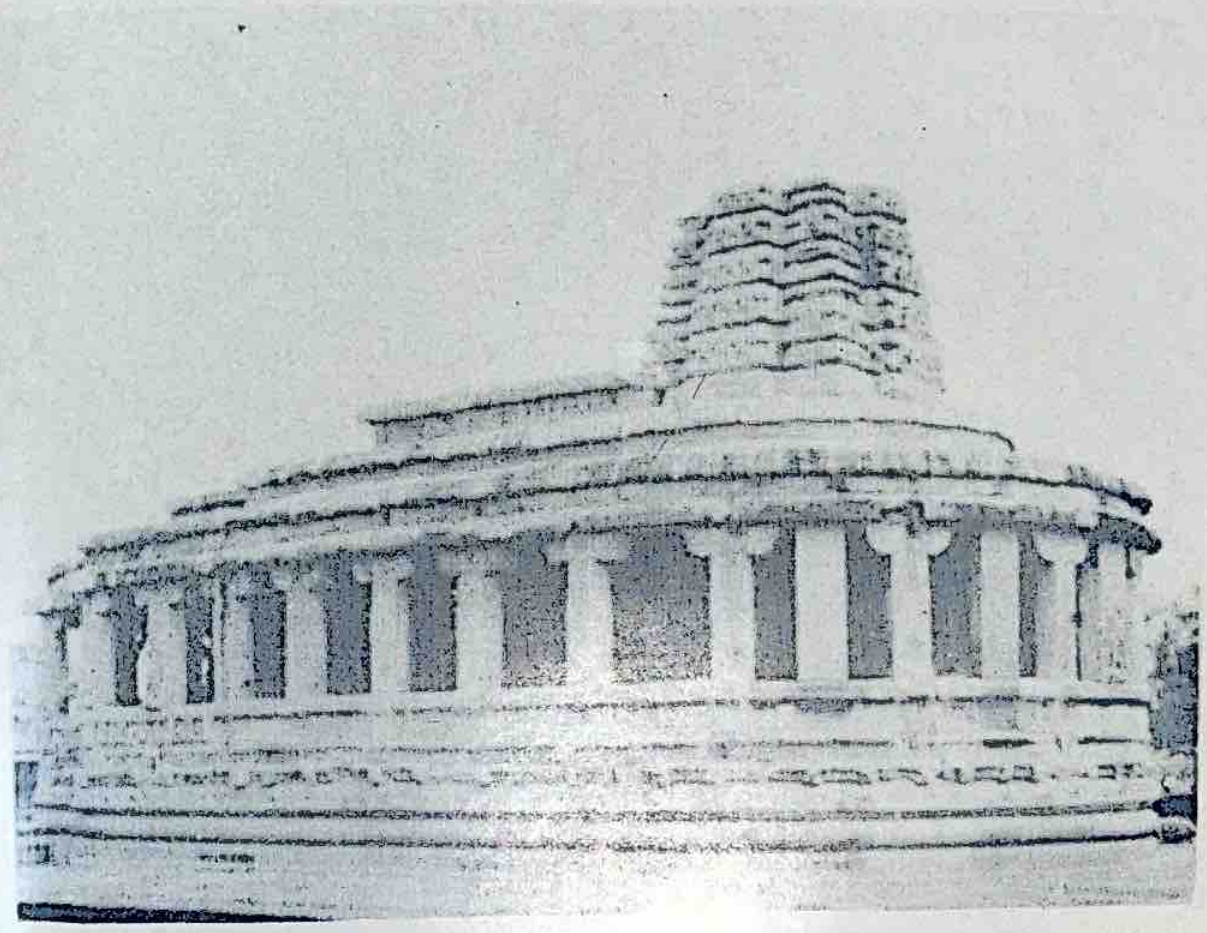
The Kannada inscriptions mention the existence of the four important religions, Buddhism, Jainism, Saivism and Vaisnavism. In the educational centres of the Pasupathi Saivas, all the four systems of philosophy were being taught. Buddhism was already on the decline, but certain forms of the Mahayana Buddhism like the worship of Tarabhagavati and Manjusri existed in Karnataka.

Jainism

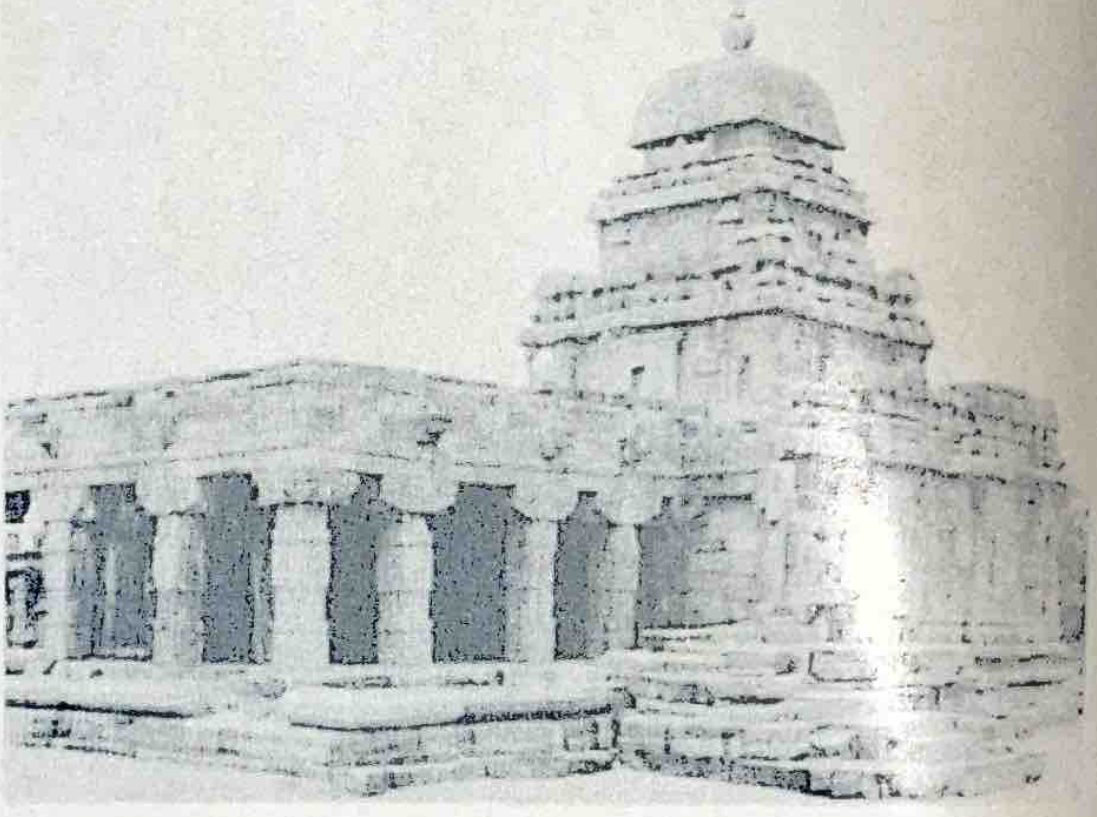
Jainism was one of the strongest religious and the Hoysalas extended to it an enlightened patronage. As mentioned before, the very foundation of the dynasty is attributed to a Jaina teacher. Vinayaditya and Ereyanga were devout Jainas. They made grants and caused Basadis to be built. There was intermarriage between the Hindus and the Jainas. Ballala I married the three daughters of Mariyane Dandanayaka, a devout Jaina. He with others set up the Jaina image in the Basadi at Hatna in Tiptur taluk.

Vishnuvardhana's reign saw the heyday of Jainism. His famous queen Santaladevi and his famous generals were Jainas. Santaladevi is described as 'crest-jewel of perfect faith in Jainism' and 'a rampart to the Jaina faith'.[64] Buchanan states that, like his ancestors Ballalaraya (Vishnuvardhana) was a worshipper of Jaina

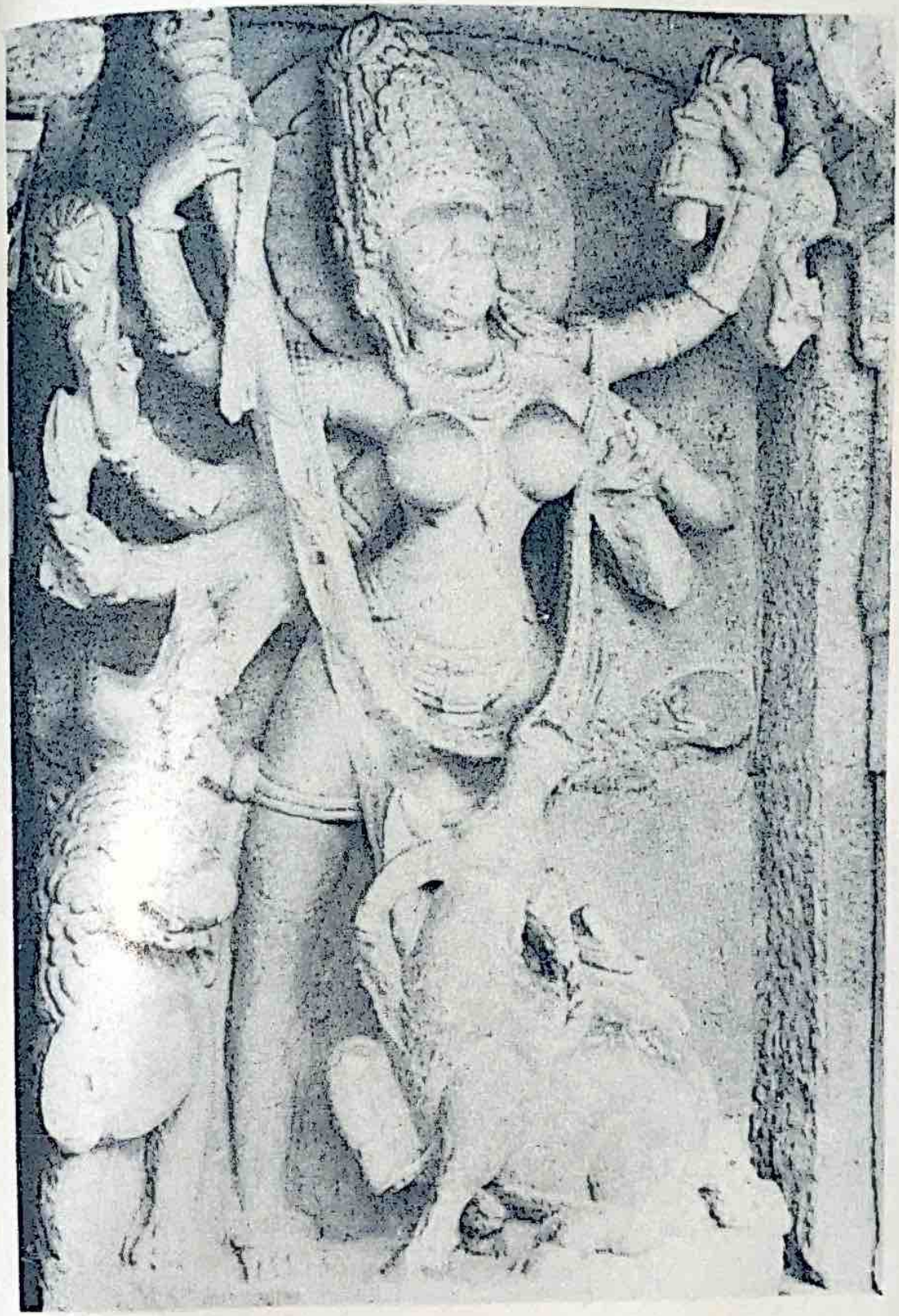
64. For her grants see section on social and economic condition.



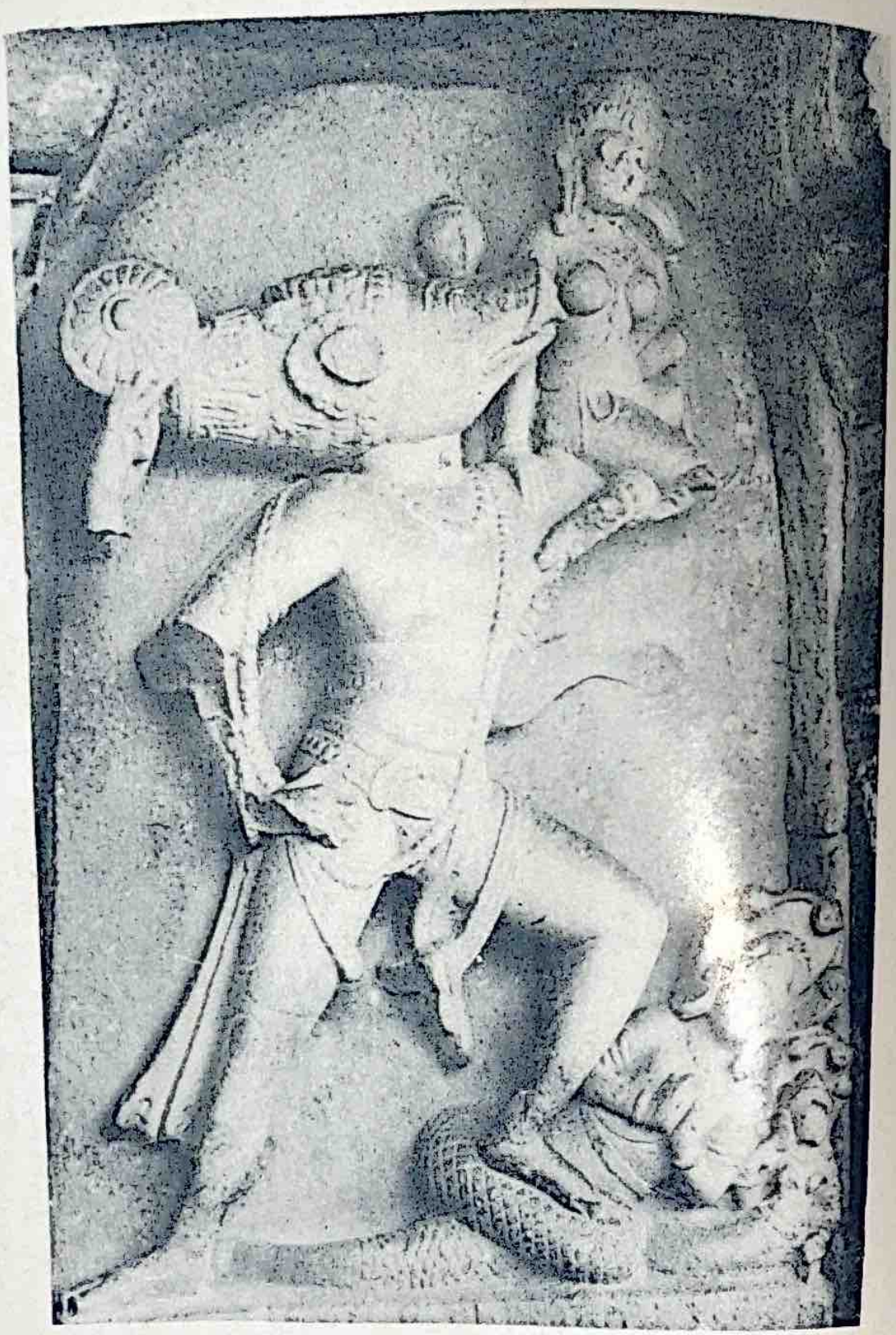
Durga Temple, Aihole



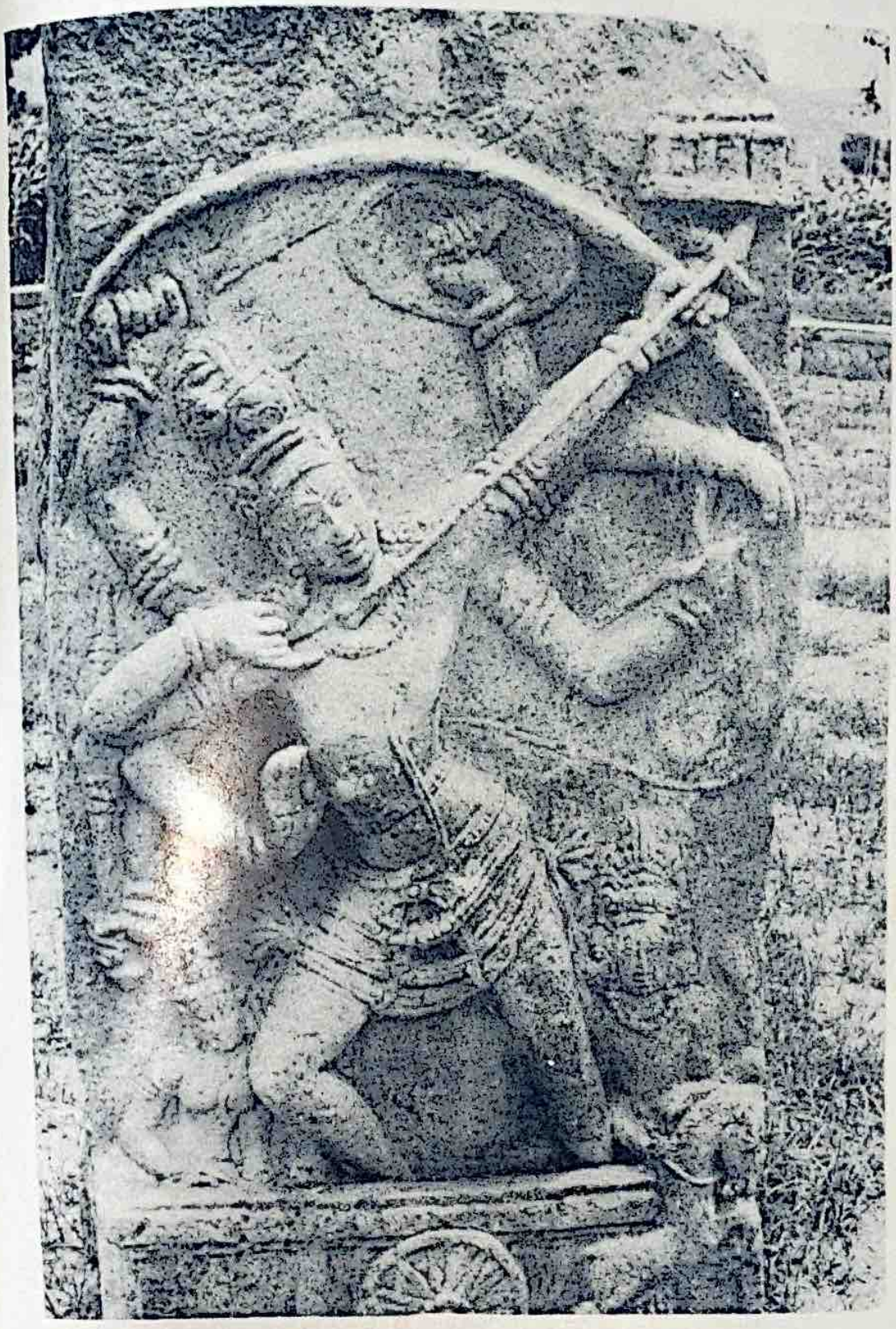
Sangamesvara Temple, Pattadakal



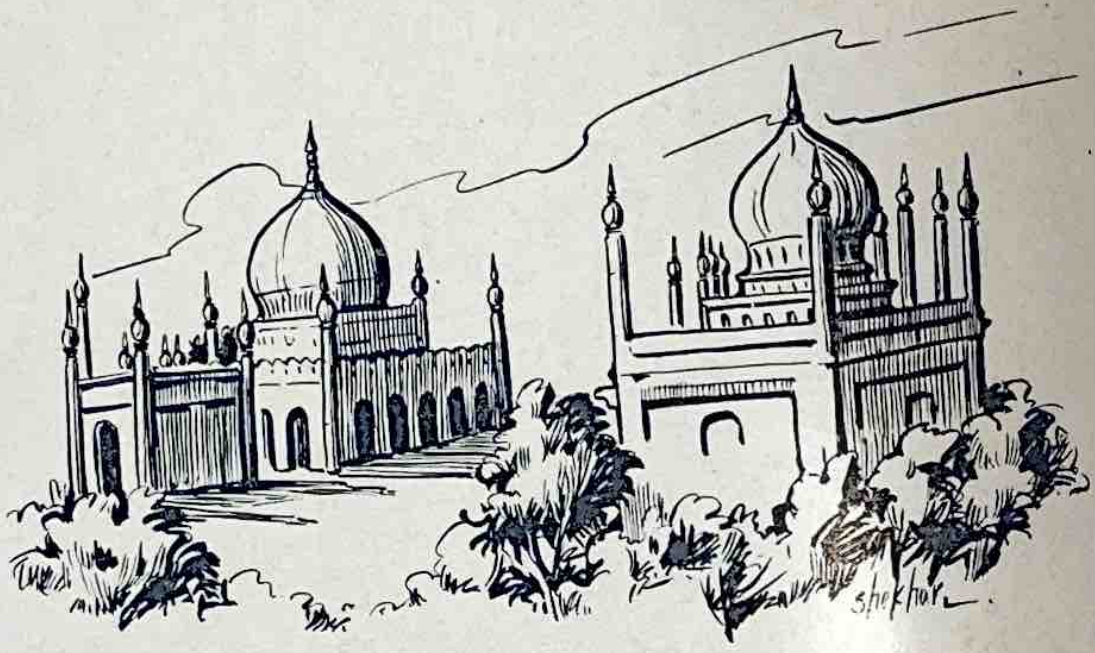
Mahishamardhini, Durga Temple, Pattadakal



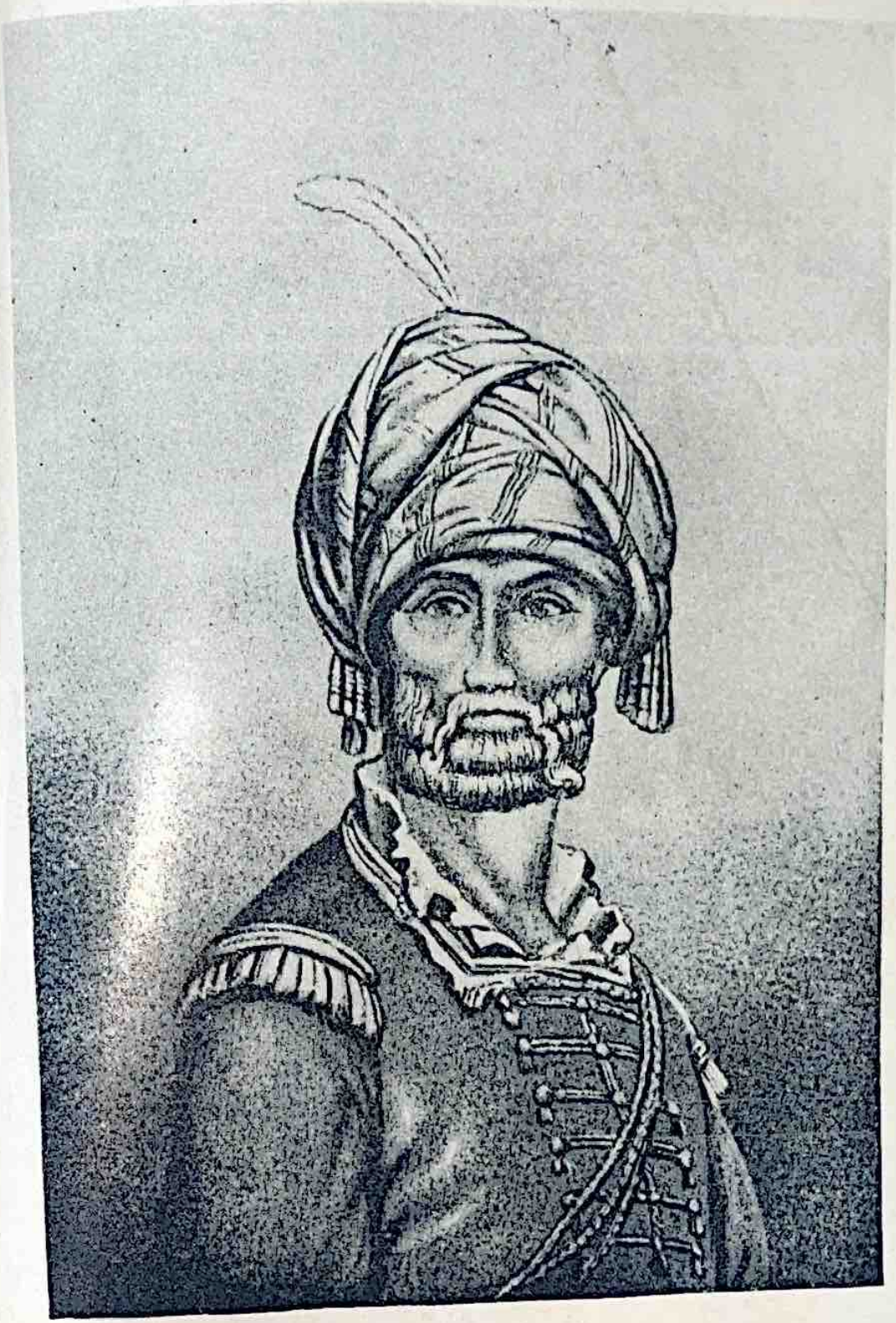
Varaha, Durga Temple, Aihole



Tripurantaka (recent excavation)



Ibrahim Rauza, Bijapur



Haidar Ali



Tippu Sultan

and there were seven hundred temples dedicated to that God.[65] But the tradition records that Ramanuja met Bittideva at Tonnur and converted him to Srivaisnavism and thereafter Bittideva bore the new name Vishnuvardhana. We are further told that Ramanuja defeated the Jainas, in religious debate, despoiled their grants and destroyed their temples. A lake called Motitalab or the Lake of Pearls was built out of the materials of the Jaina temples. Ramanuja is said to have mutilated the statue of Gommata to rid it as an object of worship.

We have no reliable evidence to substantiate these stories. As for the mutilation story, the editor of Epigraphica Carnataka has this to say: "No trace, however, remains of such an injury, unless it be the forefinger of his (Gommata's) left hand, which is shorter than it should be, had a piece struck off below the first joint and was afterwards sculptured into a perfect finger again. This particular forms of drescription should easily have suggested itself, if it be true, as tradtion has it, that the change of king's religion was in some degree brought about by the refusal of his Jaina guru to take food from him by reason of mutilation in shape or the loss of one of his fingers".[66]

Even admitting for argument's sake that he embraced Srivaisnavism, Vishnuvardhana did not persecute the Jainas. Santaladevi continued to make grants to Jainas with his consent. His general, Gangaraja, who for his services to Jainism is placed next to Chavundaraya, built many basadis and granted lands to Jaina temples. Bharata, another general, erected the two images of Bharata and Bahubali at Sravanabelgola. He also put up the railing of the hall near those images as also the hall around the Gomatesvara and the grand flight of steps. At the birth of his son, Vijaya Narasimha Vishnuvardhana made a grant of Javagal 'to provide for ceremonies and annointing at three seasons of the God Vijaya Parsva and the twenty-four Thirthankaras, the repair of their Basadis and the food of the asectics'. The fact mentioned above show that Vishnuvardhana was not found wanting in his patronage to Jainism. He maintained close contact with Jaina teachers. He helped the Jainas in more ways than one to flourish.

Narasimha I followed his father's example. General Hulla, who served both Vishnuvardhana and Narasimha, was a promoter of

65. S. R.Sharma, Jainism and Karnataka Culture, p. 40.
66. Vol. IJ, Introduction pp. 19-40.

Jainism. He is placed along with Chavundaraya and Gangaraja. He built the Bhuvanachudamani Basadi at Sravanabelagola. The Nagara Jinalaya at Dorasamudra was built during the reign of Ballala II. He also erected the Akkana Basadi at Sravanabelagola. For the upkeep of this temple Ballala granted the village of Bammanayanahalli. Narasimha II, Somesvara and other rulers never showed hatred towards any religion and patronised the cause of Jainism.

Thus Jainism was one of the strongest religions during this period. Jaina philosophy underwent a change, because the Jainas had to vindicate their philosophical position aginst the criticisms of the Vaisnavas and Saivas. Dorasamudra was a great centre of Jainism.

Saivism

In Karnataka some forms of Saivism like the Kashmir or Pratyabhijna and Pasupata and Kalamukha systems had long been established. Especially, the Kalamukha and Pasupatas had developed a philosophy based upon the Panchartha Vidya of Lakulesvara. There were five principles : pati or Lord, i.e., Siva; Pasu or Jiva, i.e., individual soul; Pasa or bondage; Yoga or devotion; and Dukkhanta or salvation, moksa. The system taught that only by the grace of Pati the soul can get rid of its bondage. Salvation means neither complete identity with God nor complete difference, but a partial identity as in Visistadvaita.

The Pasupata system was powerful throughout India and even in the Far East. Some of its centres in Karnataka were Belligmave in the Shikaripura taluk, Srisyla, Huli near Hubli. In the 11th century, Sivacharya, a contemporary of Ramanuja, wrote commentaries on the Brahma Sutras and the Gita. He differs from Ramanuja only in his conception of God as Siva and Vishnu. In the middle of the 12th century all these types of Saivism formed the background for a more dynamic Saiva religion called Virasaivism.

Srivaisnavism

Vaisnavism prevailed the Hoysala country prior to the advent of Ramanuja into Karnataka. A record of 1090 A.D. refers to a grant made to Vinnukar Alvar. Ramanuja visited Karnataka during the rule of the Hoysalas to make use of this favourable atmosphere to spread his cult. It is said that the Chola king, Kulottunga I, in his bigoted zeal for the spread of Saivism, tried to suppress the Vaisnavas by capital punishment. This made Ramanuja to retire to

Karnataka and he lived in the Hoysala country for a period of twenty years.

Ramanuja entered Karnataka crossing the river Kaveri, and reached Ramanathapura. He then travelled to Tonnur or Tondanur, a capital outpost of the Hoysalas. There he met Bittideva and converted him to Srivaisnavism. This story, as mentioned before, cannot be sustained in the absence of a reliable evidence. Derrett has shown that Bitti is a pet name for Vishnu. It is also pointed out that Bitti is the tadbhava of Vishnu. Vishnuvardhana had this name even before he met Ramanuja. This is also supported by a record dated in 1098 which mentions the grant of certain lands to the gods of Rama and Lakshmana by the mahajanas of the illustrious Konkukonda Sri Vishnuvardhana Poysala Deva.

From Tonnur Ramanuja proceeded to Melkote (Yadavagiri) which became the centre of Srivaisnavism in the Hoysala country. The Guruparampara Prabhava informs us that Vishnuvardhana helped Ramanuja in building a temple there on the structure of an old temple. The Belur inscription says that the king set up a temple at Melkote. Ramanuja then went to Singar Koil which he renamed Salagrama. In an inscription found on the door lintel of the Sripada Tirtha pond in the Ramanujacharya temple at this place, records that Embar, Andana and Achan of the matha at Srirangam granted some privileges to the Srivaisnavas of Saligave. Vishnuvardhana built a number of temples for God Visnnu. He also built a tank at Tonnur and called it Tirumalasagara. After Vishnuvardhana, Narasimha I, Ballala II, Narasimha II and Ballala III made grants to Vaisnavas.

Though Vaisnavism existed in Karnataka before the advent of Ramanuja, his visit and a stay of 20 years made Srivaisnavism a popular religion. The concepts of Bhakti and prapatti which he preached were in contrast to the principles of Jainism and these simple concepts helped in winning over many adherents. It is worthy of note that Ramanuja arranged for throwing open the temple at Melkote to Harijans for three days during the festival of Vairamudi. The popularity of Srivaisnavism gave an added impetus to the building activity under the Hoysalas.

Arts and Architecture

The Chalukyan architecture had a regional variation in the Mysore territory and under the patronage of the Hoysalas it acquired certain characteristics which distinguished it from the temples of

northern Karnataka. Henry Cousens and others deny that the Hoysala style was entitled to be classed as the separate style from the general Chalukyan style. But B. B. Havell, R. Narasimhachar and Rice have justified the use of the term 'Hoysala architecture' because, though the Chalukyan style prepared the ground, the greatest efflorescence was under the Hoysalas. Further, the Hoysala monuments are distinguished not only for their greater elaboration, but usually carry an image of Sala fighting with the tiger.

The Hoysala temples are easily distinguished according to the number of cells, having one cell, ekakuta, two cells dvikuta, three cells, trikuta which is most common, four cells chatuskuta, and finally five cells, panchakuta. There are also twin temples as at Marale and Mosale. The four-walled temple is represented by the Lakshmidevi temple at Doddagattavalli. This has four sanctuaries in the four quarters and the entrances are by the side. The examples of panchakuta are the Jaina temples at Kambadahalli and the Siva temple at Somanathapura. The Hoysalas never made any distinction between Saiva and Vaisnava religion. Further, when twin temples were constructed one was dedicated to Siva and another to Vishnu.

Another distinguishing feature of the Hoysala style is that, more than the Chalukyan examples, the Hoysala temples follow a systematic ground plan. A rectangle or square was divided by diagonal lines giving the required number of corners, all enclosed within a circle, and thus the base of the Hoysala temples came to acquire a star shape, with a projecting corners pointing to the points of the directions.

The pediment or basement is usually 3 to 4 feet high, with steps in the four directions and stone elephants, which represent the quarters, are found in each direction. The face of the pediment is covered with sculptures and there are small towers at the corners. Within the basement rises the main temple. As the basement is wider, it leaves a broad terrace around the temple which serves the purpose of an interior Pradaksinapatha. No Hoysala temple contains an interior Pradakshinapatha.

The outer walls are divided into three horizontal bands. The bands contain animated continuous designs which run right round the building. The lowest band usually contains 'a procession of elephants, signifying strength and stability, then a border of horsemen denoting speed, with a band of spiral foliage and Kirtimukha. Then there is a frieze depicting scenes from the epics', a picture

gallery in stone executed with marked dramatic effect and wealth of detail. Above this is a border of Yalis, while crowning all is a running pattern of hamsas which "swims in the waters of the mind of the great."[67] The middle part of the wall has niches with large statues of various gods. Over these niches there are decorated foliages and over them is the roof slab.

In the Hoysala temples the prominent towers are over the cells and not over the main gateway as in the Dravidian style. The tower rises like a stepped pavement, but with undulations, so that the effect of light and shade is clearly brought out. Over the tower, there is a capstone or the amalaka and over it there is the Kalasa. Projecting from the tower there is another roof over the Sukhanasi and this bears the figures of Sala fighting with the tiger.

Inside the temple, the main doorway is elaborately carved and flanked by the guardian deities (Dvarapalas). The Rangamantapa or outer hall is usually divided into squares or ankanas. By placing symmetrical pillars which are elaborately carved, the roof of this mantapa is also divided into squares and in the centre of the ceiling, Bhuvaneshwari, we have the most elaborate carving. The pillars are usually made of greenish or bluish-black schist and turned on a lathe to give a fine polish. The stone was also suitable for minute carving which in fact became a pronounced characteristic of the style. The various parts of the pillar follow a strict rule and at the top there is usually an elaborate carving representing the plantain tree. From the top of the pillar supporting the roof there are beautiful figures called Madanika or Salabhanjika.

The Ardhamantapa is not so elaborately carved, but the doorway leading to the sanctum is very lavishly engraved. On the doorway there is the representation of the lotus signifying the universe. The door joints are carved with figures of river goddesses, Ganga and Yamuna, to show that the place is a sacred thirta and only those who have purified themselves are fit to enter into the presence of the Lord. Over the doorway we find either the figure of Gajalaxmi with elephants bathing her or some figure of the god like Nataraja or Narsimha or Venugopala etc.

The sanctum or Garbhagriha is generally plain and purposely kept in darkness to represent the womb of the universe in which the image is seen. The same idea is also found in the vertical projection. From the top of the Kalasa the veritcal line must go exactly

67. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture, Vol. I. p. 139.

through the middle of the image to the centre of the Garbhagriha. What was hidden in darkness has expanded into the region of infinite life in the Kalasa, which is the emblem of Amrita or immortality.

Sculpture

In the Hoysala country there were certain local traditions which fixed the canons of art. Belur and Halebid, according to the puranas, were the places where Vishnu assumed a female form as Mohini, and brought about the destruction of Bhasmasura. Therefore, the images here have more feminine features and are usually called 'Channa'. Since the cosmic drama of Mohini and Bhasmasura represented the vicissitudes of the universe, the Hoysala artists attempted to bring out this idea in their elaborate sculptures. The temples therefore are like screens in a theatre within which the Hidden God manifests Himself. Therefore the sculptures are crowded on every available wall surface, so that at first the eye of the beholder is bewildered at the profusion of poses and ornamentation. But every unit of sculpture has an organic connection with the whole scheme of the emple. Stella Kramrisch however denies the artistic qualities of Hoysala sculptures because of its ornamentation. The overelaboration and wild profusion of the temples of Halebid have also come up for adverse remarks by E. B. Havell. They however ignored the fact that every detail of ornamentation, according to the Agamas, has a symbolism of its own. To put it differently, the Hoysala art has a charm and dignity of its own.

'The skill, richness, and intricacy of decorative devices and ornamentations reach their fullest abundance in the temples of Belagavi and Halebid'. The Salabhanjikas at Belur are most exquisitely carved. Those of the Salabhanjikas depicted in different dance poses are noted for their intricate and skilled craftsmanship.

The fabulous bird, gandabherunda, was a favourite bird with sculptors of Karnataka. It symbolised extraordinary strength and ferocity and was adopted as the insignia and biruda by many dynasties in the Deccan. Its mythical character, its incredible strength and form and above all its association with the royal insignia afforded the sculptor unlimited scope for the display of his imagination and skill. The specimens of the sculptural representation of this fabulous bird are found in many Hoysala temples. It is depicted as carrying elephants and lions in its claws and beaks. The artist had not only fully realised the nature of this bird, but could successfully portray it becomes evident from its representation in the

Kesava temple at Belur and the Buchesvara temple at Koramangala. In one single frieze the artist has admirably brought out the superiority in form and strength of one animal to another from the elephant up to gandabherunda showing that the gandabherunda as the most powerful of the series. R. Narasimhachar describes them as 'the chain of destruction'. To illustrate this point he has taken a scene represented in the 'ugly structure enshrining Ranganatha'. Here is depicted "a chain of destruction—a double-headed eagle or gandabherunda attacking a Sarabha, which attacks an elephant, the latter seizing a snake which is in the act of swallowing a rat—with the figure of a snake wondering at the sight".[68] The whole scene, beautiful and attractive, is further proof for the high excellence attained by the Hoysala sculptors in sharp and intricate carving.

The Belur temple was constructed by Vishnuvardhana to commemorate his victory over the Cholas. Probably in 1117 the original temple seems to have been open on three sides and had a tower of brick covered with gilded copper plates to resemble a mountain. Narasimha I and Ballala II paid great attention to the temple and they enclosed the open spaces with pierced stone railings. In the north-east a pond called Basudevatirtha and some mantapas were erected. Under Narasimha II and Somesvara there were further additions in the quadrangle. The main eastern doorway and a rampart wall enclosing the Keshava and Kappechanniga temples were built. The superstructure of the temple is however missing now and it must have been a work of surpassing beauty when complete.

The Hoysalesvara temple at Halebid was built by Kedaroja, the master builder of Narasimha I. As Percy Brown aptly remarks, "it is the supreme climax of Indian architecture in its most prodigal plastic manifestation.....as a monument to the phenomenal concentration, superb techincal skill, ingenuity, imagination and profound religious consciousness of those concerned in its creation, it has no peer" .The temple of Keshava at Somanathapura follow the trikuta plan, measuring 87 feet by 83 feet. Its only entrance faces east. It has a rectangular courtyard surrounded by 64 cells, the whole measuring 215 feet by 177 feet. All the parts are well balanced in their proportions and they are completely in accord with one another. The whole presents an effect which is at once elegant and pleasing.

To sum up, the Hoysalas have left an indelible mark on diffe-

68. Belur Temple, p. 8.

rent aspects of the history and culture of Karnataka. Their glorious heritage was inherited by the empire of Vijayanagar. Their monuments that have come down to us, recall to our memory the glory that was under the Hoysalas. Today they are remembered by a Smartha Brahmin community who call themselves as Hoysala Karnatakas.

7. SOCIO-RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS

Sankara

Sankara, founder of the school of Advaita, was born in an age of total conflict and confusion. As T. M. P. Mahadevan puts it, it was an age of unrest and strife, of spiritual bankruptcy and social discord. There was no political unity and social harmony in India at that time. Social groups were fighting to rise in the social ladder, selfishness, hate and greed reigned supremely in all the spheres of life and thought. The extreme Buddhist schools of Nihilism were attacking all the sacred and old traditions. The iconocolasts contributed their own share to this prevailing crisis.[69] It was into this India which was devoid of political unity and social cohesion that Sankara was born.

Sankara was born at Kaladi, about six miles from Alwaye in Kerla State in 788 A.D. His parents were Nambudari Brahmins, Sivaguru and Aryamba. In his fifth year he lost his father. Sankara showed extraordinary genius by mastering all the sutras by his seventh year. As he was the only child his mother wanted that he should take upon himself the duties of a householder. He knew that he had quite a different mission in life therefore did not wish to be entangled. After having arranged for his mother's maintenance Sankara became a Sanyasi.

He left his house and went in search of a teacher. He came to the banks of river Narmada, where he met his guru, Govinda Bhagavatpada, a disciple of Gaudapada. He studied under him and thereafter he went to Varanasi to expound the meaning of Brahma Sutras, the Upanishads and the Bhagavadgita. It was here Sankara got his first disciple Vishnusharma who was given the sanyasa name Sanandana. From Varanasi he went to Badarikashrama where he met sage Vyasa and Gaudapada and received blessing from them. He again returned to Varanasi and wrote commentaries and other works. Then he travelled throughout India on foot three

69. Ten Saints of India, p. 76.

times from Nepal to Rameswaram meeting all opponents, putting down evil religious customs and preaching a universal philosophy of salvation by Janana only. In the course of this tour he defeated the famous exponent of Mimamsa, Mandana and his wife Bharathi.

Sankara now heard that his mother was bedridden. He came to Kaladi, instructed her spiritually and prepared her to meet the end calmly and with confidence. When she died his kinsmen refused to co-operate with him for the performance of the last rites. Sankara cremated her by cutting the corpse into bits in a corner of the garden where his mother's house lay.[70]

He now set on his digvijaya for the spiritual conquest of India. He reconciled the paths of Karma and Bhakti with that of Jnana or knowledge so that every faith and religion in the world can be accommodated in the philosophy of Advaita. Ethics, morality, duty to society and the due discharge of Karmas or duties with reference to the fruits were equally emphasised by him. According to him sanyasa did not mean an escape from life's responsibility but detached service to humanity. As a social reformer Sankara abolished many evil customs and cruel religions and sublimated others so that they became an integral part of modern Hinduism. He is therefore called the Shanmatha Stapanacharya (establisher of six main religions)—Saivism, Vaisnavism, and the worship of Surya, Ganapathi, Kumara and Sakti, or Devi worship. Even though he condemned the absurdities in Buddhism, he honoured the Buddha as a great yogi.

Sankara established monastic institutions and the most important ones are the Jotirmatha at Badrikashrama, the Kalikapita at Dwaraka. the Govardhana pita at Jagannatha Puri, the Sharada Pita at Sringeri and Kamakoti pita at Kanchi. It is said he brought five Lingas from Kailasa and consecrated them at Kedara, Nilakanta Kshetra in Nepal, Chidambaram, Sringeri and Kanchi. After living a life of 32 years on this earth and completing his mission Sankara passed away.

Advaita Philosophy

From the Vedic times Hinduism had evolved towards an absolute which transcended time, space and other categories of the finite universe. This tradition was clearly enunciated in the early Upanishads, the Gita and the Brahma Sutras. But because of the

70. Ten Saints of India, p. 85.

attacks of Buddhism, Jainism and theistic religions Hinduism had fallen on the defence. The ancient traditions had been supported by logic. Therefore a new orientation in religion was found to be necessary. This was undertaken by Gaudapada who wrote a commentary on the Upanishad in repudiation of Buddhism. Sankara followed the same tradition but by his genius systematised the philosophy of the Absolute so that it has become a universal philosophy.

The fundamentals of Advaita rest upon Karma, Bhakti and Jnana. But it is asserted that Moksha is possible only from Jnana though Bhakti and Karma are also helpful. The problem of evil in the world has to be excluded by a system of philosophy. But it cannot be ignored or explained away. Therefore a proper understanding of the world is essential. All kinds of karma is impossible. Therefore it must be properly understood as a dedication to God, for attaining Bhakti implies a duality between God and man and this duality can be supplanted by Brahmajnana. Therefore the world is due to the pure self and the material world. This superimposition in one aspect is called Maya and in another ignorance.

Maya has been misunderstood. There is a beginning less power which not only covers or hides the universe but also creates illusory forms. Therefore there are three kinds of truths. The absolute enternal truth, the illusory truth as in the case of misunderstanding a rope for the snake and the truth that prevails in the actual world.

The world has a contingent reality in the waking state and therefore cannot be dismissed as illusory as in Buddhism. But in the dream state the mind creates many curious forms which are partly real and partly unreal and is called illusory reality. In the dream state the actual external world is completely ignored by the self, though the world continues to exist. But there is another state of deep sleep; where there is no dream world and all senses are completely at rest, and balanced and as long as life lasts every creature in the state of deep sleep attains bliss, at least temporarily, until it returns to the working stage. But this is not the highest form of bliss because ignorance still persists. Therefore the Upanishads teach that due to Samadhi there is infinite bliss of Brahman and here also there are two stages. The Lower form of Samadhi gives unity with a personal God with Eswara or Saguna Brahman with attributes, like sat, knowledge, and bliss.

A still higher state of Samadhi from which there is no return to the world is complete identification with attributeless Bramhan

which can only be experienced but never described. Therefore Sankara developed a system of logic called 'Anirvachaneya Khyati'. Maya and the world cannot be said to be completely real or completely unreal or a combination of real and unreal or a negation of this combination, but some fifth way which cannot be described in words. If the world was eternally real there would be no release and there is no scope for God. If it was entirely unreal, we would not have experienced miseries in this world. It cannot at the same time be a combination of Sat and Asat, because they are two mutually opposed things like light and darkness. Therefore any logical system must accept the different degrees of reality which are proved back, experienced in the waking, dream and deep sleep state.

In the Upanishads the personality of man is analysed into five Koshas. The Annamaya Kosha is the Physical body, but it cannot function itself. Within this there is the Pranamaya Kosha which is the biological plant animating the physical body. But mere life energy is not enough and therefore there is a psychological principle guiding life, Manomaya Kosha. Even the mind is one of the senses and cannot function without knowledge and experience. Therefore within that there is the Vijnanamaya Kosha. But knowledge cannot give satisfaction by itself and therefore there is Anandamaya Kosha which is equalled with a personal God Eswara possessing these essential attributes, Sat Chita Ananda and above this, as a support of all the five Koshas, is the attributeless Brahman.

The relation between Jiva and Brahmana may be of three kinds as the individual soul is entirely different Bramhan and therefore there is the necessity of Karma and Bhakti. This is dualism or the five may be conceived as a part of Brahman but still different from the whole Brahman having its own individuality which will never be lost even in Mukti. This leads to qualified monism, where difference still persists. But real knowledge destroys every difference and the four conceptions of relief as something to be attained hereafter or earned by the Grace of Some God or as something which is newly created or as going from one place to another. All the conceptions of relief apply only to theistic and dualistic philosophies.

In Advaita, Moksha is not something which has to be attained hereafter. But the essential nature of every jiva is already Brahman and only the wheel of ignorance has concealed the real nature and

therefore the jiva undergoes pains of samsara until it realised its inherent divinty. Therefore the jiva does not lose its individuality in Moksha, but the limitations of that individuality are overcome by knowledge and immediately here and now it attains universal Brahman. Therefore Advaita is a negation of duality but not an assertion of even unity because even unity is a relative concept. Thus Advaita makes provision for all stages of spiritual growth from illusion to sublimation of every religion in the world and asserts the divinity of every person. This sublime philosophy could be only realised by very few. That its value is destroying all artificial differences of castes, race and sects, economic inequality and bringing real peace and harmony to the world is being realised by all thinkers. Advaita tradition after Sankara has been continued by a number of saints and scholars like Vidyaranya, Madhusudhana Saraswathi in the early Muslim period, Ramdas and Brahmananda Saraswathi in the time of Marathas and Peswas, Sri Ramakrishna and Vivekananda, in the 19th century, and Radhakrishnan and others in the present age, so that it is has attracted Eastern and Western scholars throughout the world.

Ramanuja

Ramanuja, 'the central gem in the precious necklace made up of the gems of teachers and disciples of the Vaisnava apostolic', is the greatest exponent of the philosophy of Visistadvaita or qualified monism. Prior to him, the Alvars preached the religion of Bhakti. Then came the line of Acharyas who championed the intensive religious experience of Alvars. However, it could capture the imagination of the multitudes during the time of Ramanuja. He performed the great feat of linking up the traditions of both the south and the north, to show that they were preserving the tradition of continuity.

Ramanuja was born in 1017 A. D. at Sriperumbudar. His parents were Keshavacharya and Kanthimati, sister Srisailapurna, grandson of Yamunacharya. He had his early education under Yadavaprakasha, a teacher of Advaita. Soon differences of opinion arose between him and his teacher over the interpretation of certain passage. He left his teacher and came down to Kanchi to lead a life of the householder. Here he attracted the attention of Alavandar who had a desire to entrust him the pontifical seat at Srirangam. He even sent word to Ramanuja to meet him. But before the meeting could take place he died.

Ramanuja's domestic life was not a happy one. His wife's co-operation was found wanting in his spiritual exercises. He sent his wife to his father-in-law and embraced the life of an ascetic. Ramanuja then proceeded to Srirangam to occupy the pontifical seat. But there he found that the position of the Vaishnavas had become difficult. It is said that the Chola king in his bigoted zeal for the spread of Saivism, tried to suppress the Vaisnavas by capital punishment. Therefore Ramanuja retired to Karnataka, stayed there for 20 years, converted many thousands of people to Srivaisnavism and erected a temple for Lord Narayana and a Matha at Melkote.

When the news of the death of the Chola king reached him, he left for Srirangam. He organised the ceremonials at the Srirangam temples, visited Vaisnava shrines all over the South, established several temples and Mathas and thus secured for the Vaisnavas a recognised place in the life of the community. After making arrangements for the continuation of his work and living on earth for a lifetime of 120 years Ramanuja departed this world in 1137.

Visistadvaita Philosophy

The Visistadvaita tradition also had come down to us from very ancient times. But it was Ramanuja who restated the theistic position with new arguments. Sankara's Advaita or non-duality had overcome Buddhism and was the prevailing philosophy throughout India. Though Sankara had given due importance to Karma and Bhakti, knowledge (Jnana) alone could lead a person to salvation. Therefore, the later development of Advaita has tended to ignore the demands of man for a personal God of love. The Bhakti movements, on the other hand, emphasised the dependence of man on God in a spirit of love and sacrifice. Ramanuja differed from Sankara in several important points.

Sankara had taught that the Nirguna Brahman was higher than a personal God Saguna Brahman. Ramanuja asserts that there can be no such thing as absolutely attributeless and man only conceives God as having all attributes. Wherever the term Nirguna is used in the scriptures, it is interpreted as without bad qualities and not as completely without qualities. Therefore, God is full of auspicious qualities like mercy, beauty, justice and only such a God is worthy of devotion.

Sankara's theory of Maya is also refuted by Ramanuja. He says in this theory there are logical inconsistencies. If Maya

(illusion) is independent of Brahman and of equal power then there can be non-duality (Advaita). Further, if all things are beyond speech, then the scriptures which seek to give the highest knowledge would themselves be useless. Therefore, Maya should be interpreted as God's power and subordinate to him.

Salvation, according to Sankara, is the recognition of absolute identity between God and man. Ramanuja says that complete identity is not possible. The individual soul has limited intellect, limited power and can never presume to be identical with God. God is Omnipresent, Omniscient and Omnipotent. Therefore, the relation between the God and individual soul is one of dependence. But still the soul is not entirely separated from God as in dualism. Just as in the human body the hands, legs and the other limbs are separate from one another, have their own individuality, but still controlled by the whole body, even so, God embodies the whole universe and the souls and world are parts of him and dependent on him. Even in salvation, the individual soul does not loose its personality and distinction. But the sense of estrangement from God is completely overwhelmed by God's infinite mercy.

Ramanuja preached a religion of Bhakti. He does not use the word Bhakti in the popular sense of blind faith. Here it implies loving meditation for its own sake. He meets the demands of metaphysics and satisfies the supreme call of love by this theory of Jnana turned into Bhakti. He maintained that the knowledge of God and true love is the love of God. It is by absolute devotion to God and not by Vedic study, meritorious work of austerity that Brahman is realised. Bhakti helps the soul to attain redemption and to enjoy eternal blessedness in the presence of God.

Ramanuja allowed the prevalent practice of restricting the privilege of reading the scriptures to higher classes, and suggested to others that the path of self-surrender, Prapatti and unflinching faith in the preceptor. Bhakti is meditation on God while prapatti is complete self-surrender to God. Prapatti is a direct and independent means of emancipation. It is suited to all castes and classes. It guarantees salvation to all who find it difficult to follow the precipitous path of Bhakti.

Ramanuja preferred the Dasya relation between God and the devotees. Dasyam according to him is not prostration to God, but an eternal service of God. The motto, 'eye serve', is quite in keeping with the spiritual motive of Bharatha and Lakshmana. The

freeman's worship is really that of Hanuman, who, by serving Rama, could conquer the whole universe. Service implies a conditional duality. As long as there is this duality, service becomes easier. One must give utmost importance to service and only secondary place to anything other than service. One is said to be free from all sorts of anxiety and worry about anything when he has no other ideal than serving the God. It is said life is at its best when it is placed at the hands of the best. Such a person is free from anger, desire and fear. He is well balanced and is entitled to the enjoyment of everlasting peace and tranquillity.

The religion of Bhakti which Ramanuja preached ministered to the religious cravings of all the people without distintions of caste, creed, colour or social status. In the Vaisnava community there were devotees who were not Brahmins. Ramanuja even wished to partake the leavings of a great devotee of Vishnu, Kanchipurna, a Sudra by caste. When his wife did not like it he abandoned the householder's life and donned the robes of sanyasi. He was not tired of telling his disciples that it is the qualities of head and heart which are the causes of good, and not caste. Gostipurna taught him the inner meanings of the Ramayana and the sacred mantras though forbidden to teach the sacred lore to all, Ramanuja said that if he personally went to hell for disobeying his teacher and if all the common people went to heaven he would not mind it. He claimed the tower of the temple and announced to all the secrets of the Mantra. He showed equal solicitude regarding the position of the Panchamas or untouchables.

Thus Ramanuja preached that salvation was attainable alike by all whatever their position on earth. Here he effected a happy compromise as in the case of *Panchatantra*. The position of Ramayana amounts to this—whatever the position of man in society, one stood near to God as anyone else, provided he kept to the high requirements of Godly life. He had to carry on controversies with the Advaitins, with the Jainas and with others even including the Saivas. He succeeded in his mission in so far as he put Srivaisnavism on a permanent footing.

Srivaisnavism completely loosened the hold of its followers on various minor Gods who were propitiated in order to attain wordly objects. It laid more emphasis on devotion to one deity.

Ramanuja's broadmindedness is however questioned by some who argue that in placing the Sudras in a separate position he has not

been able to free himself from old prejudices. As Sten. Konow points out, "What Ramanuja has done is to heighten the popular feeling thereby secure them recognition by the leading spiritual section". It is important to note that prapatti 'is open to all without any distinction'. What one has to do is to resolve to follow the will of God, not to cross his purposes, to believe that he will save, to seek help from him and him alone and to yield up one's spirit to him and to be meek. Prapatti is so important that even the path of Janana-bhakti is said to lead to it. 'Those who surrender themselves to God are saved by him'. The only requisite for prapatti is in the change of act on the part of a devotee and his absolute confidence in the serving grace of the Lord.[71]

Madhva

Madhva or Anandatirtha was born in 1199 in a village Belle near Udupi in the South Kanara district. Even in his boyhood he distinguished himself by his intellectual and physical attainments so that he came to be considered as an avatara of Vayu or the wind-God. He studied under an Advaita teacher Achyuta Prekshacharya, otherwise called Purushottama Tirtha. But soon he developed an independent philosophy. He visited all places in South India defeating his opponents in religious debates. When staying at Udupi he came across an image of Krishna, installed in a temple and appointed 8 monks for the worship.

He then visited northern India probably in the time of Sultan Balban and is said to have met Vedavyasa in Badari. On his return journey he came to know that the ancient images of Rama and Sita had been preserved in the Kalinga country. He defeated two Advaita scholars, Samasastri and Sobanasastri, and made them his disciples. Samasastri had been the prime minister of the king and he brought the images of Rama and Sita to Udupi. Madhva wrote commentaries on the Brahmasutras, Upanishads, Gita, Mahabharatha, Bhagavata and many other works on Dwaita philosophy. After worshipping the images of Rama and Sita for 80 days in Udupi he attained salvation in the Ananteswara temple at Udupi in his 80th year.

Dwaita Philosophy

In Madhva's system there are two fundamental principles. God who is svatantra or completely free and the individual souls, world etc. which are completely subordinate to God (Asvatantra). Further

71. T. M. P. Mahadevan, *Ibid.*, p. 105.

there is also difference on duality between various categories. Five kinds of relationships can be distinguished. 1. Difference between God and the soul. 2. Difference between God and the world. 3. Difference between the individual souls and the world. 4. Mutual differences between the individual souls themselves. 5. Difference between the various elements in the world. These five kinds of differences are eternal and continue to exist even in salvation. Therefore, these are all eternal realities and the world is also eternally real and not merely illusory as in the philosophy of Sankara. In salvation also there is difference and there can be no complete identity as in Ramanuja's philosophy. The difference persists in salvation means that the individual soul realises in full its own potentialities and enjoys bliss only to its own limited extent. It can never claim equality or identity with God. Even among the souls there are three eternal classes; those who are predestined for salvation by the grace of God, those who are condemned to the eternal cycles of births and deaths and those whose lot is eternal hell.

His philosophy was developed by his immediate disciples. Jayatirtha wrote commentaries on Madhva's work and Krishnadevaraya was a disciple of Vyasaraya. During the Vijayanagara period the Dasakuta began to flourish and eminent devotees like Purandaradasa and Kanakadasa composed many songs or kirtanas in homely popular Kannada to teach morals and uproot many superstitions. In the 17th and 18th centuries the Dvaita philosophy was further developed by Vadiraja, Vijayendra and Ragavendra Swami who established many centres of learning and were also composers of songs or kirtanas in Kannada.

Virasaivism

The rule of Kalachuri Bijjala is important for the revival of Saivism in a new form called Virasaivism or Lingayatism. As Fleet points out, "the new sect of Sivabhaktas or worshippers of Siva (were) technically called Virasaivas, i.e., 'brave, fierce or strict Saivas' or 'Siva champions', and popularly known Lingayata or Lingawants, i.e., 'those who have the linga or phallic emblem'." Traditionally, the beginnings of Virasaivism are traced to five acharyas—Ekorama, Panditaradhya, Revana, Marula, and Visvaradhaya—who were said to have sprung from the five heads of Siva. But these five seem to be the older and younger contemporaries of Basava. Fleet held the view that the movement was due to Ekantada Ramayya, whose miraculous story is found described in Ablur

inscription. He further maintained that Basava gave it political aid at the later date. It is also held that the Lingayat movement was originated by Basava Himself and 'Ekantada Ramayya was one of the earliest and most ardent followers of Basava.[72] There is absolutely no doubt that Virasaivism came into prominence by the efforts of Basava and his associates called pramathas.

In Virasaivism there is only one supreme entity, i.e., Siva, who is associated with Sakti. From this supreme being, there is a division into Linga or the personal God, Siva and Anga, i.e., soul. Linga and Anga in their further evolution will have three divisions each, a total of six divisions, called Shat-Stala. The word Stala implies what is permanent. Sta, and what is perishable, la. The final goal of the Anga or individual soul is merging in Linga. The nature of this identity is qualified monism. Each individual soul has its own distinct personality and is atomic in size and therefore forms a limb (anga) of the Linga (God). This qualified identity can be attained through the grace (Bhakti) of God (Siva).

The three terms that are found in Virasaivism are guru, the preceptor, Jangama, the realised soul and Linga, Siva. Astavarna or eight rules are mentioned as aids to progress in faith. They are, obedience to a guru, worship of Linga, reverence for Jangama, smearing of ashes (vibhuti), wearing of rudraksa (rosary), sipping the "padodaka" of a Guru or Jangama, offering food and partaking of the remains (prasada) and uttering Namah Sivaya (panchaksara). These are taught at the time of Diksa.

It is seen from the above that emphasis is laid more on Bhakti than on knowledge. This cult of bhakti formed the vital part of the religious culture of Karnataka. The structure of the society in Karnataka during this period was not different from the rest of the country. It clung to the same old ironcased beliefs and practices. There were the privileged and unprivileged classes. Knowledge had been the close preserve of the few. It is against these religious and social inequalities that Basava led a ceaseless crusade.

Basava opposed the artificial barriers that separated man from man, and one social group from another. The bhakti cult knew no barriers of caste or colour. He says: "The killer is the lowest in caste. The eater of meat is the lowest in caste. Where is caste ? Those that wish the good of all, those that are devoted to our Kudala

72. The Early History of the Deccan, Vol. I, p. 463.

Sangamadeva are the men of caste."[73] All men are equal in the eyes of God. Basava did not make any difference in preaching the religion of bhakti. He treated the Brahmanas and the Panchamas alike, rewarded the bhakta and punished the guilty. Haralaiah, a noted disciple of his, was a panchama. He is said to have spent some time usually in their company. He even arranged for the marriage of Haralaiah's son with the daughter of Madhuvaiah, a Brahmana.

Basava exposed the futility of blind beliefs like the worship of images, pilgrimages, and bathing in the sacred tirthas, and sastric injunctions. He says : "Shall I call sastras great? They are worshipping Karma and externals of religion. Brass idols that are worshipped become at other times Mari and how can I call them divinity, for these are as futile as bathing in waters wherever found, and circumbulating Aswatha trees wherever found, and beating one's cheeks as tokens of prayer. The conformists worship stone as Nagas but destroy them if confronted in flesh and blood".[74] He was also against lower forms of worship and idol worship which according to him, was 'like chewing bamboo leaf which has no juice, churning water which has no butter and spinning sand which has no rope'. He ridiculed the attempts of those that wanted to build temples as prayer houses for the Almighty whose "eyes are the universe unbounded. Why adorn this deity with jewels ? Can we encompass this measureless entity with golden jewels ? I prefer to cultivate my body itself as a temple of God. My body is the whole Temple, my legs are its pillars and my head is its Golden Sikhara".

Basava opposed the worship of the plurality of gods. He preached a religion of supreme surrender to one. He even questioned whether those that worshipped many gods could be regarded as real devotees. According to him Isvara is worshipped as all other gods are worshipped because Isvara permeated the universe. He is one without a second. He said : "What shall I say to those ignorant people who can call themselves devotees, who at the same time worship Kudalasangamadeva as well as other gods ?" He thus upheld the philosophy of oneness in all. He comprehended one God and the worship of other gods were strictly prohibited. He saw divinity in the stone, in wells, and trees, in the different creations, and in every natural and human manifestation; and he pleaded with all,

73. The Struggle for Empire, p. 449.

74. This and other translations of Basava's sayings unless otherwise stated are from M. V. Krishna Rao's Mystic Tradition in Religion and Art in Karnataka

irrespective of social status and distinction to transcend caste barriers, and to cultivate faith in one God only and that was Kudala-Sangama Deva.

Basava regards bhakti as superior to mukti. Bhakti is described as being itself the emancipation (mukti). He says: 'faith is grace of God and lack of faith is poison'. Grace of God is necessary to serve humanity. At one place he says 'Kayakave Kailasavayya' 'strenuousity is the abode of Paramesvara'. It is selfless devotion that is considered as the ideal. His prayer to Sangamesvara is "Don't make me known as Soham but only as Dasoham. I do not crave for the power and status of Brahma or Vishnu, but what I only ask of you is to supplicate me at the feet of the bhaktas who are your devotees and thus invest me with that mahapadavi or status of service". The religion of bhakti he preached did not involve the mortification of flesh. It was a simple religion which involved the constant chanting or meditating on the name of God. As he puts it: "Mortifications of the flesh do not touch God's feet, unless there is purity of heart, for, it should be like bathing in the stream and washing oneself of the dirt of his body, and washing oneself of the sins of living. The body has desires to eat meat and drink liquor, the eye lusts for strange women. What is the use of wearing symbols of religion without a pure heart ? The body is a temple of God, and therefore the mind has to be pure to house the Infinite Transcendence".

He advised his disciples to shun the snares of the senses. Generally people are prone to be attracted by the pleasures of the flesh. The snares of the senses attract us even when we are in danger, as 'like the frog that is caught in the mouth of a snake that yet snaps at the fly, moving near its own mouth'. The mind is like the monkey restless and aimless, and must be purged of temptation through self-consciousness and God consciousness.[75] Thus he prays to the Lord "spread not the greed of the pleasures of the senses before me; what does the brute know, but to bend to the grass. Take away my desires, and feed me with devotion. O God, Kudalasangama".

The religion of bhakti that Basava preached was a moral code which could suit one and all without any distinctions. He preached the moral virtues of compassion, humanity, tolerance, etc. He ridiculed those who tried to show off these virtues in an arti-

75. M. V. Krishna Rao, *Ibid*, p. 54.,

ficial way. He says, "if a serpent carved on a stone is seen they ask people to pour milk on it. If a real serpent is seen they then ask the people to kill it. If a needy Jangama comes, they bid him to go; but to an inert linga which cannot eat they offer food". Again, "Do the pundits learned in the sastras understand the infinite significance of pity ? Just retribution will visit those who do violence to you. They worship Agni, but when Agni burns, they smother it by ditch water and thereby they reveal in their lives, an inherent contradiction in their profession and practice".

The religion that Basava preached established the footing equality of man with woman. Sex was no bar to attain the grace of God. Girls are entitled to Diksha and women wear linga like men. The widows are allowed to marry and they are not considered to be polluted during their monthly periods.[76] They were well-versed in the knowledge of the Supreme. Among such great devotees Nilambika, Basava's wife, Mahadeviamma, wife of Molige Marian, Muktayakka are worthy of special mention. One of the greatest women bhaktas were Akka Mahadevi.

Bhakti Bhandari Basavanna, as Basava is popularly known, preached a religion which attached great importance to Bhakti or devotion to Siva. He made no distinctions among the followers of Siva. He preached his religion in the languages of the common man and this gave impetus to the growth of literature in the language of the region. It had universal appeal and therefore people of all castes accept this. In a word, Basava (Virasaivism) can be credited with five important achievements: 1. The abolition of all caste distinctions between the followers of the same religion, 2. the upliftment of the Panchamas, 3. equality of women, 4. the growth of literature in regional languages such as Kannada, Telugu, etc., and 5. the importance attached to manual labour (kayaka) and dignity of labour.

76. The Struggle for Empire, p. 449.

6

THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE

The Vijayanagara Empire may be said to represent the era of civilization when the destiny idea, characteristic of the Indian soul, had worked out its potentialities and the spring and summer of Indian culture had been succeeded by the phase of civilization characterised by the rise of a new industrial system, an imperialism and a city state with a megalopolitan culture. If Indian culture is studied according to Toynbee's theory, the period up to about 1300 A.D. may be said to have represented the response to nature's challenge. From the beginning of the 14th century Delhi in the North and Vijayanagara in the South began to dominate Indian history. But Vijayanagara civilization cannot be called an arrested culture, nor was Vijayanagara Empire a successor to the Maurya and even more remotely to the Harappan Empire as has been asserted by Mortimer Wheeler and Stuart Piggott. But it is an undeniable fact that Vijayanagara marks the period of conservation and preservation more than creativeness and expansion.

The foundation of the Vijayanagara empire in the first half of the 14th century A.D. constitutes an event of great significance in the history of Dakshinapatha in particular and the history of India in general. It came to be established with a view to arrest the onrush of Islam into South India and preserve Indian culture and tradition in its pristine purity as it were. It stood as a bulwark against the spread of Islam for a period of three centuries and gave protection to Hindu religion. It has left a permanent impress of its existence in the fields of religion, literature, art and polity. As its name signifies, it was an empire that became victorious after a relentless struggle against superior forces. That is why, perhaps, it is said with pride and justification that the Vijayanagara Empire is the last, the greatest and the most glorious Hindu empire of Dakshinapatha.

Origin

The origin of such a great and glorious dynasty as the Vijayanagara is differently viewed by different scholars on Vijayanagara history. According to some scholars the Vijayanagara rulers of the Sangama family were of Telugu stock. B. A. Saletore and others view that the sons of Sangama were entirely of Karnataka origin. The theory of Kampili origin of the Vijayanagara is put forward by some scholars. Let us now analyse the different theories to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion.

1. The Andhra Origin

Some works like *Vijyaranya Kalajnana, Vidyaranya Vrittanta, Rajakalanirnaya, Piramahasamhiti, Sivatatvaratnakara* assert that the founders of Vijayanagara, Hakka and Bukka, were the treasury officers of the King of Warangal, Pratapa Rudra. When Muhammad Bin-Tughluq came in pursuit of Baha-ud-din Gurshap, who had sought and obtained refuge in the court of Pratapa Rudra, Pratapa Rudra was overthrown and Warangal was destroyed. Then the two brothers, Hakka and Bukka, with a small body of armed forces, escaped from the city, and crossing the river Krishna, they came to the present site of Vijayanagara, Hampi. Vidyaranya took them under his protection and finally established them on the throne, having founded the city or the capital named Vidyanagara in A.D. 1336.

This literary tradition is not supported by either Vijayanagara or Telugu inscriptions. In the first place, these works belong to a period ranging from 16th to 18th century. The Virasaiva writers from the 16th century onwards developed a tendency to relate the past events in the form of predictions, known popularly as 'Kalajnana'. The lateness as well as the legendary nature of the accounts make their evidence suspect. Secondly, as shown by Sewell, there are certain inaccuracies in the above story. It entirely leaves out of account the most important point. How could two brothers, flying from a captured capital and a conquered kingdom, suddenly establish in a new country a great city and a sovereignty?

But N. Venkataramaniah and some others have argued that when Warangal was destroyed, several Reddi chieftains like Prolaya Nayaka and his cousin Kapaya Nayaka, the Kanhaya Nayaka of the Moslem historians, continued the resistance and practically ruled independently, perhaps as far as Hampi, which was called Doravadinagara. The Hoysalas had no authority over this territory near the Tunga Bhadra. Therefore, Harihara and Bukka must have

represented the Kakatiya kingdom, since works like *Rajakalanirnaya* say that they fought with the Hoysalas. To substitute further these arguments, Venkataramaniah informs us that the crest and the administrative divisions of the Vijayanagara empire, like Sthalas and Nadus, were borrowed from the Kakatiyas of Warangal. He cites an inscription from Gozalavidu (Kauigiri Taluk, Nellore district) which, according to him, bears the date Saka 1236 (1314 A. D.) and speaks of one Bukkaraya Odeya. This he takes to be a Kakatiya record and at first identified him with Sangama's father Bukka. Subsequently he revised his opinion and thought him to be Bukka I, serving as a subordinate of Kakatiya Pratapa Rudra in 1314.

These arguments are ably controverted by B. A. Saletore. On the basis of inscriptional evidence he argues that it is historically erroneous to maintain that Hoysala ruler Vira Ballala III had nothing to do with Doravadi. After the battle of Doravadi in 1320 A.D. the centre passed into the possession of Vira Ballala III. There existed no animosity between the sons of Sangama and the Hoysalas. And for that matter the dynastic relationship existed between the Hoysala house and the family of the sons of Sangama. As regards the similarity between the boar crest and the administrative divisions of the Vijayanagara rulers and the crest and the administrative divisions of the Kakatiya rulers, Saletore makes the following statement. The fact that one royal family has some crest as another does not necessarily mean that the origin of the former is to be traced to the latter. Diverse royal families that never belonged to the same stock had a common crest. Thus the tiger crest was common to the Pallavas, the Cholas and to Hoysalas. On the above reasoning, we must have the conclude that the Cholas, the Hoysalas, and the Pallavas belonged to the same stock. He maintains that since the sons of Sangama were of Karnataka stock, they had recourse to the Varaha crest of the Chalukyas whose memories lingered on in the Vijayanagara Empire without having borrowed it from the Kakatiyas with whom they had nothing in common whatsoever. Finally, Saletore asks, if the Telugu origin of the rulers of Vijayanagara were an established fact, one cannot understand why, for instance in A.D. 1347, one year after the foundation of the kingdom of Vijayanagara, the Brahmanas who received grants of villages should have been styled as people coming from the Andhradesa, and not as Brahmanas hailing from 'our own country the Andhradesa'. An undated stone inscription of Harihara II calls him 'a lion to the scent-elephant that is the Andhra King'.

Moreover when a really great Telugu dynasty controlled the destinies of the land, the Vijayanagara emperor Tirumala, calls himself as one 'adorning the golden throne of the Karnata'. The Vijayanagara rulers do not mention at least once in their inscriptions that they hailed from Andhradesa while the Senas of Bengal and the founders of the Mithila dynasty in Bihar do not hesitate to call themselves as Kanadigas. P.B. Desai[77] who has examined the Gozalavidu inscription afresh has disproved the reading of Venkataramaniah. He argues that there is no trace in the inscription to show Bukkaraya Odeya had any connections with the Kakatiyas. Further, Harihara's father Sangama and grandfather Bukka, were almost insignificant chiefs of some local status who are never known to have assumed distinguished titles and set up any epigraphical records. The fact that Bukkaraya Odeya assumed such sovereign titles as Samasta Bhuvanasraya and such characteristic epithets in Kannada as Arirayavibhada, Bhashege tappuvarayaraganda show that he was no other than Bukka I, the cofounder of the Vijayanagara dynasty. The Bukka of the inscription was also the worshipper of God Virupaksha, continuing he says, the correct date as given in the inscription is Saka 1296 corresponding to 1374 A.D. and not Saka 1236 (1314 A.D.) as was thought by Venkataramaniah and therefore Bukkaraya could not have been the contemporary of Pratapa Rudra. Thus the theory of the Andhra origin of the Vijayanagara appears to be untenable.

2. The Karnataka Origin

Rev. Fr. Heras, S. K. Aiyangar and B. A. Saletore and others have asserted the Hoysala origin of Vijayanagara. According to Muslim chronicles, when the general of Allauddin-Khalji, Malik Kafur, attacked Hoysala Vira Ballala III in 1310 A.D., the latter decided to protect the northern frontier of his kingdom by establishing a new capital, Vijayavirupaksapura, named after his son, Vijaya Virupaksa. Therefore, Heras says that all the stories connecting Vidyaranya or his Guru, Vidya Shankara, with the foundation of Vijayanagara are deliberate forgeries by the Sringeri Gurus in the 15th century. There is absolutely no evidence to show that in the beginning the city was called Vidyanagara. The real name was Vijayanagara. S. K. Aiyangar says whether Harihara and Bukka were men from Warangal or other people nearer home, and whatever be their nationality, Telugu or Kanarese, it would be more in

77. A History of Karnataka, pp. 312-313.

keeping with the trend of historical events of the time to take it that the brothers worked in co-operation, if not in subordination to Vira Ballala. The foundation of the Vijayanagara as such is the outcome of that policy of the last Hoysala who dislodged the garrisons planted by Muhammad-bin-Tughluk and getting South India free of the Muhammadans. When the last Hoysala passed out of existence, it is these brothers who would stand out as having rendered yomen service to the empire. There seems to be, therefore, a sequence of events which led gradually from efforts at protecting the Ballala kingdom to ultimately erecting a state which would offer effective opposition and save South India from Muhammadan conquest. That culmination is what is really to be described as the foundation of the empire, the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagara, in South. B. A. Saletore expressed practically the same view. It is no wonder, he writes, that the sons of Sangama, whom the feudatories and generals of the Hoysalas thus readily acknowledged as the rightful successors of the Hoysalas, should have been intimately associated with the Karnataka country. It was only their profound sense of responsibility as successsors to the rich heritage of the Hoysalas that made the founders themselves give extraordinary prominence to the royal city of their great predecessors—Dorasamudra.

The view that the founders of the Vijayanagara dynasty were Kannadigas is proved by the following evidence. As pointed out by G.S. Gai, out of the total about 5,000 Vijayanagara inscriptions almost half the number are in Kannada and many inscriptions found in Tamil Nadu and Andhra are also in Kannada. There is close resemblance between the coins bearing the symbols of Hanuman and Garuda of Harihara I, and the Kadambas and the Yadavas. The legends on the coins are in Kannada characters. Gangadevi in her work *Madhura Vijaya* refers to Vijayanagara as Karnata and describes Bukka I as the 'Glory of the Karnata race'. Vallabharaya in his work Kridabhiraman, in Telugu, calls Bukka I as Karnataka Kshitipala. Another great Telugu poet Srinabha addresses the Vijayanagara Kingdom as 'Kannada-Rajya-Lakshmi' and Devaraya II as 'Karnataka Kshitipala'. Sangitasuryodaya speaks of Krishnadevaraya as 'Karnatanvaya' while Nandi Timmana refers to Krishnadevaraya as 'Sri Karnata Mahisa'. In Amuktamalyada Krishnadevaraya calls himself as 'Kannadaraya'. In his 'Manucharitamu' Poet Peddana calls Krishnadevaraya as 'Kannada Rajya [illegible] ramana'. Even Ferishta referred to the Kings of Vijaya[illegible]

'Roies of Carnatic'. All these support the theory that the founders hailed from Karnataka.

The Theory of Kampili Origin

The fort of Kampili near Tunga-Bhadra was of great strategic importance even in the Chalukya-Chola period. In the 14th century according to numerous traditions like Kumararamana Kathe, Kampili-yuddha, etc., in Kannda, Kampili was ruled by Kampilidevaraya who had successfully resisted the Yadavas of Devagiri, the Kakatiyas of Warangal and the Hoysalas. His son, Kumara Rama, was a great hero and by the intrigues of his step-mother, he had been exiled. His brother-in-law was Sangama, the father of Harihara, Bukka and others. When Bahaud-din-Grushap, a cousin of Muhammad bin-Tughluq, found no refuge with any big South Indian power, he came to Kampili and Kumara Rama gave him refuge. Then followed the siege of Kampili by Muhammad bin-Tughluq and in the battle, Kampili Devaraya and Kumara Rama perished. Ibn Batuta who had accompanied Muhammad bin-Tughluq and was an eye-witness of the event says, the town was taken "and eleven sons of the Rai were made prisoners and carried to the Sultan, who made them all Musalmans". Two of them became favourites of Muhammad bin-Thughluq. They were even set at liberty for their upright conduct in prison. When in 1335 A.D. the southern kingdoms revolted, the brothers were sent back as governors. But they established independence with help of a sage. This was how Harihara and Bukka acquired the government of Kampili, which became the nucleus of the future of Empire of Vijayanagara.

Some scholars consider this account as the most historical and consistent with the evidence. The discrepancies between the narrations of Ibn Batuta and Barani and others are explained away by saying that Ibn Batuta was an eye-witness while others wrote from what they heard. Whether Muhammad-bin-Tughluq made 11 or 6 members of the royal family prisoners will not materially affect the main theme of the narration. These scholars further argue that from the very beginning, the Vijayanagara rulers never call themselves subordinates of either the Hoysalas or the Kakatiyas. The later inscriptions trace their geneology from the Chalukyas. Even in 1342 Harihara and Bukka were already in possession of the territory from Badami and Goa down to Belur and Halebid. The Hoysala inscriptions are completely silent about the relationship with Vijayanagara. Finally they say, that the founders of

the Vijayanagara empire were of Kannada stock is unquestionable; but Vijayanagara kingdom was not either a fulfilment or a continuation of the Hoysala Kingdom.

Vijayanagara and Vidyaranya

The connection with Sringeri is proved by many early inscriptions. To assert that even stone inscriptions in various parts of South India were deliberately forged by Sringeri Gurus, as Rev. Fr. Heras says, is contrary to common sense and archaelogical evidence. The Sringeri inscription dated 1346 begins with an invocation to Vidyathirtha or Vidyasankara, the guru of Vidyaranya, and states that five royal brothers, Harihara, Bukka, Kampana, Marpa and Muddapa, along with their families made a pilgrimage to Sringeri and as a token of their gratitude and to celebrate the festival of victory, Vijayaotsava, having conquered all the country from the eastern to the western ocean, gave some villages to Bharati thirtha, a brother of Vidyaranya and also the temples of Vidyasankara. This clearly shows that Vidyaranya and Vidyasankara were prime inspirers and both names, Vidyaranya and Vijayanagara, occur in early inscriptions.

POLITICAL HISTORY

The foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire marks the culmination of achievements of the people of Dakshinapatha. The new kingdom had to face many rivals in the North and the South. The Bahmani kingdom had been established beyond the Krishna river and the Doab between the Tungabhadra and the Krishna was always a bone of contention between the two kingdoms. In the Andhra country many powerful Reddy chieftains had become independent rulers after the destruction of the Kakatiya power. In the Tamil country, the Pandyas were becoming weaker and Jalalud-din Hasan-shah, the governor of Malbar, had established a Sultanate in Madhura. In Kerla, Ravivarma Kulasekhara was an independent ruler. Therefore, the task of Vijayanagara was to bring about a unification of the whole of South India.

Harihara I, eldest of the five royal brothers, succeeded to the throne and his coronation in true Hindu style was celebrated on 18th April 1336. According to Kapalura grant 'he was ruling the country in the neighbourhood of Pamipaksetra with the city of Kunjara Konda (Aneyagondi) as his capital'. He brought under his contro many principalities and divisions of the Hoysala territory. He

said to have repulsed an attack from the Sultan of Gulbarga. According to Nuniz he built the city of Vijayanagara at the instance of Vidyaranya. He did not assume full imperial titles and was satisfied with the title of 'Mahamandalesvara'.

Harihara was a no mean organiser. He bestowed considerable attention in organising the internal administration of his new Kingdom. To tone up the administration, he grouped 4 or 5 hamlets into a village and 20 or 30 villages into a sthala and appointed Brahmanas as Karnam and Sthala Karman to look after the administration of these respective units. The Nadu-gandas and Nadu-Talaiyars were entrusted with the task of maintaining law and order in the Nadus. He was fully conscious of the fact that agriculture was the mainstay of both the state and the people. He extended cultivation by clearing the forests and allowing the people to cultivate on easy terms.

Harihara, the first ruler of the Sangama dynasty, was a far-sighted ruler and sound administrator. He had placed the nascent imperialism of Vijayanagara on a firm ground before his death in 1356.

Bukka I

Harihara died without leaving a successor and therefore, his brother, Bukka I, who was associated with Harihara in the government of the kingdom, succeeded to the throne. Before his accession to the throne, Bukka I was acting as Yuvaraja and was placed in charge of the Western districts of the Telugu country. Bukka did not confine his activities to the administration of the territory directly under his charge. He did take active interest in the affairs of Vijayanagara Kingdom as a whole. As the Yuvaraja, he rendered valuable assistance to his brother in defending the gates of his kingdom against aggressions from without. He introduced a sound internal administration which increased the resources of the kingdom.

He is said to have defeated all the kingdoms of the south, including Orissa. But it is possible, as Sewell points out, that most if not all Southern India submitted to his rule, probably only too anxious to secure a continuance of Hindu dominion in preference to the despotism of the hated followers of Islam.

Bukka had to fight with the Bahmani Sultans twice, once during the period of Muhammad I and another at the time of Mujahid and in both the wars Bukka was wrested. Although the

invading force came near the city of Vijayanagara, the city was free from danger.

The most notable event of Bukka's reign was the overthrow of the Madhura Sultanate. The Sultan of Madhura who had declared himself independent of Delhi was causing great havoc. The sacred places like Srirangam and Kanchi were being attacked and the great Srivaisnava teacher, Vedanta Desika, fled from Srirangam with the image of Ranganatha. Vidyaranya now directed Vijayanagara kings to restore the sacred places and put an end to the anarchy. Bukka's son Kumara Kampana II, who was the governor of Malabagilu, started on southern expedition and the story of the conquest of Madhura is narrated in a Sanskrit poem, Madhura Vijayam, by his queen Gangadevi. Kampana and his general Gopanna marched through the Salem district putting down rebellious chieftains like Samburayans, and finally the Madhura Sultan was killed. As a result of this victory the whole of South India was brought under the Vijayanagara rule. Kampana also restored the image of Ranganatha to its original place. In the field of foreign relations Bukka's most significant performance was the sending of an emissary to China. This event has been recorded under the year 1374 in the annals of the Ming dynasty.

The reign of Bukka I constitutes an important epoch in the history of Vijayanagara. Credit must go to him for building the city of Vijayanagara, under order from Vidyaranya and his brother Harihara I and for assisting his brother in consolidating the new empire and place it on a firm footing. It is true that he was unable to score any victory over the Bahmani Sultans, but it is also equally true that he held his own in great adversities. Ferishta furnished us the following short account of Vijayanagara at this period.

"The princes of the house of Bahmanee maintained themselves by superior valour only, for in power, wealth, and extent of the country the roles of Beejanuggur, were greatly their superiors". Further he states: "The seaport of Goa, the fortress of Malgaon,..... belonged to the roy of Beejanuggur, and many districts of Tulghant were in submissive to his authority. The roies of Malabar, Ceylon, and other islands and other countries kept ambassadors at his court, and sent annually rich presents".

The statement implies that Bukka had forced all southern Indian states to submit to his authority. Thus the work begun by Harihara I was continued under Bukka and during his reign his

sovereignty came to be acknowledged over large region. When he died, he must have died as a happy man, having given shape to the empire, enlarging its extent and above all increasing its resources by planning the internal administration on a sound basis. The writing of commentaries on the Vedas under the able guidance of Madhava and Sayana began during this period and Bukka assumed the titles of 'Vedamarga Pratisthapaka' and 'Vaidikamarga Pravartaka'. The Telugu poet Nachanasoma lived in his court.

Harihara II

Kumara Kampana, the prince of great prowess and ability, died even before his father and therefore Harihara, another son of Bukka, succeeded the throne in 1377. The rule of Harihara, extending for a period of twenty-seven years, marks the commencement of a significant epoch in the history of Vijayanagara. He was the first ruler of the dynasty to assume the imperial titles of Maharajadhiraja and Rajaparamesvara, indicative of his political status.

The Vijayanagara kingdom, at the time of his accession to throne, was a loose confederation rather than a well-knit state. The founders do not appear to have foreseen the dangers inherent in such an arrangement when the five sons of Sangama took the decision to rule the kingdom jointly. But as time went on, it gave rise of disruptive tendencies as they lost sight of the sacred cause for which the empire itself came to be established. Harihara was not slow in recognising this defect and with a view to put an end to such tendencies he removed his cousins from their provinces and appointed his own sons as governors. Devaraya was made the governor of Udayagiri. This was a master move by Harihara conceived with the object 'of making the river Krishna, the north-eastern boundary of his kingdom'. The powerful Reddys of Kondavidu were a thorn in the path of the expansion of the Vijayanagara Kingdom and it became the prime concern of Devaraya to undermine their power and incorporate their territory. As the authors of the 'Further Sources of Vijayanagara' point out: "To achieve this object, Devaraya plunged into the vortex of politics of the Eastern Telugu country which engrossed the attention of all his successors until the death of Ramaraya on the battle of Rakkasa Tangadi".

Harihara who set Vijayanagara on the path of expansion started his campaigns against Kondividu and seized their territory in Kurnool and Nellore districts. They were driven out of the Bapatla and Narasaraopet taluks. In his campaigns in Telangana,

Bukka II, son of Harihara, was successful in capturing the fort of Rangal about 1398 A.D. from the Velma chieftain of Rajakonda. Harihara wrested from Mujahid the ports of Goa, Kharepatam, Chaul and Dabul. As a result of these successful operations the Krishna became the northern frontier of the kingdom and Harihara became the undisputed master of the whole of South India to the south of the river Krishna. Virupaksha, another son of Harihara, is said to have successfully marched to Ceylon and laid it under tribute.

Harihara had to wage another war with the Bahmanis during 1398-99 when his Kingdom was experiencing a great famine. He was however defeated by Firuz Shah and agreed to pay heavy indemnity to secure the old boundaries of the Kingdom. Thus Harihara had to taste defeat in the closing years of his reign.

Harihara arranged for the holding of sandies in the 26 important towns of the Kingdom, appointed Muddeya Dandanayaka as 'Prithvisetty' and placed him in charge of the collection of taxes. Sayana was his Chief Minister.

Harihara died in 1404 and this was followed by a war of succession to the throne among his surviving sons. Virupaksha I was the first to seize the throne. He was however not fortunate to enjoy the power for long. He was soon ousted by Bukka II who ruled for only two years. In the end Devaraya I became King and celebrated his coronation on Saka 1328 (1406 A.D.).

Devaraya I

Devaraya had to face the invasion of Firuz Shah, the Bahmani Sultan, before he could sit firmly on the throne. Unfortunately he suffered reverses in every engagement and was forced to sign a humiliating treaty. He was not only made to surrender the strategic fort of Bankapura, but also to bestow the hand of his daughter to the Sultan.

This discomfiture of Devaraya was taken advantage of by the Reddys of Kondavidu who attacked Udayagiri and captured the territory of that province. Devaraya now turned his attention towards the affairs of Rajahmundry Kingdom, where he entered into an alliance with Katayavema, brother-in-law of Anadeva, a Telugu choda chief, who was supported by Firuz Shah. War broke out in 1415, Katayavema lost his life and the Bahmani Sultan triumphed over the forces of Devaraya. Undaunted by this defeat, Devaraya seized the fort of Nelgonda Pangal and inflicted a crushing defeat

on the forces of the Sultan in 1419. The Sultan who suffered severe losses in men and materials fled in panic and Devaraya annexed a part of Rajahmundry territory. Nicolo Conti, the Italian traveller, visited Vijayanagara towards the close of the reign of Devaraya.

The death of Devaraya in 1422 was followed by the reigns of his sons Ramachandra and Vira Vijaya Raya. Vijaya ruled for about five years and during this short rule he was defeated at the hands of Ahmad Shah Bahmani. Vijaya was assisted in the administration by his son Devaraya II, who became a monarch in 1426.

Devaraya II

The reign of Devaraya II marks an important milestone in the history of Vijayanagara. He carried out the reorganisation of the armies and assured the effectiveness of the defence. He consolidated his empire by extending his sway over the whole of the South. He introduced settled governmemt all through by removing disorders and confusion in the administration. To exercise governmental authority and control over the sea to regulate trade, he created the office of the 'Lordship of the Southern Ocean' and placed his own right-hand man, Lakkana or Lakshmana, in charge of it. Himself an author, Devaraya was a great patron of poets and scholars. His activity was manifested in the field of architecture as well. He is said to have built the Hazara Rama Temple. All things taken together, the reign of Devaraya II marks an important epoch in the history of Vijayanagara.

Devaraya succeeded to the throne about 1426. Two years later he was forced to pay attention to the affairs of Kondavidu. The ambitious monarchs of the neighbouring states of Vijayanagara had made it as the battle ground. After subduing the border chiefs, Devaraya marched against Kondavidu and captured it. By these successes, Devaraya was able to increase the north-eastern frontier of his kingdom as far as the river Krishna. Devaraya went to the assistance of the Reddys of Rajahmundry against their war with Kapilesvara, the Gajapathi King of Orissa. The latter was worsted in the battle and forced to flee.

Another notable achievement of Devaraya II was subjugation of Kerala. Except the Zamorin of Calicut, the ruler of Quilon and other chieftains accepted the supremacy of Devaraya and paid tributes to him. By these victories Devaraya undoubtedly became the supreme monarch of the whole of South India. In the language

of Abdul Razzak, the empire of Vijayanagara under Devaraya II extended 'from the borders of Sarandip (Ceylon) to those of Kulbarga, and from Bengal (Orissa) to Malibar'. In the fitness of things, Devaraya assumed full imperial title of Maharajadhiraja Rajaparameshwara.

Devaraya had to carry on the pretty, frequent and fierce wars with the Bahmani Sultans. He had to fight with the Bahamani Sultans twice, once during the time of Khan-Khanan and another during the reign of Ala-ud-din II. In both the wars he suffered serious reverses and Devaraya's Bahmani Sultan according to the terms of which he agreed to pay the stipulated annual tribute. He also secured from the Sultan a promise that he would never molest his territories. Both the parties observed their agreement till the end of the reign of Devaraya.

Notwithstanding these severe reverses suffered he was succesful in guarding efficiently the frontier of his kingdom. As the wars progressed, the power of resistance of the Hindus increased. This necessitated the carrying out of a reorganisation of the armies of the empire. The repeated reverses that the Vijayanagara army suffered made Devaraya to hold a council of his generals and nobility to explore the causes of Muslim successes 'and his being reduced to pay them tribute'. On being told that the success of the Muhammadans was one largely to a great body of excellent archers and fine quality horses they possessed, Devaraya "gave orders for the entertainment of Mussulmans in his service, allotted them Jaghirs, erected a mosque for their use in the city of Vijayanagara, and commanded that no one should molest them in exercise of their religion. He also ordered a Koran to be placed before his throne, on a rich desk, that the Mussulmans might perform the ceremony of obeissance in his presence, without sinning against their Laws". The Hindu soldiers were given a systematic training in archery. "After this reorganisation the army became a more efficient striking force".

Devaraya excelled himself in the arts of peace. He 'caused a Jaina temple to be erected in the capital, in a street called the Pansupari bazaar'. He also said to have built the exquisite Hazara Rama Temple.

He was a great patron of literature and men of letters. Devaraya was himself an accomplished scholar in Sanskrit. He is credited with the authorship of two Sanskrit works, Mahanataka Sudhanidhi and a Vritti on Brahma Sutras of Badarayana. As the authors of the Further Sources of Vijayanagara state, Devaraya

encouraged scholars irrespective of their creed or nationality. His court became a meeting place of scholars, poets, philosophers and theologians who contended with one another to establish their superiority in the art of scholarship. Famous scholars from all parts of the South India flocked to Vijayanagara attracted by the well known generosity of Devaraya, and attempted to win recognition by challenging the court pandits and poets for a literary disputation. The Emperor presided over these disputations with conspicuous success. Among the several such debates, the most sensational was the one in which Telugu poet Srinath overthrew the poet Laureate Dindima. Srinath was honoured with costly gifts and tax free gifts of lands. The great honour shown to men of letters, and the values set upon learning promoted life, science and philosophy.

Devaraya was a notable ruler of the Vijayanagara empire. He extended the kingdom "from the borders of Sarandip (Ceylon) to those of Kulbarga and from Bengal (Orissa) to Malibar", says Razzak. He organised his army by appointing Moslems and giving a better training in archery to the Hindu soldiers. He was also a great patron of art and letters. Viewed in this light, the achievements of Devaraya were by no means negligible. Devaraya was undoubtedly a noteworthy ruler of the Sangama family. He extended his Kingdom, reorganised his armed forces and bestowed equal attention to the sociological needs of his subjects. It would be no exaggeration to say that it was Devaraya who laid the sound basis for Vijayanagara civilization which began to show its effulgence in the succeeding periods.

Events Leading to the fall of Sangama dynasty

The death of Devaraya was a signal for worst things to come. The political scene of Vijayanagara was engulfed wilh dissensions in royal family and plagued by patricidal wars, which gave an opportunity for the enemies to fish in troblued waters. This proved disastrous to the Sangama dynasty, which was ultimately replaced by the Saluvas.

Devaraya was succeeded by Mallikarjuna who was a weak and incompetent ruler. "His reign marks the beginning of a long period of decline of the royal power which only terminated with the disappearance of his dynasty about 1485".

By his successful encounters in the east and the south Devaraya II had created many enemies. The weak rule of Mallikarjuna gave them a golden opportunity to regain their lost hold. The Bahmani

Sultans were also not slow in taking advantage of the situation. The Gajapati ruler, Kapilesvara, made common cause with the Bahmani Sultan, Ala-ud-din II, and invaded the kingdom. The Vijayanagara city defied all efforts to capture it; but Kondavidu, Rajahmundry, Telengana and Udayagiri were captured. Some South Indian forts like Chandragiri, Padaividu, Valudulampattiusavadi Tiruvarur and Trichinopoly were also captured by Kapilesvara.

Mallikarjuna was succeeded by his son Virupaksha II. According to Nuniz, Virupaksha was a weak and unworthy sovereign. During his days large tracts of land were lost to the Muhammadans, including Goa, Chaul and Dabul. He was despotic, cruel, and sensuous, 'caring for nothing but women and to fuddle himself with drink'. An important event of his reign was the expulsion of the Oriyas from Udayagiri. This task was accomplished with the help of Saluva Narasimha. He also captured the territories lost to Kapilesvara, the Gajapati King of Orissa, during the reign of Mallikarjuna. He was also responsible for silencing the rebellion in the Tamil country.

The rule of Virupaksha thoroughly became unpopular and this roused the whole country to indignation and rebellion. This was further accentuated by the murder of Virupaksha by his eldest son. However, the patricide was not prepared to rule the country. On the other hand, he had his younger brother, 'Padearao' (Praudhadevaraya) crowned king. The very first act of the new king was to procure the assassination of his elder brother to whom he owed the throne. Then he plunged into debauchery and neglected the affairs of the state. This was an heinous act and naturally, therefore, the conduct of the king roused the anger of the nobles. The succession of weak and unworthy rulers after Devaraya II impaired the sound internal administration that prevailed in the kingdom. The authority of the central government continued to decline and was heading towards disruption. The total disruption was however averted by Saluva Narasimha.

The nobles and the leading members were fully convinced that unless the rule of the disrepute dynasty was ended, the condition of the kingdom could not be bettered. Saluva Narasimha, therefore, assumed royal titles and commanded his general Narasa Nayaka to proceed against the capital and capture it. "Nuniz gives us a graphic account of the last scenes; how Narasimha's captain arrived at the city gates and found them undefended; how he penetrated the palace and found no one to oppose him; how he even went as far as the herem slaying some of the women; and how at last

the craven king fled". After that Saluva Narasimha was raised to be King. With the accession of Saluva Narasimha to the throne of Vijayanagara the dynasty that was built by the genious and valour of the two illustrious brothers, Harihara I and Bukka I, comes to an ignoble end after a rule lasting for one and a half centuries.

Saluva Narasimha

The accession of Narasimha to the throne of Vijayanagara is known as 'the first Usurpation'. The dynasty he founded is called Saluva dynasty because Narasimha belonged to the Saluva family. His dynasty lasted for two generations.

Prior to the usurpation of the throne, Saluva Narasimha, son of Gunda, was the ruler of Chandragiri Rajya. His relationship with the old royal line had never been satisfactorily solved. Inscriptions and literary works inform us that powerful lords were either his relations or descendants. An inscription of the year 1473 speaks of Narasimha as a great lord. In another inscription he is called Maharaja. "But although the exact date of the usurpation and the exact relationship of the usurper to the deposed King may be difficult to ascertain. The fact remains that Narasimha actually became sovereign about this time, that Mahammadan aggression was stayed by his power and that force of his arms and the empire of Vijayanagara was under him once more consolidated".

On the eve of his usurpation, condition of Vijayanagara was far from satisfactory. This was taken advantage of by Gajapathi king of Orissa who made common cause with the Bahmani Sultan and conquered Kondavidu, Rajahmundry, Telengana, Udayagiri and other places. During the invasion the dominions of Narasimha must have also suffered a good deal. Narasimha thereafter began a war against the Gajapathi and captured Udayagiri aftr a siege. After suppressing the rebellion in the Tamil districts, he proceeded to punish the Oriyas and expelled them from the eastern districts of the empire. By these victories, he made himself master of all the territory up to the Godavari. Narasimha also helped Purushottama Gajapathi in securing the throne.

After succeeding to the throne, Narasimha found that it was easier to capture the throne than to enforce his authority over the nobles of the Kingdom. During the weak and incompetent rule of the successors of Devaraya II, many of the nobles had practically became independent. Though these nobles supported and actively helped Narasimha in the usurpation of the throne, they were not prepared to submit to him. This was the case with the generals

also. 'The support of the captains and the chiefs of the Kingdoms which enabled him to oust the old dynasty did not outlast the act of usurpation'. He came in conflict with many captains and chiefs in enforcing authority. This was a peculair situation. It became necessary for him to reconstruct the territory which nominally acknowledged his authority. As a consequence thereof, he involved him in petty warfare with his own nobles. This impaired his military strength considerably. Some of the nobles like the Sambetas of Peranipadu (Cuddapah district), the Palayagaras of Ummattur near Mysore and others attempted to defy his authority. He had to spend time and energy in fighting and subduing these chieftains. Narasimha certainly overcame his internal troubles but they greatly weakened his capacity to check external enemies.

Purushottama, the Gajapathi King of Orissa, was waiting for a suitable opportunity to extend his political sway. At this time the condition of the Bahmani Kingdom was at its lowest ebb. After the death of Muhammad II, the Bahmani Sultan, weakness had crept into the kingdom. Taking advantage of this, Purushottama launched upon an invasion of the eastern coastal country, captured Kondavidu and laid siege to Udayagiri. Narasimha opposed him and attempted to raise the siege of Udayagiri. But this proved disastrous. Narasimha was badly defeated in the battle and was taken prisoner. He purchased his freedom by surrendering to Purushottama Gajapathi the fort of Udayagiri with its dependent territory.

Virupaksha II had lost some of the western parts like Goa. The loss had dislocated the horse trade of the Arabs on which the army of Vijayanagara depended for its cavalry. But this loss was compensated when Narasimha conquered Tulu country. He revived the horse trade of the Arabs by manning the ports of Honavar, Bhattakkula (Bhatkal), Bakanur and Mangalore. According to Nuniz; "He (Narasimha) caused horses to be brought from Ormuz and Aden into his Kingdom, and thereby gave profit to the merchants, paying them for the horses just as they had asked". Above all Narasimha took steps to strengthen the efficiency and the martial spirit of his troops. Narasimha died in 1491. He was a scholar in Sanskrit and a devotee of Sripadaraya, the Madhva Saint.

The part the Narasimha played in the history of Vijayanagara has been admirably summed up by the authors of the Further Sources of Vijayanagara. His services to the kingdom of Vijayanagara can hardly be overestimated. He expelled the Raya, put down

the nobles with a stern hand, and waged a life-long war upon the foreign foes. More than the insubordination of the nobles, more than the might of the Gajapathi, he dreaded the all sweeping horses of Islam. He wanted to prevent the Moslems from entering the kingdom of Vijayanagara, a land where the Hindu Dharma still flourished unconquered, and where the cows, the Brahmanas and the gods are still honoured. To secure this end he effected a revolution in the mind of his people; he transformed peace loving farmers into a nation of warriors, and bequeathed to them his newly organised cavalry—a weapon which contributed a good deal to the military greatness of Vijayanagara in the future.

Rise of Tulu Narasa Nayaka

With the death of Narasimha of the Saluva family, his trusted and able General Narasa Nayaka, son of Tuluva Iswara, took over the reins of Government. Before his death, Saluva Narasimha had the prudence to hand over the authority to his loyal colleague Narasa Nayaka and entrust his two young sons also to his care. Narasa carried out his trust loyally, and as a regent he was able to establish the supremacy of Vijayanagara.

The rise of Narasa Nayaka to power was disliked by some nobles. The most staunch opponent of his was Tymmarasa who did not hesitate to take any measure, fair or foul, to undermine his authority. After he assumed authority, Narasa Nayaka first made the eldest son of the late king, Timmabhupa, king. This was an occasion for Timmarasa to act and he took this opportunity and had Timmabhupa murdered. Thereafter, the second son of Narasimha, Immadi Narasimha, was made king in 1491. But he retained full power and even 'assumed the royal style along with his Saluva titles'. It is possible that the actions of Narasa aroused suspicion in the mind of Immadi Narasimha and naturally therefore the two fell apart. This naturally enraged Narasa Nayaka whose advice the king ignored. It amounted to the fact that Narasa was found wanting in confidence. Narasa Nayaka was the type of a general who was not given to take things lying. His honesty and sincerity was on trial. He wished to rescue his reputation which was at stake and answer the sort of humiliation which he himself had suffered at the hands of Immadi Narasimha. Thereupon Narasa planned the seizure of Vijayanagara. He marched with his troops from Penugonda in 1492 and seized Vijayanagara. The young Prince, Immadi Narasimha, was ill prepared to measure swords with his regent. He accepted the terms of peace demanded by

Narasa Nayaka, and punished Tymmarasa with death. This no doubt ended the unhappy chapter in the relations between the king and his regent. But Immadi Narasimha gained nothing. On the other hand, he lost whatever the little freedom he had enjoyed. Narasa was not prepared to take further risks. He realised that the danger to his authority would become greater if the king remained in the capital. Therefore, with a view to insure against any such contingency, he removed the king to Penugonda and kept him there under close watch.

Ferishta gives altogether a different account regarding the assumption of authority by Narasa Nayaka. He states: "Hemraaje was the first usurper. He had poisoned the young Raja of Beejanuggur, son of Sheoroy, and made his infant brother a tool to his designs, by degrees overthrowing the ancient nobility, and at length establishing his own absolute authority over the kingdom".

Another passage in Ferishta's account runs thus: "The government of Beejanuggur had remained in one family, in uninterrupted succession, for seven hundred years, when Seoroy dying, was succeeded by his son, a minor, who did not live long after him, and left the throne to a younger brother. He also had not long gathered the flowers of enjoyment from the garden of royalty before the cruel skies, proving their in constancy, burned up the earth of his existence with the blashing wind of annihilation. Being succeeded by an infant only three months old, Heemraaje, one of the principal ministers of the family, celebrated for great wisdom and experience, became sole regent, and was cheerfully obeyed by all the nobility and vassals of the kingdom for forty years; though, on the arrival of the young king at manhood, he had poisoned him, and put infant of the family on the throne, in order to have a pretence for keeping the reigns in his own hands. Heemraaje at his death was succeeded in office by his son Ramrajaee·····".

There is a clear confusion of names and occurrences. As mentioned before the eldest son of Saluva Narasimha was murdered not by Narasa Nayaka, but by Tymmarasa. And his younger brother was not murdered, but was kept under close watch at Penugonda. Only after the death of Narasa Nayaka, Immadi Narasimha was killed by Immadi Narasa Nayaka, better known as Vira Narasimha.

K.A. Nilakant Sastri calls this the second usurpation. But S.K. Aiyangar is of the view that Narasa Nayaka seems to have carried out his trust loyally in accordance with the wishes of his master, notwithstanding attempts to damage him both physically and morally. It does not look as though he usurped the empire

from the son of his master ; but his son who succeeded him in his responsibility had not probably the same consideration for loyalty to the children as he himself had, and the usurpation seems to have taken place under the eldest of his sons, Vira Narasimha, who succeeded to the throne and ruled for few years. His succession to the throne was however a signal for a general rebellion in the empire which hampered him throughout his rule.

Due to unfavourable circumstances Narasimha was unable to capture the forts of Raichur and Udayagari which had fallen into the hands of the Gajapathi king. Therefore he had deputed Narasa Nayaka to accomplish this work. Time was also favourble to him. Out of the Bahmani Kingdom five separate Kingdoms with their headquarters at Bijapur, Ahmadabad, Birar, Ahmadnagar and Golkonda had come to be established. They were fighting among themselves. When Ahmedabad (Bidar) declared war on Bijapur, Quasim Barid sought the help of Narasa Nayaka and offered the forts of Raichur and Mudgal. Narasa Nayaka was not slow in seizing this opportunity. He soon collected his forces, "crossed the Tungabhadra with a large army, and laid waste the country as far as Mudgal and Raichur". The two cities thus once more passed into the possession of Vijayanagara. Yusuf Adil Khan, Sultan of Bijapur, marched to recover the lost territory and advanced to the Krishna, but found it difficult to resist, as he had other enemies to fight. Nevertheless, he soon rallied his forces and set on the recovery of the two forts lost to Narasa. Ferishta gives a graphic description of this battle. He states : "Adil Shah ordered a general review of his army.....(and advanced, entrenching his camp a short distance from the Hindus). Several days passed inactively.....both armies drew out, and in the beginning of his action near five hundred of Adil Shah's troops being slain, the rest were disordered and fell back, but were rallied again by the Sultan. One of the officers, who had been taken prisoner and made his escape, observed that the enemy were busily employed in plunder and might be attacked with advantage. The Sultan realised this advice and preceded ; when Heemraaje, not having time to collect his whole army, drew out with seven thousand horses and a considerable number of foot, also three hundred elephants. Adil Shah charged his centre with such fury, that Heemraaje was unable to stand the shock. Victory waved the royal standard and that infidels fled, leaving two hundred elephants, a thousand horses, and sixty lacs *oons*, with many jewels and effects the conquerors....."

According to another account, Narasa Nayka forced Adil Shah to take refuge in their fortress of Manvi. The Sultan sued for peace and invited Narasa to the conference where he attacked him and his followers. Thus the Hindu army was forced to flee, giving victory to the Sultan. It appears that the doab continued to remain in the Vijayanagara empire.

After settling accounts with the Sultan, Narasa Nayaka turned his attention to the South Kapilesvara. Gajapathi's invasion of South India created problems for the Vijayanagara empire. Since Narasimha was busy near at home, he does not seem to have adopted effective measures to bring the rulers south of the river Kaveri into obedience. Narasa was not thought of controlling the South effectively. He marched with his army to South, subjugated the whole land up to Kanya-Kumari, compelling the local Chola and Chera rulers, and Manabhusha of Madhura, to acknowledge the suzerainty of Vijayanagara. He also attacked Srirangapatna (Seringapatam) after throwing a bridge across the Kaveri and its Heuna chieftain Nanjaraja had to submit. Further conquests on the west coast and a march to Gokarna closed this extensive and successful campaign.[78] Towards the close of his reign, Narasa Nayaka had to face an invasion of Pratapa Rudra Gajapathi, who was anxious to conquer the South. But this did not prove to be of any consequence to either side.

Estimating services rendered by Narasa Nayaka to the cause of the Vijayanagara Kingdom K. A. Nilakanta Sastri observes: "When Narasa Nayaka died in 1503, he could truthfully claim to have continued the work of his master Saluva Narasimha and to have imparted fresh strength to the empire. He had established its authority effectively over the whole of its extensive dominions and had reorganised the army. Indeed he may be said to have laid the foundations on which his talented son Krishnadeva Raya built the glorious age that followed".[79]

Vira Narasimha

After the death of Narasa Nayaka, his eldest son, Vira Narasimha, became regent. The new regent probably could not reconcile with his position and aspired to become emperor. In 1505 he got the captive ruler, Immadi Narasimha, assassinated and inaugurated the third or the Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagara history. By this act

78. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, p. 264.
79. *Ibid*, p. 265.

he created enemies all round the integral uprisings became the order of the day. In the meantime, Yusuf Adil Khan in league with the Paleyagar of Adoni sought to extend his dominion beyond the Tungabhadra. He was however defeated by Aravidu Ramaraja and his son Timma, the able generals of Narasimha. This was not the end of his troubles. He had to face revolts in Ummattur and the west coast. But before these erring chieftains could be taught a lesson Narasimha died in 1509.

Narasimha was an efficient administrator. He strove very much to improve the efficiency of the cavalry and to infuse warlike spirit among his subjects. He tried to improve the system of taxation and the movement for the abolition of marriage tax had its origin during his reign. He extended the hand of friendship to Portuguese who were just establishing themselves on the west coast with a view to procure horses for his cavalry. The cruel hand of death put an end to the active career of Narsaimha.

Krishnadevaraya

Krishnadevaraya was one of the most illustrious kings of India. His reign was 'the period of Vijayanagara's greatest success, when its armies were everywhere victorious, and the city was most prosperous'. He was by far the greatest ruler of the Vijayanagara dynasty. His reign marks 'the grand climax in the development of the empire, and the successful achievement of the objects for which it was actually founded'. During this period Hampi rose to be the paramount metropolis and unparalleled city for its splendour, vastness and richness. Harihara and Bukka I, with the help of Vidyaranya, laid the foundation of the Vijayanagara empire. Harihara II, Devaraya II, Saluva Narasimha and Narasa Nayaka built the superstructure while Krishnadeva built its edifice. Thus Vijayanagara was at its zenith during the time of this great emperor.

Narasa Nayaka had four sons, viz., Vira Narasimha, Krishnadevaraya, Achyuta and Sriranga. It is said that when Vira Narasimha was the ruler he tried to persecute his younger brothers and Krishnadevaraya was protected by his minister Timmarasa. On the death of Vira Narasimha he succeeded to the throne in 1509. Immediately after he is said to have sent his nephew, son of Vira Narasimha, and his own brothers to the Chandragiri fort to avoid any intrigues and remained at the capital before he set on his expeditions.

Krishnadevaraya did not succeed to a peaceful kingdom. Some Palayagars were yet to accept the overlordship of the Vijayanagara

rulers. The Chiefs of Ummattur rose in rebellion claiming sovereignty of the best part of Mysore country. In addition, the fear of attack from without always haunted the Vijayanagara rulers. The Gajapathi rulers of Orissa was still in possession of the eastern districts of the empire and was openly hostile and aggressive. Though the Bahmani Kingdom had ceased virtually to exist, the hostility of the Muhammadans had not lost its vigour. Yusuf Adil Khan, the Bijapur Sultan, attempted to expand the boundary of his kingdom at the expense of Vijayanagara. The Portuguese were occasionally inclined to give trouble. Therefore, Krishnadevaraya was obliged to be at war with someone or other of his foes almost from the day of his accession. Fortunately, he had been equipped for the royal position by systematic training under Timmarasa and finally he succeeded in firmly establishing the authority of Vijayanagara all over the country. There was no thought of revolt and no great discontent anywhere within his vast dominion.

His Expeditions

At the outset of his reign, Krishnadevaraya had to fight with the Moslem forces which invaded his territory. Mahmud Shah of Bidar was joined by all the chiefs and nobles on his march to raid Raya's kingdom. Krishna was equal to the task. In the fierce engagement that took place at Dony the Muhammadan forces suffered a crushing defeat and fled towards Kovilkonda. Krishnadevaraya pursued the enemy and inflicted another crushing defeat on the retreating army at Kovilkonda. The Telugu works imply that the Bijapur Sultan Yusuf Adil Khan lost his life with the result Bijapur was thrown into confusion and disorder.

Yusuf Adil Khan was succeeded by his son Ismail Adil Shah. Krishnadevaraya wanted to take advantage of the anarchic conditions prevailing in Bijapur to crush the Moslem power. He organised his armed forces and invaded the Krishna-Tungabhadra doab with an enormous army consisting of 736,000 fighting men and 550 elephants. He invaded Raichur and began a regular siege. Sewell has given an admirable description of this battle. He states : "... ¾ forces became engaged, and a decisive pitched battle was fought. Krishnadevaraya, making no attempt to outflank his adversary, ordered an advance to his immediate front of his two forward divisions. Their attack was so far successful that they drove the Muhammadans back to their trenches. The Sultan..... finding himself weak opened fire from the guns, by this means caused great loss in the close rank of the Hindus.....The

King (Krishnadevaraya) ordered a forward movement of the whole of his remaining divisions, and charged the now disordered ranks of the Mussalmans. This resulted in complete success, for the enemy, scattered and unable to form, fled before his impetuous onslaught. He drove them the whole way back, to, and into, the river, where terrific slaughter took place, and their entire army was put to flight."[80] The city of Raichur surrendered and Krishnadevaraya made triumphal entry into it. He treated the garrison with kindness and consideration.

His next target was Gulbarga. He advanced to Gulbarga and captured the fort. He then pursued Bidar, defeated him and captured the fort of Bidar. "Krishnadevaraya was a politician as well as a general. He set the Sultan at liberty and restored him to power, for he wanted to weaken the Musalmans by throwing an apple of discord in their midst. So long as the shadow of the Bahmani monarchy persisted there would be no peace among the Moslem rulers of the Deccan. To commemorate this act of resuscitation of the Bahmani monarchy, Krishnadevaraya assumed the title of 'Yavanarajya stapanacharya'. He also held high festival at Vijayanagara.

The Raichur battle had far reaching effects. The Vijayanagara victory weakened their power and prestige of the Adil Shah. He eased to dream of any present conquest in the south, and turned his attention to cementing alliances with the neighbouring Muhammadan sovereigns. It also affected the fortunes of the Portuguese on the coast.

Krishnadevaraya then started with putting down the rebellions in the interior and bringing back loyalty of the Paleyagar of Ummattur. He captured Sivanasamudram and destroyed its fortifications. He constituted into a new province with Srirangapattna as its headquarters. He also made arrangements for the administration of the province. He thus put an end to the Ganga line, stayed at Belur and renovated the temple.

Kalinga Expedition

After punishing the chiefs of Ummattur and bringing the whole empire to order, Krishnadeva set forward on a well planned, and deliberate effort to recover from Orissa all the territory that the

80. *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 134-135.

kings had taken from Vijayanagara. His Kalinga expedition falls into five definite stages.

1. Krishnadevaraya began his expedition with the attack on the fort of Udayagiri. He defeated Pratapa Rudra who came to defend the fort, and pursued his army as far as Kondavidu. The fort could not be easily captured. Therefore he had to widen the path and erect a wall of circumvallation around it. The Kalingas surrendered the fort which left their hands for ever. The event was celebrated on a grand scale and Krishnadeva went to Tiruputi with his queens Tirumaladevi and Chinadevi. He worshipped Lord Venkateshasvara and made valuable presents of jewels. At the capital he built a new shrine and installed the image of Balakrishna which he brought from Puri. On this occasion Vyasaraya composed special songs.

2. Next Krishnadevaraya turned towards the Andhra country, where the Orissa rulers were making inroads. Starting from the capital, he reduced the Reddi chieftains of Vinukonda, Bellamkonda, Nagarjunakonda and other places. Finally he laid siege to the fort of Kondavidu. He subjected the fort and entrusted its administration to Saluva Timma. He then conquered the coastal region up to the river Krishna.

3. The third stage in his expedition began with the siege of the Bezwada fort. After capturing the fort, he proceeded to Kondapalli. In the meanwhile, the Gajapathi King rallied, his forces attacked Krishnadevaraya in the rear, while the latter was engaged in siege operations. Krishnadevaraya inflicted on him a severe defeat and forced him to flee. After a siege of two months he captured Kondapalli.

4. Krishnadevaraya was determined to conquer the whole of Telengana. In the course of this expedition he captured forts of Anantagiri, Undrakonda, Urlakanda, Aruvapalli, Jailipalli, Kandikonda, Kappaluvayi, Nalligonda, Kambhamethu, Kanakagiri, Sankaragiri and Devarakonda. With this he subdued the worship of God Simhadrinatha and set up a pillar of victory at Potnur.

5. The Gajapathi ruler, though suffered series of defeats at the hands of Krishnadevaraya, did not come to terms with him. Krishnadevaraya, therefore, resolved on the Cuttack expedition. He pressed on Cuttuck and reduced it to extremity. Pratapa Rudra sued for peace and gave his daughter to the emperor and obtained from him all the territory to the north of the river Krishna. "Thus

ended one of the most brilliant episodes in the military history of India during the 16th century".

After subduing Kalinga, Krishnadevaraya had to fight with the Sultans of Golkonda and Bijapur. In the war with Golkonda, Saluva Tamma defeated Qutb Shahi and his commander was made prisoner.

When Krishnadevaraya was preoccupied in his Kalinga campaigns, the Bijapur Sultan invaded the doab and captured Raichur. Soon after Krishnadevaraya turned to the capital after his first Raichur expedition, Bijapur ambassador met him and requested him to return all the territories taken during the war. He was prepared to restore everything if the Sultan paid homage to him by kissing his foot. Sultan agreed and a ceremony was arranged it Mudkal. Krishnadevaraya reached Mudkal but did not find the Sultan. Krishnadevaraya lost patience, proceeded to Bijapur and entered to the palace. The Shah fled from the capital and considerable damage was done to the city of Bijapur. Soon he led another expedition in the course of which he sacked both Golkonda and Bijapur.

Towards the end of his reign, Adil Shah tried to retrieve the fallen fortunes, but Krishnadevaraya forced him to beat a hasty retreat. Krishnadevaraya was preparing for an attack on Belgaum, when he took seriously ill and died in 1529.

As a Warrior and Statesman

'Pre-eminent as a warrior, Krishnadevaraya was equally great as statesman'. As Sewell points out, "He was physically strong in his best days, and kept his strength up to the highest pitch by hard body exercise.....he was a fine rider, and was blessed with a noble presence which favourably impressed all who came in contact with him. He commanded his immense armies in person, was able, brave and statesman like, and was withal a man of much gentleness and generosity of character".[81] Krishnadevaraya was a firm believer of the fact that the proper place of a monarch on the battle field was at the head of his forces. He was known for his prowess and ability. He was uniformally victorious and knew no defeat. In the course of his rule, he swept away all his enemies. His uniform success was largely due to his capacity for his organisation and skilful generalship. "He showed amazing resourcefulness in overcoming obstacles

81. *Op. cit.*, p. 118.

besetting his path". This becomes evident in his siege of Udayagiri fort. Krishnadevaraya got the boulders and rocks smashed so as to make the passage wider for the smooth movement of his forces. As said before, he was a valiant and active warrior taking part even in the distant wars directly. He showed equanimity of mind and extra-ordinary courage even in the face of gravest danger. This may be testified in his seizure of the Raichur fort. When Sultan's army began to fire his army, the first line broke down completely and began to retreat. Krishnadevaraya who was incharge of the second line stood firm, mounting on his horse he exhorted his army to resolve to fight without caring for their lives. This had a wonderful effect. The army followed their leader and won a resounding victory. "But even more than his personal bravery, or his skilled management of troops," writes N. Venkataramaniah, "what enabled him to overthrow hostile forces was his devotion and attachment of his soldiers to his person. Krishnadevaraya was accustomed, after the conclusion of every battle, to go to the battlefield, looking for the wounded; he would pick them up and make arrangements for their medical help and other conveniences needed for their recovery. Those that specially distinguished themselves in the fight were placed directly under his supervision so that he might bestow particular attention on them and help them regain their health as quickly as possible. The care with which Krishnadevaraya nourished the wounded soldiers and warriors did not go unrewarded. It won him the affection of the rank and file of the army. The soldiers as well as officers were prepared to throw themselves into the jaws of death in executing his commands".

As a Practical Politician

Krishnadevaraya was not only a great military leader, but as an administrator he made many innovations in Vijayanagara polity. His political ideas are contained in his Telugu work Amuktamalyada. Krishnadevaraya's practical knowledge of administration—civil and military—is seen to great advantage in almost every verse of this part of the poetry. It covers every aspect of royal duties and has to be taken, in certain parts, as setting out the prevailing practice and notions of the time. He says that it is a king's duty, if he has regard for his own welfare, that he should make short work of his internal enemies. This has been attested to by the series of his expeditions. Again, he says, that it is the duty of the king to make the higher officials of the state to look to him as the fountion of

everything and thus keep them away from conspiracies and the like which might be attended with ill unto himself. The work discusses such topics as, how ministers are to be appointed, to control ethe frontier tribes, conduct an assembly, treatment of the vanquished ruler, administration of justice and foreign policy.

Analysing the policies of Krishnadevaraya, S. K. Aiyangar says, the very organisation of the empire itself reached its competion almost with his reign. He could set himself to investigate the rates and taxes which proved oppressive, and abolished some of them which were regarded as such. Having regard to the facilities of communication in those days the empire was divided into a number of viceroyalties, embracing comparatively large blocks of territory. The smaller divisions constituting these viceroyalties had their arrangements which were recognised and respected. This shows how realistic he was in recognising the necessity of such an arrangement. He toured throughout his empire every year to come into personal contact with his subjects and listened to their complaints and petitions.

Describing the duties of the King, the Amuktamalyada says : 'the subjects of a state desire the prosperity of a King, who wishes to promote the welfare of the state. He should not be indifferent to the wishes of his subjects, as God, who is immanent in all people from Brahmanas downwards, would certainly fulfil the unanimous desire of his creatures'. The principle of administration described in Amuktamalyada are not a mere resume of the maxims on Dandaniti which he might have gathered together from treatises on politics available to him. They are practical and embody his political ideas.

Krishnadevaraya was not only a great military leader, but as an administrator he made many innovations in Vijayanagara polity. As a great patron of literature, he was known as Abhinava Bhoja. He was himself a scholar both in Sanskrit and Telugu. The Madhva teacher, Vyasaraya, in his Sanskrit work, Vyasayogicharitam, described as the preceptor of the Saluva and Tuluva kings lived down to the time of Achyuta. Vyasaraya is said to have averted inauspicious combination of planets (Kuhayoga) which threatened the life of Krishnadevaraya was therefore highly honoured by the emperors. Vyasaraya wrote Tarkatandava and Nyayachandrika on Dvaita philosophy and logic. There were Kannada poets also and Krishnadevaraya asked the Kannada poet Timmanna to complete the Kannada Mahabharata of Kumara-Vyasa. In Telugu, it was an age of great poets and eight of them (Ashta diggagas) were prominent. Peddana, Dhurjati, Tenali Ramakrishna lived in his

court. Among all these poets Peddana was personally honoured by the emperor for his proficiency in Sanskrit and Telugu and taken in a palanquin borne by Krishnadevaraya himself.

Achyutaraya-Ramaraya

Krishnadevaraya died in 1529 A.D. leaving a son, just 18 months old and a daughter who was married to Ramaraya of the Aravidu dynasty. At his death, according to the arrangements made by him, his half brother, Achyutaraya succeeded to the throne. Early in his reign, Achyutaraya had to face as many as three foreign invasions. In his wars with the Gajapathi king and the Sultan of Golkonda Achyutaraya was victorious. But he failed to offer much resistance to the advancing Sultan of Bijapur as a result of which he lost the forts of Raichur and Mudgal.

Much of these troubles were due largely to the machinations of Ramaraya. It would not be out of place here if we give a brief account of his career as it would help us understand his designs. Ramaraya belonged to distinguished family who served Vijayanagara well. He was a noted soldier. He sought and obtained service under the Sultan of Golkonda. When he was defeated in a war with Adil Shah, he was discharged from service and therefore came to Vijayanagara. Krishnadevaraya had a high opinion of him, and gave his daughter in marriage to him. He was entrusted with positions of great responsibility and importance.

When Achyutaraya succeeded to throne, Ramaraya lost much of his importance. Therefore he proclaimed the 18 months old son of Krishnadevaraya and attempted to seize power. He was, however, not successful in his attempts. He came to terms with Achyuta and carried on the administration as partner. Soon Krishnadevaraya's son died thus weakening the position of Ramaraya. Achyuta had to leave the capital to suppress a rebellion at Gutti. This provided a golden opportunity for Ramaraya to improve his position. He dismissed old servants of the king and their places were taken by his relations and friends. He further appointed some 3,000 Moslem soldiers into the army. These changes enhanced his power. He was not encouraged to impose his authority on the kingdom. With this end in view he imprisoned the reigning king and proclaimed himself king. This roused the ire of the nobles. The unsettled condition of Vijayanagara was a god-sent gift to the Mohammadans. The Bijapur Sultan invaded Vijayanagara, patched up the difference between Achyutaraya and Ramaraya and returned to the capital with rich presents.

After Achyutaraya's death, Sadasivaraya, a nephew of Achyutaraya, was proclaimed by Ramaraya and celebrated his coronation at Vijayanagara. For about seven years Sadasivaraya was the only king in name, though Ramaraya wielded real powers. In course of time he became the undisputed master of the whole of Vijayanagara empire and even assumed the royal title. Ramaraya was not the type of person to be satisfied with a subordinate position. He kept Sadasivaraya under close watch, though short of setting him aside and governed the kingdom as though he was a crowned monarch.

The above account of Ramaraya's rise to power would indicate to us how Ramaraya was ambitious and would do anything to satisfy his vanity. He was a master politcian, well versed in power politics. He did not even hesitate to seek the help of the Bijapur Sultan to get the throne of Vijayanagara. He seems to have subscribed to the view that 'the end justifies the means'. This very principle governed his foreign policy.

In foreign policy, Ramaraya's main aim was to make Vijayanagara supreme to place himself at the helm of affairs. He was in fact the first monarch of the Vijayanagara empire who desired to get himself involved in the interstate politics of the neighbouring Muhammadan Kingdoms. He made no scruples and he meant nothing but business. He relished very much the idea of entering into an alliance with the Moslem prince. He would cut diamond only with diamonds; and the Moslem power with the help of another. The condition of the Bahmani kingdom was favourable for Ramaraya's designs. The Bahmani kingdom had broken up into five separate kingdoms. Bijapur and Ahmadnagnr were situated close to the Vijayanagara and Kalinga was the state of Golkonda. But Golkonda was not actively hostile in their relations with the Hindu empire. "These states among themselves cherished ambitions of their own,—and these showed themselves in various degrees of activity according to the circumstances of the moment. They often fought with each other for aggrandisement and sought the assistance of the neighbouring Hindu ruler". This suited the purpose of Ramaraya and he availed himself of the advantage that these offered and supported one party or the other according to the exigencies of the moment. His service under the Sultan of Golkonda gave him an opportunity to get an insight into Moslem politics. As he was well versed in Moslem politics, he busied himself with their affairs and ultimately succeeded in establishing his mastery over them. It was

generally the rivalry between Bijapur and Ahmadnagar that formed the feature of this struggle.

In 1512-43, the Sultans of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar entered into an alliance to attack Vijayanagara and Bidar. Ibrahim Adil Shah was to attack Vijayanagara while Nazim Shah of Ahmadnagar was to attack Bidar. Sadasiva Nayaka, the Keladi chief, repulsed the attack on Vijayanagara. Ramaraya went against Nizam Shah and made him prisoner. The city of Ahmadnagar was destroyed and ploughed down with castor seeds, the traditional mode of laying waste a conquered country and rendering its soil unfit for cultivation'. Ramaraya further forced the Nizam to forswear his alliance with the Bijapur Sultan.

The new alliance between Nizam Shah and Ramaraya roused indignation for Sultan Ibrahim. The latter insulted the Vijayanagara ambassadors and thus offended Ramaraya. Ramaraya induced Nizam Shah to attack Ibramim. He did so successfully and captured the fortress of Kalyan. Now Ibrahim threatened to siege Ahmadnagar. An open alliance was entered into between Nizam Shah and Ramaraya. Ramaraya captured from the Sultan of Bijapur, the forts of Raichur and Mudgal and the doab was once more restored to the Vijayanagara ruler.

In 1550 Ramaraya helped Ibrahim to secure the throne of Golkonda. He entered into an alliance with the new Sultan of Ahmadnagar, Husain Nizam Shah.

Sultan Ibrahim died in 1557 and was succeeded by his son Ali Adil Shah. The new Sultan wished to have friendly relations with Ramaraya and the Sultan of Ahmadnagar. He also sent envoys to both the capitals. Ramaraya extended them a warm welcome and were hospitably treated, while the two other Sultans treated them badly. The attitude of the Sultans enraged Ali Adil Shah who demanded the restoration of the fort of Kalyan and Solapur from Husain Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. Husain Shah "sent back a reply so indecent in expression as to unfit to relate", says Ferishta. Another war broke out.

Ali Adil Shah sought the help of Ramaraya and the latter readily agreed. He sent a huge army which created a great havoc on their marches against the enemy territory. "The infidels of Beejanuggur", writes Ferishta, "who for many years had been wishing for such an event, left no cruelty unpractised. They insulted the honour of Moslem women, destroyed mosques, and did not even

respect the sacred Koran. They committed the most outrageous devastations, burning and razing the buildings, putting up their horses in the mosques, and performing their abominable worship in the holy places". It is difficult to accept the statement as true. 'However that may have been, the impression left by such wanton destruction appears to have been a most painful one and invited reprisals later on Vijayanagara itself'. The Sultan of Ahmadnagar restored Kalyan to Bijapur Sultan and thus the war came to an end.

All along, the Sultan of Golkonda supported Husain Shah in a half-hearted manner. Now he allied with him openly. War again broke out. Bijapur Sultan chased Ibrahim while Ramaraya pursued Husain. He sieged Ahmadnagar but restored it at the instance of Ali Adil Shah. In the meanwhile Ramaraya's brother, Venkatadri, invaded the southern districts of Golkonda. Ramaraya also marched on Golkonda. The Sultan who was worsted in the battle purchased peace by surrendering the forts of Kovilkonda, Ganapura and Pangal. 'The war widened the breach between Golkonda and Vijayanagara, and Ibrahim became more than ever determined to destroy the Hindu power which had become a source of repeated humiliation to its Muslim neighbour in the north even their ambassadors not being received properly'.

It is true that in the course of the struggle the Moslem states grew weaker and weaker and the Hindu power grew stronger. It did not take much time to the Muhammadans to realise that they were fighting among themselves to the advantage of Vijayanagara. They formed a confederacy which ultimately brought the downfall of Ramaraya and the destruction of the Hindu empire at the battle of Rakkasa Tangadi.

The results of the foregin policy pursued by Ramaraya are admirably summed up in the Mysore Gazetteer. The policy of Ramaraya towards the Sultans of the Deccan was one of expediency than principle. He joined one or more of them against the other as necessities required. The result was that while he made no lasting friendship or alliances, he kept them divided and derived what advantage he could, by the existence of such disunion amongst them. But this policy had its merits and demerits.

The series of wars which Ramaraya fought during the 23 years of his administrations added to his prestige as a ruler. It made his name as much geared as respected in almost every part of South India. At that time, he was undoubtedly the most powerful monarch in the South. It is natural that his position as the military dictator

of his day and as the arbiter of his neighbours roused not merely their personal malice against him but also their inverterate hatred against the State. They (the Sultans) appear to have forgotten the help they sought or got from him, while collectively they combined in a confederacy to undo him and his kingdom. He pursued a reckless diplomacy to bring down his enemies for securing his own personal aims and ambitions. He had in turn displeased the Sultans of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Golkonda, and the remaining two Sultans had also suffered at his hands. But this policy induced most of the Sultans to combine against him and to overthrow him. A decisive war ensued; Ramaraya plunged into this war from which he was never destined to return home alive or victorious.

Circumstances that led to the battle of Rakkasa Tangadi—its results

The battle of Rakkasa Tangadi is ever destined to be celebrated in annals of South Indian history in particular and of Indian History in general. It was this battle that gave the death-blow to the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagara and established the supremacy of the Muhammadan power in the Deccan and South India. 'The progress of Hindu Dharma was checked once again and the destruction and devastation of the seat of Hindu Dharma and the objects which the Hindus held sacred left a deep scar on their minds. This rankled in the ears for years only to be diminished when the triumphant march of Islam was checked with the establishment of the Maratha dynasty by Shivaji'.

Scholars on Vijayanagara history hold Ramaraya solely responsible for the battle of Rakkasa Tangadi. He is depicted as the villain of this tragic drama. Although it cannot be denied that his policies made a sudden impact of the tragic circumstance, he cannot be held solely responsible. At best we can say his policies were the last straw on the already accumulated feelings which burst at the battle of Rakkasa Tangadi.

In the circumstances that led to the foundation of the Vijayanagara dynasty one may notice the determination of the Bahmani Sultans to cursh it to the ground. The Hindu empire itself came to be established to preserve Hindu Dharma which faced the danger of being obliterated by the triumphant progress of Islam in the region of the Vindhyas. Naturally, the existence of this empire was found to be irksome to the Bahmani kingdom. Therefore, the Banhmani Sultans spared no pains to contain the power of Vijayanagara within certain

limits. As long as there was one Bahmani kingdom there was no fear of Vijayanagara expanding at the expense of the Muhmmadans. When the kingdoms itself broke into five sultanates Moslem power weakened considerably thus making united resistance to Vijayanagara a difficult venture.

The earlier rulers of Vijayanagara kingdom were not eminently successful in their wars with the Bahmani kingdom. They warded off all attempts at the capture of Vijayanagara city and thus preserved its glory. But they could not make any inroads into Muhammadan territory. Whenever they went against the Moslem power in war, more often than not they returned defeated. Krishnadevaraya was the first Vijayanagara ruler to humble the pride of the Moslems.

Sewell thinks the character of Krishnadevaraya after his victory in the battle of Raichur led to the combination of Moslem sultans to crush the Vijayanagara empire. In the Raichur battle the Bijapur Sultan was completely worsted and he sued for peace. As the price of peace, Krishnadevaraya demanded that the Sultan should visit him and kiss his foot. This hardened the attitude of the Moslems towards Vijayanagara. Sewell writes, "The Hindu victory so weakened the power and prestige of Adil Shah that he ceased altogether to dream of any present conquest in the south, and turn his attention to cementing alliances with the Muhammadan sovereigns, his neighbour. The victory also caused all the other Muhammadan powers in the Deccan seriously to consider the political condition of the country; and this eventually led to a combination without which nothing was possible, but by the aid of which the Vijayanagara Empire was finally overthrown and the way to the south opened. It furthermore greatly affected the Hindus by raising in them a spirit of pride and arrogance, which added fuel to the fire, caused them to become positively intolerable to their neighbours, and accelerated their own downfall".

It would be clear from this that the Moslem powers were hostile towards Vijayanagara even much earlier to Ramaraya. But the ambitious foreign policy pursued by Ramaraya aggravated the situation further and the wrath of the Bahmani Sultans exploded in the battle field of Rakkasa Tangadi.

The Mysore Gazetteer, which finds support in the Further Sources of Vijayanagara, lists the following causes that ultimately led the formation of the confederacy of the Deccan Sultans, ultimately to the battle of Rakkasa Tangadi.

The primary causes of the war was the hatred generated in the minds of the leading Sultans against the immense power wielded by Ramaraya in the south, his great resources of men and money and the authoritative manner in which he interfered in their disputes, inquired into and settled them, or appeared to do so, always with an eye for his own interests. The proximate causes are thus stated.

1. The excesses committed by Ramaraya's troops in the city of Ahmadnagar and the disrespect shown to Islam in destroying mosques and insulting the honour of women in the areas through which they passed;

2. The destruction of buildings and devastation of territory indulged in by them;

3. The scant regard shown by Ramaraya to Sultans and their ambassadors, whom, when admitted to his presence, 'he did not suffer them to sit, and treated them with the most contemptuous reserve and haughtiness. He made them attend when in public in his train on foot, not allowing them to mount till he gave orders', says Ferishta;

4. On the occasion of the Ahmadnagar expedition, the officers and soldiers of Ramaraya's army treated the Musalmans with insolence, scoffing, and contemptuous language; and

5. The daily encroachments he made on territories of the Muhammadan Sultans, the latest being the annexation of the territories of Bijapur and Golkonda.

That Ramaraya behaved insolently with the Moslem Sultans and showed scant respect to them and that the enormous power he wielded created apprehension in the minds of the Sultans regarding the security of their territory, can be accepted without any reservation. That he insulted Islam cannot be accepted. In fact the army of Ramaraya consisted of large number of Muhammadans. He showed great regard to their faith. He allowed freedom to them to observe their religion, built mosque for them, treated them generously and assigned a special quarter of the city, Turkavadi, for them. Thus there is no substance in the argument that he showed disrespect to Islam.

"The formation of the confederacy", write the authors of the Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, "was not prompted by a desire to avenge the offended dignity of Islam; nor was it due to a feeling of resentment against his unjust aggression against their dominions. The real cause was the fear engendered in the mind of

the Deccan Sultans by the rapid growth of Ramaraya's power. Taking advantage of the frequent quarrels which engrossed their attention, he not only recovered the territory which they had seized during his struggle with Achyuta and Tirumala, but succeeded in establishing his hegemony over them. Ramaraya's supremacy was most galling to the Moslem rulers. His great power coupled with their individual helplessness against him had driven them to resort to combined action. This was the real cause for the confederacy which brought about Ramaraya's downfall".

The confederacy made a joint attack on Ramaraya. The fateful battle was fought at Rakkasa Tangadi, 1565. The capture of Ramaraya and his prompt decapitation by the Sultan of Ahmadnagar was the end of the battle. It is said that Adil Shah of Bijapur wanted to spare Ramaraya, who was very old, but the Ahmadnagar and Golkonda Sultans demanded his death and Ramaraya was beheaded.

The battle of Rakkasa Tangadi was badly damaging in its results to the progress of the history of the empire of Vijayanagara. We may quote here Sewell who graphically describes the results of the battle of Rakkasa Tangadi. "The Deccan Sultans were thus completely victorious. The Hindu army fled towards the capital. So great was the confusion that there was no attempt to give battle. The rout was complete."

The victorious army of the Sultans stayed in Vijayanagara for about five months to destroy the city completely. 'They slaughtered the people without mercy, broke down the temples and palaces; and wreaked such savage vengeance on the abode of the kings, that, with the exception of a few great stone-built temples and walls nothing now remains...They demolished the statues...Nothing seemed to escape them...with fire and sword, with crowbars and axes, they carried on day after day their work of destruction. Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought, and wrought, so suddenly, on so splendid a city; teeming with a wealthy and industrious population in the full plenitude of prosperity one day, and on the next seized, pillaged, and reduced to ruins, amidst scenes of savage massacre and horrors begging description".

It is said that "the plunder was so great that every private man in the allied army became rich in gold, jewels, effects, tents, arms, horses, and slaves as the Sultans left every person in possession of what he had acquired, only taking elephants for their own use".

Tirumala left for Penugonda with whatever treasure he could carry with him and took up the cause of the empire. But the nobles

began to change their allegiance. A state of anarchy sieged the country. The empire became disintegrated and fell rapidly into decay.

Such were the terrible effects of the battle of Rakkasa Tangadi. "It used to be regarded that this battle put an end to an empire. Undoubtedly this battle did vital damage to the empire, but the empire was still intact and could go on for another century almost with a comparatively brilliant epoch of a generation before it got weakened by the constant invasions from the north, and dismembered by the dissatisfaction and rebellion of the viceroys within. This is the sad tale of the end of Vijayanagara; the actual ending of which is marked by the beginning of the Mahratha power in the south".

Vijayanagara after the battle of Rakkasa Tangadi

The kingdom of Vijayanagara suffered its worst defeat in her history and the capital city was lost. The empire, however, did not perish for nearly a century afterwards. Ramaraya's brothers, Tirumala and Venkata, carried away much of the wealth further south to Chandragiri and later to Penugonda. Tirumala strengthened his hold on the southern portions of the Vijayanagara empire, divided the territory on the basis of language into three divisions (mandalas) and appointed his sons as viceroys over them. The empire began to shrink during the rule of his son Sriranga. Venkata, brother of Sriranga, succeeded to the throne in 1586. He was a powerful ruler of the Aravidu dynasty. He changed his capital to Chandragiri and consolidated all the southern territories. His death was a signal for the civil war.

According to the arrangements made by Venkata, his brother's son was to be crowned. But Venkata's queen, Bayamma, put forward the claims of her foster son. In the civil war that ensued Sriranga's son, supported by Velugoti Yeehehama Nayaka, was successful in securing the throne. But he was not destined to enjoy the fruits of victory. He was soon imprisoned and murdered by the rival group. Ramadeva, the next ruler, was unable to keep his vassals under check. Taking advantage of this confusion, the Sultan of Bijapur captured Kurnool. From now onwards the ruler of the truncated Vijayanagara dynasty had to face the repeated inroads of Bijapur. During the reign of Venkata III, the Bijapur Sultan defeated the chieftains of Keladi and Bangalore and collected tributes. Bangalore and the adjoining regions were made over to Shahji (father of Shivaji) as Jagir. Vellore was the capital during the last days of Vijayanagara. Sriranga III who was unable to secure the co-operation of the Nayakas

Madhura and Janji, could not withstand the combined attack of the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda. He lost Vellur and 'this emperor without an empire' fled to Belur and sought the protection of Keladi Sivappa Nayaka. That was the end of the empire of Vijayanagara.

The tradition of Vijayanagara was however continued though the empire itself ceased to exist. Shivaji obtained a charter from Sriranga, appointing him as the representative of Vijayanagara and inspired by the Vijayanagara ideal, he established the Maratha kingdom. In South India many Paleyagars became independent though nominally acknowledging Vijayanagara rulers. The chiefs of Keladi in the west coast, the Nayakas of Tanjore and Madhura claim to be representatives of the Vijayanagara emperors. The torch of Dharma lit by the rulers of this dynasty was protected by their representatives so that it continued to radiate its effulgence in all directions.

Administration

The strength and stability of an empire depends to a large extent on the sound system of administration. The rulers of the dynasty were not slow in recognising this fact and introduced change from time to time depending upon the exigencies of the time. The Vijayanagara polity is characterised by a strong centre with a scheme of decentralisation of power.

Central Governments

Monarchy was the norm of Government. The king was the pivot of administrative machinery and was the most important limb of the body politic, says the Amuktamalyada. Many of the Vijayanagara rulers were not only brave personally, but by their character and integrity they were able to command respect not only by the people but by other constituent elements of sovereignty. This is attested to by the dislike which people exhibited towards usurpers and patricides.

Generally the kings of Vijayanagara had a distinct and enlightened conception of their duties and responsibilities as the head of the government. The duties were not merely those of the policeman or the soldier, but something higher and nobler. Krishnadevaraya says : "A crowned king should always rule with an eye towards Dharma; the lives of the gods like Indra, Varuna, Vaisravana, Vayu and Agni are the results of their actions. The various worlds as Bhuh, Bhuvah and Suvah owe their positions to Dharma".

The elementary functions of the king included the protection of the people and redressing their grievances. The king should always be anxious to protect their subjects and redress their grievances, says the Amuktamalyada. Thus dusta nigraha and sista paripalana was regarded as the most important duty of a king. For the proper discharge of this function, the King was permitted to use danda or force. Krishnadevaraya says: "The wife's attachment to her husband, the proper relations between men and women, the ascetic subduing his Indriyas, the lower castes showing difference to the higher, the servant looking carefully to the intrests of the master, you should know that all these are brought about (ultimately) by the fear of King's punishment". Thus the social and moral well-being of the people depended to a great extent on the maintenance and proper administration of justice by the ruler.

It was also the duty of the King to see to the due observance of Svadharma by his subjects. This does not mean to say that king interfered with the private life of the citizens. What is more important is that the king must enforce on the people the rules of Varna and Asrama. The activity of Vijayanagara rulers in this direction is well borne out by such titles as Vaidikamarga Pratistapanacharya, and Vedamarga Pratistapanacharya assumed by some rulers.

It was again the duty of the king to look to the economic prosperity of the people. This the Vijayanagara rulers discharged by extending agriculture by clearing forests and providing irrigational facilities. Krishnadevaraya wanted that immigrants from foreign countries should be afforded protection in a manner suitable to their nationalities. Foreign merchants were encouraged to settle in the capital and were provided with decent dwelligns in the city. In some periods industries like mining were worked by the state itself.

Succession to the throne was hereditary, the eldest son of the chief queen succeeded to the throne. This was generally secured by his appointment as Yuvaraja during the life time of a monarch and he was associated with the administration. Even the young prince was anointed as Yuvaraya. For instance, Krishnadevaraya's son, Tirumala, was anointed king when he was just 6 years old. This varied according to the exigencies of time. Harihara I was succeeded by his brother Bukka I, who was also nominated as Yuvaraja by Harihara to the exclusion of his own son. Coronation was an important ceremony and it provided legal sanction. Assumption of royalty implied a recognition of his responsibilities by the king. It appears

that ministers and leading members in the public had a voice in the choice of the heir.

During the minority of the King or when he was found wanting in ability, the administration of the country was carried on by regents. In this period the regents made use of the opportunity to increase their powers and prestige and finally usurped throne. Among such regents mention may be made of Vira Narasimha and Rama-raya. The usurpers issued coins in their own name to mark their assumption of regal power. The Vijayanagara rulers maintained a court which was noted for its pomp and luxury. They held a review of their forces annually.

There was a ministerial council to assist the king in the administration. It is difficult to determine the strength of the ministry. If inscriptions are any guide to us, Pradhani or Maha-pradhani, or Sirah Pradhani or Maharsirah Pradhani, Dala-Adhikari or Dandanayaka and Mahasamantadhikari were some of the members of the council. There appears to have been two or three grades of ministers, higher, lower, and of those lesser grades constituting deputy ministers of our period. Those of the first rank participated in the royal coronation. Even the near relatives of the king were included in the Ministerial Council. But they did not hold any portfolio.

Pradhani was the most important member of the Ministerial Council, and held control over the administration. Saluva Timma, the Prime Minister of Krishnadevaraya, who was the principal person in the kingdom exercised complete control over the administration. According to Paes, he even commanded the whole household, and to him all the great lords of the empire acted as to the king. He was also the commander of the army and exhibited his valour in the capture of Kondavidu.

The council had a president called Sabhanayaka. Generally the Prime Minister presided over the Cabinet deliberation. They discussed all matters connected with the state. They were expected to maintain secrecy of deliberations.

They had maintained an organised bureaucracy to carry on the work of the government. Amuktamalyada says : "when the work of a single (subordinate) officer is entrusted to a number of men and when each of them is assisted by a number of friends, the business of the state may be easily accomplished. The satisfaction (with the kings) increases or decreases with the increase or decrease

of their number. Nothing can be achieved without the willing co-operation of several officers; to keep them docile and obedient, truthfulness and absence of niggrdliness and cruelty are helpful." These officers accompanied the king on tour and wrote down his oral orders. Such an officer is called Rayasa. The head of that section of the government was called the Rayasasvami or chief secretary of our times. The drafting of the orders were done by an officer called Sasanacharya. Sampartis were the secretaries of Heads of Departments and were placed in charge of certain items of work.

Revenue Administration

Inscriptions of the period refer to assignment of land, remission of the revenues, income from land, levy of fresh taxes and renewal of obsolete ones. Land tax constituted the major source of income to the state's Treasury. Taxes were levied according to the nature of the soil and the kind of crop grown. Even dry crops and vegetables were taxed. People generally paid 1/6th of their gross produce to the state. The Brahmanas paid the same tax at a rate of 1/20 and temples at the rate of 1/30 of the gross produce. This shows that the tax system was not uniform. Taxes were collected on property. Commercial taxes were collected in three different ways. Staladayam or the customs on goods imported to be sold at one place; Margadayam or Transit duties and Mamuladayam or duties on goods exported to foreign countries. Industries were taxed on the net profit. Among other sources of revenue mention may be made of profession taxes, military contribution, social and communal taxes, and judicial fines. To this list may be added the tributes and revenue paid by the Nayakas and the war booty.

Taxes were collected both in cash and kind. Revenues to the government were sometimes let out on contract. There were officers to collect the taxes. The prosperity of the Vijayanagara speaks greatly for its financial soundness.

Judicial Administration

Restraining the wicked and the protection of the righteous was an important duty of the king. There were a number of courts to dispence justice in different parts of the country. In provinces, however, the Governors dispensed justice as a part of their duties and rights and possibly there were no judges holding courts on behalf of the king.

In the Vijaynagara period the office of the chief justice was

combined with that of the Pradhani. Courts of different grades functioned in different parts of the country. Appeals lay from the lower to the higher courts.

Treason was considered a heinous crime. Punishments were very severe. But all men were not equal in the eyes of laws. For instance, the regicides of Saluva Timma and his sons, were not punished with death or executed, because they were Brahmanas. Krishnadevaraya, for example, wanted consideration to be shown for criminals ordered to be executed. He says : "In the matter of people sentenced to death, give them the chance to appeal thrice (for mercy). But in the case of those people whose escape might bring on a calamity to yourself, immediate execution is advisable".

During the period under review the Ayagar system came into prominence. "The Ayagars were a body of village functionaries who were in charge of the administration of rural areas. One of them the Talaiyari was the watchman of the village and of the crops".

Military Organisation

Strong army was a necessary feature of a stable empire. This was more so for the Vijayanagara Empire. The Vijayanagara rulers had to fight constantly with the Muhammadan powers of the Deccan to save Hindu Dharma from peril. Necessarily therefore they had to maintain a large force to defend the Hindu religions, Hindu culture from being trampled by the Moslems.

There were as many as three types of army. The first was the King's army recruited directly by the King or his agent and a regular army. The recruitment was made with great care and a strict discipline was maintained. But they were allowed to live according to their own law. For instance, when Muhammadans were appointed into the army, they were permitted to practise their religion, lands assigned to them and a mosque was constructed for them. Secondly, there was the feudal levy. The Nayakas were to maintain a specific number of troops for the king and lend them in times of war. The third type was the king's guards called the gentleman troopers.

Infantry, cavalry, elephants and forts coupled with artillery played an important role in the warfare of the period. According of Razzak, elephants "were lofty as hills and gigantic as demons". Paes further informs us that 3 to 4 persons used to fight from the back of the war elephants.

Cavalry constituted an important limb of the army. The Vijayanagara rulers imported a large number of horses from Arabia and Persia for this purpose. As regards infantry the number was certainly larger than the other parts of the army. Artillery came to be used in the war since 1368 A.D. The Bahmani Sultans were strong in this Department and by the time we come to Krishnadeva-raya, this branch was developed to a great extent.

The forts played no insignificant part in the warfare of the period. The forts of Udayagiri, Kondavidu and other places were strong enough to hold out for months. In the course of time forts became military colonies. The forts were placed in charge of the Brahmanas; for the Amuktamalyada says 'well disposed Brahmanas should be appointed as governors of forts and those of impure variety should be discarded'. The policy underlying it seems to be that if Ksatriyas are appointed to the forts, they might think of subverting the king himself. Vijayanagara maintained an efficient navy.

We are in the dark regarding the organisation of the military department. It appears that this department was called the Kandachara. The chief officer of this department is variously called as Senapati, Sarvasainyadhikara, Mahaprachanda Dandanayaka, Dalapramukha, Dalavai, etc. Cavalry, infantry and elephant corps were placed in charge of separate chiefs. The status of a military commander rested with the number of horses maintained by him. Horses were branded with the king's mark. The soldiers were paid in cash. They were very well looked after by the king. It is said, after the battle was over, Krishnadevaraya used to go to the scene of war and arrange for giving aid to the wounded. He even used to reward gallantry. At the close of the Mahanavami festival, the king used to review his forces.

Provincial Administration

The provinces are generally referred to as Rajyas and some times vaguely as Mandalas. During Vijayanagara period there were two types of provinces—those that were directly administered by the emperor through his representatives, and those that were ruled or administered by the feudatories, called the Nayankara system.

For the first type of Provinces, members of the royal family were appointed as Governors. Among some of the governors who were distinguished mention may be made of Kampana, Odaiyar, and Deveraya, the governor of Udayagiri, who later become the emperor. In cases where suitable members were not found in the royal family

r when it was felt a capable and trustworthy officer of the Central overnment could not do the job such a person was appointed as Governor. He enjoyed the same privilege as the royal princes who erved as governors. Generally the Governors were appointed by he king in consultation with his ministers. This is testified by the act when the governor of the Banavasi Province, Madhava Mantri, lied, Harihara II deliberated with his ministers before appointing Narahari Mantri as Governor.

The Governors enjoyed a great deal of autonomy within their jurisdiction without any interference from Central government. They maintained their own armies, appointed their own officers and held their courts. They had the right to issue coins and maintained law and order in their respective locality. There was no limit to their authority as long as it did not conflict with the interests of the Central Government. If the Provincial Governors were men of royal blood, they assumed the title of their respective dynasties. If the exigencies of administration required it, they were transferred from one place to another.

The greater amount of autonomy which these Governors enjoyed weakened the imperial fabric and ultimately led to the disintegretion of the empire under weak rulers.

Nayankara System

"The Vijayanagara administrative system", says T. V. Mahalingam, "served as a nice balance between the feudal principles that characterised the governmental machinery in contemporary Muslim India and the earlier system of government in South India, in which the enjoyment of a large measure of a local autonomy was important". The Vijayanagara rulers continued the practice of administering provinces through feudal vassals, called variously as Samanta, Nayaka, etc. They enjoyed a semi-independent status, and the degree of autonomy enjoyed by them varied from one feudatory to another. This system of administration of kingdom through feudatories is known as the Nayankara system in the Vijayanagara period.

The Nayankara system recognised the king as the owner of the soil. The king distributed the lands to his dependents. The system was not only found to be useful but necessary, for the political situation was such as needing a body of people to serve the king in arresting the progress of Islam in the South. Those who held lands

from the king were called Nayakas. The Nayakas ruled their respective lands granted to them by the king with varying degrees of freedom. In the enjoyment of this office, the Nayakas were to perform two functions. In the first place they had to pay a fixed amount to the imperial exchequer, which, according to Nuniz, was usually one-half of their revenue. Secondly, in times of war, they were required to supply a sufficient number of troops to the king and to lead them in the war. Paes informs us that it was the king that fixed the number of troops that each of these Nayakas was to maintain and the amount of money that he had to pay and they were generally in proportion to the revenue he derived. They were required to acknowledge their subordinate position in the charters and inscriptions issued by them. They were expected to attend the imperial and pay homage to the imperial ruler. In addition they had to make gifts of money to the king on the New Year Day. Says Peas: "It is even said that they give on that day to the king in money a million and five thousand gold Pardacs". They also offered their daughters to their overlords. Those of the Nayakas who did not conform to the above were punished and sometimes their estates confiscated.

The constitutional and political position of the Nayakas were different from the governors. This is testified by the statement of Barbosa when he says, 'Many places here belong to the lords who hold them from the king of Narsyngua who in his own town keeps his governors and collectors of his rents and duties".

The governors were the representatives of the king in a province and ruled on his behalf and were liable to be transferred from one province to another. The Nayakas, on the other hand, were military vassals holding military fief (amaram) to discharge their financial and military obligations to their suzerain. The Nayakas, who were not transferred, enjoyed greater amount of freedom and had the responsibility of extending cultivation and spread civilization. Initially, the Nayakship was personal but became hereditary when the central government became weak and incompetent.

The Nayakas maintained two sets of officers at the imperial headquarters. One was their military agent and the other civil agent who represented the interests of their master at the capital.

The system had its own merits and defects. They had onerous duties to perform in their respective areas. But the opinions differ regarding the services they rendered to the community. "It can

hardly be said that the idea of governing country by means of an order of rude, rapacious, feudal nobles, such as poligars generally were turned out to be a happy one...whenever they were not at war with the central authority they were at war with one another and it was rarely possible to collect tribute from them or revenue due to the central authority without a display of military forces which added greatly both to the unpopularity and expense of the collection". One cannot overlook the defects in the system. The amount of autonomy they enjoyed gave them sufficient opportunity to indulge themselves in mutual recriminations and war as to defy at times the Central authority. Referring to the Palaiyagar organisation in Madhurai, Rev. Fr. Heras writes: "Had they been most systematically attached to, and dependent on central power Madhurai might have been saved from the troubles caused by the Palaiyakarns". This is true of the Nayankara organisation as a whole. "But like the medieval European feudalism", writes T. V. Mahalingam, "the Nayankara system was a necessary and inevitable evil and was perforce adopted for want of a better scheme of governmental orgnisation. In spite of its inherent weaknesses it served its purpose tolerably well".

Village administration

Village was the last unit of the administration. The head of the village administration was the Gowda and he was assisted by Karanika or Karnam who maintained village accounts. Another village functionary was the Talavara or Kavalu who attended to police duties. If they failed to discharge their duties they were punished. In big villages there was the representative of the Emperor known as Adhikari. The Village headman collected the revenue clues from the village. The popular assemblies continued to play their role during this period. The officers of the king always consulted these bodies before taking any decision concerning the village. Thus the principle of autonomy was also extended to the village administration.

Was Vijayanagara a Military State ?

This is a question which is difficult to answer. If the existence of Nayakas or feudatories holding military fiefs like the Mughal mansabdars, can be considered as a sign of military rule, then the answer would be in the affirmative. The general characteristics of the government would not admit of such a conclusion. The kingdom of Vijayanagara was more a group of semi-autonomous states than a

United Kingdom. This was so during the time of the first dynasty and continued to be so throughout the period in spite of the changes in the administration. This arrangement had to be continued for the purpose of maintaining unity to defend the country. Moreover the Vijayanagara rulers cared for the welfare and happiness of the people. Referring to Svasocisa Manu, Allasani Peddana, the court poet of Krishnadevaraya, says that, "he ruled over his subjects with the kindness as if they were his own childern". He was indirectly referring to his own patron. The people led a comparatively easy, pleasant and contented life has been attested to by the foreign travellers who visited Vijayanagara. This shows that Vijayanagara State was a benevolent one.

Social and Economic Condition

The social history of Vijayanagara Empire is of great interest. The Hindu society had to be reorganised owing to the constant menace of the Moslem invasions and therefore a certain amount of hardening and re-defining of the rights and duties of the various castes and communities in the society was felt necessary.

The extensive empire of Vijayanagara saw the reanimation of Hindu life. This resulted in the revival of the ancient Dharma modified to some extent by the experience of the age. The rulers as well as the ruled were aware of the intimate relationship between Dharma and the society. The rulers endeavoured to protect the Varnasrma Dharma and the people on their part tried to follow the ancient classical precepts without in any way injuring the prosperity of the realm. The rulers tried their utmost to maintain social solidarity. This explains the cooperation between the government and their people for the realisation of the most urgent need of the hour.

The Hindu family was governed by orthodox rules and the solidarity of the family depended upon the due observance of these rules. The people of Vijayanagara appear to have faithfully followed these rules in the couduct of household duties. What distinguished their home life was the prevalence of filial love, a factor 'which was instrumental in bringing together into closer relationship the various conflicting elements in the social life of the people'. Inscriptions of the period record the grants made by kings for the spiritual welfare of their parents. The people also emulated this worthy example of their rulers.

The Brahmanas were the most respected members of society.

Foreign travellers like Abdur Razzak and Paes were struck by the simple life led by them. Krishnadevaraya too says, "charity is for the protection of the dvijas". They enjoyed special privileges. They were not liable to put to death. According to the story of Nuniz, Krishnadevaraya did not put to death Saluva Timma for his alleged murder of Tirumala, son of Krishnadevaraya.

The Brahmanas were found in almost every walk of life. Nuniz describes them as "honest men, given to merchandise, very acute and much talent, very good at accounts lean men and well formed, but little fit for hard work". They were priests in the temples, owners of estates, traders and merchants. As inmates of the monasteries they spent time in serious study and contemplation. Some were active politicians, administrators and generals. Efficient Brahmana ministers guided the destinies of the vast empire. Madhava and Sayana were the ministers under Bukka I and Harihara II. Viravasantha Madhava extended the empire in the west up to Goa. As Van Linschoten points out: "The Brahmanas are the honest and the most esteemed nation among the Indian Heathens; for they doe alwaiens serve in the chiefest places about the king as Receivers, Stewards, Ambassadors and such like offices. They are of great authority among the Indian people, for that the king doth nothing without their counsel and consent". Rajagurus accompanied the kings on their expeditions. They personally led contingents. The Brahmanas maintained their high position and status in the social polity in the later periods of Vijayanagara history. A large number of grants were made to them and the ruling sovereigns paid them great respect. They led very simple and pious lives.

The absence of the name Ksatriya in the history of Vijayanagara appears very curious. According to B. A. Saletore the nobles and other high dignitaries, because of their prowess, were included among the Ksatriyas. The absence of the Ksatriya name in the history of Vijayanagara is due to the fact that the vitality was made up by the activities of the commercial and agricultural class. The middle classes were mainly responsible for the greatness of Vijayanagara.

A most significant feature of the social history of the later Vijayanagara period, says T. V. Mahalingam, is the rise of a social consciousness among the different communities. Attempts were made by them for evolution of social solidarity among themselves. Each community clamoured for certain privileges and honours enjoyed by members of the higher classes. There was then some sort of a social

upheaval for the betterment of a few classes in the social scale; the Vipravinodins were one such social class.

Like the Vipravinodins, artisans called the Virapanchalas which consisted of blacksmiths, goldsmiths, brass-smiths, carpenters and idol makers were fighting among themselves for certain rights and privileges. The Belur inscription dated 1555 A.D. refers to the fight between artisans and cultivators. At times it assumed serious magnitude necessitating the passing of social legislation.

Kaikkolas (weavers) were a prominent community. They lived generally round the temple precincts. They had a voice in the temple administration and in the levy of the local taxes. They carried on their industry on a small scale and they also clamoured for certain social privileges. The Tottiyans or Kambalattars were originally shepherds and became petty palegars in the south. They followed the system of polyandry and post-puberty marriages. Often the bridegroom was younger than the bride. Their females were noted for loose morality. Woman was allowed to have marital relations with father or male relations of her husband. Divorce, remarriage and sati were also practised by them. They were generally Vaisnavas.

Reddis were responsible for the material prosperity of the land. They exercised considerable influence in the Telugu provinces of the empire. They came into prominence from the time of Devaraya II. Barbers rose in royal estimation towards the middle of the sixteenth century. There were a number of other lower classes, who had no say in social matters. These include the Dombaras who gave jugglers to the country, Maravas or fisher folk, jogis, Paraiyans, Boyees, Erkelas, and the Kallars. Some among these were converted to Christianity by the Portuguese. The advent of the Badugas from North to South resulted in a social upheaval. The poets and moralists like Sarvajna, Kamakadasa, Kapilar, Vemana led a ceaseless crusade against social evils like caste restrictions and untouchability.

Slavery also existed in the Vijayanagara period, the besabaga and the sale of human beings were also not unknown. The Vijayanagara inscriptions and the accounts left by the foreign travellers contain direct reference to both male and female slaves. The Holeyas are 'included among the dependents at the feet of Vira Banajigas. Nicolo Conti says : "They have a vast number of slaves, and the debtor who is insolvent is everywhere adjudged to be the property of his creditor". The masters by and large treated them with kindness and consideration.

Great social importance was attached to marriage. The Aryan eight systems of marriage did not exist. Kanyadana form was widespread and popular. Brahmanas married their girls at an early age. As Linechoten points out: "When the woman is seven years old and man nine years they do marry, but they come not together before the woman be strong enough to bear children."

The Vijayanagara rulers maintained the old tradition in respect of women. Women accompanied the king during his campaigns. They occupied a prominent place in literature, in Vijayanagara times. Gangadevi, wife of Kampana, wrote *Madhuravijayam* or *Vira Kamparayacharitam*. The Queen of Bukka I was an accomplished lady. Tirumalamba wrote *Varadambikaparinayam*. Mohanangi wrote a love poem called *Marichiparinayam*. Ramabhadramba wrote *Raghunathabhyudayam*. Monogamy was the general practice, but kings and nobility followed polygamous practice. The kings maintained a large harem.

No description of Vijayanagara women may be deemed adequate without mention being made of the courtesans. Dancing woman were summoned during the feasts and festivals, they enjoyed the rare privilege of eating betel in the presence of the king. The public woman was entitled to be present on certain occasions. The state legalised prostitution and levied tax on prostitutes.

According to inscriptions it was the Gaudas and sometimes Nayakas who were given to sati rite. It was, however, voluntary. Barbosa, Nuniz, Caesar, Fedrick, Pietro della Valle and other foreign travellers give a vivid and realistic picture of this custom. The widows committed sati, two or three months after the death of their husbands. Lingayats performed it by being buried alive. The custom was popular because, the queens wanted to escape dishonour at the hands of the Muhammadans. The ideal of self-sacrifice which prompted men to lay down their lives for the sake of their rulers made their women folk to follow the example. The numerous satikals and mastikals testify to this. Shaving of the head was a punishment for not committing sati.

As regards colour of the people, Barbosa says: "The natives of this land are Heathen like himself (the king); they are tawny men, nearly white". Paes has this to say regarding their industrial character: "There are working people and all other kings of men who are employed in business, besides those who are obliged to go into field; there are also a great number of Brahmanas."

Agriculture was the main stay of both the government and the

people. The land was surveyed and assessed accoding to quality of the soil. Land was divided into wet, dry and garden land. Betel, arecanuts, ginger, turmeric, fresh fruits and flowers were the chief items of garden produce. The rates of assessment differed between wet and dry land and in accordance with crops and yield. Abdur Razzak noticed the number of rose merchants in Vijayanagara and added that roses seemed as necessary as food to the people of that city.

The state was conscious of its responsibilities towards agriculture by providing irrigational facilities. Krishnadevaraya constructed a huge tank near the southern entrance to Nagalapur. He also built a great dam and channel at Korrangal and the Basava Channel. Vyasaraya built Vyasasamudra on the border between the Kolar and Chuddah districts. This added much to the flourishing condition of agriculture.

Economic life in the city was maintained with full vigour. As T. V. Mahalingam points out the city of Vijayanagara, because of its large size, and huge population, its rich bazaars, the number of its skilled craftsmen, and dealers in precious stones and other articles, impressed profoundly a succession of foreign visitors. Paes, a Portuguese traveller, describing its heavy traffic observes that its streets and markets were full of countless pack-oxen making the passage in many streets difficult for men.

The Vijayanagara Empire was densely populated. It consisted of many populous towns. Towns on the west coast were: Ankola, Mirjan, Honnavar, Bhatkal, Bainduru, Barakur, Mangalore and Kumbla. In the central part of the empire were Raichur, Advani, Anegundi, Vijayanagara, Penukonda, Srirangapatna, Dvarasamudra, Ikkeri and Bankpura. The important towns in the east were Srisailam, Kondavidu, Udayagiri, Kalahasti, Tirupathi, Chandragiri, Tanjore, Madhura, Ramesvaram and others. The greatest city of Vijayanagara was undoubtedly Vijayanagara, the capital city.

India's age-old and famous industry were worked with remarkable proficiency. Diamond mines were worked with great profit, 'Much of the diamond in Vijayanagara came from Vijrakurur about twenty miles south-west of Gooty. False diamonds, rubies, topazes and white sapphires were fabricated and were good imitations of the true ones'.

Temples played an important part in the public economy of the period. The large endowments made to the temples in land and cash tended to make them landlords and bankers. As a bank, the temple advanced loan on security of lands. It also employed labour

thereby providing jobs to the needy. Priests, musicians, dancing girls, and others were in the regular service of the temple. Thus in so many ways temples played a vital role in the economic life of the people.

In the 15th century the foreign trade of South India centred round business on the west coast. There were very important ports on the Malabar coast and of them the Calicut was the most important. This was the busiest port in the region and merchants from South Africa, Abyssinia, and Arabia brought their merchandise to this port for distribution in India. Many ships from Pegu and Malacca on their way to Red Sea halted at Calicut and carried Indian goods for distribution to various directions. Malabar was a great commercial centre. The Moslem traders had so far monopolised India's overseas trade and now the trade passed from their hands to the Portuguese.

Indian goods were in great demand in world markets. India exported cloth, rice, iron, saltpetre, sugar and spices. Vijayanagara imported horses, elephants, pearls, copper, coral, mercury, vermilion, China silks and velvet. Elephants were bought from Ceylon.

The inland trade was in the hands of Moslem merchants, Malabarees, and Chettis or Settis. The Moslem merchants controlled much of coastal trade. They were seen in important ports and were a prosperous community. The Malabarees were enterprising. 'They supplied the country's products like spices, coconut products, palm sugar and palm wine to south Canara and took back coarse rice and iron'.

Carts, pack animals, and porters constituted the chief means of communication. Vijayanagara had a gold standard with a gold currency. The standard coins was the Varaha of 52.7 grains. The Gadyana and Pon or Pagoda were the other types of the gold coins. The pagodas are small and dumpy and were issued in their half and quarter divisions.

There were various rods of measurements. They included Nadalavukol, Rajavibhadamkol and Gand arayagudam kol. The normal one was of twenty inches. The measuring rod at Srirangam was of 34 inches.

This picture of the social and economic conditions of the Vijayanagara empire leaves us in doubt that the social solidarity and economic prosperity contributed their own share to the glory and granduer of Vijayanagara empire. The succession of foregin visitors attest to the prevalent prosperity. The precious stones, we

are are told, were sold in measures in the market at Vijayanagara city. Indeed, Vijayanagara history constitutes an important epoch in the social and economic history of Dakshinapatha.

Religion

Vijayanagara Empire had come in existence due to historical circumstances which called forth a united front against the attacks of Moslem culture. Though primarily Vijayanagara was established to restore Hindu Dharma, it had the tradition of great tolerance towards all religions so that bigotry was completely unknown. Religious persecution was never tolerated. This has been attested by a number of inscriptions. For instance, the Sravanabelagola inscription of Bukka I reconciles Srivaishanvism and Jainism and promises equal protection to all. Though they fought against the Moslems, they did not show any disrespect to their religion as such. This becomes abundantly clear when one studies the religious policy of the Vijayanagara rulers.

Buddhism had long been absorbed into Hinduism. But Jainism which did not recognise the authority of the Vedas was also patronised and protected. The Jainas held a high service in the state. We have the example of Irugappa who was a staunch Jaina, and who was the Dandanayaka of Harihara II. He built Jain temples in Hampi, Kanchi and other sacred places. The epigraphs scattered throughout the empire of Vijayanagara mention how Harihara II, Devaraya II and others patronised Jainism. An inscription at Sravanabelagola describes the active association of Queen Bhimadevi, the queen of Devaraya I, with Jainism despite the traditional conservatism of her sex. The same inscription records the installation of the image of Santinatha in the Mang Basti of Belgola by Bhimadevi. Another record tells that Devaraya II "caused a temple to be built to the Arhat Parsvanatha who ruled over the empire of all knowledge and who well knew how to proclaim the Sayaadvada-vidya, in the Pansupari bazaar at Vijayanagara".

The example of Vijayanagara rulers was followed by their feudatories. The numerous Jaina monuments found at Karkal, Mudabidri and other places bear testimony to the progress and achievements of Jainism under Vijayanagara rulers.

The religious rivalry between Virasaivism, Vaisnavism and Jainism was confined to legal limits, and many Jaina authors received imperial patronage.

Sri Vaisnavism became prominent only after the Sangama

dynasty. The Saluvas and the Tuluvas patronised Srivaisnavism. The Srivaisnavism preachers were to be seen throughout the Andhra country. The two forms of Srivaisnavism, Vadagale or Northern and Tengale or Southern, prevailed in Andhra and Tamil districts prominently. A large volume of controversial literature was produced by Vedanta Desika, who wrote more than 108 works. The Ahobala Mutt and the Parakala Mutt represented his school. The family of Tatacharyas was prominent in the time of Krishnadevaraya and Achyutarya.

Vaisnavism or Dvaita philosophy was preached by the disciples of Madhvacharya such as Narahari Thirtha and Akshobhya. Jayathirtha wrote commentaries on the works of Madhvacharya. In the time of Krishnadevaraya, Vyasaraya was a prominent figure. He composed many works on Madhva logic. His disciples, Kanakadasa and Purandaradasa, produced many songs or Kirtanas, preaching Bhakti.

Virasaivism, after 1300 A.D., had suffered an eclipse by the rise of Srivaisnavism and Dvaitism. However, in the 15th century under Devaraya II, there was a great revival of Virasaivism by the minister of Devaraya II, Lakkana, and his associates. A large literatue in Kannada was produced. Towards the end of the 15th century Virasaivism was propagated by Tontada Siddesvara. He travelled throughout Karnataka and established Mutts. His disciple wrote upon Virasaiva philosophy. After the Battle of Rakkasa Tangadi, the Palayagars Keladi, Chitradurga, Yalandur, who were Virasaivas, encouraged many Virsaiva authors.

Advaita philosophy had its stronghold in Sringeri, Hampi, Kudali, Sivaganga, Kanchi, and other places. The inscription for the foundation of Vijayanagara had come from the Sringeri gurus, Vidyasankara, Vidyaranya, Sayanacharya aud Bharati Thirtha. To signalise the restoration of Hindu Dharma, Vidyaranya and Sayana launched upon a great scheme of commentaries on all important works of Hinduism. The commentary on the Vedas under the guidance of Vidyaranya and Sayana, with the cooperation of scholars from all parts of India, was perhaps the greatest cultural contribution. Sayana made use of all the ancient commentaries but in all systematic way explained not only the four Vedas but all the connected literature.

The Sangama Kings called themselves the establishers of Vedamarga Pratishthacharya. Harihara II and Devaraya II were called Vyasas and Valmikis.

Though the Vijayanagara rulers fought with the Muhammadans incessantly, they did not show any disrespect to Islam. Devaraya II appointed Moslems into his army, allotted Jagirs to them, created a mosque for them in the city and commanded that no one should molest them in the exercise of their religion. He ordered a Koran to be placed before his throne on a desk so that Moslems may pay respects to an infidel without sinning against their laws.

The above survey brings home to us that "Vijayanagara was no blind champion of a selected creed, but the conservator of our best traditions. Hence it is, we find that Moslems and Christians, Brahmins and non-Brahmins, Lingayats and Jains, whether they were in a minority or majority—alike lived in harmony and were being treated with equal tolerance and interest by their rulers".

Literature

Vijayanagara encouraged not only Sanskrit, but all the South Indian languages. Vidyaranya himself had laid down the principles that for the ordinary masses to whom Sanskrit works like the Vedas and the Puranas were unintelligible, they must be taught in *Deshabhasha* (regional language). Thus Kannada, Telugu and Tamil languages and literature were patronised by the emperors of the Vijayanagara kingdom. As far as the literary activity is concerned the period can be fittingly compared with the Age of Augustus and Elizabethan period.

Sanskrit Literature

The contributions of Vijayanagara to Sanskrit literature is indeed very great. Vidyasankara, Vidyaranya, Sayana and his son Madhva and Madhva Mantri produced hundreds of works on all aspects of Indian culture, not only purely religious works, but on astronomy, grammar, medicine, poetics, music, etc. Undoubtedly the greatest works of the period was *Vedarthaprakasha*, a commentary on the Vedas, composed by Sayana at the instance of Vidyaranya. He is said to have assisted to this sacred task by known Sanskrit scholars like Panchangi Madhava, Narahari Somayaji, Narayana Vajapeyi, Pandari Dikshita, Nagabharana and Vammana Bhatta who repaired to the Vijayanagara court at the invitation of Vidyaranya. Sayana also wrote *Yajnatantra Sudhanidhi*, *Prayaschitta Sudhanidhi* and *Purushartha Sudhanidhi*.

Vidyaranya was a prolific writer and is said to have written nearly sixty works. Among these works mention may be made of

Parasara Madhaviya, a commentary on *Parasarasmriti*, *Sankara Vijaya* and *Rajakalanirnaya*. *Rajkalanirnaya* deals with the history of Vijayanagara since its foundation. Madhava Mantri, a contemporary of Vidyaranya, wrote *Tatparyadipike*, a commentary on *Sutasamite*, a part of *Padma Purana*. Isvara Dikshita wrote two commentaries on Ramayana at the instance of Krishnadevaraya.

Vira Kampanaraya charita or *Madhuravijayam* (conquest of Madhura) by Kampana's wife Gangadevi is a beautiful poem in Sanskrit describing the achievements of Kumara Kampana, the second son of Bukka I. In this work we have an equally pleasing description of the Vijayanagara city. "There were gopuras (towers) as tall as the peaks of Meru, beautiful gardens with hillocks and artificial baths. The river Tungabhadra served the city as a moat and it was also surrounded by lofty fortified walls. In Pampe (Hampi), described as a suburb of the city, was the temple of Deva, i.e., Virupaksha".

Madhuravijiyam also indicates that high learning was not confined by any means to the male sex. The work is in the form of a classical Kavya conforming to the rules laid down in the treatise on poetics and contains lengthy descriptions of the seasons, the twilight, the rising of the moon and other topics common in Mahakavyas. As a competent critic admirably puts it: "The authoress writes in the Vaidarbhi styles and her thoughts flow with ease and simplicity. Her diction is beautiful and charming and her similes are grand and drawn direct from nature. She has none of the pedantry or grammar or rhetoric, which so largely spoils the productions of later-day poets". She had modelled her style on that of the great poet Kalidasa. Though she has adopted certain scenes and descriptions which are favourites with him, she has "transformed them at the mind of her imagination and invested them with a new significance".

There was a family of hereditary poets called Dindimas from the time of Harihara I down to Achyuta. Among them Rajanatha, Arunagirinatha, Sonadrinatha, who lived from the time of Devaraya II down to Krishnadevaraya, have written works like *Ramabhyudaya*, *Yoganathapraharana*, and semi-historical works like *Saluvabhyudayam* and *Achyutarayabhyudaya*. *Ramabhyudaya*, ascribed to king Saluva Narasimha, is thought to be the work of either Sonadrinatha or Arunagirinatha I. *Saluvabhyudayam* written by Dindima Rajanatha II describes the aehievements of Saluva Narasimha his patron.

Dindima Rajanatha III wrote *Achyutarayabhyudaya* describing the greatness of his patron Achauyta. It deals with the southern expedition of Achyuta. Sivasurya was the author of *Pandavabhyudayam.*

Abhirama Kamakshi, sister of Arunagirinatha's son-in-law, composed *Abhinava Ramabhyudaya* dealing with the Ramayana story. Another poetess Tirumalamba, who won the praise of the scholars in the court of Achyuta, wrote *Varadambika Parinaya.* Lakshmana Swarup regards her as one of the queens of Achuyta. She was proficient in many languages and scripts. The main theme of the works relates to the war between Narasa Nayaka, father of Achyuta, and the Chola ruler. Incidentally it gives the geneology of Achyuta. Oduvatirumalamma, the composer of the Sanskrit poem in an inscription at the Vittala temple, is thought to be the same as Tirumalamba.

Among the royal authors in Sanskrit mention may be made of Mallikarjuna and Krishnadevaraya. *Mahanataka Sudhanidhi* ascribed to Immadi Praudhadevaraya is thought to be the work of Mallikarjuna or Immadi Devaraya. Krishnadevaraya was a great scholar both in Sanskrit and Telugu. He wrote *Jambavati Parinaya* in five acts. We learn from *Amuktamalyada* that he also wrote *Madalasa charita, Satyavadhu Santavana, Sakala Kathasara Sangraha Rasamanjari* and *Jnana Chintamani.*

Secular literature of the period include works on music, erotics, medicine and astronomy. Vidyaranya's *Sangitasara* is an important treatise on music. It sets forth the principle of music and its applications. Lakshminarayana also known as Abhinava Bharata wrote *Sangita Suryodaya.* Devaraya II wrote *Ratiratna Pradipika* in seven chapters on erotics. On medicine, *Ayurveda Sudhanidhi* by Sayana and *Vaidyarajavallabha* by Lakshmana Pandita deserve to be mentioned. Sayana also wrote a grammatical work called *Dhatuvidhi.* Among works on astronomy reference may be made to *Kalamadhava* of Vidyaranya.

Kannada Literature

The historians of Kannada literature generally classify the content of literature on the basis of three principal religions—Jainism, Virasaivism, and Brahmanism. Among the prominent Jaina writers of the period mention may be made of Bahubali and Madhura, each of whom wrote a poem on the 15 Thirthankara in champu style. Madhura was a court poet during the time of Harihara II. He was

also the composer of an inscription near the Krishna temple at Hampi. Undoubtedly the greatest Jaina writer of the period was Ratnakara Varni, the author of *Bharatesa Vaibhava*. The work "contains many peaks of poetic excellence such as the colourful and almost sensuous descriptions of dancing, the delight of music, pictures of domestic life and happiness that the present world has to offer. The style is easy, graceful and polished and almost enchanting like distant music". Stories, commentaries and miscellaneous works in Kannada were also written by Jaina poets. In the time of Devaraya II, the Jaina poets like Vadi Vidyananda and Irugappa Bommarasa produced many Kannada works. In the early 17th century Bhattakalanka Deva wrote a most comprehensive work on grammar called *Karnataka Sabdanusanana*. Its importance lies in the fact that the author refers to previous authorities and quotes from leading Kannada writers which are of value to those interested in the history of the language.

During the time of Vijayanagara, Vidyanagara and Kunigal were the centres of Virasaiva activity in Southern Karnataka. Lakkanna wrote upon Virasaiva saints in Shatpadi metre. Chamarasa wrote his remarkable book on Virasaiva literature. *Prabhulinga Lile* "extolls the story of Allama alias Prabhudeva, an intellectual mystic and the brain of the Virasaiva movement. The character of the hero has been nobly conceived and his spiritual greatness unfolds itself before our eyes. The style too is in keeping with the theme and few works of the Virasaivas come up to this level".

Maggaya Mayadeva wrote some Satakas, while Jakkanna wrote on Virasaiva philosophy. In the time of Krishnadevaraya, the disciples of Tontada Siddesvara wrote many kavyas and Virupaksa pandita wrote *Channabasava Purana* at Hampi.

Among the Brahmanical poets, Kumara Vyasa, in the time of Devaraya II, wrote Kannada Mahabharata, popularly known as "*Gadugina Bharatha*". Kumara Vyasa "was an inspired poet and poetry gushed out of him at his bidding through the grace of the God Viranarayana at Gadag. It is no exaggeration to say that, with the exception of Pampa, he is the greatest poet that Karnataka has ever seen. His luxuriant imagination and rich experience, clear, vigorous and beautiful style, dash and daring fervour, earnestness and devotion, picturesque conceptions of character and situation, fresh and unexpected similes and metaphors—all these make his poetry sublime and everlasting. He is a glory never to be forgotten or to be dimmed". He left the work incomplete and it was completed by Timmana under the instructions of Krishnadevaraya.

Nityatmasukayogi translated the *Bhagavata* and Narahari the *Torave Ramayana*. Lakshmisha, the author of *Jaimini Bharata*, probably lived in the 16th century. In addition, works in Kannada on such subjects as medicine, both human and veterinary, poetics, lexicography, astrology and prognostication, erotics and cookery were composed during the period under review. We have a vast body of literature composed by Vaishnava singers like Sripada Raya, Purandara Dasa and Kanakadasa. Kanakadasa wrote *Mohana Tarangini* (River of Delight) in Sangatya and *Nala-charita* and *Haribhaktisara* in Shatpadi. Mohana Tarangini describes the stories of Krishna and *Hari-bhaktisara* contains morals for children. His little poem, *Ramadhanya-charite*, exalts the grain ragi, the staple food of the region. "The prodigious activity of the Vaisnava dasas has earned for them the gratitude of all and they succeeded in establishing a school of music called the Karnataka school, justly praised in many parts of India".

Telugu Literature

It is true to say that "the bulk and the best part of the Telugu literature, which affords the greatest delight to the minds of the Andhras, is the product of direct patronage of Vijayanagara Emperors, and their Viceroys. It is equally a striking phenomenon, that the above literature has grown both in volume and variety under Vijayanagara dynasty".

The first contact between Andhra and Karnataka in literature was in the time of Devaraya II. The poet Srinatha, who had been patronised by the Reddi chieftains, came to Vijayanagara court and was honoured by Devaraya II with the title of emperor of poets.

The greatest advance in Telugu literature was in the time of Krishnadevaraya. Until then, the Telugu poets used to write on puranic stories, but under Krishnadevaraya's patronage independent compositions called the Prabhandas began. Krishnadevaraya was himself an accomplished poet in Telugu and wrote *Amuktamalyada*, which contains his political ideas. *Amuktamalyada* deals with the story of Godadevi, one of the Vaisnava saints, showing that Krishnadevaraya leaned towards Srivaisnavism. His style is very abtruse and complicated showing the depth of his learning. In the court of Krishnadevaraya flourished the *Asitadiggajas*, the eight elephants who supported the world of Telugu literature. They were Allasani Paddana, Nandi Timmana, Ayaalaraju Ramabhadrakavi, Dhurjati, Mallana, Pingali Surana, Ramaraja Bhusana and Tenaliramakrishna

Kavi, Allasani Peddana wrote *Manucharitam*, Timmana *Parijatapaharanam;* Ramabhadra Kavi, *Radhamadhavam;* Dhurjati, *Kalahasti Sataka;* Pingali Suranna, *Kalapurnodayam;* Ramaraja Bhushana, *Vasucharitam;* and Tenali Ramakrishna Kavi, *Udhatarabhya charitam* and *Panduranga Mahamtyam.* The latter is regarded as one of the Panchamahakavyas in Telugu. Among all these poets, Peddana was personally honoured by Krishnadevaraya for his poficiency in Sanskrit and Telugu and was taken in a procession in a palanquin borne by Krishnadevaraya himself.

Tamil literature

Vijayanagara also patronised many Tamil poets from about the 16th century. Under Krishnadevaraya, Kumara Saraswati wrote a poem dealing with the marriage of Krishnadevaraya with the Gajapati Princess. He also patronised Mandalapurusha, Jnanaprakasha, Tatvaprakasha and Harihara. They wrote mostly on Saiva philosophy. Many Tamil commentaries on Dravida Saivism were produced.

The above survey proves that the rulers of Vijayanagara dynasty were great patrons of literature. In this, they did not make any difference between the language spoken by the people from different parts of the country. Although, the empire was rooted in Karnataka, they did not exhibit any reservation of mind by encouraging Kannada literature only. On the other hand, they patronised all *desabhasas.* Thus Sanskrit, Kannada, Telugu, and Tamil received equal measure of kingly attention. Thus the age can easily be compared with the age of Augustus and the period of Elizabeth.

Art and Architecture

The empire of Vijayanagara which exhibited through the ages its vitality, vigour and robustness has imparted these very characteristics to its monuments. The Kingdom was founded with object of protecting and conserving the traditional Dharma and therefore Vijayanagara cannot be credited with initiating any new creative movement so to speak. If anything, the principle of gaigantism, for which the creations of this empire are specially famous, obtained through the addition of a shrine to goddess, pillared halls and pavilions like Kalyanamandapa, mark of the temples of the period from the previous examples. "Much of the intricacy", writes Percy Brown, "and rich beauty of Vijayanagara type of temple was produ-

ced by the number and prominence of its pillars and piers and the manner in which they are sculptured into the most complicated compositions, strange and manifold, so that each becomes a figurative drama in stone". Another feature of a Vijayanagara pillar was one in which the shaft becomes a core round which are seen slender, miniature pillars, all emerging from the same base. Yet another feature 'was the one in which the main shaft consisted of a miniature shrines rising one upon another as in a tower, but without its tapering quality'.

The rulers of the dynasty were great builders and were the force behind the artistic activity of the period. The finest flowering of this movement is seen in the magnificent examples at Vijayanagara, once noted for gaity and colour, now deserted and known popularly as Hampi. Though the city became a victim of destruction and plunder, it retains its charm even in the ruins. 'Like Mahabalipuram, it retains its unique importance for the historian'. Percy Brown thus records his administration for the ruins at Hampi : "No remains of this city recall more vividly the story of the forgotten empire of Vijayanagara than these massive terraces, still impressive examples of architecture in spite of their mutilated superstructures. For here the ruler of this region sat in state on his golden throne to view the pomp and pageantry symbolising the greatness and wealth of his possessions, and Indian replica of the "Field of the cloth of God", a spectacle which at that very time was taking place in the west. Even in their dismal conditions these elevated and orderly piles of masonry with their finely moulded pavements retain some of the glamour and romance of that brilliant period when Vijayanagara, the 'city of Victory', was one of the most famous capitals of East".

The earliest monuments at Hampi and Sringeri follow the Hoysala style. The Bhuvanesvari shrine in the Virupaksha temple is of Chalukyan architecture. Granite instead of pot stone is increasingly used. The transition is shown in the Vidyasankara temple at Sringeri, constructed in about 1380 in memory of Vidyasankara, the teacher of Vidyaranya. The plan of the temple is unique in India, having an apsidal back on a Hoysala pedestal and with Hoysala tower. Vidyaranya seems to have constructed the temple on the Srichakra plan and also with reference to some astronomical conceptions. The mandapa has twelve pillars with marks of the Twleve houses of the zodiacs so that the sun's rays at the dawn of the first of every solar month fall

exactly on the indicated pillar. The sculptures of the temple are carried on Hoysala tradition. In Hampi itself, from the time of Harihara II, Dravidian features gain prominence.

The temple of Vittala is by far the most ornate of all the Vijayanagara temples. "It shows", writes Rea, "the extreme limit in florid magnificence to which the style advanced". Begun during the time of Devaraya II, the work continued during the reigns of Krishnadevaraya, Achyutaraya and probably Sadasivaraya and was probably stopped only by the destruction of the city in 1565. The temple is dedicated to Vishnu. "The temple is an unified structure standing in a courtyard of 500 ft by 310 ft. A triple row of pillars surrounds the courtyard. The three entrances leading into the courtyard, east, south and north, are surrounding by gopurams". It is a low structure of one storey averaging 25 feet in height.

The temple consists of three distinct compartments, a garbhagriha, an ardhamandapa and a mahamandala. The mahamandapa is noted for its supremely rich appearance. It is a columned pavilion of large dimensions built on a moulded plinth 5 ft high. There are 56 pillars inside, each 12 feet high, hewn out of solid blocks of granite to form intricate compositions of sculptures. Another structure in the same ornate style is the Kalyanamandapa. It consists of an open pavilion resembling the mahamandapa, but much smaller in size. There are as many as 48 pillars each one of which is an extraordinarily beautiful piece of workmanship.

Facing the entrance to the mahamandapa is another unique monument of great beauty and significance, shaped like a ratha, cut entirely of stone. In has realistically revolving stone wheels and to a fairly ample scale of a temple car, with every feature imitated in granite, even to the elephant forms which guard the steps'. It is an exquisite specimen of Vijayanagara craftsmanship and adds to the beauty of the main building both by its location and size. The splendidly sculptured pavilions of this temple which remain to this day, even in their ruin and decay, are an object of astonishment and admiration to all beholders.

Krishnadevaraya commenced the temple of Hazara Rama after his successful campaign in the East. It is a comparatively small but an highly ornamental shrine. It was mainly built for worship by the royal family and members of the court, and may therefore be called Chapel Royal. The 24 feet high wall that surrounds the courtyard emphasises its private character. The temple consists of

a garbhagriha, a shrine for the goddess, a Kalyanamandapa and all other subsidiary structures found in larger temples. "Special mention must here be made of the four central pillars in its mandapa or assembly hall for their unusual size and design. Their shafts have geometrical moulding a cube alternating with a fluted cylinder, all copiously carved, while each capital is a very substantial four branched foliated volute terminating in the characteristic knop. The vimana or tower.....is rather unusual in that its lower storey is of stone and the tapering tower is of brick. Its architectonic character consists of the design of Sikhara itself being repeated in regular groups one upon another in three tiers and terminating in a cupola at the top". The inner walls of the temple are decorated in relief with scenes from Ramayana. Krishnadevaraya, restored many shrines throughout south India especially lavished wealth upon the temples at Tirupati, Srishyla, Srirangam and Kanchi. The huge towers over the main gateways of the temples called rayagopura were named after him.

Among other temples at Hampi mention may be made of the temple of Virupaksha and temple of Ganapathi. Krishnadevaraya added a Kalyanamandapa to the Virupaksha temple.

Even the secular buildings were planned and constructed to please the eye. Some of the exquisite buildings are seen in ruins within the citadel of Vijayanagara. Only the lower portions of these buildings have survived destruction. "Yet so beautiful are these coursed and moulded terraces", says Percy Brown, "that if their superstructures, now overthrown and broken, were in any way their equal, they fully justify eulogies of those work, visiting the city in its prime, described it in such glowing terms". Among these two impressive basements need worthy of attention; they are the knig's Audience Hall and the Throne Platform or sometimes called the house of Victory erected to commemorate Krishnadevaraya's conquest of Orissa. The terraces accommodated pillared pavilions with pyramidal roofs, several storeys high. The Audience Hall was a "Hall of Hundred pillars" arranged in ten rows of ten pillars each. The fragments of the pillars indicate that they had square bases cylindrical shafts and bricked capitals. The basement in three spacious diminishing stages, one above the other with fine flights of steps and sides were decorated by means of mouldings and string courses, broad, bold and precise, in conformity with the monumental character of the structrue.

The throne platform is also in the diminishing stages, square

in plan, the lowest tier having a side of 132 feet and the uppermost tier a side of 78 feet. This was used for private audiences. The uppermost tier of the platform approached by stairways the side walls of which have elephant decorations. "The highest stage of the platform is decorated by extremely beautiful moulding in stone while the two lower stages are more or less plain masonry plinths, carrying, however, bands of figures and animals of an entertaining character in low relief."

Among other ruins at Hampi mention may be made of Kamal Mahal, queen's bath, the remnants of the fort watch tower, elephant and horse stables, the principal market area, Royal balance (Rajatulabharam) and the Tankasala (royal mint). Even in ruins, these objects stand to this day to recall to our memory the glory that once Vijayanagara was. The Ganesha and Narasimha Images at Hampi are of huge dimension overawing the beholder rather than pleasing by their beauty and delicacy. The enormous statue of Ugra Narasimha caved out of a single boulder of granite was executed in 1528. Though it has been badly injured, it is still a most striking object. Delicate scultptures are however found in the Vittala.

Paintings—The Lepakshi temple, called the Ajanta of the Saivas, contains some specimens of late Vijayanagara paintings. "By far the most remarkable feature of the mahamandapa, and indeed of the temple itself", says the Gazetteer, "are the numerous life-size paintings of scenes out of the Mahabharata, and Ramayana, and the Puranas with which the whole roof is covered. They exhibit wonderful mastery over the arts of drawing and colouring. One of the faces possesses the unusual characteristic of appearing to look full at the spectator from whatever point it is viewed." The marriage of Parvati, Dakshinamurthy, Rama's coronation, are among the pictures. The story of Arjuna's penance forms an excellent theme for a row of pictures and the painter has shown the various scenes. There is a graphic representation of Parvathi's marriage where many sages and gods like Vishnu, Vayu and Agni are shown as guests. The toilet of Parvathi before her marriage and the scene of Siva playing chess with his wife are quite interesting. The most profitable study of paintings, typical of Vijayangara period, is made in the Andhramandapa where the ceiling is rich in excellent represetations of the various forms of Shiva. But the finest is the panel showing Shiva as Gowriprasadaka or appeasing Gowri. This is a very delicate theme delicately worked. In this there is a happy blend of action and repose, anger and calm. The ceiling of the

Kalyanamandapa in the Virupaksha temple contains paintings depicting Dasavatara, Girija Kalyana.

It is clear from the above account the paintings of the Vijayanagara empire had an excellent scene of beautiful form and pose, arrangement of figures to produce good compositions, good colour sense to paint pleasing pictures. The lines that go to the contours are mute testimonies to the perfect knowledge of the human form that these artists possessed in abundance. Costumes and ornaments in these paintings have a peculiar historical interest apart from the artistic embellishment that these are intended to add. The Ajanta tradition seems to have been lost and only the Chola tradition seems to have been continued.

APPENDIX I

The Mahanavami Festival

Fairs and festivals have always played an important part in the life of the Hindus. They provided the Hindus an opportunity to forget the problems of the day-to-day life and spend the time in gay abandon as it were. They had their religious siginificance too..... It was an occasion for people to worship God to seek his blessings. They were also great leveller of people. Festivals were performed by people irrespective of their caste. They provided an opportunity for people to mix with each other irrespective of caste, and religious persuasion, considered at the moment that they were all one. Hence their importance to the religious and social history of India.

The Mahanavami festival which falls in the month of Asvija was performed by the rulers of Vijayanagara with great pomp and splendour. Abdul Razzak who was a spectator of this while in the capital gives a glowing account of the brilliancy of this great festival. His account runs thus:

"In pursuance of orders issued by the King of Didjanagara (Vijayanagara), the generals and the principal personages from all parts of his empire.....presented themselves at the palace. They brought with them a thousand elephants.....which were covered with brilliant armour and with castles magnificently adorned..... During three consecutive days in the month of Redjeb the vast place of the land magnificently decorated, in which the enormous

elephants were congreted together, presented the appearance of the waves of the sea, or that compact mass which will be assembled together at the day of resurrection. Over this maginificent space were erected the numerous pavilions, to the height of three, four or five storeys, covered from top to bottom with figures in relief..... Some of these pavilions were arranged in such a manner that they would run rapidly round and present a new face at each moment a new chamber or a new hall presented itself to the view.

"In front of this rose a place with nine pavilions magnificently ornamented. In the ninth the king's throne was set up. In the seventh was allotted a place to the humble authority of this narrative .....Between the palace and the pavilions were musicians and story tellers".

"The throne, which was of extraordinary size, made of gold, and enriched, with precious stones of extreme value.....Before the throne was a square cushion, on the edges of which were sown three rows of pearls. During the three days King remained seated on this cushion. When the fete of Mahanavami was ended, at the hour of evening prayer, I was introduced into the middle of four estrades, which were about ten ghez (about seven yards) both in length and breadth. The roof and the walls were entirely formed of plates of gold enriched with precious stones. Each of these plates was as thick as the blade of a sword, and was fastened with golden nails. Upon the estrade, in the front, is placed the throne of the king, and the throne itself is of the great size."

One need not be apologetic for this long quotation. The statement brings in the main certain important features of the festival. Razzak tells us that the generals and important personages from all parts of the country participated in the festival. By generals and important personages Razzak means the vassal rulers or the feudatories of the Empire. According to the accepted norms the feudatory rulers were expected to come to the imperial capital to pay homage to their suzerains once a year. They were also expected to wait on the king and pay the tributes to him. During the Mahanavami festival the vassal rulers used to assemble at the capital to pay their homage and tribute to the emperor. This was an occasion to express their loyalty to their master. For the emperor it provided an opportunity to check their loyalty to the empire. The success of the state depended largely on political unity. Since the Vijayanagara rulers had to wage life and death struggle with

the Muhammadans political unity was most desired thing of the hour. Only through united action Hinduism could be saved from the inroads of Islam. Hence Mahanavami festival instilled in their minds the spirit of dedication to the cause of their country and culture.

Further, the tributes paid by the rulers constituted an important source of revenue to the state. It helped the state to plan its expenditure on the basis of its income. As mentioned before, Vijayanagara rulers had to wage incessant wars with the Muhammadans which necessitated the maintenance of large and well-equipped army. Therefore, the emperors had to expend much of their resources on the recruitment and maintenance of the army. This was another political aspect of the festival.

It was the practice in ancient India to lead the Digvijaya or expedition the following day of the Mahanavami festival. On the Mahanavami day the soldiers kept in tidiness their weapons of warfare and worshipped them. This was followed by the millitary parade. This gave an opportunity for the emperor to take stock of the military equipments and form an idea regarding the preparedness of his army. The display of pomp and majesty of the royal court coupled with the show of military strength must have struck terror in the hearts of those who might be planning rebellion.

The festival had a sociological significance also. The Vijayanagara rulers with their numerous palaces, officials and ceremonials displayed the concentrated resources of extensive empire. The common people who attended the festival were wondered with this display which in turn enabled them to feel secure in the hands of the emperor. There was also the display of the girls in their magnificent dress dancing behind the curtain before the king. There were also numberless performances given by Jugglers who displayed elephants marvellously trained. Fireworks, games, and amusements were also there. Thus people of different tastes had entertainments to their liking. The occasion was also made use to honour poets, and others skilled in arts and crafts. Mahanavami festival was performed on a national scale and may be easily compared with the Rajyotsavas performed in our times. Perhaps the festival was performed on such a large scale to make people feel that they were units of that large whole and infuse in their minds a sense of respect and admiration towards their ruler who was the arbiter of their destiny.

APPENDIX II

Splendour of Vijayanagara as seen through the accounts of Foreign Visitors

'The Vijayanagara Empire marks the culmination of achievements, political and cultural, of the people of South India in the days when they had not fallen under foreign domination. The empire has left a permanent trace of its existence. There is no field of national life which Vijayanagara has not influenced. In the fields of religion, literature, art and politics the Vijayanagara empire contributed much that is of permanent value.' The Prosperity of the Vijayanagara Empire attracted, Persian, Arab, and Portuguese merchants to flow into the city to carry on their trade and commerce. The contact with Persian and Portuguese merchants helped the scholars and writers to record the condition of their city. The splendour that was Vijayanagara formed the subject matter of the record of many travellers and chroniclers. Some of these chroniclers wondered at the splendour and magnificence of the city. The value of the account left by these foreign visitors to students of Vijayanagara History is indeed very great.

The first foreign traveller to visit the city of Vijayanagara was *Nicolo Conti*. He came to the city with his wife in 1420 during the time of Devaraya I. The observations of this Venetian traveller are of important value to the students of Vijayanagara history. He describes the city of Vijayanagara, its king and his harem and throws valuable light on social life. On the extent of the city of Vijayanagara, he says, "The great city of Bizenegaria is situated near very steep mountains. The circumference of the city is 60 miles; its walls are carried up to the mountains and encloses the valley at their foot so that its extent is increased. In this city there are estimated to be 90,000 men fit to bear arms".

He describes the palaces, the gateways and even the streets of the city. He makes interesting observations on the condition of the society. He says the inhabitants of this region married as many wives as they please who are burnt with their dead husbands. It would be clear from this that both polygamy and sati were prevalent during this period. On the Raya, he says the King is very powerful than all other Kings of India. He takes to himself 12,000 wives, of whom 4,000 follow him on foot wherever he may go and are employed in

the service of the king. However he forgets to mention the name of the reigning monarch and just describes the position of the king.

Then he proceeds to describe the three festivals of the empire which find support in the accounts of Nuniz. Three festivals include the Kannada New Year Day, Ugadi, Deepavali and Mahanavami. He gives the descriptions of the mines of Golkonda and wonders at the Gold mines of the city. He says that the year is divided into 12 months which are named after the signs of zodiac.

Thus, Conti has given an impartial account of the manners and customs of the people during that time. Probably he failed to get any interview with the king and this explains the absence of any reference to the name of the ruler.

Abdur Razzak

He was a Persian ambassador who visited the city of Vijayanagara at the time of Devaraya II. Persian ruler commissioned Razzak to set out on a mission to Indian continent in 1442. He reached Calicut in the same year and reached Vijayanagara in 1443. From his accounts we understand an ambassador from Vijayanagara came to Calicut to welcome him. He stayed in the capital and after his return to Persia he wrote his 'History of Persia'. This work contains an account of Vijayanagara relating to topography, administration and social life.

He notes the limits of the empire, the attempted assassination of the emperor, the Darsik's expedition to Gulbarga and journey to Ceylon. He observes that the empire contained 300 ports like Calicut; land was fertile, well cultivated and populatised. He describes the seven walled imperial city, its cultivated fields and gardens, its bazaars and houses, the king's palace and other public buildings, the king's throne, the brilliance of the city on festival days and says: "The city of Bijanagar is such that eye has not seen, nor ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth". He stresses the king's absolute powers and his high admiration and esteem for Brahmanas.

As regards the defence of the city, Razzak says that there were 12,000 policemen under the prefect of the city. There were more than 1,000 elephants lofty as hills and gigantic as demons. The soldiers were paid every four months in cash and the city police was maintained with the revenue from the people. Trade was organised

into guilds and crafts. People wore jewels and ornaments profusely. He says that roses are sold everywhere. The people could not live without roses and look upon them as quite necessary as food. Writing was on leaves with an iron style.

As regards the city, "The splendour of those houses, the beauty of the heart ravishes, their blandishments are beyond all descriptions. The King's harem contained 700 princesses". The description of the dress of the king is given. The king was dressed in a robe of green satin, around his neck he wore a collar composed of pearls and splendid gems. He had an olive complexion, his frame was thin and he was rather tall; on his cheeks may be seen a slight down, but there was no beard on his chin. The expression of his countenance was extremely pleasing.

Razzak gives an admirable account of the brilliance of Mahanavami festival in which he was a spectator. Sewell avers that he (Razzak) might have gone wrong in attributing the festival. He saw the king's palace and the throne. He describes the inner portions of the palace and says: "Girls were there in magnificent dresses, dancing behind a pretty curtain opposite to the king". There were numberless performances given by jugglers who displayed elephants marvellously trained. "He had a personal interview with Devaraya II. He saw him sitting on the throne and describes the throne in glowing terms. The throne was of extraordinary size and made of gold and enriched with precious stones of extraordinary value. The emperor sat with dignity and honour. He also refers to a plot to kill Devaraya II; but this is not corroborated by other contemporary evidence.

The merits of Razzak's accounts lie in the fact that he gives us the description of the city, its king, its palaces and other buildings, its festivals and such other description based on his own personal observation. Thus they are more authoritative than that of Conti.

Niketin

Niketin, a Russian traveller, visited Indian continent during the last days of Sangama dynasty. His was a commercial visit and he reached India in 1470. He stayed in Bidar, a centre of the Bahmani kingdom, for four years and his account mainly concerns the affairs of the Bahmani kingdom. But he makes some useful references to Vijayanagara history.

Niketin refers to the wars between Vijayanagara and Bahmani kings on the banks of Tungabhadra. He estimates the Vijayanagara army which consisted of 1 lakh foot soldiers, 50,000 horses. He has a fine pen picture of the impregnable position of the magnificent city which makes it difficult to believe that he never saw the city. On Vijayanagara Empire he has this to say : "The Hindu Sultan Kadam is a very powerful prince. He possesses a huge army and resides on a mountain at Bichengar. This vast city is surrounded by three forts and surrounded a river bordering on one side by a dreadful jungle and other side by dale, a wonderful place and any purpose convenient. On the side it is quite inaccessible, a road goes right through the town and as mountain rises high with ravine below, the town is impregnable".

The above travellers who visited India during the 15th century have left an account on the contemporary conditions of the Vijayanagara empire. But they have failed to note the history of the early period as the travellers who visited India in the 16th century have done. This, however, will not diminish their value. Their accounts help us to reconstruct the political, economic and social history of Vijayanagara. Their description of the city is unique. But for their description we would not have known the splendour of this great city as the inscriptions and literary evidences are silent on this. The historians and the students of Vijayanagara history owe to them a great deal.

Foreign Travellers in the 16th Century

The flourishing trade the Portuguese had in India was largely synchronised with the progress and prosperity of the Vijayanagara empire. Trade interests brought many Portugues to Vijayanagara. At this time Vijayanagara was ruled by one of the greatest rulers Krishnadevaraya. He was in need of quality horses to fight with the Muhammadan power and this demand was met by Portuguese. It was during his reign three important travellers paid visit to Vijayanagara and have left their observations.

Frier Louis visited Vijayanagara in 1509. He was sent by Albuquerque to conclude an agreement between the Portuguese and the King of Vijayanagara. He died in Vijayanagara under mysterious circumstances. He refers to the condition of Vijayanagara on the eve of Krishnadevaraya's accession to the throne and the quarrel between the Vijayanagara ruler and the Deccan Sultan.

Durate Barbosa

He visited Vijayanagara in 1514-15, that is, in the beginning of Krishnadevaraya's rule. He gives no date in his work except mentioning that he finished his work in 1516. Speaking of the kingdom of Narasinga, by which name the Vijayanagara territories were always known to the Portuguese, he writes : "It is very rich, and well supplied with provisions, and is very full of cities and large townships".

He describes the Port of Bhatkal which was a great entrepot of seaborne trade and mentions that such commodities as iron, spices, drugs, myrabalans, were exported from this port. It imported horses and pearls. The governor of Bhatkal at that time was the nephew of Krishnadevaraya. "He lives in great state and calls himself king, but is in obedience to the king, his uncle". Then he proceeds to describe the city.

"Forty-five leagues from these mountains there is a very large city which is called Bijanagara very, populous, and surrounded on one side by a very good wall, and on another by a river and on the other by a mountain. This city is on level ground, the king Narasinga always resides in it. He is gentle, and is called Raheni. He has in this place very large and handsome palaces, with numerous courts... There are also in this city many other palaces of great lords, who live there, and all the other houses of the place are covered with thatch, and the streets and squares are very wide. They are constantly filled with an innumerable crowd of all nations and creeds. There is an infinite trade in this city...In this city there are many jewels which are brought from Pegu, and Celani (Ceylon), and in the country itself many diamonds are found, because there is a mine of them in the kingdom of Narasinga and another in the Kingdom of Decani. There is also many pearls and seed-pearls to be found there, which are brought from Ormuz and also silk-brocades, scarlet—cloth and coral.....

"The king constantly resides in the before-mentioned palaces, and very seldom goes out of them.....

"All the attendance of the king is done by women, who wait upon him within doors; and amongst them are all the employments of the king's household; and all these women live in fine room within these palaces, which contain apartments for all.....

"This king has a house in which he meets with the governors and his officers in council upon the affairs of the realm. They come in very rich litters on men's shoulders...Many litters and many horsemen always stand at the door of this palace, and the king keeps at all times nine hundred elephants and more than twenty thousand horses, all which elephants and horses are bought with his own money...This king has more than a hundered thousand men, both on horse and foot, to whom he gives pay.....

"When the king dies four or five hundred women burn themselves with him.....The king of Narasinga is frequently at war with the king of Decani, who has taken from him much of his land with another gentile king of the country of Orisa which is the country in the interior".

The account of Barbosa throws welcome light on various aspects of Vijayanagara history. An account of the structure of the Vijayanagara economy, the strength of the army, the palaces and public buildings can be gathered by analysing these accounts.

Dominigo Paes

Paes was a Portuguese traveller who visited Vijayanagara in 1520. His narrative, *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga*, is an important source for the study of Vijayanagara History. In 1900 Sewell translated it into English and since then the work has added much to our knowledge of Vijayanagara history. He visited the kingdom during the hey-day of its glory.

Paes begins his history of 'Bisnaga' with the topography of the city. He refers to the range of hills and forests that surrounded the capital. "The road", he says, "is very even". He mentions the plantation of mangoes, jack-fruit trees and tamarind grown behind cities, towns and villages. Land was fertile and great encouragement was given to agriculture. He mentions such agricultural crops as rice, Indian corn, grains, beans, etc. The cities, towns and villages were thickly populated and were self-sufficient. They were fortified. The people worshipped bulls and built shrines for them. They did not slaughter oxen and cows.

He gives a detailed description of a temple he saw at the city of Darcha (Dharwar) and has devoted more than a page to describe its architecture and sculpture. He says, "They feed the idol everyday for they say he eats; and when he eats, women dance before him

who belong to that Pagoda and girls born of the women belong to the temple. These women are of loose character and live in the best streets there are in the city". It would be clear from this, the institution of Devadasis was flourishing during this period. The courtesans were also respected and had an honourable place in the society. They could even enter the palace of the queens and chew betel with them.

Then we have a description of the great city of Vijayanagara. He mentions its fortification, gates, towers, the beautiful rows of buildings where the merchants lived and the construction of tank near the city. He also says Brahmins were vegetarians and lived a pious life. Their wives were beautiful and were very retiring. The Brahmins were honoured by the king with favour.

On the King of Vijayanagara, he says: "He is the most feared and perfect king that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition and very mercy; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners, and receives them kindly, asking about all their affairs whatever their condition may be. He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to sudden fits of rage....." He refers to his wars with the Gajapathi of Orissa, the latter's defeat and the marriage of his daughter by the Vijayanagara king. The Vijayanagara king referred to here is no other than Krishnadevaraya.

He had twelve queens, of whom three were the principal ones in which was included the daughter of the Orissa king. Only their sons were entitled to the throne. They had their own palaces attended by maid servants, guards. No man, except eunachs, could guard them.

The King used to do exercises daily in the morning and accustomed to drink three-quarters pint of gingelly oil. This was followed by a horse ride, bath, worship and then he despatched "his work with those men who bear office in his kingdom and govern his cities, and his favourite talk with him". The hall in which they discussed the state business was "a building made in the state of a porch without walls, which has many pillars hug with clothes right up to the top, and with the walls handsomely painted; it has on each side two figures of women very well made".

Paes graphically describes the way the Portuguese emissary Christovao de Figueiredo was received by Krishnadevaraya. At that time "The king was clothed in certain white clothes embroidered

with many roses in gold, and with a pateca (worn round the neck) of diamonds on his neck of very great value, and on his head he had a cap of brocade.....covered with a piece of fine stuff all of fine silk, and he was bare footed; for no one enters where the king is unless he has bare feet, and the majority of the people or almost all go about the country barefooted....."

Paes returned to Vijayanagara with his Portuguese friends. He describes the arrangements made for the defence of the city. He was wonderstruck with its forts, the way that the principal road was laid, the enclosed palace of the king, the temples, the stone car, the beautiful streets with rows of fine houses and bazaars where "all sorts of rubies, and diamonds were and emeralds and pearls, and seed pearls, and clothes, and every other sort of thing there is on earth and that you may wish to buy". Then you have there every evening a fair where they sell many common horses and nags, and also many citrous, and limes, and oranges, and grapes, and every other kind of garden stuff, and wood; you have all in this street". Pigs, fouls, dried fish and other things produced in the country were also sold on every Friday.

Vijayanagara city was "as large as Rome, and very beautiful to the sight....." "This is the best provided city in the world and is stocked with provisions such as rice, wheat, grains, Indian corn, and a certain amount of barley and beans, moong, pulses, horse gram, many other seeds which grow in this country, which are the food of the people; and there is large store of these and very cheap; but wheat is not so common as the other grains, since no one eats it except the Moors.

"Outside the city walls on the north there are three very beautiful pagodas, one of which is called Vitella, the other is called Aoperadianar, and this is one which they made great pilgrimages. The first alludes to the beautifully sculptured temple of Vitthalaswami, and the second probably to the royal Hampi temple". The narrative gives an admirable description of the temples.

He has devoted a considerable portion of his narrative to the description of feasts and the rituals and ceremonials that accompanied these feasts. Probably he refers to the Mahanavami festival. Then follows the description of soldiers, how they were armed and their decorations. The army consisted of "a million fighting troops in which are included 35,000 cavalry in armour, all these are in his pay, and he has these troops also always together and ready to be

despatched to any quarter whenever such may be necessary". Brahmanas were not recruited into army. Paes states: "In all the land of the heathen there are these Brahmanas; they are men who do not eat anything that suffers death; they have little stomach for the use of arms". Since they paid the salaries to the soldiers regularly they were a happy lot and 'they were always ready for duty, whenever they may be called out wherever they may have to.

Paes ends his narrative with the description of the inner apartments of the palace which he and his Portuguese friends were permitted to see by Krishnadevaraya.

The account of Paes is a much more intimate one. His description shows a settled and orderly administration of the kingdom, despite the wars that the king had to carry on against the Muhammadans, while the capital itself was at the height of its glory. His narrative of the country, the people, and the king and his nobles, his palace and his methods of administration are inestimable to reconstruct history of Vijayanagara empire.

Fernao Nuniz

Among the travellers and chroniclers of medieval times the chronicle of Nuniz takes a premier place. He was the first traveller to evince interest in the early history of Vijayanagara and he recorded the history of this period on the basis of the traditions current at that time. He visited the city during 1535-36, when Achyutadevaraya was on the throne.

The chronicle of Nuniz consists of 23 chapters, of which the first four chapters are devoted to the Sangama dynasty, fourteen chapters for the life and reign of Krishnadevaraya and the remaining chapters deal with the contemporary social condition of Vijayanagara and the rule of Achyutadevaraya.

The events that led to the foundation of the 'Vijayanagara empire are sketched in the beginning of his work. He refers to Muhammad-bin-Tughluq's expedition to the Deccan, siege of Kampili, death of Kampili king and the capture of six nearest kins of the king, the building of the new city, Vijayanagara, are all described in some detail. Nuniz is, in fact, the first chronicler and the only one, who throws light on the usurpation of Saluva Narasimha in 1485. He does full justice to his rule and details the expansion of Vijayanagara kingdom under him.

He has done sufficient justice to Krishnadevaraya, undoubtedly the greatest ruler of the Vijayanagara dynasty. Almost all the events of his reign, from his accession to the throne till his death, are narrated. Chapter 20 deals with the reign of Achyutaraya; the last chapter is devoted to the description of the contemporary Vijayanagara society.

Nuniz's chronicle is more historical than descriptive of the empire or its capital. Though he does not describe the city of Vijayanagara as such, Nuniz's graphic narrative, especially of the camp that Krishnadevaraya carried with him on his advance against Raichur, gives an indication of the highly magnificent style of living prevalent among the royalty in his time, and the conveniences that should have been easily procurable at the capital. It fully bears out Paes's remark that it was "the best provided city in the world".

2. SOME MINOR KINGDOMS

One of the interesting aspects of the political history of Karnataka at least in the ancient and mediaeval periods is the rule of the feudatory powers. Though the imperial families controlled the politics of the entire empire from their imperial capital, their power itself was not directly effective in all the corners of their domains. This was due to the slow nature of communication. Various parts of the empire were under the control of local powers and these as feudatories owed allegiance to, and administered their provinces in the name of the imperial powers. These feudatories involved themselves in imperial politics and their power changed according to the position of the imperial power. Again the feudatories often attempted to assert their independence taking advantage of the weakness of their overlords. Many families played the role of feudatories in Karnataka, and of these the most important are: the Brihatbanas, the Pandyas of Uchchangi, the Nolamba Pallavas, and the Alupas.

The Brihatbanas

One of the early feudatory dynasties of Karnataka, the Brihatbanas, started their career under the Kadambas of Banavasi and continued to play a part in the political history of South India till the sixteenth century. Originally rulers of the area round about the Kolar and Kurnool districts, the Banas trace their descent from Mahabali, son of Virocana and Lord of the Daityas. Though

they had a comparatively long history, they never rose to the position of an imperial power. The Banas ruled first with Parivipura (modern Hindupur) and later from the seventh century with Tiruvallam as their capital.

We hear of the Banas for the first time in the Talagunda inscription: Mayurasharman levied tribute from Brihatbana and other rulers. Two centuries later, Pulakesin II is known to have conquered the Banaraja Vishaya and collected a tax in gold. Stray references to Bana kings are available in other early Chalukya epigraphs till the 9th century. They were subordinates of the Gangas also and continued as such under the Rashtrakutas. With the accession of Bana Vijayadithya (796-835 A.D.), Bana history becomes clear.

An able ruler, Vijayadithya changed sides with the Pallavas upon the establishment of Ganga ruler independent of Rashtrakutas by Rachamalla I. Under his son and successor Sri Vadhuvallava Malladeva Nandivarman (835-850 A.D.) the Banas continued to be inimical with the main line of the Gangas and resisted Nolamba expansion. Under Vikramadithya Jayameru, the Banas became independent taking advantage of Pallava-Pandya conflict. This independence was shortlived, for the Banas were defeated by Nolambas under Mahendra. This defeat resulted in curbing Bana power once and for all. Though the successors of Jayameru assumed titles like Birudupugalvipparaganda, they could not regain their ancestral kingdom.

With the rise of the Cholas the Banas then under Vikramadithya II were forcibly uprooted some time between 907-953 A.D. We may pass over a few names and mention that Vikramadithya III was the last known ruler of this dynasty.

The Pandyas of Uchchangi

Feudatories under the Chalukyas of Kalyana, the Pandyas of Uchchangi occupy an important place in the history of Karnataka. This family of Mahamandaleshwaras themselves had many lesser families under them. Claiming to be Yadavas of the lunar race, they traced their descent from Vishnu, Brahma, Soma and other divinities. Originally they were rulers of Hayve, one of the seven Konkanas with Sisugali as their capital. After Chalukya Jayasimhavarman conquered the seven Konkanas, the Pandyas moved to Uchchangi, a hill fort on the northern borders of Mysore State.

The founder of the family was Adityadeva (1020 A.D.) described as the 'ornament of the Yadavakula'. His son Tejaraya was wielding considerable influence at the beginning of the eleventh century. Chediraja, son and successor of Tejaraja, served as a general under Chalukya Someswara I (1042-68 A.D.). He acquired the name Chediraya after subduing the Chedi king and was thus the real founder of the dynasty. Assuming the titles 'Ekangavira' and 'Prarichhediganda', possessor of all good qualities, Chediraya ruled as the Chalukya feudatory in the province of Nolambavadi. He was succeeded by his younger brother Irukkapala. He openly took the side of the Cholas and Hoysalas, traditional enemies of the Chalukyas. Irukkapala married a Chola princess. The next king Palamandapandya, who had titles like 'Prarichhediganda and 'Rajiga Cholatantrabhedaka', was the real successor of Chediraja in the sense that he continued as the feudatory of the Chalukyas. Palamanda was so powerful that he is described as the chieftain who gave their own kingdoms to the Cholas and the Chalukyas. Taking advantage of the Chola—Chalukya rivalry, Palamanda extended his territory beyond the Harappanahalli taluk which was their traditional boundary.

The greatest ruler of this family was Tribhuvanamalla Pandya, son and successor of Palamanda. He was considered as 'Tribhuvanamalla daksina hasta danda' and as 'mukunda' among chieftains. He had played such a prominent role in Chalukya politics under Vikramaditya VI that, inscriptions describe him as sufficient to break the Chola, Andhra, Kalinga, Anga, Vanga, Magadha, Malava and Gurjara kings. He is also described as the younger brother of Veera Nolamba Pallava Permanadideva (Chalukya Jayasimha). He made Betur near Devanagere as his capital and was the viceroy of the Santalige province. This feudatory, a patron of arts, had a number of chiefs subordinate to him.

Tribhuvanamallaraya Pandya, the next king, is described as a victor over the Kalingas, Singalas, Sendrakas, Kalukas, and the Kadambas of Molakalmuru. He appears to have enlarged his kingdom. Son and successor of Raya Pandya, Pandita Pandya was a pandita. He was succeeded by Veerapandya who continued to help the Chalukyas against the Cholas. With many able generals under him Veerapandya gave a fillip to Chalukya fame. His queens, Gangadevi and Vijayadevi, were talented persons. Veerapandya encouraged learning and patronised the poet Madhusudana. He also made liberal gifts to temples and religious institutions. A great feudatory, he recovered the Kadambalige province which was annexed

by Hoysala Vishnuvardhana for the Chalukyas. He was so famous in the Southern part of the Chalukya empire that, he is often described as "the emperor of the southern region".

There appears to have been succession dispute after the death of Veerapandya. Vijayapandya defeated his half-brother Palamanda and came to the throne. During his rule the Chalukya throne was usurped by Kalachuri Bijjala. When Bijjala ruled as an independent monarch Vijayapandya also declared his indenpedence (1166 A.D.). He subdued many tribes in the Western Ghats region and extended his territory.

The accession of Hoysala Veeraballala II curbed the power of the Uchchangi Pandyas. Veeraballala captured Uchchangi and acquired the titles of 'Shanivarasiddhi' and 'Giridurgamalla'. The victim was Udayaditya, son of Vijayapandya. Perhaps he even lost his life in the battle against Veeraballala. The story of a small but very important family thus came to a close.

Nolamba-Pallavas

One of the important minor dynasties of Karnataka, the Nolamba-Pallavas served the Rashtrakutas and Kalyana Chalukyas as feudatories and had relations with the Banas, Gangas and Vaidumbas. Beginning their career of three centuries under the Gangas of Talakadu as governors of Nolambalige 1000 (comprising of Ananthapur in Andhrapradesh and Chitradurga and Tumkur areas of Karnataka), the Nolambas rose to act as a fillip to Rashtrakuta power. At the height of their power, the Nolambas controlled Nolambalige 32000 covering the present districts of Tumkur and Chitradurga and parts of Bellary, Ananthapur, Kolar and Bangalore areas.

Originally belonging to Pallava lineage the Nolambas stayed over when the Pallavas were compelled to move away from Karnataka. The geneology of the dynasty, detailed in the pillar inscription at Hemavathi, the capital city of the Nolambas, mentions Trinayana as the first king. He was succeeded by Mangala Nolambadhiraja the first historical personality of this family. Ruling between C. 740-75 A.D., Mangala, according to the Hemavathi inscription, defeated a Kirata king and prayed to goddess Chandika on the battlefield. A feudatory of the Chalukyas, he was a patron of men of letters, according to the same inscription. Mangala was succeeded by his son Simhapota Kalinolam Badhiraja (C. 775-800 A.D). Subordinate to the Gangal

King Sivamara Saigotta, Simhapota was sent against Duggimara when he tried to become independent. The result of this battle is not known but, since Sivamara succeeded to the Talakad throne after Sripurusha, we may surmise that Simhapota was successful. Shortly after this the Rashtrakutas occupied Gangawadi, took Sivamara a prisoner as a consequence of which the Nolamba came under Rashtrakuta protection. Simhapota had a son Charuponnera and a daughter Sree Mahadevi.

Charuponnera or Parameshwara Pallavadhiraja ruled under the suzerainty of Rashtrakuta Govinda III. He is the first Nolamba king mentioned in the epigraphs, as ruling over Nolambalige 1000. His wife Gavanabbe and son Polachora Pallavamara ruled over parts of Nolamba territory. Though not much is known of the activities of Charuponnera, some of his actions prove that he was a master in politics. Accepting circumstances he became a feudatory of Govinda III. When after Govinda, he found that Ganga Rachamalla I was powerful, Charuponnera changed sides. Ganga-Nolamba ties were further strengthened when Rachamalla gave his daughter Jayabbe in marriage to Polachora I, the son of Charuponnera. In turn Charuponnera gave his sister Mahadevi in marriage to Rachamalla.

Polachora I Nolambadhiraja came to the throne in C. 830 A.D. Having ruled as a subordinate under his father and with the political support of Rachamalla and his son Neetimarga, Polachora ruled for nearly forty years and made his mark as one of the greatest among the Nolambas. When he came to the throne circumstances were favourable and Polachora made the best use of it. Rashtrakuta Govinda was succeeded by Amoghavarsha not then Nrupatunga. Taking advantage, the Gangas became independent, Polachora ruled as a subordinate to Neetimarga. Rajamalla himself was a great conqueror and he wrested certain territories from the Pallavas in the present district of Kolar. Initially the Banas established themselves here, later Polachora or his son Mahendra, defeated the Banas. Rajamalla named his son-in-law perhaps his grandson (as some opine) as governer of the conquered territory. The Nolamba dominion extended up to the Pallava empire under Polachora. A Saivite, Polachora was yet catholic in his outlook. A conqueror, he was also a patron of public works. He married his son Mahendra to the Ganga princess Gamabbe.

Son and successor of Pollachora I, Nolambadhiraja Mahendra (C. 870-897 A.D.) was the greatest among the kings of this family. The

situation then in Karnataka was very curious. Rachamalla II had succeeded Neetimarga; Amoghavarsha was ruling in glory. In the Tamil country, there was confusion in the Pallava empire and the Banas, Vaidumbas and Telugu Chodas ruling independently were trying to wrest away the Nolamba kingdom. In this situation Mahendra was helped by Rachamalla II.

As soon as he came to the throne Mahendra defeated the Chodas of Renadu but made friends with the vanquished Mahendra Vikrama. Mahendra next turned his attention to the united power of Banas, Vaidumbas and a dispossessed Ganga Prince Prithvipathi I. By this time conflict had started between the Pallavas and Pandyas. The Bana Vaidumba forces crossed into Nolamba territory and Mahendra gave them battle. Almost at the same time at Sripurambiam, the Pallavas aided by Prithvipathi I defeated Varagunapandya. The Ganga prince lost his life in the battle. The Bana-Vaidumba forces were defeated and chased into their own domains. Having brought them to their knees Mahendra assumed the title 'Mahabalikula Vidvamsa'. The victory was over and Mahendra blindly marched into the territory of his masters—the Gangas. Immediately the Gangas were defeated but, Neetimarga Ereyappa bided his time, mustered strength, defeated and killed Mahendra and assumed the title 'Mahendrantaka'. Under this greatest of Nolambas, Nolambalige 1000 became Nolambalige 32000. Mahendra put an end to Bana hegemony but that victory itself proved his weakness. By his chief queen Gamabbe, he had a son Ayyappadeva. Besides, Mahendra had four other queens, Bijjamahadevi, Akkabbe, Dombabbe and Paramamahadevi who administered various parts of the Nolamba Kingdom.

Beginning his reign in the C. 897 A.D. Ayyappadeva spent the first part of his reign at least till C. 900 A.D. in retrieving parts of his patrimony from the Gangas. By C. 918 A.D. he was ruling over Nolamba-Vadi 32000 and had friendly relations with Gangas. We next see him defeating the eastern Chalukya Ammana. Some time in 922 A.D. his son gave battle to Rashtrakuta Indra III but later made friends with him.

In 984 A.D. Bheema II ascended the eastern Chalukya throne and since the Rashtrakutas had helped Yuddhamalla in the contest for the throne, Bheema put them down. Having defeated Govinda IV Bheema marched his forces into Nolamba territory to teach them a lesson. Ayyappadeva was defeated in battle and he was succeeded on the Nolamba throne by Beera Nolamba Anniga, his son by the

Ganga princess. Anniga could not achieve anything in his short reign of six years and since his son Inulchora died prematurely, he was succeeded by his brother Ereve Nolamba Dileepa (941-67 A.D). The twenty-seven years of Dileepa's reign was peaceful. Nanni Nolamba Chaladankakara served his father as a subordinate and after the death of Dileepa, he became king. His rule saw a war with Marasmha II Ganga and the Nolambas were defeated. Nanni Nolamba was succeeded by one of his great grandsons, Nolambadhiraja Mahendra II. He retrieved some of the territories lost to the Gangas under his grandfather.

Between 981 A.D. the last known date of Mahendra II and 1010 A.D. the first regnal date of Irevenolamba Ghatayankakara, Divalabbarasi, Mahendra's mother administered the kingdom. In 985 A.D. RajaRaja Chola became king and immediately made a determined effort against two of his weak neighbouring territories, Gangavadi under Rachamalla IV and the Nolamba kingdom under Divalabbarasi. The Nolambas were forced to move under the protective canopy of the Kalyana Chalukyas. When Irevenolamba Ghatayankakara, Mahendra's brother, came of age, he not only ruled certain parts of the once Nolamba kingdom under Chalukya aegis but also married Mahadevi, a sister of Vikramaditya V and granddaughter of Taila II. Nothing else is known of the Ghatayankakara. He had two children, a daughter Devaladevi, who married Chalukya Jayasimha II, and a son Jagadekamalla Nolamba Pallava Permanadi Udayaditya who jointly ruled with his father. The Nolamba capital had already been shifted from Hemavathi to Kampili. All that we know of Udayaditya are his regnal date—1018-57 A.D.—and that he was a subordinate to Kalyana Chalukyas. Udayaditya was succeeded by his eldest son, 'Jagadekamalla Irmadi Nolamba' between 1037-44 A.D. and by his second son Trailokyamalla Nanninolamba Pallava Permanadi between 1044-54 A.D. We know nothing of this last Nolamba except that he participated in the Chalukya-Chola contest for supremacy in south India and lost his life in the battle of Koppam. With Trailokyamalla, the Nolamba line comes to an end.

In spite of the fact that for most part of this history, the Nolambas were engaged in battle, they patronised art. Nolamba architecture, examples of which are to be seen at Hemavathi, Kolar and Bangalore districts and Dharmapuri, does not show any distinct features. But the same cannot be said of their sculpture a large part of which is now preserved in the Madras Government Museum. The distinctive features of Nolamba sculpture which is a blend of early

Chalukya and Pallava traditions are: beautiful and serene facial appearance, lean, yet fine and attractive physique and ornamentation and detail though not the excess of it. As examples of this style we may mention the : Umamaheswara, the Saptamatrakas. Surya, Kali and Nataraja, all in the Madras Museum. In the words of Sivaramamurthi and Mario Bussalgi: "the delicacy of workmanship, high polish, simple finish and the graceful Chalukyan influence constitute the simple but effective style of the Nolambas."[1]

Alupas

The Alupas, a family of considerable antiquity with a record of more than a thousand years of political existence, were feudatories of the suzerain families of Karnataka till the close of the fourteenth century. The exact boundary of Alvakheda, the land of the Alupas known to the Greeks as Clokhoira, cannot be defined. But broadly speaking the Alupas controlled the district of south Kanara and the coastal regions of north Kanara up to Gokarna. They shifted their capital from time to time : first Mangalapura (Mangalore), then, from the eighth century Udayavara followed by Barakuru and finally, from the eleventh century till the end of their power Mangalapura again.

"It is not worth while, at the present juncture, to debate upon the nature of the origin of the Alupas and what exactly the term Alupa denotes".[2] Perhaps it shall be so always. The most vexing problem with regard to this dynasty is chronology. As regards geneology, to date we know that some thirty kings and one queen ruled between C. 650 A.D. and C. 1400 A.D.

The first known Alupa ruler is Aluvarasa I Gunasagara (C. 650-675 A.D.). His contemporary was Chulukya Vikramaditya I. But the Aihole inscription tells us that the 'Alupas and Gangas of old standing took delight in drinking the nectar of close attendance on the great Pulikesin II Satyasraya'. It is not known who was the Alupa contemporary of Pulikesin II. Gunasagara's son and successor Chitravahan I developed matrimonial relations with his suzerain Chalukya Vijayaditya. He married Kumkumadevi, the sister of Vijayaditya. Vijayaditya paid a courtesy visit to Banavasi in the Alupa dominion and made a grant to the Jaina monastery at Purigere at the request of his brother-in-law.

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1. 5000 Years of the Art of India, p. 243.
2. Studies in Tuluva History and Culture. p. 19.

In the eighth century we find the Alupas engaged in a civil war in Udayavara and after a protracted and confusing struggle some order is seen in Alupa history with the accession of Udayaditya Prithvisagara in C. 725 A.D. Prithvisagara assisted his master Vijayaditya in his battle against Pandya Kochchadaiyan. Both master and feudatory were defeated and Prithvisagara was succeeded by Vijayaditya Maramma Aluvarasar (C. 750-777 A.D.). Perhaps Maramma Aluvarasar was the son of Prithvisagarn, who again might have been the son of Chitravahana, the brother-in-law of Chalukya Vijayaditya. Maramma Aluvarasar assumed among other titles the cognomen Vijayaditya which is reminiscent of the Alupa-Chalukya relationship described above.

With the eclipse of the Badami Chalukyas after the defeat of Kirtivarman II Alupa history becomes obscure and the Santaras rise to prominence. Stray epigraphs point to matrimonial relations between the Alupas and Santaras and besides this nothing is known of the Alupas till the accession of Alupa Pandyadhananjaya. One of the successors of Pandyadhananjaya is known as Santara king pointing to the overwhelming influence that family had over the Alupas.

Between 985 A.D. and 1118 A.D. Tulunadu came under continual Chola attack and Alvakheda was also ravaged by Raja Raja I and his sons and successors. By 1118 A.D. the Kalyana Chalukyas were replaced by the Hoysalas as the masters of Karnataka and Alvakheda is seen as a part of Hoysala dominions. Hoyasala Ballala I is known to have ruled over trritories inclusive of Konkana Alvakheda, Bayalnad, Talakad and Savimale. All that we know of the Alupa rulers from Pattiyodeva (C. 1070-1090 A.D.) for nearly 275 years is a list of kings who assumed grand titles, made gifts in charity and ruled with some authority. One name, however, stands prominently—Ballamahadevi. After the death of her husband Veera Pandyadeva C. 1275 A.D., Ballamahadevi assumed the reins of administration and for nearly seventeen years guided the Alupa state. Sensitive to the problems of her people, devout, and charitable, Ballamahadevi is a notable personality in the history of Karnataka.

With the founding of Vijayanagara empire, the Alupas pale into obscurity. The Vijayanagara rulers did not exterminate the position of the Alupas but, after 1410 A.D. we have no mentioning of this old dynasty.

6

THE DECCAN SULTANATES AND MUSLIM RULE IN KARNATAKA

Although the Khalji armies were the first Muslim forces to invade the Deccan, the Tughluqs were the first to include the Deccan in their empire. Muhammad-bin-Tughluq practically conquered the entire peninsular India and set up a regular administration in the south. The empire was vast and as might be expected, from the day Daulatabad became the centre of Tughluq activity the hydra of revolt continuously kept its head raised and the Sultan could never successfully kill it. And from the rebellions in the Tughluq empire arose two States of interest to us, namely, Vijayanagara and the Bahmani Sultanate. The history of the former has been treated already and we shall consider the latter.

In 1346, Ismail Mukh, one of the noblemen at Daulatabad, raised the standard of revolt, overpowered the local viceroy and declared himself as the first independent Sultan of the Deccan. The immediate result was a clash with the imperial forces led by Muhammad-bin-Tughluq himself. In this clash of arms, Ismail found himself not equal to the task and had to give way to one of his senior commanders Hasan Gangu. The rebel forces were finally victorious and Hasan Gangu, also known as Zafar Khan, was elected Sultan of the Deccan with the title of Alaud-din Hasan Bahman Shah in August 1347.

THE BAHMANI DYNASTY

There are many stories regarding the new Sultan's family history but only one point is very clear. Hasan Gangu came from a poor family. Having overcome the Tughluq army, the new Sultan turned to face internal enemies, and his ambition was to sit on the Tughluq throne. But he took the advice of his father-in-

law and began to pacify the surrounding countryside. The recalcitrant chiefs of Akkalkot, Mahendri, Kalyani, Bidar, Malkher, and Maram were brought to their knees and in each case, the Tughluq partisans were granted amnesty on the condition that they laid down their arms and supported the Bahmani cause. Alaud-din next signed a treaty with Kapaya Nayaka of Warangal, subdued one Pocha Reddi who espoused the Tughluq cause and proceeded to quell a rebellion at Sagar. On his way the Sultan heard the news of the death of Muhammad-bin-Tughluq. At Sagar, Alaud-din received the homage of a number of chiefs and started back to his capital Gulbarga after a year's absence. The only other event of importance was Alaud-din's defeat of Qir Khan, one of his own trusted advisers and the man who conquered Warangal. Qir Khan was put down and beheaded.

Alaud-din renamed Gulbarga as Ahsanabad. By his campaigns he had extended his authority up to Goa in the west, Mandu in the north, and Bhongir in the east. This kingdom was divided into four provinces : Ahsanabada Gulbarga, Daultabad, Berar and Bahmani Telingana. Each of these provinces had a governor over it.

Alaud-din died in February 1358. A self made-man, a benevolent Sultan, kind to his enemies, he was one of the first Muslim kings who did not collect Jizya.

Alaud-din was succeeded by his son Muhammad I in 1358. The Sultan was a tough disciplinarian and to him goes the credit of ordering the Bahmani administration. If we may accept the Nasa-i-ul Muluk, a brochure written by Muhammad I's father-in-law, the administration had regular officials such as : the Prime Minister, the Wazier, the Secretary; the Warden of Marches, the Police Commissioner, the Censor of Public Morals, the Paymaster, the Chief Judge and the Interpreter of law. Muhammad I divided his kingdom into four atrafs or provinces centering around Bidar, Gulbarga, Berar and Daulatabad with governors over them. The army was also properly organised and gun-powder came to be freely used. This naturally changed the architecture of forts.

One of the interesting, yet complicated, aspects of Bahmani history is the relations that that family had with Vijayanagara. Various causes were responsible for the intermittent clashes and in the early period the bone of contention was the Krishna-Tungabhadra doab. The rulers of Vijayanagara and Telingana issued

ultimatums to Muhammad I to surrender the Doab. Muhammad answered by sending his forces and in the first stage the ruler of Telingana was defeated and killed. A little later the new ruler of Telingana attempted to secure the help of Firoz Shah Tughluq resulting in a renewed clash. Muhammad was victorious again and the ruler of Telingana surrendered the town of Golconda and also made a present of the famous Turquoise throne to the victor. Muhammad now turned towards Vijayanagar and Bukka Raya's forces were completely routed in 1366 and the vanquished sued for peace. The remaining years of Muhammad's reign were spent in peace and plenty. This strict disciplinarian, one of the greatest rulers of the dynasty, the Sultan who put his institutions as well as his patrimony on a sound footing died in April 1375.

Muhammad I was succeeded by five rulers within a space of twenty-two years and barring the reign of Muhammad II which lasted for nineteen years, the rest sat on the throne for a few months each. Alaud-din Mujahid ascended the throne in April 1375. His short reign of about three years was practically taken up by a war of nerves with Vijayanagar. Mujahid was assassinated by his cousin Dawud I in 1378. Dawud I was himself murdered by the late king's sister Ruh Parwar Agha in 1378. His son was blinded and his brother, Muhammad II, ascended the throne. The nineteen years of Muhammad II's reign were of peace and uneventful. For a long time Muhammad II had no male issue and had hence designated one of his nephews Firoz as his heir. Later two sons were born and the eldest Ghiyas-ud-din succeeded his father in 1397 with the title Tahamtan. His reign began well, but his distribution of offices to certain foreign Muslim groups was disliked by the Turkish nobility headed by a slave named Tughalchin. Tughalchin resorted to treachery, blinded Ghiyas-ud-din and placed the Sultan's step-brother Shamsud-din on the throne.

Shamsud-din ascended the throne as Dawud II in 1397. Now Firoz and Ahmad, the brothers-in-law of Ghiyas-ud-din, wanted to avenge treachery to which Ghiyas-ud-din had been victimised. They marched to Gulbarga and in the open durbar hall, killed Tughalchin and blinded Shamsud-din Dawud II. This was in November 1397. Firoz ascended the throne as Taj-ud-din Firoz. The new Sultan had definite leanings in favour of Hindus and especially Brahmins. Firoz was also the most learned monarch of his day and was well versed in Quranic learning and other branches of knowledge. He encouraged men of erudition to settle in his kingdom.

Almost immediately after his accession, Firoz had to face a number of revolts as well as a struggle with Vijayanagar. Prince Bukka of Vijayanagar advanced, crossed the Tungabhadra but his forces could not ford the Krishna which was in spate; neither could the Bahmani forces cross the river. However one of the Sultan's commanders Qazi Siraj hit upon a clever idea, managed to cross the river and routed the Vijayanagar forces. Next, the Sultan subdued various recalcitrant chiefs. Harihara II died in 1494. The short reign of Bukka II saw war between the Bahmanis and Vijayanagar, caused by the Raja's love affair. The Raya was interested in the daughter of a goldsmith living at Mudgal, then under the control of the Bahmanis. The girl, however, refused to go to the Raya's court. The Vijayanagar armies marched into the Raichur doab but were defeated. The Raya was forced to accept the terms dictated by Firoz. He agreed to pay an indemnity and his daughter in marriage to the Sultan. The daughter of the goldsmith was later married to the Sultan's son.

This peace did not last for long. The Raya successfully allied himself with a few local chiefs and almost defeated Firoz. The last months of 1422 saw the death of Firoz. The Sultan had appointed his son Hassan Khan, heir to the throne. The Sultan's brother Ahmad naturally disliked this and he allied himself with the saint Hasrat Gesu Daraz who had a powerful influence on the people. Finally Ahmad marched his own army on Gulbarga and entered the palace. The old and dying king, thereupon, led his brother to the throne and died shortly afterwards.

Shiabud-din Ahmad I became Sultan succeeding his brother in 1422. Some time between 1424-1427 Ahmad I changed the capital of sultanate from Gulbarga to Bidar. The period of the reign of Firoz witnessed a fusion of the Hindu and Muslim cultures. During Ahmad's reign this fusion went even deeper. But the influx of different foreign Muslim groups was intensifying a strife between the Muslims established in the Kingdom and those who were coming from abroad. The Sultan, a man of creative temperament, invented new designs in artillery technique. The city of Bidar was divided into quarters or Talims. Each Talim had a gymnastic field, a mosque and at least one school and the youth of the quarter were given secular, physical and religious training there. Public and mass physical exercises were conducted.

Not long after his accession Ahmad led his armies against the Vijayanagar though the whole campaign is rather obscure. The result

clearly was in favour of the Bahmanis. Ahmad imposed his own conditions on the Raya and returned to the capital with much treasure. 1425-6 saw Ahmad subduing Mahur and in 1429-30 he personally led his forces to settle disturbances in Gujarat. While he was away in Gujarat Telingana raised the standard of revolt. Returning from Gujarat in spite of his old age he entered Telingana and conquered many forts including Ramgir. Singa III of Warangal submitted and Ahmad restored him to his possessions.

Having appointed his eldest son Zafar Khan to be his heir the Sultan retired. Ahmad I died after a short illness in 1436. Ahmad I was known as an Ahmad Shah Wali and even now he is regarded as a Wali or saint by the people of the Deccan.

Ala-ud-din Ahmad II became Sultan in 1436. Unlike his father he was weak and pusillanimous. As soon as he ascended the throne he sent his brother Muhammad to the Vijayanagar court to demand tribute. The Raya paid the tribute but also instigated Muhammad to rise against his brother. Muhammad even went to the extent of crowning himself but finally he was defeated and pardoned.

In 1437 Ahmad II had to lead his armies against his own father-in-law Nasir Khan Faruq of Khandesh. Ahmad II had married the daughter of the Raya of Sangameshwar and had given her title Zeba Chahra. Zeba Chahra and Nasir Khan's daughter quarrelled, the latter complaining to her father defeat of Nasir Khan. After defeating his father-in-law Ahmad again sent his forces and exacted tribute from Vijayanagar. The years 1447-48 saw the death of Khal if Hasan, one of the best Bahamani commanders, and the Chakan affair in which the Raja of Sangameshwar treacherously killed thousands of Bahmani soldiers. In 1454-55, the Sultan's brother-in-law Jalalkhan raised the standard of revolt in Telingana. He was suppressed and pardoned. In April 1458, Ahmad II died.

The next Sultan Ala-ud-din Humayun ascended the throne in May 1458 and his short reign of three years was full of storms and stress. This was mainly due to the clash between the several Muslim communities in the Kingdom. Humayun appointed one Mahmud Gawan as his Prime Minister. This was disliked by certain other leaders who, under the leadership of Sikandar, the Sultan's cousin, rose in revolt. In the eventual clash of arms the rebels were defeated. Since the chiefs of Telingana had helped the rebels, Hamayun turned to teach

them a lesson but was himself completely defeated. While away in Telingana Humayun received the news that prince Hasan Khan, the son of Firoz Shah who had been in prison, had escaped. Hasan Khan actually tried to measure swords with the Sultan and had to pay a heavy price for the attempt. He was thrown before hungry tigers and his adherents were cast into boiling cauldrons or thrown before wild beasts and elephants. Humayun died in 1461.

Humayun's eight years old son, Nizam-ud-din Ahmad III succeeded and a council of regency with the dowager queen's Makhduma-e-Jahan Nargis Begum at its head administered the country. The first to take advantage of the boy king was the chief of Orissa who was, however, taught a lesson. In 1461-62, the armies of Mahammad Khalji of Malwa invaded Deccan. In the thick of the battle, the boy king was actually saved by being carried away from the field by one of his commanders Sikandar Khan. On seeing the royal mount bare, the Bahmani army was unnerved and this resulted in the Khalji forces besieging the capital eity. Jahan Turk, another Bahmani leader, had Sikandar imprisoned for his indiscretion and eventually the battle was won by the Bahmanis with the help of the Sultan of Gujarat. Nasir-ud-din Ahmad died in 1463 on the very night of his marriage.

Ahmad III was succeeded by his ten-year-old brother Shamsud-din Muhammad III in 1463. The dowager queen saw to the education of the boy king and this made him one of the most accomplished of Bahmani Kings. This period saw the ascendancy of Mahmud Gawan. He was made Prime Minister and granted many sounding titles.

Mahmud Gawan faced many problems the most serious being the antagonism between the aristocratic groups. Holding a balance between the warring groups while distributing offices, Mahmud Gawan inaugurated an era of reform. A patron of letters he invited scholars from abroad to make the Deccan their home. He promoted the cause of education by constructing the famous Madrasah at Bijapur where learned men and teachers of renown congregated and students were provided with food and dress free of cost.

One of the first wars of this period was against the Sultan of Malwa. Mahammad Khalji attempted entering the Deccan and though in the initial campaign in 1466 he was successful, during the second round of conflict in the next year, the Bahmanis were successful. Peace was signed and it lasted till the end of Bahmani rule. Next

the Bahmani forces went to help one of the rival claimants for the chieftainship of Orissa. Now Mahmud Gawan decided to pacify the entire western coast and this was achieved by him after a series of hard faught battles between 1470-1473. The entire coastal area up to Goa was successfully captured some time in 1473. The dowager queen Nargis Begum died. After these campaigns and resulting from them, the Bahmani Kingdom extended from sea to sea, touching Khandesh in the north, the Tungabhadra in the south, Goa in the south-west and Orissa in the north-east.

Mahmud Gawan felt the need of some administrative reorganisation. He divided the Kingdom into eight Sarlah karships and introduced the de-infeudation of military authority, the power of the mansabdars and the jagirdars was curbed. Lastly, measurement of land was introduced and an enquiry into the assessment of revenue was also made. The newly created provinces were carefully divided between the two warring aristocratic groups, the Dakhins and the Afaqis.

By about 1474, the Bahmani forces with the Sultan at their head entered Orissa and subdued the recalcitrant chieftain Purushottam. Kondapalli was reduced in 1477 and Kondavidu in 1480. The next year the Vijayanagar ruler, Saluva Narashimha was brought down on his knees.

All along Mahmud Gawan was disliked by certain aristocrats at the Bahmani court. Taking advantage of his absence a conspiracy was hatched; the trusted minister was made to look like a betrayer in the eyes of the Sultan. The Sultan impulsively had Khwaja Mahmud Gawan beheaded in 1481. Exactly one year later Mahammad III died.

The reign of Shihab-ud-din Mahammad (1482-1518) witnessed the disintegration of the Kingdom. The coronation itself was symptomatic of the storm to ensue and many of the prominent nobles were absent at the event. The king being young, a council of regency was constituted. The rift between the Afaqis and the Dakhins windened and in 1487, the Dahkins attempted to murder the Sultan. They were unsuccessful and the result was that the Sultan ordered a general massacre of the Dakhini element at the capital city. In the chaotic condition, two leaders Qasim Barid and Malik Hasan successfully asserted their autonomy. Some time after 1481, Malik Hasan founded the City of Ahmadnagar and established the family of Nizam Shahs there. Qasim Barid forcibly made himself the Prime

Minister of the Bahmani Sultanate. Some time after 1493, the Kotwal of Goa, Bahadur Gilmi, riased the standard of revolt and in the ensuing war Sultan Quli Khawas Khan who later inaugurated the Qutb Shahi dynasty came to limelight. And their commander Yusuf Adil Khan also became prominent. Yusuf established matrimonial relations with the Bahmani family.

Things were taking shape slowly in the Vijayanagar Kingdom. Saluva Narashimha became King and the Vijayanagar forces marched and took various outposts of the Bahmani Kingdom. The Sultan could do nothing about it. Krishnadevaraya became King in 1509 and struck in all directions. The Bahmanis were victimised.

The struggle for power at Bidar was continuing. Qasim Barid, Yusuf Adil, Malik Hasan and the Imad-ul-Mulk all died and were succeeded by Ali Barid, Ismail Adil, Burhan and Alaud-din. A whole year was coming to close and Bahmani politics was becoming more and more fluid. It was at this juncture that the Europeans appeared on the West Coast. The Portuguese entered India and with Afonso d'Albuquerque becoming Governor-General, Goa was lost to the Bahmanis. With the death of Shihab-ud-din Mahammad in 1518, the Bahmani history actually closes. Four Sultans succeeded Mahammad and their story is easy to tell. Ahmad IV became heir to his father's patrimony but he was confined to the palace by Amir Barid, the Prime Minister. Ahmad did not find enough money for his debaucherous life and hence was forced to sell the ancient crown. Ahmad died in 1520 and was succeeded by his son Alaud-din Shah. Alaud-din was a sober person and requested Amir Barid to free him from shackles of the spies. When this was done he made bold attempts to conspire against Amir and was dethroned.

Sultan Mahmud's younger son Waliy-ul-lah was put on the throne in 1523. Waliy-ul-lah was confined in his own Zenana and Amir Barid married Ahmad's widow Bibi Sitti and made love to Waliy-ul-lah's wife. Waliyu l-lah was poisoned in 1526 and his brother Kalim-ul-lah was made Sultan. He was closely guarded by Amir Barid till his death at Ahmadnagar in 1538. Zahirud-din Muhammad Babur had entered and had effected a revolution in 1526. All those who wielded power in the Deccan congratulated him.

Some Aspects of Social and Economic Life

For nearly three hundred years from 1318, Muslims dominated the Deccan political scene. A new aristocracy developed in

the Deccan among the Muslims. These were divided into two groups, the Dakhinis and the Afaqis, and there was a constant rivalry between them. This rivalry actually resulted in the break-up of the Bahmani Kingdom.

The bulk of the population was Hindus with a sprinkling of such sects like the Jainas, the Lingayats and the Mahanubhavas. Jews and Christians also had their own settlements. It took nearly fifty years for the Muslims to adjust themselves and with the accession of the Bahmani family the social structure was comparatively settled.

There were various religious sects in the Deccan besides Brahmanism. The Bhagavata cult, was the most important of these. In addition the Natha Sampradaya and the Mahanubhavas had their following. Among the Muslims Sufism was very powerful.

Royalty and the grandees lived a luxurious life. Archaeological excavations have brought to light the fact that ordinary houses had three or four rooms. Most houses had courtyards decorated with rangoli. Clay and metalware supplied the needs of the kitchen. Dough plates, basins, bowls, mugs and pots were commonly used. Terracotta toys were used by children for amusement. Rice was the staple item of food and in addition wheat, pulses and jowar were used. Khir, chappatis, laddus, cakes, curries and papars were some of the delicacies. Feasts terminated with betel nuts and leaves. Hindu dress consisted of a dhoti and uttariya of men and a sari and a bodice for women. Muslim women used tight fitting trousers, shirts, cloaks and turbans. The dress of Muslim women consisted of trousers over which was worn a flowing skirt, a vest or bodice and these being covered by a dupatta. The common items of jewellery were in use.

The joint family system prevailed and polygamy was allowed among both Muslims as well as Hindus. Child marriages as well as sati prevailed. Education for Hindu consists in Amarakosha, Panchatantra, and at the higher stages Philosophy. Islamic education consisted in Arabic grammar, literature, rhetoric, logic and law. Technical education was imparted by private agencies. Visit to sacred places, fairs and festivals added colour to life. Holi, Diwali, Id, Baqr-Id and Muharram were celebrated with great enthusiasm.

THE ADIL SHAHS AND THE BARID SHAHS

The decade following the murder of Mahmud Gawan witnessed the rapid decline of the Bahmani Kingdom and within twenty-five

years, finally, there emerged five states and the Bahmani Kingdom became a mere geographical expression. Of these five States we are concerned only with two, the Adil Shah's of Bijapur and the Barid Shah's of Bidar. While Bahmani authority was declining, among the personalities that emerged, two interest us. Yusuf Adil Khan, the Governor of Bijapur, and Qasim Barid, the Prime Minister of the Bahmani Kingdom. Yusuf Adil Khan had slowly risen from his position as a soldier to be a Governor and when he saw Bahmani authority declining and Qasim Barid becoming powerful at the capital, he decided to establish himself in his own province. Breaking away from Bidar, he caused the Khutbah to be read in his name in September 1490 and thus became the virtual ruler of a State.

Yusuf had inaugurated the dynasty but had not yet established himself firmly. This was possible only after fifteen years of warfare. The Bijapur taraf was surrounded, as it were, by Miraj and Goa under Bahadur Gilani; Sholapur under Khwaja-i-Jahan; Aland and Ganjoti under Dastur Dinar; Ahmadnagar; Bidar under Qasim Barid and the Vijayanagar kingdom. All these principalities were inimical towards Yusuf and Qasim took advantage of the situation. He incited Bahadur Gilani to attack the Adil Shahi kingdom and also Vijayanagar to recover the Raichur Doab then possessed by Yusuf Adil. Encouraged, Gilani occupied Jamkhandi and Vijayanagar swooped and occupied the Doab. Unable to wage war on two fronts, Yusuf prudently made peace with both parties and lost the Raichur Doab as well as Jamkhandi. Now, he marched his armies against Bidar and successfully beat Qasim Barid who had been isolated. While away at Bidar, Yusuf heard of a revolution at Vijayanagar and taking advantage occupied the Raichur Doab in 1493. Bahadur Gilani had been attacking the merchant navy of the sultan of Gujarat. The latter requested Qasim for help. Qasim in turn requested Yusuf Adil and the ruler of Ahmadnagar. The confederated forces attacked Gilani and by 1494 Jamkhandi was back in the Adil Shahi map.

With his struggle for survival having ended, Yusuf Adil commenced his efforts at extending the territories. In the first stage, Yusuf set his eyes on the Jagir of Dastur, Gulbarga, Aland and Ganjoti. To this end he sought the friendship of Qasim Barid and the pageant Sultan. Though he did not succeed in his plans in the first instance, Yusuf by marrying his daughter to Prince Ahmad, the son of Mahmud Shah Bahmani, raised himself in social status.

Now he cultivated the friendship of Ahmad-Nizam-ul-Mulk and suggested to him that they could share the Deccan between themselves, he (Yusuf) taking Goa and the Jagir of Dastur Dinar. The Nizam-ul-Mulk agreed and Yusuf wrote to the chief of Goa demanding his presence at Bijapur with which the latter complied. Yusuf reinstated him as the representative of Goa and thus came to possess that area without bloodshed. Dastur Dinar now allied himself with Qasim Barid and Khwaja-Jahan against Yusuf. Yusuf's forces met the coalition armies on the banks of river Bhima early in 1500 and easily beat them. The jagir of Dastur was annexed to Bijapur. Later Kalyana, Gulbarga and other districts were added to Adil Shahi dominion. Thus by 1500, Yusuf Adil had completely achieved his task of establishing and consolidating his Kingdom.

Yusuf Adil was a Shia by faith and he desired to promulgate that creed in his kingdom now that he had consolidated his position. This Yusuf was able to do only in 1504, after the death of Qasim Barid and even then, a lavish distribution of favours and a proclamation of religious freedom was made together.

Yusuf's reign synchronised with entry of the Portuguese and from the beginning they set their eyes on Goa. In the first battle at Chaul, the Portuguese fleet was completely worsted by the combined forces of Bijapur, the Sultan of Gujarat and the Sultan of Egypt. The Portuguese now allied themselves with Vijayanagar and Albuquerque took Goa in 1510. By the end of 1510, Yusuf Adil again possessed Goa having beaten the Portuguese forces there, but, this victory was shortlived. For, with the death of Yusuf Adil Khan in 1510 itself, Goa passed finally into Portuguese hands.

Since at the death of Yusuf Adil, his son Ismail Adil Khan was very young, one Kamal Khan was appointed as regent. Kamal Khan faced the second attempt of Albuquerque on Goa and that port was finally lost. Kamal Khan was a Sunni by faith and he had the Afaqis suppressed, whom Yusuf had actually patronised. In this he was aided by Amir Barid.

The regent now desired to become King and he had the Prince his mother and aunt, Dilshad Agha, imprisoned. While Kamal Khan was toying with the idea of crowning himself, Dilshad Agha hatched a masterly plot and had one of her trusted servants Yusuf Turk murder Kamal Khan. The death of Kamal Khan started a civil war in Bijapur which, however, the prince with the help of Muhammad Lari was able to suppress. Ismail now in his turn suppressed the Dakhinis and raised the status of the Afaqis.

The disorder at Bijapur encouraged Krishnadevaraya to occupy the Raichur Doab and Amir Barid to occupy Gulbarga. This was in 1512. Ismail postponed his intention, on the Doab and as soon as circumstances permitted he retook Gulbarga. An incensed Amir Barid formed an alliance with his neighbours and in 1514 came within six miles of Bijapur. But the Bijapur cavalry led by Asad Khan routed the enemy. Ismail now attempted the recapture of the Doab, but in 1520, May, at the battle of Kembavi, the Adil Shahi forces were worsted by the superior troops of Krishnadevaraya. Taking advantage of this situation, the Portuguese occupied the mainland in the vicinity of Goa, but by 1524, that area was recovered.

Ismail now decided to humble Amir Barid who had instigated Krishnadevaraya before attempting to reconquer the Raichur Doab. To this end Ismail almost formed an alliance with the Sultan of Ahmadnagar. It was agreed that Ismail's sister was to be given in marriage to the Sultan with Sholapur as the dowry in return for military help. The marriage was celebrated in 1524 but Ismail eluded the issue of the dowry. The Sultan of Ahmadnagar insulted his wife who had not brought her dowry and entered into alliance with Bidar and Berar for a war against Ismail. But in the ensuing conflict the Adil Shahs were victorious and the Sultan of Ahmadnagar had to maintain a wife who did not bring him the promised dowry.

In 1528, the Bijapur armies were engaged with the Baridis against the Sultan of Gujarat. Returning from this successful campaign, Ismail found that Amir Barid had been tampering with the loyalty of his troops. With an army of ten thousand men Ismail laid siege to Bidar and kidnapped Amir Barid. Amir Barid's life was spared on his agreeing to cede Bidar and also enrolling himself as a Bijapur amir.

Now he felt himself strong to attempt the recapture of the Doab and in 1530, Ismail was successful. This victory was occasion for a party. In a drunken condition, Ismail insulted Amir Barid who actually shed tears. To compromise, Ismail offered Bidar back to Amir Barid and in return he was to receive the forts of Qandhar and Kalyana. Amir Barid returned to Bidar and for six months conveniently forgot his part of the deal. When Ismail tried to recover Qandhar and Kalyana Amir Barid had the gall to ask him to abandon his motive. Ismail did not take this easily and though he

defeated the Bidar and Ahmadnagar troops and established his supremacy, he did not carry out his intentions against Kalyana and Qandhar. In 1533, Ismail attempted capturing Golconda against which the Sultan of Ahmadnagar had offered him a free hand in return for Ismail's neutrality in Ahmadnagar's ambitions against Berar. After eleven months, Golconda could not be reduced. In August 1534, Ismail died.

Ismail's first son Mallu Khan was crowned though Asad Khan, Ismail's chief adviser, preferred the second son Ibrahim. Mallu Khan was, later in 1535, deposed for his licentious behaviour and Ibrahim was made Sultan. Asad Khan continued as the chief adviser. About 1536 Vijayanagar witnessed the struggle between Tirumala and Ramaraya for power. Tirumala succeeded in enlisting the help of Bijapur and, Ibrahim with Asad Khan went to Vijayanagar and upon his return, Ibrahim assumed the title of Shah. At about this time the last Bahmani Sultan died and the Adil Shahs formally became independent. Now Ibrahim discontinued the Shia practices, reverted to the Sunni creed, and gave preference to the Dakhinis over the Afaqis. By 1542, Tirumala became supreme, even autocratic and the Vijayanagar nobility even offered the crown to Ibrahim if he should free the country from the tyrant. On the other hand, Tirumala tried seeking Bijapur's assistance for his cause. Ibrahim marched his troops and hearing of this Tirumala's opponents pretended submission. Ibrahim returned, the nobility rose in rebellion, Tirumala killed himself and Ramaraya became supreme. Hearing of this Ibrahim attempted capturing Adoni which was in vain. The result was another sting in the resentment between Vijayanagar and Bijapur. In 1542 on his return from the abortive campaign on Adoni Asad Khan, disliking the Sultan's Sunni inclinations, retired to Belgaum.

Sholapur had already strained the relations between Bijapur and Ahmadnagar. To this was added the Sunni creed of Ibrahim as opposed to the Shia creed of Burhan of Ahmadnagar. Burhan, some time by the end of 1542, allied himself with Amir Barid and marched towards Bijapur. Asad Khan, a true servant, led a force of six thousand horses to help his master and after some initial confusion and with the death of Amir Barid in 1543, the Bijapur forces were victorious. Burhan promised not to indulge in any future aggression, a promise he broke almost immediately.

By 1543, Burhan allied himself with Ali Barid, the Sultan

of Golconda and Ramaraya of Vijayanagar. Against Bijapur the combined troops attacked the Adil Shahi Kingdom from all sides. Under the advice of Asad Khan, Ibrahim ceded Sholapur to Burhan and purchased peace. With Ramaraya also, he played the same trick. The Adil Sahi forces led by Asad Khan severely defeated the Sultan of Golconda.

Ali Barid, the successor of Amir Barid, had adopted the Sunni creed and his uncle openly made derogatory remarks about the Shia creed professed by Burhan, in the presence of the envoy from Ahmadnagar. A clash resulted. Ali Barid sought Ibrahim's help but the Adil Shahis as well as the Baridi's were successfully beaten by Burhan and he returned triumphantly to Ahmadnagar.

Ibrahim began suspecting treachery as the cause of all his recent defeats and began mercilessly persecuting his officers. Some of the nobles now conspired and raised Ibrahim's brother Abdullah as a rival to the throne. News of this conspiracy reached Ibrahim and Abdullah fled to Goa and began communicating with Golconda and Ahmadnagar. Ibrahim negotiated with the Portuguese Governor, Martim Affonso, and the result was, he lost the ports of Salsette and Bardez but could not lay hands on his brother. Ibrahim negotiated with Martim's successor de'Castro and later even attempted to take back the lost ports but in vain. Finally in 1548, Ibrahim signed a treaty with the Portuguese relinquishing all claim over Salsette and Bardez and he had to forget any idea of punishing Abdullah.

Even while peace was being negotiated at Goa Burhan was forming another confederacy against Bijapur. The combined forces of Burhan and Ramaraya moved, and between 1549 and 1552, Kalyana, the Raichur Doab and Sholapur were all captured. Burhan's plan was to oust Ibrahim and plant the Nizam Shahi standard on Bijabur. But in this he did not succeed. Burhan died in 1553. The successors of Burhan on the Ahmadnagar throne, though weak, caused trouble to Ibrahim. Ramaraya changed his attitude towards Bijapur. Ibrahim Adil Shah died in 1558.

Ali Adil Shah I became Sultan at the age of sixteen. He reverted back to Shia practices and also favoured the Afaqis. To pay off old grudges and reverses against Ahmadnagar Ali Adil sought an alliance with Ramaraya of Vijayanagar and this was concluded in 1559. Meanwhile Hussain Nizam Shah had allied with Berar and Golconda though, some time later Golconda dropped

out. For three years Hussain Nizam Shah had no peace and finally in 1561, he had to agree to a peace by surrendering Kalyana to Adil Shah and himself personally submitting before Ramaraya. To vindicate his honour Hussain again formed an alliance with Ibrahim Qutub Shah in 1562. Once again the combined forces of Ali Adil and Vijayanagar defeated Hussain Nizam Shah. In these two campaigns Ramaraya was clearly supreme and his arrogance knew no bounds. At the end of the second campaign, he demanded Yadgir and Baghalkot from Ali Adil and Kovilkonda and Panagal from the Qutub Shah. Both acceded to these demands but had clearly come together as friends against a common enemy.

Monarchs and ministers concerted a plan to destroy Ramaraya. The five Sultanates formed a confederacy at the basis of which were matrimonial alliances. These plans were completed in 1564. Events were moving fast. Ultimatums were sent to Ramaraya to return the districts he had recently wrested from the Sultans. Ramaraya refused. The confederate forces encamped twenty miles north of the Krishna early in 1565. This was the climax, the battle of Talikota or Rakkasa Tangadi or Krishna-Bannihatti. The final battle began on 23 Jaunuary 1565. At the close of the day the history of Vijayanagar had been practically closed. The confederates were victorious.

The story of this unity was short. But in 1570 Ali Adil and the Nizam Shah allied to make a combined attack on the Portuguese. After a series of desultory attacks the Portuguese proved superior and peace was signed finally in 1576 whereby Adil received certain commercial advantages though there was no recovery of lost territory. Frustrated against the Portuguese, Ali Adil attacked and captured Adoni, Toragal and Dharwar. He even attempted an attack on Penukonda, the new capital of Vijayanagar, but in vain. In 1580, Ali Adil Shah was murdered by two eunuchs presented to him from Bidar.

Ali Barid also died some time in 1580 and was succeeded by his son Ibrahim Barid.

During the reign of Ali Adil, the Bijapur court came to have relationship with Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar.

Ali Adil Shah was succeeded by the elder son of his brother Ibrahim, acclaimed as Ibrahim Adil Shah II. Since Ibrahim was still young, his aunt, Chand Bibi, took up his education and between

1580-1589 Kamil Khan, Kishwar Khan, Ikhlas Khan, Shah Abdul Hasan and Dilawar Khan succeeded each other as regents. By 1589, Dilawar Khan was driven out of the Kingdom and Ibrahim assumed the reins of administration. Between 1588-93, Bijapur was engaged in quarrels against Ahmadnagar and later the Nayakas especially in the Kannada country were subjugated.

Burhan Nizam Shah II had succeeded to the Ahmadnagar throne and resorted to many underhand methods against Ibrahim. These attempts came to an end when Nizam Shah II was killed in 1595.

By 1590 Akbar had the whole of northern India under his control and he now despatched his officers asking for the submission of the Deccan Sultanates. In spite of internal quarrels, the rulers of Deccan somehow came together and in 1597 in the battle of Sonapet the Mughal forces were defeated. During the next months Akbar conquered vast areas of the Nizam Shah's dominion. Alarmed, the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda tried to placate him. However, Akbar passed away in 1604 and Bijapur could breathe freely for some time. Meanwhile Malik Ambar, one of the prominent military leaders at Ahmadnagar, was slowly assuming all power. Jehangir attempted to put down Malik Ambar. Malik sought and received help from Bijapur and successfully withstood the Mughal attack. By 1613, Malik was supreme at Ahmadnagar and Ibrahim Adil disliking his position even offered submission to Jehangir.

Bidar was declining and both Bijapur and Ahmadnagar coveted it and Ibrahim's embassy to Jehangir was with a view to securing Mughal help in his regard. Though nothing substantial was gained, Ibrahim was encouraged and prepared to attack Bidar. This was in 1618. Ali Barid II appealed for Mughal help. News of this reached Ibrahim who immediately marched and wiped out the Kingdom of Bidar in 1519.

After capturing Bidar Ibrahim took Adoni and Karnul and turned his attention towards Ahmadnagar. Malik Ambar it was rumoured was attempting to dabble in Adil Shahi politics and this was sufficient cause for Ibrahim. Both Ibrahim and Malik attempted to gain Mughal friendship, and finally, Ibrahim was successful. In answer Malik allied himself with the Qutb Shah and the combined forces of the Adil Shah and Mughals were defeated at the battle of Bhatwadi in 1624 November. Malik marched victoriously into

Bijapur territory and the town surrendered. Malik Ambar died in 1626 and Ibrahim died in 1627.

Ibrahim's second son Muhammad succeeded and in the initial years of his rule, he sided with the Mughals against Ahmadnagar. This policy being discredited, Muhammad Adil Shah joined hands with Ahmadnagar and thus in 1632, resulted in the Mughal general Asaf Khan marching into the heart of Bijapur territory. However truce was signed. While negotiations for peace were in progress, another Mughal army under Mahabat Khan was sent by Shahjahan to reduce Ahmadnagar and Bijapur. He took Daulatabad and while he was trying to reduce other areas, Shahji, the Maratha leader, with the help of the Adil Shahi minister Khawas Khan was spreading havoc in the Mughal conquests. Hearing of this, Shahjahan sent another army against Bijapur. Unable to face the brunt of this huge attack, the Bijapur Government sued for peace. In 1636, the treaty known as the Deed of Submission was signed whereby the Nizam Shahi dominions were divided between Bijapur and the Empire; the boundaries created between the two were not to be violated; the Adil Shah was to pay a tribute to the Emperor and live peacefully with the ruler of Golconda who had become a vassal of the Empire.

Since the treaty of 1636 said nothing, Muhammad Adil Shah planned a large-scale southern campaign. In the first stage the Bijapur commander Randaula Khan captured Basavapatna, Ikkeri, Bankapur, and Harihar. This was between 1636-1638. In the second stage of the campaign, the Bijapur forces with Shahji as second in command took Bangalore but failed befor Srirangapatna. To compensate, they captured Chikkanayakhanhalli, Belur and Tumkur. Randaula Khan died in 1643. In the third stage, the Bijapur forces under Mustafa Khan defeated Sriranga, the last scion of Vijayanagar, took Vellore and later reduced Jinji. While the third campaign was in progress Shahji refused to obey Mustafa Khan and this led to his being arrested. Meanwhile young Shivaji was enlisting the support of the Marathas under Adil Shahi command, and slowly was taking small forts here and there. Suddenly a letter came from Shahjahan accusing Adil Shah of the charge of following the practices of an independent Sultan. A conciliatory reply was sent and the evil day was postponed.

With the arrival of the Dutch in India another factor entered in the relationship between the Portuguese and Bijapur. The Dutch

attempted playing Bijapur on Goa and initially they were successful. But by 1655 the Sultan was induced to drop any idea of war. Muhammad Adil died in 1656. Under Muhammad Adil Shah the glory of Bijapur reached its zenith. His death saw the beginning of the end.

The next Sultan, Ali Adil Shah II, succeeded to an uncomfortable legacy. Though Shahjahan was not bent upon destroying Adil Shahi power, Aurangzeb saw to it that the Bijapur court was the scene of factions and then somehow persuaded Shahjahan to invade Bijapur. In 1657, the Mughal forces under Aurangzeb marched into the Deccan and that year Bidar was taken. Kalyana fell in 1659. The army marched straight towards Bijapur and laid siege. But before Bijapur could be taken, the Emperor sent orders to raise the siege in return for an indemnity.

The Mughals were not the only enemy Bijapur had to deal with. Shivaji was slowly becoming powerful and his foxy tactics proved too much for the Adil Shah. Desultory campaign did not result in completely reducing him and by 1660, Shivaji was certainly to be reckoned with. After 1660 Ali Adil had to concentrate on the south and while he was busy reducing Tanjore, Bidnur and Basavapatna, Shivaji was active elsewhere with his guerilla tactics. Once again the Mughal forces attacked Bijapur in 1665-66, the cause being arrears of tribute. But after three months the siege was raised since, meanwhile, Shivaji had been attacking the Mughal empire. Ali Adil Shah died in 1672.

The last Sultan, Sikandar Adil Shah, was placed on the throne in 1672. Since he was just five years old, a regent was necessary and this resulted in quarrels among the nobles. The Kingdom was threatened by the Mughals and by the Marathas. The Mughals laid siege to Bijapur in 1685 and in 1686 September on the thirteenth, Sikandar Adil Shah surrendered himself to Aurangzeb. He handed over his crown to the Mughal Emperor and became Sikandar Ali Khan. Sikandar died in 1700.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

The development of language and literature can be studied under three heads : Arabic, Persian and Urdu.

Arabic

Islam and the Arabic language first influenced the western coast of South India and of the popularity of that language we have

an account in Al Masudi and Ibn Batuta. This was due to the fact that the west coast had direct commercial contacts with Arabia, Iraq and Egypt. And as always, commerce led to cultural exhange. With the destruction of Bagdad in 1258, Delhi became a centre of Islamic learning and culture. After the accession of Jalalud-din Khilji, Islam began penetrating into South India. With the establishment of Tughluq power at Devagiri, a centre had been established for Islamic literature and culture in the south.

The Bahmanis were patrons of learning and many Arabic scholars flourished. In the time of Alaud-din Bahman Shah, Mir Muhammad Bhakshi and Sadrush-Sharif, both astronomers and mathematicians, flourished. Hakim Alimud-din and Hakim Nasirud-din were the court physicians under the same ruler. Sultan Muhammad Shah II was himself proficient in the Islamic sciences and spoke Persian and Arabic fluently. Several schools and colleges were started and the salaries of teachers and stipends for students were paid from the state coffers. The Sultan himself delivered lectures on specified day on logic, mathematics, scholasticism, geometry and rhetoric. Among the other great Arabic scholars and writers under the Bahmanis mention may be made of Kwaja Banda Nawaz, Shaik Alaud-din Ali, Badrud-din Muhammad and Qazi Shihabud-din. Mahmud Gawan, the minister of Muhammad Shah III, was a great patron of learning and culture, and he invited scholars from Arabia and employed them in ministerial service. He also established a madrasa at Bidar for Islamic studies and established a very big library.

Under the Adil Shahis Persian received great impetus though Arabic was not neglected. Many theologians and scholars interested in mysticism flourished and of these mention may be made of Syed Ahmad Harawi and Maulana Gaithu d-din in the court of Yusuf Adil Khan and Habibul-lah in the court of Ibrahim Adil Shah.

Dakhini Urdu

Although Dakhini Urdu had a hundred-year-old tradition befere it was carried to the Deccan, it was at Gulbarga that the first compositions in this language were made by Khwaja Banda Nawas. Some of the later writers at the court of Bidar tried verifying popular stories of Indian origin. Among the many writers in this language mention may be made of Shah Miranji of Bijapur. Among his works mention may be made of the two long poems, Khush-nama and Khushnaghz. A mystic writer, the theme of his two poems is

the spiritual thirst of a young girl called Khushnud. In the court of Bidar flourished Nizami Bidari and Quraishi Bidari, and Firoz Bidari. The court of Ali Adil Shah II saw Abdul who authored Ibrahim-nama. Its theme is the King himself, the city of Bijapur, the royal court, palaces, gardens and beautiful women. Hasan Shauki was another major poet of the Adil Shahi court. He authored the Fata Nama Nizam Shah and the Mezabani Nama Adil Shah. The first work records the victory of the combined Muslim forces against Vijayanagar at Talikota. The Mezabani Nama describes the Adil Shah's marriage and hence is a storehouse of court life. Another Urdu poet, Malik Kshushnud, came to the Bijapur court as a part of the dowry of the queen Khadijia Sultana.

The Adil Shahi court saw to other luminaries, Mulla Nusrati who wrote the Ali Nama, describing the wars of Ali Adil Shah II against Aurangzeb and Shivaji and the blind poet, Syed Miran Miyan Khan who described the life in the imperial harem. Being blind, Miran freely mixed up with the women in the harem and wrote of their feminine idiosyncracies in a feminine style.

Persian

With the establishment of Bahmani rule, the Deccan also became a seat of cultural activity and Persian began to develop under royal patronage. Hasan Bahman Shah claimed to be the descendant of the legendary kings of Persia and he instituted an annual festival on the occasion of the Nauroz to give audience to poets and scholars. He established a number of educational institutions and this gave a fillip to the cause of Persian literature. Among the many Persian scholars who adorned the court mention may be made of Isami, Ainud-din Bijapuri, Mulla Haravi, Hakim, Tabrizi and Hakim Shirazi. Isami authored the Futuhus-Salatin in imitation of the Shah Nama extolling the deeds of the early Muslim conquerors of India ending with establishment of the Bahmani kingdom.

Sultan Muhammad Shah II was himself learned and of a refined taste. His Kingdom saw peace and this led to a number of men of letters pouring into his court, the most notable one being Hafiz of Shiraz. Firoz Shah Bahmani is reckoned as the greatest of Bahmani Sultans so far as intellectual attainments were concerned. A number of verses are credited to him. Adhari was a poet in court of Ahmad I. He was entrusted with the task of composing the history of the Bahmani rulers in verse. This, the poet did under the title, Bahnam-Nama-i-Dakhini. Among his other compositions

mention may be made of Jawahirut-Asar, dealing with the traditions of the Prophet and several Saints and Miratul-Asar, dealing with the rituals of the Hajj.

The rule of Muhammad III is characterised by the presence of his minister Mahmud Gawan. Himself a scholar, he encouraged many poets and writers. Gawan himself wrote the Manazirul-Insha, an exhaustive work on the art of Persian epistolography. The Riyazu-l-Insha is a collection of the numerous letters by Gawan to various people on diverse topics.

Passing on to the Adil Shahi rule, the first ruler, Yusuf Adil Khan was a liberal patron of arts and was conversant with rhetorics. Among the subsequent Adil Shahis, Ali Adil Shah I surpasses most kings of the family in his magnanimity, munificence and patronage of art and literature. But the tallest figure in Adil Shahi literary patronage was Ibrahim Adil Shah II. In the words of Nazir Ahmad: "A brilliant galaxy of divines, poets, minstrels, musicians, painters, calligraphers, illuminators, historians and traditionalists adorned his court at Bijapur. This pageant of the prodigies of art and erudition rivalled with the celebrities at court of Delhi and Agra and even that of Isfahan and Qazwin".[1] In his court were Ferishta, Zuhuri and Malik Qummi. Ferishta wrote the Tarikh-i-Ferishta, a work on Muslim history generally. Besides the works noted above, a considerable bulk of literature dealing with religious, mystic, epistolographical and lexicographical subjects were written in Persian during this period.

Architecture

Though there are a few structures raised during Khalji and Tughluq rule in the Deccan, these do not concern us since, Deccani architecture as a distinct style developed only after the establishment of the Bahmani kingdom in 1347. Deccan architecture under the Bahmanis and their successors, though apparently original, was by no means spontaneous. It consisted fundamentally of the fusion of two styles of Islamic architecture, the architectural system that had been forming under the Delhi Sultanate and, the architecture of Persia, both by then having reached a stage of relative maturity. To Delhi attribution was due to the compelled exodus under Muhammad-bin-Tughluq which carried with it artisans and masons from Delhi to Daulatabad. In course of time, the Delhi tradition

1. History of Medieval Deccan, Vol II, p. 81.

did weaken but, it laid the foundation of the Deccani style and was responsible for its character. The second current although following a circuitous route into the Deccan was the direct result of Islam's clash with India. The Persian influence was, however, not Indianised for a long time even in the Deccan, and it remained visibly independent. However Deccani architecture unlike other provincial styles, remained unaffected by local traditions. Thus Bahmani architecture is essentially arcuate. The structures are generally stereotyped, religious architecture outweighing secular constructions with a few military structures with certain European features.

The early phase of Bahmani architecture is represented by a few tombs and mosques at Gulbarga. The earliest of the tombs is that of the founder of the dynasty and represents the style that had begun to take form. This structure has a square plinth with sloping walls, low flat dome heavy battlemented parapet and fluted corner finials. The entire structure, proving its Tughluqian derivations, gives an impression of solidity and mass. This and two other tombs attributed to Muhammad I and Muhammad II are characterised by simplicity bordering on austerity. The decoration in these structures is limited and confined to cut plaster work.

The other important monument in the early style at Gulbarga is the Shah Bazar mosque. It has the usual plan of a typical mosque. There is an enclosed open court bound on the west by a prayer hall entered through a porch. The prayer hall measures 150' by 60' and has fifteen arched openings. Each of these openings has six bays formed by masonry columns roofed by small domes. The front has a parapet wall with recessed arch-head battlements and a fluted finial at each corner.

We may next consider the group of tombs of Mujahid, Dawud I, Ghiyathud-din and Firoz known as the Haft-Gumbad complex. All the tombs except that of Firoz represent refined copies of the tomb of Alauddin Hasan. Architecturally they are of large dimensions, with plain sloping walls, flat domes, parapet of arch-heads and small corner finials. There was advancement in the style of tomb construction but it represents a more or less inconspicuous and continuous development. When compared with the earlier tombs, these have quite a quantity of decoration in stucco. The tomb of Firoz is a massive doublehall structure measuring externally 158' by 78' and 72' high. In its elevation, it has two stories. Over the parapet, there are foliated merlons and a short fluted finial at each

corner while the drum of the dome also has foliations. The interior is divided into two stories of arcading, and the walls are profusely covered with plaster work decoration. The ceiling has calligraphic ornamentation and also been painted. In the words of Percy Brown : "A large and imposing momument", the tomb of Firoz "marks a considerable advance in tomb architecture on anything that had preceded it in the Deccan, for it is recorded that he was a ruler who excelled all his predecessors in power and magnificence and his mausoleum is eloquent proof of his personal pre-eminence".[1]

With the shifting of the capital from Gulbarga to Bidar, Bahmani architecture enters a second phase. This phase is marked by a greater assimilation of the Persian influence. Secondly, the structures, though retaining their massiveness, tend to shed their heaviness and austerity. They are imposing without being pretentious and simple without being severely austere. The heaviness was dissolved by adopting well balanced arrangement of masses and fine workmanship. The sloping walls were dropped and their plain faces were decorated with tiers of recessed arches. Thirdly, in this period, a variety of arches came into vogue. Lastly, the constructions of this period portray a high degree of decoration which as a single factor adds to the overall grandeur and impressiveness. Encaustic tiles surface painting, cut-plaster work and stucco decoration, all beautifully coloured, are the conspicuous aspects of this love of decor.

The chief architectural productions of this period consist of a fortress and its palaces, two mosques, the royal tombs and a madrasah. The fortress and its palaces are woefully ruined but their remains sufficiently indicate a strong provincialised Persian influence. The palaces consist of a series of halls such as the Rangin Mahal or painted palace; the Takht-Mahal or throne room, the Diwan-i-Am or audience hall and the Zenana-Mahal. The Bahmanis having no tradition for such structures turned to Persian models, but modified them to suit their local needs. All the buildings above-mentioned may be noted for their colour decoration, a characteristic of Persian architecture.

Turning to the mosques, we notice a striking difference between these and the palaces. The palaces are fanciful in style and vivacious in appearance while the mosques are plain and sombre. Of the two, Solha Khamba mosque is the most extensive. It consists of a prayer hall measuring 294' by 80', divided into nineteen aisles

1. Brown, Percy, Indian Architecture, Vol, II. p. 69.

and five bays. The whole structure is generally low giving the onlooker a feeling of its being flat. Except for certain minor variations, the Solha Khamba mosque is in plan a typical Islamic religious structure.

The next set of important monuments are the twelve tombs which are generally alike yet with individual characteristics. They portray an improvement in the Bahmani tomb architecture; they are large, with an impression of massive strength coupled with grandeur achieved imaginatively. Of the twelve tombs, mention may be made of those of Ahmad Shah Wali, Alaud-din Ahmad II, Mahmud Shah and Khalimul-lah.

The most exotic structure at Bidar is the Madrasah (or college) founded in 1472 by Mahmud Gawan. In spite of the serious damage, this structure still retains enough of its original architectural features and decorative scheme. The college measures 242' by 222' and is about 56' high. It consists of four three-storeyed wings enclosing an open court which contained lecture halls, a library, a mosque, and ample accommodation for both professors and students. There are majestic minarets at the corners of its main facade. The entire structure so much resembles the colleges in Persian cities that Percy Brown says, ".....in short it might have been moved bodily from the Rijistan at Samarkand".[1]

The next phase in Deccani architecture begins with the establishment of the Bahmani succession states. This phase of the Deccani style has a completely provincial character, with an individuality all its, own. This is marked by sound structural principles underlying a grandeur of conception and lavish decoration. The foreign influence was seen in the structural principles while in the ornamentation indigenous traditions are visible.

The most notable Baridi monuments are the tombs of the Barid Shahi Sultans and a few mosques. The general tone of these constructions is one of marked lightness, due to better workmanship and delicate ornamentation. This tendency towards refinement and elegance, was elaborated and taken to its zenith by the Bijapur craftsmen.

The Baridi tombs are generally found constructed in picturesque surroundings and the building material is of good quality and occasionally polished stone. The general treatment and design

1. Brown, Percy, *of cit*, p. 70.

also underwent slight changes. The late Bahmani dome attaines a shapely contour, its volume is reduced, terraces are found added and the total effect is one of lightness and refinement. Even the mosques have undergone changes in design and plan. For the first time we see the bracketed cornice, the parapets have intermittent corner finials, the corner finials on the facade have been transformed into minarets and the size of the central arch on the facade has been increased. In decoration, brightly coloured encaustic tiles, cut plaster, stucco, inlay of mother o'pearl and wood carving were resorted to with greater effect.

Baridi architecture begins to attain independence with the monuments of the period of Ali Barid. Ali carried out improvements to the Bidar fort, rebuilt the Rangin Mahal and altered the Tarkash Mahal beyond recongition. Another monument of importance is the Jami Masjid. It consists of a prayer hall, 144′ by 65′ standing at the west end of court. The facade has seven entrances with pointed and pronouncedly stilted arches resting on low columns. The facade has a parapet clumsily decorated with finials over each arch pier. There are no minarets and very little surface decoration.

The next monuments of note are incomplete tomb of Ibrahim which is a small-scale replica of the tomb of Ali and the closed square tomb of Qasim II. The last named is of modest diminutions, but elegant due to its superior workmanship and presents a dignified appearance. Among other structures of this period mention may be made of the Barber's tomb, the Dog's tomb, the tomb of Khan-i-Jahan and the Kali Masjid, the last named being assigned to this period purely on stylistic grounds.

Deccani architecture reached its zenith under the Adil Shahis of Bijapur. And Adil Shahi architecture was a continuation of the Baridi style. Perhaps in no other city in India, is such a profusion of buildings to be seen in such limited area as at Bijapur. Today Bijapur is in ruins. To those who are prone to consider Muslims as maraduders, Bijapur is eloquent testimony of Islamic Civilization. In the words of Meadows Taylor : "Above all, however, these noble monuments", of Bijapur, "may serve to lead our country men to appreciate the intellect, the taste, and the high power of art and execution which they evince to consider their authors not as barbarians but in the position to which their works justly entitle them; and to follow in the history of those who conceived them, that divine scheme of civilization and improvement".[1]

1. Quoted from : Cousens, Henry, Bijapur and its Remains, pp. 20-21.

Early Adil Shahi architecture is simple and heavy in outline. In its developed phase it still retained the grandness of conception marked in Bahmani buildings. Another feature of this style was the change in the shape of domes its size being reduced, the introduction of projecting cornices and artistic parapets and the elaborate treatment of the minars. Perhaps the most striking feature of Adil Shahi architecture is the rich decoration and ornamentation. Bijapur architecture is also to be noted for the use of flat ceilings without any apparent support of pillars, piers or brackets.

Although the Adil Shahs reigned for nearly two hundred years, their architectural history may be compressed within one century and from the bewildering complex of buildings at Bijapur comprising this style, four examples representative of the style may be selected. They are :—The Jami Masjid, the Ibrahim Rauza, the Gol Gumbad and the Mihtar Mahal. There are quite a few structures of the earliest and a slightly later, distinct Bijapur style. Of these, mention may be made of the Ramza-i-Shaik, the Ek-Minar-ki-Masjid and Ikhlas Khan's mosque, the first two being at Gulbarga and Raichur and the last named at Bijapur.

The first building of note, though incomplete, yet representative of the restrained classical mood of Bijapur architecture is the Jami Masjid commenced during Ali Adil Shah's rule and completed later. It is a large structure of orthodox plan 450′ by 225′. The courtyard inside the mosque is a square of 155′ side, with seven arches on its three sides, and the central opening at the western end emphasised by foliations forming the facade of the sanctuary. The dome over the roof is hemispheric, large and of a pleasing shape. The interior is plain, except that the central mihrab has been lavishly decorated. The interior of the sanctuary consists of hall 208′ by 107′ divided into aisles by means of arches on substantial masonry piers. Thus, the architectural simplicity of the entire scheme, the sparing use of ornamentation, the magnificent proportions, the graceful arches and the huge dome, make Jami Masjid a structure unequalled among Bijapur monuments.

Next, we may consider the Ibrahim Rauza, a mausoleum situated outside the city walls. The Ibrahim Rauza is by no means a huge composition, the entire enclosure is 450′ square and consists of a tomb and mosque with certain accessories all standing within an attractive garden. The tomb building inside is 115′ square. The entire structure is complete in every respect and every part of it

is the result of meticulous thought and planning; every item in it has received expert consideration to the extent that Percy Brown describes it as an example of perfection by human hands and Henry Cousens describes it as the magnum opus of the Adil Shahs. The mausoleum has the usual central chamber with an arched verandah and the whole topped by a dome with four graceful minars rising from the corners of the roof. Inside, the tomb chamber has been decorated magnificently. One of the inscriptions on the walls reads thus : "Heaven stood astonished at the elevation of this building, and it might be said, when its head rose from the earth that another heaven was erected. The garden of Paradise has borrowed its beauty from this garden and every column here is graceful as the Cypisus tree in the garden of purity."[1] The mosque is of considerable dimensions but occupies a subsidiary position in the entire composition.

The Mihtar Mahal is not a palace. It is one of the prettiest and ornate structures despite its small dimensions. It is a tall tower-like structure 24′ square and rising to a height of 66 feet. The tower rises in three stories, the uppermost comprising walled open terrace, the one below it consisting of a hall with balconied windows on its sides. The balconies are richly decorated and the facade is flanked by two minars. To quote Percy Brown: "The fineness of workmanship is astonishing, the stone being manipulated as if it were plastic clay, either in the chiselling of the low relief patterns around the doorway or in the deep moulding of the covered ceiling of the ground storey, all is executed with a loving care.....The entire structure seems to imply that not only the artisans themselves took pride in the perfection of their handiwork, but that they were encouraged to do so by their patrons who experienced an equal pleasure in seeing such exquisite forms grow under their handles."[2]

If the Ibrahim Rauza is the last word in decorative and luxurious magnificence, the Gol Gumbad has few equals in massiveness and virility. Architecturally a simple structure, the Gumbad houses the mausoleum of Muhammad Adil Shah. The Gol Gumbad consists of a large square hall of 205 feet square, completely covered by an enormous hemispherical dome with an external diameter of 144 feet. The dome is buttressed with octagonal towers at each

1. Quoted from : Cousens, Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
2. Brown, Percy, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

corner surmounted by smaller domes. The high walls are decorated with arches. Inside, there is a single huge hall with an overhanging whispering gallery. Thus the Gol Gumbad, imponderably massive, simple, awe-inspiring and standing alone, transcends all other buildings at Bijapur. There are at Bijapur other interesting structures but those, described above, are the representatives of the Adil Shahi style of architecture and hence suffice for our purpose.

Painting

Painting really developed in the Deccan only after the establishment of the Mughals. And, like architecture, Deccani painting before Akbar was a fine melange of the Sultanate, Turkish, Persian, Vijayanagar and European influences, the Deccani features prevailing finally. Again, among themselves, the painters are in the Bahmani kingdom and its successor states had their own subtle distinctions to mirror. Then, the Mughals were a purposeful dynasty while the Deccan Sultans were easygoing and emotional. This character is also to be seen in their painting. The Deccani Sultans liked romantic and erotic paintings while the Mughals preferred to see their memoirs or epics illustrated.

The Bahmanis did not patronise the painters' art due to their strict observance of Islamic injunctions which were opposed to painting. The Barid Shahi Sultans also do not seem to have patronised painting as none belonging to the 15th or 16th centuries have come to light. However there are a few examples of illustrated manuscripts belonging to the latter half of the 18th century. Of these mention may be made of the Bhogpal, a painted manuscript of the late 16th century. The Bhogpal was a treatise on erotics, composed during the reign of Amir Barid II. According to Jagdish Mitthal, the colouring in Bhogpal is cold and the style is degenerate Persian.

Of all the schools of Deccani painting, Bijapur has excited a justifiably great interest. Literary evidence proves that Ali Adil Shah was a keen bibliophile and maintained a staff of illustrators and painters. One of the earliest works of the Bijapur school is the Najumu' l'-Ulum (Stars of the Sciences). This manuscript on cosmography has 876 miniatures and was executed by about 1570. The manuscript shows South Indian influence. Another early work again dealing with cosmography is the Ajaibul-Makhluqat, produced round 1560. Ibrahim Adil Shah II was an extremely cultured

person, a musician and a poet and perhaps a painter. Among the portraits of this Sultan, the best is the one in the Lalgarh palace at Bikaner. Perhaps executed at Bijapur this portrait formed part of the loot by Raja Karan Singh of Bikaner after the fall of Bijapur. It shows Ibrahim as a young prince of about twenty-five wearing a luxurious costume and with a retinue. Among the other portraits of Ibrahim Adil Shah mention may be made of the ones at the British Museum with a marked European influence, the one at the Naprstek Museum, depicting him playing a guitar and the one in the Goenka collection; where, the king holds an Ektara in his left hand and a book in his right. There are also a few paintings of different themes such as, study of elephants, portrait of saints in a landscape, a picture of lovers, elephant fight and a picture of seated yogini, from Ibrahim's time. In the words of Jagdish Mitthal, all the above-mentioned paintings, "have a distinct quality of their own in the very unconventional composition, rich landscape, mysterious atmosphere, gem-like colouring, lavish use of gold, exquisite finish, profusion of large plants, flowering shrubs and typical Dakhni castles in the background. and above all, the sweeping baroque rhythm that their Bijapur origin and their being from Ibrahim's period is immediately clear."[1] Two illustrated manuscripts of this period are known. They are, the Ratan Kalian, a work dealing with a variety of subjects and the N'mat Nama, a work on cookery. Then, there are quite a few wall paintings of this period showing hunting scenes, wrestling matches, and musician.

Under the successors of Ibrahim Adil Shah, Bijapur painting begins to decline. For the period of Muhammad Adil Shah we have two illustrated manuscripts, namely, the Khawar Nama and the Diwan-i-Urfi. For the period of Ali Adil Shah II there are a few portraits though these do not come anywhere near the portraits of Ibrahim Adil Shah's period. They bear testimony that, there were great painters at Bijapur and their work was definitely superior to the contemporary Mughal works.

Calligraphy

Calligraphy or penmanship and fencing were considered to be essential requisites for Muslim royalty and nobility. The Khaljis and Tughluqs in South India gave a good impetus to this art and in them we can see the influence of northern traditions.

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1. History of Medieval Deccan, vol. II pp. 213-214.

The calligraphic art under the Bahmani Sultans can be studied under two periods. (1) Up to the accession of Ahmad Shah Wali Al Bahmani and (2) the period of the subsequent seven sultans. In the first period, the influence of the northern Sultanates is marked and gradually a local individuality is also seen. The writings are in the naskh and tulth styles and specimen of these can be seen in the numerous inscriptions of the rulers and coins struck by them. We do not have any examples of manuscript books and other writing on paper except the solitary farman of Feroz Shah Bahmani. Here the writing is a mixture of two or three styles. The monogram of the emperor is in the tughra while, the text is a mixture of the shikastha and the tulth. In the second period again there are examples of inscriptions, coins and few on paper. In the tomb of Wali Al-Bahmani many calligraphic styles such as naskh, tughra, tulth and the kufic are seen and these have been illuminated too. Among others mention may be made of the inscriptions on the Madrasah of Mahmud Gawan and those on the Sharzah Darwazah.

Under the Adil Shahis, the calligraphic art reached a high degree of perfection and here again the examples are inscriptions, legends on coins and manuscripts. Some of the finest examples are the inscriptions at the Ibrahim Rauza where the letters have been cut in such a way that the tablets form perforated ventilators. The Barid Shahs inherited the traditions of the Bahman Shahs, while adding to it. Among the few examples mention may be made of the few guns found at the Bidar fort bearing inscriptions in a variety of scripts.

Coinage

Almost all the rulers of the Bahmani dynasty as well as the succession states of that house issued coins. Sikka, or the right to coin money, was regarded as one of the royal privileges. Every claimant to the throne in a dynasty, every usurper, in fact every one who tried to carve out a kingdom for himself, issued coins as soon as he came to power and as marking it. The Bahmani coins are an important source of history. The dates of a number of kings can be verified from coins. Secondly, although the Bahmani kingdom was practically extinct in 1490, pageant kings continued on the throne for some time.

The Bahmani sultans issued coins in gold, silver and copper, those in gold being scarce and those in copper being most profuse of

the seventeen rulers of the dynasty; gold coins are known of nine— Muhammad Shah I, Mujahid Shah, Muhammad Shah II, Firoz Shah, Ahmad Shah II, Humayun Shah, Ahmad Shah III, Muhammad Shah III and Mahmud Shah. These gold coins generally bear the weight of 170 grains.

Silver coins were issued by all the rulers except the last two nominal ones — Waliul-lah and Kalimu'l-lah — and bear the standard weight of 70 grains. Fractional coins such as half tanka, one-third tanka, one-sixth tanka and one-tenth tanka were also issued by some of the rulers. The copper coins are varied in their legends and denominations.

Regarding the legends on these coins, the early rulers merely adopted the legends of their Khalji and the Tughluq predecessors. From the time of Muhammad Shah I, are found such legends as "Helper of the cause of God", "The Father of Victory", "Father of Wars". Besides such epithets, are found the names of kings", their relationship with predecessors and their accession titles.

Of the Adil Shahi rulers, the earliest coins are those of Ali I. And Adil Shahi coins are generally in copper, bearing various legends, and weighing between 60 and 180 grains. The coins of Muhammad Adil Shah bear the following interesting couplet :—

> "The world received beauty and dignity from two Muhammads;
> The one is Muhammad the Apostle and the other Muhammad Shah".

A very curious type of silver currency was issued by the Adilshalim..... the larin, that name originating from the district of Lar at the head of the Persian Gulf. They are merely a slender silver rod or wire doubled in the middle of the Barid Shahi Sultans. We have coins only from the period of the fourth ruler, Ibrahim Barid. The Barid Shahi coins are exclusively of copper and weigh between 90 and 280 grains.

7

THE SUCCESSOR STATES OF THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE

The battle of Talikota was the climacteric of the Vijayanagara Empire. The city was lost and with it all that the empire once stood for. The empire was founded to safeguard Hindu traditions, manners and customs which were being done to death by the scimitar of the Muslim. This purpose it had served and had been mortally wounded by that same scimitar. It continued for fifty years more and then Vijayanagar was only a name to be recalled. Among the states that were feudatories of the Vijayanagara empire and which rose into some prominence after the death of the empire were the Yelahanka Prabhus, the Nayakas of Ikkeri and the Wodeyars of Mysore.

YELAHANKA PRABHUS

The ancestors of the founders of the city of Bangalore originally belonged to Kanchipuram. A certain Ranabhaira Gowda migrated and settled near the village of Devanahalli. His youngest son Jaya Gowda settled at Yelahanka near the present city of Bangalore. He was succeeded by Gidde Gowda (1433-43) and Kempananje Gowda (1443-1513). These people must have originally been rich agriculturists and slowly came to rule as feudatory states. Every member of this family bore the name Kempe Gowda after the name of their family deity, Kempamma.

Kempe Gowda I, son of Kempananje Gowda, ruled between 1513-1569. He is credited with having founded the City of Bangalore. A subordinate of Achyutaraya of Vijayanagar, he saw to the construction of a number of temples in and around the present city which are being worshipped even now. In 1550, he conquered the hill of Sivaganga, some twenty-five miles away from Bangalore.

Having by this time gained considerable power, Kempe Gowda I issued coins in his owu name. When he asserted independence, he was imprisoned and later released upon payment of a heavy fine. He was succeeded by Gidde Gowda till 1578, and Kempe Gowda II between 1578 and 1638. Kempe Gowda II captured Magadi and Savandurga in 1623 and improved both the forts. He was defeated by Randaula Khan of Bijapur in 1638 and was imprisoned, later he was released upon agreeing to pay a tribute to Bijapur. A great builder, he also conquered a number of forts round and about Bangalore and Magadi. His son Mummadi Kempe Gowda ruled between 1658-78.

The last great ruler of this house was Mummadi Kempe Veerappa Gowda. A devout Veerasaiva, he caused a number of temples and agraharas to be constructed. He was also a patron of scholars. The house of Yelahanka Prabhus finally came to a close when Dalavai Devarajaiah captured and added their territory to the Kingdom of Mysore.

THE NAYAKAS OF KELADI

The State of Keladi, later known as Ikkeri, rose during the 16th century due to the feudalistic decentralisation in the Vijayanagar Empire. At its zenith, the Keladi State exended up to Goa in the north and Cannore in the south and bounded within itself the present districts of Hassan and Shimoga. For nearly two and a half centuries the rulers of Keladi successfully kept at bay the aggressive tendencies of the Portuguese and the Bijapur Sultans.

According to certain literary traditions, this state was founded by Chauda and Bhadra, the two sons of a Veerasaiva farmer. Having discovered a buried treasure in their field at Keladi, the elder of the two brothers, Chauda, managed to become the chieftain of that village. He ruled for thirteen years having been crowned in 1500. The two brothers were employed by Krishnadevaraya against rebel elements in his empire. Chandappa Nayaka was succeeded by his son Sadashiva Nayaka (1513-1536). With his accession, the Keladi Nayakas emerge into limelight. Sadashiva is known to have routed the ruler of Kalyana, Kalburgi, Bidar, Bankapur and the Tulu and Kerala countries and gained among others the title of Shatrusaptangaharana. According to one of his inscriptions, Sadashiva ruled over 56 garudas comprising Araga, Gutti, thirty-six Kampanas, Tulu rajya, Barakura and Mangaluru. Besides military

exploits, Sadashiva is credited with having made grants to Brahmin and Veerasaiva mathas, and constructed forts at Chandragiri, Keladi and Kasargod. The successors of Sadashiva continued as feudatories of the Vijayanagar empire till Venkatappa Nayaka I became independent some time in 1613. This most successful of the Nayakas of Keladi extended his kingdom on all sides and repulsed the Bijapur forces, defeated Bhairadevi of Gerusoppa and checked Portuguese expansion. The Keladi state became a power to be reckoned with and, the rice and pepper trade of the West passed into the hands of the Nayakas from the Portuguese. Venkatappa is credited with the construction of a number of forts, temples and the founding of many agraharas. Catholic in his religious outlook, Venkatappa I was also a patron of letters.

A number of inscriptions eulogise Venkatappa Nayaka. A full moon to the ocean of the Keladi royal line, manmatha to the hearts of women, a lion to the rutting elephants of his adversaries, Harishcandra in truth, Kubera in health, Isvara in music, a head jewel of all kings and an ocean of treasure to the good. A sun to the darkness, the countless Kiratas, a boundary mountain to the Mlechchhas, his two lotus-feet were illuminated with the crowns of prostrate kings. Venkatappa's valour was like an armour to the Karnataka country.

Venkatappa Nayaka was succeeded by his grandson Virabhadra Nayaka (1629-45). Virabhadra's reign was one of political troubles. The capital was moved from Ikkeri to Bidnur in 1639. Virabhadra had to face an invasion of the Bijapur forces. He could not defeat the Muslims and hence accepted their overlordship. In 1631, he concluded certain trade agreements with the Portuguese. Virabhadra was succeeded by Shivappa Nayaka, the most distinguished ruler of this house. Shivappa Nayaka helped Srirangaraya of Vijayanagar against the Muslims and nearer home he captured many territories and extended his sway up to Mangalore. In 1652 he completely defeated the Portuguese and drove them away from Mangalore, Cundapur, Gamgolli and Honnavar. Shivappa Nayaka is best known for his revenue settlement which will be noticed subsequently.

Shivappa Nayaka was succeeded by Venkatappa Nayaka, Bhadrappa Nayaka and by Somashekara Nayaka in 1664. The most important event of his reign was the surprise attack by Shivaji in 1664. Shomashekara's wife Chennamma assumed the reins of administration in 1671. Chennamma's reins witnessed a series of

encounters with the Wodeyars of Mysore. When Shivaji's son Rajaram, pursued by Moghul forces entered Keladi territory, Chennamma offered him protection. War resulted and the Moghul armies were severely beaten in 1690. Since she had no issue, her adopted son Basavappa Nayaka came to throne in 1696. Continuing the aggressive policies of Chennamma, he beat back the Muslim forces and recovered a number of frontier forts. His son Somashekara Nayaka II came to the throne in 1714 and had to face the Dutch and the English in his career of conquests. He died in 1739. We may pass over two more names and suffice it to mention that Veeramma, who had assumed the reins of administration in 1757, was defeated by Hyder Ali in 1763. The kingdom of Keladi was annexed to Mysore.

Administration

According to the political theorists of ancient and mediaeval India, Kings had onerous duties. They had to protect their subjects, punish the wicked, safeguard the social order, administer justice, protect religion, promote welfare, and in all these he was righteous. The Keladi rulers also performed these duties. The inscriptions prove that the Nayakas protected their subjects from external aggressions and maintained internal peace. Alexander Hamilton remarks regarding the prevalence of internal security in the Keladi State : "The subjects of this country observe the law so well, that robbery or murder are hardly heard of among them. And a stranger may pass through the country without being asked where he is going or what business he had".[1] The Nayakas protected all the religions in their kingdom and promoted the cause of each by making grants of land establishing agraharas, mathas and protected construction of not only temples but even mosques and churches. The rulers held religious discourses in their court and a number of works on religions were composed. During the reign of Venkatappa, the Siva Gita was translated into Kannada, and the Shiva Shat Padi, the Tantrasara and the Tattva Kaustuba were written.

Regarding the administration of justice, the Keladi rulers believed that the king should not only punish wicked men but also such birds and beasts. The Nayakas promoted the welfare of their subjects by encouraging economic, industrial and commercial activities.

The King was assisted by a council of ministers in the

1. Chitnis, K. N., Keladi Polity, p. 35.

administration. This council consisted of the Royal chaplain, the Lord Protector, the Commander-in-Chief, the Treasurer and the Foreign Secretary. Persons with merit were appointed to these offices. They were generally knowledgeable, pure, valiant and versed in law. In addition to these there were other special officers such as the King's secretary, the Karanika in charge of accounts and correspondence, customs officials, officers in charge of commercial matters and ambassadors.

The Keladi Kingdom was quite large. For administrative purposes it was divided into rajya, sime, venthe, pal, nadu and hobli. Much information regarding the definition of these units is not available and all that we know is the Kingdom was divided into six provinces. Under the Nayakas there were two kinds of provincial governors, those appointed directly by the Nayaka and those who paid annual tributes as feudatories. The provinces were largely independent though the King did possess final authority.

The Kingdom derived income from land, various taxes, escheats, fees and fines. Land revenue was itself collected under different names : Shist or standard assessment, arevasi or moiety, dasoha, a tax meant to defend the kingdom, patti to be paid as chauth to the Marathas, Birada and Sidaya, additional land taxes. Customs were levied and collected on various goods and articles such as grain, wood, cloth, tobacco and spices. Industrial and commercial activity was also taxed. Two categories of professional taxes were levied. They were : (1) on persons following certain vocations like fishing and hunting and (2) on certain public and governmental officials such as the village accountant and the secretary of the state. Fairs, marriages, processions and temple festivals were taxed.

The main items of public expenditure were the royal household, the army, religious grants and charities, and public works.

One of the interesting aspects of Keladi polity is its land revenue system. Till the time of Shivappa Nayaka the land system was undeveloped. Shivappa Nayaka introduced certain reforms like classification, ascertainment of fertility and fixing rent on the basis of average produce. Land was classified into five categories : (1) Uttamam consisting of black soil and black soil mixed with sand; (2) Madhyamam consisting of high and mixed soils; (3) Kamoshtam consisting of dark or light sandy soil; (4) Adhama had soil without moisture and; (5) Adhamadhamam, consisting of hot sandy, dry and soils above levels of water. For twelve successive years one plot

of each of these categories was cultivated for the king. An accurate record of the seeds sown, expenses of cultivation and quantity and value of produce was maintained. From this average of produce and prices for a year were struck and one-third of it was demanded as the government's share. Such was the famous system of shist of Shivappa Nayaka.

The Keladi rulers issued a number of coins such as Varaha, Honmu, Dharana, Hana, Mupaga, Adda, Haga, Bele, Visa, Arevisa, and Kasu.

The cause of learning education received impetus. The Nayakas made liberal grants to agraharas, mathas and temples which were centres of education. In the field of literature, the Keladi court saw, among others, Ranganatha Dikshita writing Tantrasastra; Asvapandita writing the Manapriya, a treatise on horses and, Nirvanayya writing the Shivapujavidana.

THE WODEYARS OF MYSORE

The Wodeyars of Mysore were another feudatory power under the Vijayanagar empire. Having established their power in the 15th Century, the Wodeyars continued for long after the battle of Talikota. The origin of this dynasty is shrouded in legend. An examination of all available source material leads to the conclusion that the founding of the Mysore royal family, of Yadava descent, took place between 1399-1420. The founders were two brothers, Yaduraya and Krishnaraya. However, we do not have much information regarding the early kings, who ruled between 1399-1578. After Yaduraya seven kings ruled in succession and the last among these Bettada Devaraja Wodeyar was deposed in 1578. His brother Raja Wodeyar was made king in 1578.

At the time of his accession Raja Wodeyar was an overlord of thirty-three villages and commanded three hundred men. He was a feudatory of Sri Ranga II and during the early part of his reign was loyal to the sovereign. Beginning in 1480, Raja Wodeyar slowly acquired new villages and from 1585, he began on his career of conquest. The second phase of his reign, 1585-1610, synchronised with the rule of Venkata I and the viceroyalty of Tirumala at Srirangapatna. Taking advantage of Tirumala's weakness, Raja Wodeyar continued his aggressions and in February 1610, acquired Srirangapatna by conquest. With this acquisition, a new period in the history of Mysore begins. The sovereign, Venkata I, also confirmed

Raja Wodeyar's conquest of Srirangapatna and recongnised the fact that Tirumala had been weak and Raja Wodeyar in his place would prove useful. By 1617, Raja Wodeyar, at the height of his power, had established his effective sway over a greater portion of the present district of Mysore.

Srirangapatna was made the capital of the Mysore Kingdom which extended from Ummattur and Terkanambi in the south, and from Bannur in the east to Mavattur, Akkihebbalu and Hole-Narasipur in the west and north-west. He continued the land revenue system of the Paleygar regime, and appointed a Dalavai to cope with his increased military and civil obligations. A fine warrior and good administrator, a man of piety, devotion and culture, Raja Wodeyar "has an abiding claim to greatness as the first Maker of Mysore."[1]

Twelve days after the death of Raja Wodeyar, his grandson Chamaraja Wodeyar V succeeded to the throne (July 3, 1617). Being a minor at the time of his accession, the administration rested in the hands of the Dalavai. In 1620, the prince came of age and was crowned. The Vijayanagar empire was becoming weak and first the Dalavai and then the king took advantage of the situation to expand the dominions of Mysore. By the close of his rule, the kingdom of Chamaraja Wodeyar had been extended up to Channapatna in the north, Nagamangala in the east, Malavalli in the south-east and in the west Periapatna. Chamaraja Wodeyar is credited with having carefully organised his administration.

An ardent Vaisnava, toleration took the cardinal feature of his reign. Inscriptions refer to him as Shaddarshana Stapanacharya. The court of Chamaraja Wodeyar was noted for its magnificence and was fully expressive of the tastes and culture of the times. Himself an accomplished person, Chamaraja Wodeyar was a connoisseur of literary merit. Kannada literature flourished and a number of works such an Asva Sastra, Hayasara Samuchchaya, Chamarajokti Vilasa were written.

Chamaraja Wodeyar died in 1637 and was succeeded by Raja Wodeyar II. After a very short period of rule, he was succeeded by Ranadheera Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar in 1638. South Indian politics was in a melting pot and Mysore had to face many opponents. In such a situation, the new ruler of Mysore loved battle and revelled in victory. As a prince he had received training in the

1. Hayavadana Rao, C., History of Mysore, Vol. 1. p. 80.

art of warfare and those of peace too. Kantirava Narasaraja was a contemporary of Venkata II and Sri Ranga VI of Vijayanagar; Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur; Virabhadra Nayaka and Sivappa Nayaka of Ikkeri, Immadi Kempe Gowda of Magadi and Tirumala Nayaka of Madurai among others.

It was a hard time even for a clever ruler like Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar. Two months after his accession, the Bijapur forces under Randulla Khan laid a siege to Srirangapatna demanding tribute. Narasaraja Wodeyar not only refused to pay the tribute but thoroughly beat the besiegers and even collected an immense booty. A truce was signed and the net result of this siege was that while it "left the kingdom of Mysore practically unsubdued by Bijapur, it exposed her to the latter's recurring invasions from the north and prepared the way for the further advance of Mysore in that direction."[1]

Although the Bijapur forces had retreated, they were forced to be active in Karnataka throughout 1640. To avert any renewed aggression, Narasaraja Wodeyar captured Ramagiridurga, Huliyurdurga, Bagur and Turave Kere all lying on the route which the Bijapur forces might take. The Bijapur forces did enter Mysore territory in 1640 but were again beaten back.

Narasaraja Wodeyar was loyal to the Vijayanagara emperors but, when he found it useless to support a defunct cause, Kantirava declared his independence. Many surrounding minor forts were captured such as, Periyapatna, Hebbur, Samballi and Maratahalli. Narasaraja Wodeyar died in 1659.

The rule of Narasaraja Wodeyar bore the impress of his personality. He conducted his government along traditional lines. Between 1638 and 1659, ten persons were appointed Dalavais and this proves the ruler's active personal influence. A number of forts were strengthened and improved. One of the important measures of Kantirava Narasaraja was the establishment of a mint in Srirangapatna and the reorganization of the coinage. In 1645, the first coins bearing his name were issued. The gold coins were known as 'Kantirayi hana' and the copper coins were known as 'Anekasu'. Revenue administration was systematised and conquered areas were settled keeping in view the condition of each tract.

This was a period of important developments in the history of Vaishnavism in South India. The ruler was himself an ardent

1. *Ibid*, p. 124.

Vaishnava and toleration was a feature of his religion. At Srirangapatna Vaishnavas, Shaivas, Veerashaivas and Bhagavathas lived in friendly rivalry. Srirangapatna was an important centre of social life and during the reign of Narasaraja Wodeyar the 'Navarathri' Festival gained an added significance. Sanskrit and Kannada literature flourished. Among the works of this period mention may be made of 'Kantirava Narasaraja Vijam', the Markandaya Ramayana, and Behara Ganitha.

A stalwart figure, handsome, with an exceptionally robust constitution, a master in the arts of peace and those of war, tolerent, devout, popular among contemporaries to the extent of deification, Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar was a prominent character in the history of South India during the greater part of the seventeenth century.

Devaraja Wodeyar ascended the throne of Mysore in August 1659. Almost immediately Srirangapatna was besieged by Shivappa Nayaka I of Ikkeri. The siege continued till 1660 and ended with disastrous results to Ikkeri. Between 1661-64 a series of wars and counter-wars took place between the ruler of Ikkeri and Mysore. Finally towards the close of 1664 Somasekara Nayaka sued for peace. In 1668 Devaraja Wodeyar acquired Erode; later he aquired Kunigal. The reign of Devaraja Wodeyar saw the beginning of European intercourse with Mysore. Devaraja Wodeyar died in 1673. He was succeeded by his nephew Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar.

The accession of Chikkadevaraja marks a turning point in the history of South India. The Vijayanagara empire was almost dead and the Shahi Kingdoms were being drawn into a struggle against Aurangzeb. Maratha power was gradually asserting itself and the Nayakas of Ikkeri and Madurai were practically independent. The result was a conflict between the forces of feudalism and imperialism.

Five days after his accession, Chikkadevaraja led his army towards the east taking Dhuligote, Malalie, Muttanjatti, Paramatti and Salem. Further east he met Chokkalinga Nayaka of Madurai and completely beat him. This was followed by successful engagements against the chiefs of Sadamangalam, Ariyalur, Toreyur and Dharapuram. These were followed by successful wars against Ikkeri, Bijapur and, in 1677, there was an invasion by Shivaji which again resulted in success to Chikkadevaraja. He then conquered Madagi,

Madhugiri and Koratagere in the north, faced a second Maratha invasion some time in 1682 under Sambhaji. The Marathas were put to utter rout and the severed heads of their generals, Dadaji, Jaitaji and Nimbaji were presented as trophies before Chikkadevaraja.

In 1687, Chikkadevaraja acquired Bangalore by purchase from Kasim Khan, the Mughal general. The subsequent years till the close of the seventeenth century engaged him in settling his affairs with Ikkeri, Madurai and the Marathas. By 1700, he reached the zenith of his power and crowned his achievements by sending an embassy to the court of Aurangzeb. The prestige of Mysore was enhanced. Mysore secured the friendship of the Mughal and came to be considered as a power to be reckoned with.

This much, of his wars and conquests. His domestic policy, also, was spectacular. Chikkadevaraja appointed a council of ministers which proved to be a powerful advisory body. He continued the office of the Dalavai and devoted considerable attention to the mint and the treasury. By a careful husbandry of the resources this ruler accumulated nine crores of pagodas in his treasury and earned the title Navakoti Narayana. A postal and police service were introduced, taxes codified and many fiscal reforms introduced. The entire administration was divided into eighteen departments and offical salaries were partly in cash and partly in grain. Weights and measures were standardised, currency and coinage reorganised, and trade and commerce were regulated.

Himself a Vaishnava, he caused many temples to be built. Construction of public works engaged his attention. Chikkadevaraja introduced social legislation regulating the rites and practices of Sudras.

The reign of Chikkadevaraja witnessed unrivalled literary activity. Learning and literature flourished and a poet says that a mere entrance to the assembly of scholars in Chikkadevaraja's court was enough to remove one's mental apathy and make him really learned. Chikkupadyaya, Timmakavi, Mallikarjuna, Tirumalaraya, Mallarasa, Singaraya were among the literary luminaries of the period. Chikkadevaraja was himself a writer of repute and a number of works are ascribed to him.

A born ruler of men, a thorough politician, great administrator, the death of Chikkadevaraja in 1704 meant something more than the passing away of Shivaji or even Aurangzeb.

Chikkadevaraja was succeeded by his only son Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar II. Narasaraja Wodeyar II was unfortunately deaf and dumb. He was assisted by his father's trusted minister Tirumalaiyangar till 1706. Simultaneous with the accession of Narasaraja Wodeyar II, the Kalale family comes into prominence. This house had matrimonial relations with the royal family of Mysore. From this house came the Dalavais of Mysore which office later became so powerful that the Raja was pushed to the background; this was the position which Hyder Ali would take advantage of in 1761.

Aurangzeb died in 1707 and this brought to the surface the centrifugal forces in the Mughal empire. The relations of Mysore with the Moghal empire were neither cordial nor hostile. The rule of Narasaraja Wodeyar II was generally quiet but for a few local engagements. Narasaraja Wodeyar II died in 1714.

Dodda Krishnaraja Wodeyar II was installed in March 1714. In 1724, Mysore had to face the combined attack of the Nizam, the Nayaka of Ikkeri, the Nawabs of Arcot, Siracuddapah, Kurnool and Savanur and the Ghorpade of Gooty. The Mysore Raja merely bought off this confederacy. In 1725, Peshwa Baji Rao I invaded Mysore but met with stout opposition and was forced to retire. The Mysore forces invaded Magadi and Savandurga and collected much booty. The reign of Dodda Krishnaraja Wodeyar saw a further decline of royal authority and the increase of the power of ministers. The ministers became king-makers and perpetuated their authority by placing pagent Rajah on the throne. As the king left no issue, the dowager queen adopted a kinsman, Chamaraja Wodeyar. A conflict arose between the Prince and the Dalavai and in 1734, the former and his wife were imprisoned.

Upon the death of Chamaraja Wodeyar, Chikka Krishnaraja Wodeyar was installed on the throne. The Rajah was yet a boy and hence, all power was in the hands of the Dalavai and the Sarvadhikari. Devarajiah and Nanjarajiah, who held the above offices respectively, led the Mysore forces against Devanahalli successfully. In this campaign, came into prominence, a young soldier, Hyder Ali. Later Hyder Ali quelled a mutiny in the Mysore army and in 1757 repulsed the Marathas. Hyder returned after the Maratha campaign to report of his success. In the open durbar he was hailed as Fateh Hyder Bahadur. This marked the end of the Wodeyar rule and the rise of Hyder Ali.

HYDER ALI

The history of the family of Hyder Ali till the period of his father is obscure. It appears that they descended from the Quraish of Mecca and at the end of the sixteenth century arrived in India by sea. The first person of his family of whon we hear is Shaik Wali Muhammed who with his son Muhammed Ali came to Gulburga during the reign of Muhammad Adil Shah. Muhammed Ali was married to the daughter of one of the servants of the Dargah. Upon the death of his father Muhammed Ali went to Bijapur and lived with his father-in-law. Soon war broke out beween the Moghals and the Bijapur Sultan and upon the death of his brothers-in-law, Muhammed Ali proceeded to Kolar with whose chief he had some acquaintance.

Muhammed Ali had four sons and the last was Fath Muhammed. He took to the profession of arms and after having served the Nawab of Arcot and the Raja of Mysore, he joined Nawab Dargah Quli Khan of Sira. Fath Muhammed had two sons by his younger wife Shahbag and Hyder, the younger being born in 1721. Early he lost his father and the latter's creditors illtreated Hyder to recover their debts. Later he came under the protection of his father's nephew who brought up the boy. Hyder was thus deprived of the advantages of education and took to the profession of arms.

At the siege of Devanhalli, Hyder's talents as a solider were revealed. The Dalavai soon placed Hyder in command of 50 horses and 200 foot. When the Mysore forces were sent to assist Nasir Jung, the son of the Nizam-ul-Mulk, Hyder accompained. In the confusing struggle, Nasir Jung's treasure fell into French hands but Hyder was also able to seize a portion of it. On his return to Mysore, with the wealth thus obtained, Hyder augmented his troops and began to train them with the help of some French deserters.

The contest for the Nawabship of Carnatic continued and Muhammed Ali applied to Nanjaraja for assistance. From 1752, the Mysore forces which Hyder Ali had accompanied fought the French and Chanda Sahib. Though in the end the Trichinopoly campaign ended in disaster and humiliation to Nanjaraja and the Mysore forces, it was a blessing in disguise for Hyder. He watched the Europeon war tactics and gained a knowledge of the same. Returning he was placed in charge of the fort of Dindigal where again he increased his troops and organised an artillery force.

While Hyder was at Dindigal, the Dalvai and his brother behaved in the most disgusting manner with the king and tried to assume power. One of the adherents of Hyder at Srirangapatna sent information of the conditions at the Capital and asked Hyder to return. Meanwhile the Mahrattas under Balaji Rao had invaded Mysore and had returned upon the promise of a huge tribute. Hyder returned, drove out the Mahratta forces in Mysore territory and shortly after this quelled the Mutiny of the Mysore troops. The Raja and the Dalvai had proved their ineptitude and Hyder was in high favour. He was hailed in open Darbar as Fateh Hyder Bahadur. The Dalvai was forced to retire and Hyder became supreme. This was in 1761. Hyder now embarked on a career of conquests.

In 1760, Hyder had concluded a treaty with Count de Lally to jointly oust the English from Arcot. Though his machinations with the French were attended with success initially, they were blighted by the imminent jeopardy in which Hyder, in a moment, was placed. While Hyder was away the royal party in league with the Dewan assumed power and Hyder was forced to flee leaving behind his family. With his troops lost, no money to build a new army, Hyder was left to begin the world again. Obtaining a loan he collected a body of troops and attempted defeating the royal force but was crushed and forced to retire. Later Hyder negotiated and won over the retired Dalvai and defeated the palace party. Hyder's usurpation was completed, yet he entered on the Government of the country with a studied show of reluctance and mock submission to the Raja. Having organised his troops he conquered Sira, Chitradurga, Bidnur, Soonda and Savanur. With the conquest of Savanur, the frontiers of Mysore extended up to the Krishna, but there at Rattihalli, in 1765, the Mysore troops were beaten back by Peshwa Madhava Rao.

In 1768, Hyder proceeded to Malabar, where the chiefs were attempting to become independent with the aid of the English. Six months later he returned victorious having won all the places which he lost initially. While thus engaged the English began assisting Muhammed Ali. After some protracted engagements, Hyder Ali found it expedient to negotiate. The terms offered by the English and Muhammed Ali were not acceptable to Hyder and engagement was renewed. After another series of short wars in the South the Mysore troops entered the Carnatic, their immediate objective being to take Madras. Here at the gates of Madras on the 3rd April, 1769, the Treaty

of Madras was signed. There was to be perpetual peace and friendship and mutual assistance between the two. Another agreement was effected between Hyder and Muhammed Ali.

Returning from Madras, Hyder had to face a renewed Maratha incursion and in 1771, the latter besieged Srirangapatna. Meanwhile the old retired Dalvai and the Raja had died. These desultory campaigns were ended by peace in 1772 June. In October of the same year Hyder diverted his arms against Harappanahalli and Chitradurga and exacted tribute. 1773 found him conquering Coorg and again Malabar. In 1779, he concluded an agreement with Raghunatha Rao Peshwa. Hyder recognised Raghunatha Rao as the exclusive head of the Maratha State, agreed to pay six lakhs of rupees as subsidy and be ready to assist the Marathas. Raghunatha Rao agreed to cede the entire country north of Srirangapatna up to the banks of the Krishna. This area was however acquired by Hyder by the strength of his own army by about 1777.

An insurrection in Coorg in 1774-75 was quelled. In 1775, the Raja, Chamaraja Wodeyar VIII, died and Hyder saw to the succession of his protege Chamaraja Wodeyar IX. Next he successfully faced the combined armies of the Nizam and the supporters of Narayan Rao Peshwa who had been earlier killed by Raghunatha Rao. The result was that the kingdom of Mysore extended up to the Krishna-Tungabhadra doab. His armies pushed south-west and captured Cochin and the area up to Cranganore.

Ever since the treaty of Madras concluding the first Anglo-Mysore war Hyder had his eye on the South. From 1770 Hyder began negotiating with the English for help on the strength of the treaty of Madras against the Marathas and Muhammed Ali. These negotiations dragged on and at one stage Hyder turned his attention to the French for assistance. Alarmed, the English proffered assistance which was evaded by Hyder. By 1780, Hyder had made an agreement with Marathas to commence hostilities against the English and carry on war in the Carnatic. "Thus to gratify his inveterate resentment against Nawab Muhammed Ali, to revenge hostilities and infractions of treaties ...encouraged by hopes of military succour from the French...Hyder was drawn into an inevitable war.....in 1780."[1] It was essentially a struggle for mastery in South India, a struggle between the English who had extended their views from commerce to an Indian empire

1. Hayavadana Rao. C., History of Mysore, Vol. III, pp. 325-326.

and Hyder Ali whose avowed objective was the extermination of the English power in India.

In 1780, July, Hyder entered the Carnatic with 80,000 men like an avalanche. After a series of brilliant engagements at Arcot (August 1780), Porto Novo (July 1781), Pollilore (August 1781), Sholingpur (September 1781), Annagudi (February 1782), Arni (June 1782), with victories and defeats for both sides, negotiations for peace were attempted. The attempts were in vain and in the meanwhile Hyder Ali died in his camp at Narasingarayanpet, on the 7th of December 1782, at the age of sixty.

War brought Hyder to notice, he was engaged in war and died in war. The entire career of Hyder was one of wars and more wars and he could devote little time to administration. He merely maintained set-up as it existed, only, frequently changing the personnel and making the system more rigorous. Thus apart from organising and training the army, Hyder merely evolved a system of polity, the chief feature of which was unbridled autocracy. The country suffered due to war, yet Hyder seldom failed in collecting the necessary amount of revenue. He found that many officials had amassed great fortunes and these he tortured them to contribute. One Anche Shamaiyya, a Vaishnava Brahmin, was the expert in this subtle art of torture. Many were the innocent persons victimised by this sadist.

Hyder Ali has engaged the attention of the paneygerists one of whom has sung his praise thus "Futteh Hyder was manifested or born to conquer the world. There is no man equal to Ali and no Sword like his."[1]

A thorough illiterate, physically robust figure, Hyder was an accomplished horseman, a skilful sword-man and a deadshot. Strongly sensual yet he did not allow this instinct to interfere with business. French and English writers differ in their estimates of Hyder's character. Captain Innes Munro compared him with Frederik II of Prussia. All great acquisitions are made by force of arms. Hyder also used this art to raise a small state into a powerful empire and converted a timid peaceable people into a race of warriors. Mark Wilks is also all praise for Hyder. He was the most tolerant of Muslim princes, and like all kings who rose from obscurity to the throne, Hyder waded through crimes to his object.

1. History of Mysore; *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 525.

A strenuous political builder, Hyder was neither a benevolent administrator. A king-maker and an otherwise ruthless man, Hyder was tolerant towards all classes of people and their varied religious affiliations. Brave as a soldier he was purblind in diplomacy and politics. Perhaps the best estimates of Hyder Ali are the following : "Hyder was one of the ablest personalities in the history of India, who rose from obscurity to power during the distractions of the eighteenth century. A completely self-made man, he was endowed with strong determination, admirable courage, keen intellect and a retentive memory, which more than counterbalanced his lack of the ability to read and write. Cool, sagacious and intrepid in the field, he was remarkably tactful and vigorous in matters of administration and had all business of the state transacted before his eyes with regularity and quickness. Easily accessible to all, he had the wonderful capacity of giving attention to various subjects without being distracted by any one of these."[1] And in the words of L. B. Bowring, ".....he was a bold, an original, and an enterprising commander, skilful in tactics and fertile in resources, full of energy and never desponding in defeat. He was singularly faithful to his engagements, and straightforward in his policy towards the British. Notwithstanding the severity of his internal rule, and the terror which he inspired, his name is always mentioned in Mysore with respect if not with admiration. While the cruelties which he sometimes practised are forgotten, his prowess and success have an abiding place in the memory of the people."

TIPU SULTAN

Hyder's second wife, Fakhr-un-Nissa, while pregnant, paid a visit to the tomb of the saint Tipu Mastan Aulia at Arcot. When a son was born to her in 1750, November, he was named Tipu Sultan after the name of the saint.

Hyder, though illiterate, saw to the education of his son. Besides the boy was taught shooting, fencing and riding. In 1766, Tipu accompanied his father to Malabar and displayed his dash and courage in attacking the Paleygar of Balam. During the first Anglo-Mysore war (1767-1769), Tipu was ordered to proceed towards Madras. Later he aided his father in capturing the forts of Tirupattur and Vaniyambadi, fought side by side with his father

1. Quoted from An Advanced History of India, p. 685.

and was present while Hyder dictated the peace of Madras. During the Maratha-Mysore war (1769-1772) Tipu aided his father. During the second Anglo-Mysore war Tipu distinguished himself by defeating Colonel Braithwaite at Tanjore. In 1782, he was sent to Malabar to relieve the Mysore forces there. Here, while he was engaged against the British, Hyder Ali passed away.

News of Hyder's death was kept a secret to prevent any rebellion. Information was sent to Tipu. Tipu rode with great speed and joined the army near Narasingarayanpet. On 29th Decomber 1782, he sat on the throne of his father and assumed the title Nawab Tipu Sultan Bahadur.

The immediate problem facing Tipu was the prosecution of the war. Though the British wished to take advantage of Hyder's death, they could not in fact. All that they achieved was the occupation of Bidnur and a few other small forts. Even this acquisition was short-lived. Bidnur was retaken by Tipu and then he marched towards Mangalore. In August 1783 an armistice was signed. While he was thus engaged the British attempted invading Mysore from the South which however came to nothing. Negotiations for peace had been commenced as early as February 1782 and this finally culminated in the signature of the Treaty of Mangalore on March 11, I784. It was a treaty of friendship whereby Tipu was to evacute the Carnatic and there was to be a mutual restitution of prisoners.

After the Treaty of Mangalore, Tipu turned his attention towards the Province of Balam and Coorg. Both were subdued by 1785, though Coorg would rise up in arms again.

The activities of the Marathas in the Mysore territory have been noticed in the previous section. In 1780, Hyder Ali had formed an alliance with the Marathas against the English. So long as the Anglo-Maratha war continued, Nana Fadnavis made a show of friendship with Hyder. When the war was ended Nana Fadnavis changed his attitude and began demanding from Hyder to restore the territory south of the Krishna river according to the Treaty of Salbai. After the death of Hyder, he pressed these claims on Tipu who considered the attitude of Nana as a betrayal of the alliance made in 1780. Nana attempted allying with the English to defeat Tipu but, the prospects of any such alliance were shattered after the Treaty of Mangalore. Now, Nana allied himself with the Nizam

who was hostile towards Hyder and more so towards Tipu Sultan. Both Nana and the Nizam agreed to make a combined attack on Mysore and share the gains. Meanwhile, in 1785, Tipu's armies attacked and captured the fort of Nargund which was under Maratha control. Hyder had occupied this fort but had left the Desai to wield power on the condition of the payment of tribute. The Desai and his friends secretly were in league with Nana. This came to the notice of Tipu who sent his forces and after a tough siege occupied the fort. From Nargund the Mysore forces under Burhan-ud-din marched and captured Dodvad, Khanapur, Sada, Hoskote, Padshahpur Jamboti, all Maratha States. Shocked at these victories of Tipu, which meant the failure of his policy, Nana formed a coalition with certain other Maratha chieftains and the Nizam. The combined armies began their attack on Mysore in May 1786. They captured various forts and Tipu replied by taking many Maratha forts and in due course crossed the Tungabhadra. Nana, now anxious for peace began negotiations and peace was finally signed in 1787, April. Tipu gained certain Maratha territories in return for a tribute.

During the second Anglo-Mysore War, Tipu had negotiated with the French in India for help but was disappointed. Hence to directly settle an alliance with the French Government, Tipu in 1785, sent an Embassy to Paris to the court of Louis XVI. The Embassy was successful in so far as an agreement was reached whereby the French and Tipu would mutually assist each other against the English in India. Tipu was not happy with these agreements and in 1788, he rejected the French proposals for a commercial treaty. In 1784, Tipu sent an Embassy to the Caliph of the Ottoman Empire with the ostensible reason of securing confirmation of his title to the throne of Mysore though his actual idea was to promote trade and secure military help against the English. The only result of this embassy was that Tipu secured the Sultan's permission to assume the title of an independent King.

With the arrival of Cornwallis as Governor General, British policy underwent a slight change. The Company expressly instructed the Governor-General not to indulge in any war in India. But the Governor-General had other ideas. He intended to build an empire in India and to this end planned to defeat Tipu Sultan, one of the most powerful rulers of a well administered kingdom. He made overtures to the Nizam and the Marathas and by 1790, had concluded agreements with them forming a coalition against Tipu.

And unlike in the second Anglo-Mysore War, Tipu had to fight the third war, single-handed.

These were enough provocations for Tipu. The immediate cause of the war however was the attack by Tipu on Travancore which State was an ally of the Company. War commenced in 1790 and was carried on for two years in three campaigns. The first phase of the war did not produce any decisive result. So, Cornwallis himself took the field during the second campaign and in 1791 almost reached Srirangapatna. On this occasion Tipu also displayed brilliant generalship and Cornwallis had to retreat owing to rains. Fighting was resumed in the summer of 1791 and in November that year Tipu captured Coimbatore. But Cornwallis with the assistance of an army from Bombay soon occupied the hill forts that lay on the path towards Srirangapatna and by February 1792, began attacking the outworks of the fort of Srirangapatna. Finding further resistance useless Tipu began negotiations for peace which after some negotiations was signed in March 1792. By this treaty of Srirangapatna, Tipu surrendered a half of his kingdom, portions of which were given to the Nizam and the Marathas. The English acquired Malabar and sovereignty over the Raja of Coorg. Coorg was made independent. Tipu had to pay an indemnity of £ 3,000,000 and send two of his sons as hostages to the English Camp.

The causes for Tipu's defeat were mainly three : First, he had wasted valuable time negotiating with the French and had not provided properly for the defence of his kingdom. The British had developed superior science and organisation which Tipu's forces lacked. Lastly, he had to fight against great odds.

After this defeat Tipu intended to devote time to the internal administration of his kingdom and to this end was able to smoothen his relations with the Marathas. But with the Nizam and the East India Company, he failed. The first was intransigent and the second, bent upon destroying him.

Tipu had begun to repair the damages to his state due to the war. He added fortifications to Srirangapatna, remounted his cavalry and disciplined his infantry. Agriculture was encouraged and the country was soon restored to its former prosperity. France was engaged in a war with English and Tipu again attempted securing French alliance against the East India Company. Tipu

enlisted himself as a member of the Jacobin club and hoisted the flag of the French Republic at Srirangapatna.

In 1797, the Earl of Mornington came as the Governor-General. He came to India determined upon a policy of aggerssion and aggrandisement and found Tipu Sultan considerably powerful. In June 1798 the dealings which Citizen Tipu had with the French caused Wellesley to immediately take up a violent stance against him. In 1798, Wellesley concluded the Subsidiary Alliance with the Nizam and also engaged the Peshwa to enter into a war against Mysore.

An army of 21,000 men under the command of General Harris marched towards Mysore in February 1799. This war was of a very short duration and very decisive. May 4th 1799, Srirangapatna fell and Tipu died fighting. Mysore lay at the feet of the English and the subsequent arrangements regarding the State have been discussed in another section.

An autocrat, Tipu Sultan believed that his Government was a trust placed in his hands by God. His Government was highly centralised and both the Sharia as well as Hindu law were applicable in his State. The Central Government had seven departments : Revenue and Finance, Military Department, Zurma, Ordinance and Garrison, Commerce, Marine and the Treasury and the Mint. There were other minor departments also. The provincial and local administration was under civil and military Governors, in the provinces Amildars, Tarafdars and Sheristedars in the local areas. In revenue administration Tipu introduced more order on the basis of the prevalent system. Trade and commerce were encouraged.

Tipu established twelve mints at Mysore, Bidnur, Srirangapatna, Gooty, Bangalore, Chitradurga, Calicut, Sathyamangalam, Dindigal, Gurramkonda, Dharwar and Farokhabad. From these he issued gold, silver and copper coins. Tipu's coins do not bear his own name or the name of the Moghal emperor but they carry the initial letter of his father's name (H). The coins are dated both in the Hijri and Mauhidi eras. In gold, he struck the Muhar or Ahmadi equal to four pagodas; the half Muhar or Sidiqui equal to two pagodas, the quarter Muhar or Faruqi equal to three-and-a-half rupees and the Fanam equal to one-tenth of a pagoda. In silver the following coins were issued : Haidari or double rupee; Imami or rupee; Abidi or half rupee; Baqiri or quarter rupee; Jafari or one-eighth rupee, Kazimi or one-sixteenth rupee and the Khizri or one-

thirty-second rupee. In copper he issued the Osmani or double paise; the Zohra or paisa; the Bahram or half paisa, the Akhtar or quarter paisa and the Qutub or one-eighth paise.

Tipu's attitude towards non-Muslim subjects and their religious affiliations is controversial. There are those who consider Tipu to have been a religious bigot totally intolerant of Hindu religion. But in the words of Mohibul Hasan, ".....Tipu was not a bigot but an enlightened ruler who raised the Hindus to high positions in his Government, granted them complete freedom of worship, conferred grants on temples and Brahmins, gave money for the consecration of images and on one occasion even ordered the building of a temple. There is no doubt that he sometimes illtreated his non-Muslim subjects but this was not due to their religion, it was because they were guilty of disloyalty. He, like his father, Hyder Ali, kept religion and politics apart and rarely permitted his personal beliefs to influence his administrative policies. He treated his Muslim subjects with equal harshness when they were guilty of disloyalty or treason."[1] The character of Tipu has been much maligned for obvious reasons. Contemporary, as well as later writers, have painted him black. Tipu was a remarkable personality with a sound moral character, rarely seen in men in positions he occupied. Well educated, intensely devout, valiant and tactful, one of the best estimates of the personality of Tipu is perhaps the one quoted by J. R. Henderson : "He was a great man such as one Hind will never see again. He had great ambition, wonderful ability, perseverance, and the art of leading men's hearts more than they were aware of, or cared to acknowledge; he had patient application, and nothing was done without his sanction, even to the meanest affairs, and the business of his dominions was vast. You will allow he was brave and died like a solider. He was kind and considerate to his servants, and a steady friend to those he loved. Mashalla, he was great man."[2]

This survey of the career of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan will be incomplete if mention is not made of their architectural contributions. Hyder Ali could not patronize arts largely because his time was consumed in war. But Tipu found time and of his period we have the Darya-Daulat-Bagh palace, the Masjid-e-Ala at Srirangapatna and the Summer Palace at Bangalore. The Darya-Daulat-Bagh is noted for its grand proportions and lavish ornamentation. Its walls are covered with fine frescoes and, in this regard it does

1. Hasan, M. History of Tipu Sultan, p. 357.
2. Hayavadana Rao, C., History of Mysore, Vol III, p. 1046.

not have any parallel in India. The Summer Palace at Bangalore is noted for the scalloped arches connecting its columns.

The Masjid-e-Ala, though a reflection of the mosques in the Deccan, has some individuality. A large simple structure, it is very impressive. Enclosed within four walls and an internal pillared verandah, the mosque itself is raised on the back of a lofty terrace. In front, the terrace has a row of rooms and a passage leading to it. There are perforated screens, small turrets and a parapet of arches on the terrace. The mosque is of the closed variety, its roof being supported on foiled arches. There is an open verandah in front. From the two corners of the verandah, rise two majestic minars, in octogonal stages with galleried balconies and surmounted by a turnip-shaped dome.

Besides these, there is the Gumbad-e-Ala as the mausoleum of both Hyder and Tipu with the Masjid-e-Aqsa attached to it. These two are rather pallid reflections of Bijapur structures.

8

THE HISTORY OF COORG

The district of Coorg in the Western Ghats region is noted for its beautiful landscape and rich natural resources. The topography of Coorg situated in the north-western corner of Karnataka resembles a necklace and the Cauvery river is the chief water source of this area. Coorg has a history going back into the hoary past. But it is difficult to trace this history due to paucity of source material.

Passing over the mythological and legendary history of Coorg, we find that the Kadambas were the earliest historical family that was ruling over this area. There is reference to one Chandravarma as the first great king of Coorg. As Colonel Wilks put it, 'the origin of the history of Coorg lies in the biography of Chandra-varma.' Some have argued that Chandravarma was a Kadamba feudatory, ruling the region at the beginning of the 1st century A.D. When finally the Kadamba hegemony declined, the region was divided into a number of independent kingdoms.

Even while the Kadambas were powerful in north Coorg, south Coorg was under the control of the Gangas of Talakad. One of the copper plate inscriptions of this period states that Avinita, a Ganga King, was ruling in Kongunigrama. It is said that he married a beautiful girl of Ponnadu and acquired six thousand villages. He ruled between 430-482 A.D. and is known to have converted himself to Jainism. The Gangas were powerful from the 2nd Century A.D. till the 11th Century A.D. One of the famous kings of this family was Kongunivarma who brought about the political integration of Coorg.

When Ganga hegemony weakened by about the 10th Century A.D., eastern Coorg and parts of modern Hunsur were occupied by the Chengalvarasars, a feudatory family of the Gangas. Later

Rajendra Chola brought Coorg under his banner. Ganga power was overthrown and the Chengalvarasars as the feudatories of the Cholas remained strong in Coorg for a long time. Simultaneously parts of eastern Coorg were under Hoysala rule. Hoysala supremacy gradually increased and they are said to have defeated the Cholas in battle. Almost at the same time the Chalukyas became powerful at Kalyana. Vikramaditya sent one of his generals Mallideva and annexed Coorg to the Chalukya empire. With the accession of Hoysala Vishnuvardhana, Chalukya supremacy in Coorg was lost. The Hoysalas defeated the Chengalvars and Kongalvars and it is said Vishnuvardhana married Chandhaladevi, a Kongalva princess. When Mali Kafur entered South India, Hoysala supremacy was overthrown.

We do not have any information regarding who ruled Coorg in the 14th Century. It must have been under the control of various minor families who had accepted the supremacy of Vijayanagara. However between the 10th and 16th Centuries we hear of Chengalvars of Nanjarajapatna. As listed in inscriptions twelve kings ruled over vast areas of Coorg. They were : Nagaraja, Rangaraja, Periyannaraja, Nanjaraja, Nanjundaraya, Srikantaraja, Viraraja Wodeyar, Periyarajadeva, Rudragana, Nanjundadeva, Nanjarayadeva, Krishnarajadeva and Viraraja. The first three kings ruled with Srirangapatna as their capital and Nanjaraja founded the new capital Nanjarajapatna. Srikantaraja is credited with extending the Kingdom. His son Viraraja is credited with unifying the divided provinces. The kings of this family had become the feudatories of Vijayanagara. After Viraraja four kings ruled from Periyapatna. Almost during the same period, the Nayakas of Ikkeri, relatives of the Chengalvars had established themselves at Halery in Coorg. In 1664, the army of Kantirava Narasaraya Wodeyar entred Periyapatna and the rule of the Chengalvars came to a close.

Even while the Chengalvars were powerful various other parts of Coorg were ruled by different Nayaka families. The history of these Nayaka families in Coorg is preserved only through song and story and hence we pass over them. However there is reliable evidence that Viraraja, one of the princes of Ikkeri, related to the Chengalvar, entered Halery in north Coorg and established himself there. He inaugurated the Halery dynasty which remained powerful for a long time. The early history of this family can be gleaned from the Rajendra—a literary work by Virarajendra Wodeyar, one of the kings of this family. The third ruler of this family Muddu-

raja was very popular. He is supposed to have founded the city of Muddurayakeri, now known as Madakeri. He ruled Coorg for more than half-a-century between 1633-1687. His rule is noted for the peace and order that prevailed. Mudduraja was succeeded by his adopted son Uththa Nayaka, who proved himself to be very unpopular. Uththa Nayaka ruled over the province of Bappundre while Doddavirappa, another son of Mudduraja, controlled other parts of common patrimony. By about 1730 Doddavirappa suppressed all local recalcitrant elements including Uththa Nayaka. He was helped in this by his able minister Ponnappa.

Doddavirappa was succeeded by Chikkavirappa. Unfortunately he suffered from diseases and hence proved to be a weak ruler. After Chikkavirappa, two brothers of Mudduraja, Appajiraja and Muddhaiyyaraja, jointly ruled between 1766-70. These two were followed by Devapparaja on the Madakeri throne in 1770. Lingarajendra, a disgruntled aristocrat, who did not like Devapparaja, invited Hyder Ali to attack the Halery Kingdom. Hyder marched into Coorg in 1773 and by 1774 the Kingdom was under his control. Devapparaja having been killed.

With the death of Devapparaja, Lingarajendra Wodeyar became the king. Since he had sought Hyder's help, he could not rule as a free and independent king. He ruled between 1775-80. Since, at his death the legal heirs were very young Hyder Ali established his power over Coorg and appointed one Subbarasiah as the Amildar. The local population did not like Hyder's authority but they were effectively suppressed. Hyder effected a number of reforms in the revenue and military administration. While Hyder was busy tackling the British, the Coorgis threw Hyder's forces out of Coorg. Hyder was succeeded by his son Tipu and he had to immediately continue the war against the British commenced during the rule of his father. Thus in the initial years of his rule Tipu could not concentrate on Coorg. Tipu however entered Coorg in 1784 and threatened the local leaders with dire consequences if they did not accept his authority. Tipu tried effecting compromises but in vain. The people rovolted, war resulted, and eventually by 1788, Virarajendra, a descendant of the Chengalvar family, declared himself king of Coorg defying Tipu's authority.

Virarajendra found the country depopulated and the Coorgis leading a precarious existence hunted by the troops of Tipu and the new possessors of lands. Slowly Virarajendra emerged powerful

and by 1789 he forced Tipu to accept his position. Tipu's attempts of invading Coorg met with no success at all. Virarajendra organised the army on modern lines, and introduced the minimum wages principle for soldiers unheard of then. By 1791, except the fort of Madakeri, the entire Coorg was under his control. Before attempting to capture Madakeri Virarajendra sent representatives to Malabar to make certain military purchases. His rule also saw beginning of British political intercourse with Coorg. Virarajendra's enmity with Tipu gave impetus and a colour to this new relationship. By this intercourse, Coorg received the Company's political recognition. And the Company to effectively oppose Tipu made alliances with the Marathas and the Nizam and later with Coorg also. Captain Brown was sent to invite Virarajendra to the camp of Robert Taylor at Tellichery Fort. The result was a military alliance.

A short while after this alliance war broke out between the Company and Tipu and Cornwallis almost reached Mysore. Tipu was beaten and all his overtures to Virarajendra were in vain. The ruler of Coorg was firm in supporting the British for obvious reasons.

Virarajendra is supposed to have established Virajpet, a very important area of Coorg. After the death of Tipu, the Company authorities wrote to Virarajendra appreciating him. But Virarajendra viewed the British victory as dangerous to his position. This, together with the many political complications in his family, resulted in Virarajendra becoming insane and quietly passed away in June 1809. Thus ended the life of a great ruler who weathered the storm of Muslim domination and conquest, with many to look and none to help.

After the death of Virarajendra the prominent people of Madakeri crowned his daughter, Devammaji, as the queen. The death of Virarajendra ended a rule of violence and with the accession of Devammaji, Coorg witnessed a period of simple administration. And in this the queen was aided by the prevalent political stability. But there were certain groups led by highly placed officials who attempted raising the standard of revolt. Most of these groups were subdued. But Lingarajendra Wodeyar, the brother of the late king, himself was against the rule of Devammaji. He tried to cultivate the friendship of the British representative in Mysore hoping that the latter would help him in his plans. When the British

representative became cautious, Lingarajendra wrote to the Governor of Madras explaining his position. The Governor replied giving moral support to Lingarajendra. Later Lingarajendra had Devammaji write up a testament wherein she explicitly accepted the protection of her uncle. A copy of this letter was sent to the Madras Government and Lingarajendra declared himself king. The British Government though actually did not help Lingarajendra gave their tacit approval by keeping quiet.

Commencing his reign in 1811 Lingarajendra became a very popular king. He protected the interests of agriculturists and the merchant class. He reformed the pattern of revenue settlement and tried to free agricultural labourers from the clutches of the aristocratic class. He maintained a severe system of law and order in the country. The king's decisions were final and death punishments were very common. He was also a patron of arts. Altogether the people lived a happy life under the rule of Lingarajendra.

He was succeeded upon his death by his only son Chikkavirajendra. Besides him, Lingarajendra had two daughters, Muddammaji and Devammaji. Chikkavirarajendra possessed none of the good traits of his father. Putting briefly his administration became very autocratic and the King is known to have mercilessly killed many members of his family to forestall any opposition to his position. Meanwhile, Devammaji escaped to Mysore and requested the Resident for help. The then Resident Casamaijor upon the orders of the Governor of Madras visited Coorg and instructed Chikkavirarajendra to behave in a way becoming of a king. This was in 1833. The advice of the Resident was in vain and Lord William Bentinck also wrote to Chikkavirarajendra in this regard. Again it was in vain. In 1834, the British forces entered Coorg, Chikkavirarajendra escaped from the capital city with much booty and the Company's forces easily captured the entire province. The popular leaders also voluntarily surrendered their authority to the Company. It was decided to keep Coorg under the Resident of Mysore. Some time later Chikkavirarajendra surrendered and was taken away as a prisoner to Madras. Thus, Coorg though at first resisted British rule, later surrendered and became a province of the Empire.

The British rule was introduced in Coorg and successive superintendents administered the area. A short while after his arrest, Chikkavirarajendra requested the authorities of the Company permission to visit England. This was granted. Chikka-

virarajendra went to England with his daughter Gowramma, where she embraced Christianity and became Victoria Gowramma. Both father and daughter died in England. British rule, as in Mysore, conferred various benefits to Coorg. Education spread, and together with it Christianity also. We may pass over the details and suffice it to note that Coorg was amalgamated into Karnataka in 1956.

9

MYSORE SINCE 1799

With the defeat and death of Tipu Sultan, one period in the history of Mysore came to an end and the curtain was up for another. Citizen Tipu was no more and the French had none to support their cause in South India. Almost relieved of the French menace, placed as the arbiters of the kingdom of Mysore, the authorities of the East India Company proved their prudence by their actions. The Marquess Wellesley appointed a Commission of five Officers—General Harris, Colonel Arthur Wellesley, Henry Wellesley, Lieutenant Colonel Kirkpatric, and Lieutenant Colonel Barry Close—as Commissioners for the affairs of Mysore, for the purpose of arranging the settlement of Mysore. The Marquess Wellesley had, as early as 20th May, 1799, decided the principles on which the settlement of Mysore was to be based. They were : to conciliate the Mahrattas and the Nizam without allowing them to become too strong and to restore the ancient family of the Rajahs of Mysore, the strategic position of the Company being guaranteed. Wellesley decided on restoring the old royal family on the throne of Mysore for moral and, more so, practical reasons. In a long despatch to the Court of Directors dated 3rd August, 1799 the Marquess wrote : "Between the British Government and this family an intercourse of friendship and kindness had subsisted; in the most desperate crisis of their adverse fortune, they had formed no connection with your enemies. Their elevation would be the spontaneous act of your generosity, and from your support alone they could ever hope to be maintained upon the throne, either against the family of Tipu Sultan, or against any other claimant. They must naturally view with an eye of jealousy, all the friends of the usurping family and consequently be adverse to the French or any State connected with that family in the hereditary hatred of the British Government. The heir of the Rajahs of Mysore, if placed on the throne, must feel that his

continuance in that state depended on the stability of the new settlement in all its parts, his interests must, therefore, be to unite with cordiality and zeal in every effort necessary to its harmony, efficiency and vigour. The effect of such arrangement of the affairs of Mysore would not be limited to the mere distribution of hostile power which menaced our safety; in the place of that power, would be situated one, whose interests and resources might be absolutely identified with our own, and the kingdom of Mysore so long the source of calamity and alarm to the Carnatic, might become a new barrier of our defence and might supply fresh means of wealth and strength to the Company, their subjects and allies."[1] Wellesley concluded saying : "In addition to these motives of policy, moral considerations and sentiments of generosity and humanity favoured the restoration of the ancient family of Mysore. Their high birth, the antiquity of their legitimate title and their long and unmerited sufferings, rendered them peculiar objects of compassion and respect, nor could it be doubted their Government would be both more acceptable and more indulgent than that of the Mahomedan usurpers, to the mass of the inhabitants of the country composed entirely of Hindus."[2]

According to the above considerations, the Partition Treaty of Mysore of 22nd June 1799 was concluded under which the Nizam was given the districts of Gooty and Gurram Konda and a part of the district of Chitradurga except its fort; the English took Canara on the west, Wynad on the south-east, the districts of Darapuram and Coimbatore and the town and island of Srirangapatna; the Mahrattas were offered the districts of Soonda and Harappanahalli which they refused. According to Articles 4 and 5 of the Treaty, the "Maharaja Mysore Kishna Raja Oodiaver Bahadoor" was to be restored on the musnad of Mysore and given the rest of the kingdom. This settlement of Mysore as effected by Lord Wellesley, secured for the Company various substantial benefits, extended its territory from sea to sea across the base of the peninsula and later saw to the encircling of the Mysore kingom by Pax Britannica.

On the 30th June, 1799 His Highness Krishna Raja Wodeyar III was placed on the musnad of Mysore. Since the prince was young, Purnaiah, a Marathi speaking Madhwa Brahmin, was appointed as Dewan Regent, while Lieutenant Colonel (afterwards Sir Barry) Close was appointed Resident at the Mysore court immediately after

1. Rao, Hayavadana, C., Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. II, part IV, pp. 2712-
2. *Ibid*, 2713.

the signature of the subsidiary treaty of Srirangapatna. According to this treaty signed on 8th July, 1799 :

(a) The Company agreed to maintain a military force in the Mysore dominions in return for which the Rajah was to pay an annual subsidy of seven lakhs of star pagodas (Article 2).

(b) In case the government of the Rajah failed to pay the above-mentioned subsidy, the Governor-General-in-Council was at liberty to issue regulations for the better collection of revenues or the ordering of the administration or even the take-over of the administration of the territories of the Rajah (Article 4).

(c) The Rajah was not to have any correspondence with any foreign State without the knowledge and sanction of the Company (Article 6).

(d) The Rajah was not to admit any European foreigners into his service without the concurrence of the Company.

(e) The Rajah promised to pay the utmost attention to the advice offered by the Company Government with a view to the happiness of his people, the better administration of the country and the mutual welfare of both States (Article 14).

1. Dewan Purnaiah

Between 1799-1812, Purnaiah was Dewan-Regent. Guided by the counsel of successive British Residents the first of whom was Colonel Close and in early period by Arthur Wellesley, with a backround of administrative experience under Hyder Ali and Tipu, a flair and aptitude especially for finance Purnaiah, in twelve years, organised the machine of government in Mysore in such a manner that Sir John Malcolm said 'he could not call to mind, during the period of eight years that he governed Mysore, one instance in which his conduct had been censured by those authorities immediately above him'. Purnaiah reorganised the administration under the following heads :—

(1) Treasury and Finance: (2) Revenue; (3) Miscellaneous and; (4) Military establishment including the Kandachar or Police.

The Dewan presided over each of these departments. The state was divided into three Divisions : Patna, Astagram, Chitradurg and Nagar and further subdivided into districts, taluks and villages under Subahdars, Amildars etc.

Immediately after the war when Tipu's army was disbanded

a mass of men in arms and unemployed began roaming the country causing disturbances. These together with the many powerful Paleygars were one of the first problems tackled by the Dewan. From the ruins of the Sultan's army a small body of infantry and cavalry was collected and for the preservation of interior tranquillity a small police (Kandachar) force was organised. By 1804, excluding the Subsidiary force a total of 26,000 men made up the militia (this included police peons also). The system followed in recruiting this force is interesting. At least one member from each of the ancient traditionally military families was called for service. Their pay was partly in cash and partly in waste lands. The Kandachar force had police and postal duties to perform. The turbulent Paleygars were either pensioned off, or made to be constantly present and accompany the Dewan. These measures secured tranquillity in the country. The military force, organised by Purnaiah, took part in a number of wars and insurrections.

The details of these engagements do not concern us and suffice it to mention them :

Dhondia Wagh Insurrection	—	1799
The insurrection of the Raja of Balam	—	1800-1802
Wynaad insurrection	—	1802
Mahratta War	—	1803
Supersession of free-booters at Munkassir	—	1804
Rebellion of the Chittor Paleygars	—	1805
Mohammedan mutiny at Vellore	—	1806
Mutiny of European Officers	—	1809

The military administration of Purnaiah was successful to the extent that the Marquess Wellesley wrote in a Minute that he was "decidedly of opinion" the Government of Mysore had "fulfilled the obligations imposed upon it by the third article of the Subsidiary Treaty, in the most complete and satisfactory manner."[1]

In the administration of justice, regard was given to the ancient customs and doctrines of Hindu law. There was no separate judicial department, nor any definite procedure. The revenue officials, the Subahdar and the Amil assisted by the Police performed

1. Mysore Gazetteer, *op. cit.*, p. 2784.

judicial duties. They held court, decided cases and awarded punishments. A report of all litigation was sent to the Dewan who was the highest court of appeal. Fines in punishment were discouraged and all sentences of death had to be confirmed by the Dewan.

After 1805, a separate court was established at Mysore consisting of two Bhakshis as judges, two Sheristedars, and a panchayat of six persons assisted by a Khazi and a Pandit.

As soon as he took charge of the administration, Purnaiah wrote to the Company Government that it was practically impossible for the Government of Mysore to pay seven lakhs of star pagodas as subsidy due to the unsettled nature of the country (one star pagoda was worth three and a half rupees). The Governor-General accordingly instructed the Resident to collect seven lakh Kantirayi pagodas instead.

The state derived revenue from land (88%) which head comprised houses and ploughs; sayer, an undefined and indefinite head; and from such commodities as liquor, tobacco and sandal wood. One of the first acts of Purnaiah's government was the restoration of Hindu rates of assessment on land and the remission of all balances. A measurement of land appears to have been effected but, no information is available regarding the rates of assessment. All land was however under amani or government management. Sayer, as already mentioned, was not clearly defined and it included trifling taxes on salt, pepper, iron and steel forges, shops etc. The third source of revenue was liquor, betel, tobacco and sandal wood which was generally farmed.

Regarding expenditure we have it on the testimony of Mark Wilks that the following were the heads :

(a) Jagirs and inams in land and money.
(b) Expenses of repairing tanks.
(c) Salaries of revenue officials.
(d) Kandachar or police expenses.
(e) Miscellaneous expenses.

The following figures will indicate the financial position of the state :

Years :	1799—1800	1809—1810
Gross Revenue :	22,48,789 K. P	28,24,646 K. P
Total Expenditure :	20,10,231 K. P	28,37,737 K. P

At the time of his retirement, Purnaiah handed over to the Rajah a reserve fund of 73.8 lakhs K. P. This financial administration of Purnaiah came in for sharp criticism as well as high praise. It was asserted that Purnaiah's administration was one of the causes of the Nagar insurrection. Yet, he received the unqualified admiration of men like Barry Close, John Malcolm, Marquess Wellesley, General Arthur Wellesley, Earl Minto, George Barlow and others. And if all these men praised, their admiration cannot have been unfounded. In twelve years, he had ordered the Mysore administration, effected a few public works, had successfully carried out the obligations under the Subsidiary Treaty and had left a large reserve fund for the Rajah. By 1811 the Rajah expressed desire to assume the reins of office. Besides there were differences between the Dewan and the Rajah. Purnaiah, now an old man, labouring under the infirmities of age retired and died shortly afterwards in 1812. The then Governor-General, the Earl Minto, wrote in a letter upon the decease of the Dewan: "The Right Honourable the Governor-General-in-Council had received the intelligence of the decease of Purnaiya with the feelings naturally excited by a contemplation of the eminent service which he must be considered to have rendered to the British Government as well as to that of Mysore, by the wisdom, integrity and ability of his distinguished and brilliant administration, and by a recollection of the virtues of his character and signal merits of his conduct in the discharge of the duties of that high and responsible situation, merits of which the general lustre cannot be thought to have been obscured by the errors that unfortunately marked the latter period of his age, and his infirmity."[1]

2. From 1812 to 1831

After the retirement of Purnaiah, Krishnaraja Wodeyar III assumed the reins of government. He was assisted by a Dewan; the Residency continued. During the period 1812-1831 the administrative set-up as organised by Purnaiah was continued with almost no perceptible changes. In 1831 occurred the Nagar insurrection and the East India Company took over the administration of Mysore. Hence the history of this period may be studied as the causes that led to the insurrection of 1831 and a survey of the main events of that uprising.

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1. Mysore Gazetteer, *op. cit.*, p. 2825.

Purnaiah was succeeded by Rama Rao in the Dewanship till 1814. Between 1814-1818 the Maharaja administered personally without a Dewan. Between 1818-1831, Sidda Raj, Babu Rao, Linga Raj and Venkata Raj were Dewans. Most of these men were corrupt to a high degree and remarkably lacked the acumen possessed by Purnaiah. Under these men, fraud, corruption and maladministration became the order and finally led to the Nagar insurrection. The villain of this play was the son of a farmer from Shimoga, Sadar Malla also known as Budi Basavappa. A delinquent youth he had been caught for several robberies before he was twenty. Later he was under the service of a Lingayat priest, the spiritual guide of the last Paleygar of Nagar and who possessed the signet-rings of that Paleygar.

Budi Basavappa got possession of these rings and spread a story that he was a descendant of the Nagar Paleygars. Impersonating as the son of Dodda Basavappa, the son of the late Rani of Nagar, Budi Basavappa came to be recongnised as the lord of Nagar. After 1830, he was also installed as the Raja of Nagar. These events were supported by certain highly placed government officials in the service of the Maharaja.

When Vira Raja, the foujdar of Nagar, attempted collecting revenue dues from the province of Nagar, Budi Basavappa, spread the news of his assumption of sovereignty and promised to the ryots 'full remission of all balances and a reduction of the government demand if they would espouse his cause'. Slowly he began raising an army and with its help made attempts at capturing neighbouring forts. Slowly the numbers of his peasant followers swelled and they refused to pay taxes to the government authorities.

The Rajah himself went on a tour of the disturbed areas and meanwhile the State troops had a few engagements with the rebel forces in which the rebels had the upperhand. These reverses led to the entire Subsidiary force of the Company being employed and in May 1831 the main body of the insurgents had been suppressed. The entire rebel element was put down only by the Commissioner in 1832. This event, the Company authorities felt, was due to the maladministration of the Rajah. Hence the Governor-General Lord William Bentinck wrote to the Rajah giving notice of take-over of the Mysore administration. Later that year the Company appointed a Commission of four—Major General Hawker, Colonel W. Morison, J. M. Macleod and Lieutenant Colonel (afterwards Sir

Mark) Cubbon to investigate into the "origin, progress and suppression of the recent disturbances in Mysore."

The Commission submitted its Report in 1833. The report in tracing the causes of the insurrection aver to the administration of Purnaiah, the subsequent administration of Krishna Raja Wodeyar III and trace at length the events of that revolt and its suppression. Opinion differs whether the Report should be taken seriously or not. This is largly due to the fact that the report brings out the character of Krishna Raja Wodeyar and portrays it black. However, the maladministration and loose character of the Rajah has been proved beyond doubt.

In the words of M. H. Gopal, "The assumption of the administration of Mysore by the British Government in 1831 was..... based entirely on grounds which were directly or indirectly financial in character."[1] The financial causes were : that the subsidy due to the British Government had not been paid monthly according to the Treaty; the collection of revenue had failed and public lands had been alienated and granted to favourites; the administration was riddled with corrupt officials; the Rajah had dissipated the treasure handed over to him by Purnaiah; the troops of the State were unpaid and an immense debt had been incurred by the State. We shall now consider these charges.

According to the Subsidiary Treaty, the Rajah was to pay an annual subsidy in twelve equal monthly instalments. The accounts of the Residency show that this clause had not been strictly adhered to in the sense that, between December 1830 and September 1831, the subsidy was paid monthly but the payments made were not exactly 1/12th of the annual subsidy amount.

Next we shall consider the fall in revenues. After Purnaiah the revenues fell due to two main causes: (a) Corrupt and incapable administrators and (b) Natural causes. As early as in 1814 of the 127 amildars in the State only 68 were men with previous revenue experience. These officials were frequently transferred so that they never had any permanent interest in the land in their taluks. Further the officials are said to have suppressed the names of persons paying rent, embezzled grain, appropriated government trees for their own use, let out lands at reduced rent in return for bribes, accounted valuable land as waste land and entered into accounts as

1. Gopal, M. H., The Finances of the Mysore State, p. 162.

'dead' or 'deserted' people who were actually alive and were paying rent.

Then, there was the Shirtimuch-chilka system of land revenue which had supplanted the amani system or the system of farming lands. Though in intention it was good, it was attended with evils. The revenue officials oppressed the ryots and did not allow their complaints to reach the Rajah. Again offices were sold to the Rajah's favourites for a price. Two names of the Rajah's favourites deserve mention—Veene Venkata Subbaiah, the favourite Vina player of the Rajah, and Ramaswamy Mudaly, a butler at the Residency (Mudaliar). Captain Woulfe deposed before the Insurrection Committee that the ryots of Nagar complained to him that the Rajah had borrowed money and had created his creditors foujdars or amildars.

The Report avers to Purnaiah's revenue policy and on the evidence of Dewan Rama Rao says that he oppressed the peasants by squeezing rent and it was thus that a surplus was accumulated. Purnaiah's revenue policy was, to some extent, bad but it was aggravated by the Rajah's personal administration. The figures below[1] will indicate the extent of the fall in revenues.

Years	Gross revenue K.P.	Approximate reduction % with 1811-1812 as base year
1811-1812	28,27,677	...
1814-1815	21,28,539	26%
1818-1819	28,28,425	1.5%
1820-1821	26,80,645	6.6%
1824-1825	19,57,806	31%
1825-1826	18,52,272	35%
1826-1827	17,94,016	37%

Among natural causes, were failure of rains aggravated by epidemics such as cholera among men as well as cattle particularly towards the end of the Rajah's rule. Another natural cause was the fall in prices of betel-nut, pepper and cardamom, the principal products of Nagar. This fall in prices was occasioned by the export of those products into the Carnatic from Coorg. In para 185, the Insurrection Committee says that the fall in prices in Mysore and its neighbourhood was occasioned : 'Partly by an extension of cultivation in some quarters, in consequence of the general peace maintained

1. Figures after Gopal. M.H., *op, cit.*

by the ascendancy of the British power, partly by a decrease of effective demand, from the want of occupation to the same extent as formerly, for classes of people not agricultural and partly by a diminished supply of them, accompanied by an increase in the transactions in which they are made use of'. The fall in prices lessened the value of the government share of the crops and also decreased the cultivator's ability to pay leading to severity or even oppression in collection of revenues.

Making grants in land and money to various charitable institutions etc., was a practice with most rulers of India. The Mysore administration also followed this practice. After Purnaiah, these alienations increased as follows[1] :

Year	Total grants KP in Money and Land	Percentage of Gross collection
1811-1812	2,39,815	8.3
1812-1813	2,67,316	10
1813-1814	2,65,683	9
1823-1824	3,29,793	13.5
1824-1825	3,38,295	13.5
1825-1826	3,08,816	11.5
1826-1827	2,99,271	12
1827-1828	3,89,391	13
1828-1829	3,87,601	14.3

In 1810-1811 the alientations formed 4 per cent of the revenue and while in 1826-1827 while the gross revenue fell by 37 per cent the alienations had increased to 12 per cent. The huge surplus which Purnaiah handed over to the Rajah upon his retirement was exhausted and the establishments were not regularly paid. Besides, the Rajah was a debtor. When the administration was assumed by the Company in 1831, the debts and arrears incurred by Mysore amounted to 24 lakhs of pagodas.

In 1825 Sir Thomas Munro made certain recommendations to the Rajah:

(1) To reduce expenditure.

(2) To gradually collect balances in revenue and maintain a reserve fund.

(3) To pay the establishments regularly.

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1. Figures after Gopal, M.H., *op. cit.*

(4) To furnish proper statements of revenue and expenditure.

The Rajah did make some attempt at reform but, it was of no avail. However, the British Government also was partly responsible for such a state of affairs. Apart from writing a few letters of admonition they never took any effective step to check the evils in Mysore administration till it was too late. As early as in 1814, the Resident reported to the Madras Government : 'If suffered by too much forbearance on the part of the real conductors (i.e., the Company) of this Government this prince will take the path pursued by almost every other native power in India'. Again in 1824 and 1825 the Resident reported almost in the same tone. But the British Government took an over-cautious attitude and instructed their representative not to meddle in the internal administration of Mysore.

The Rajah, Krishna Raja Wodeyar III, suffered from excess generosity, incapacity for sustained effort, unwillingness to delegate power and an highly unstable nature.

Thus there were evils in the administration, the Rajah was undoubtedly a weak person, the Resident was cautioning his superiors, the British Government took a negligent attitude and the final crash which was perhaps not so much inevitable took place. As already noted the Mysore administration was taken over in 1831. Was the assumption justified ? Opinion differs. Writers like V.V. Mandalik and Major Evans Bell have argued that it was wrong; others and more recently M.H. Gopal reach a more correct conclusion in pointing to the causes that led to the takeover and show that both the Rajah and the Company were responsible equally. Under the circumstances what happened was the best. This was proved by the Commissioners rule between 1831-1881.

3. Commissioners Rule' (1831–1881)

The establishment of the Commissioners' rule in Mysore in 1831, marks the beginning of a distinct phase in the history of modern Mysore. Within fifty years the then existing Hindu system of administration was transformed into one based on British ideals. Old institutions worth respect, were preserved and reforms and order were introduced where none existed. The whole process was systematic to the extent that by 1881 Mysore emerged as an orderly, peaceful and well managed State within the British framework.

The Mysore Commission became effective from the 19th of October 1831. Tae Governor-General vested the government of Mysore

in the hands of two Commissioners, one senior and one junior. The Commissioners were under the Government of Madras till 1832, June, and from then on they were made directly subordinate to the Government of India. Further, from 1834, there was only one Commissioner, the office of the Junior Commissioner having been abolished; the office of the Dewan was also abolished in the same year. We give below a list of these Commissioners with their dates in office :—

Senior	Junior
Colonel J. Briggs, October 1831.	C. M. Lushington, October 1831.
Colonel W. Morrison, February 1833.	G. D. Drury, February 1832.
	J. M. Macleod, June 1832.
	Colonel Mark Cubbon, February 1832.

CHIEF COMMISSIONERS

Mark Cubbon, 1870.
Lewing Bentham Bowring, 1875.
Sir Richard Meade, 1875.
R. A. Dalyell, 1876.
C. B. Saunders, 1878.
James Gordon, till 1881.

The Commission began by introducing reforms whose main aim it was to make themselves the focus of all orders, the Dewan being reduced to the position of a mere departmental head. The Company expressly desired that the Governmental agency under the Commissioner should be exclusively native, that native institutions should be maintained and also desired that native usages should be adhered to and did not favour the foisting of a system which would become difficult to be worked after they left. Thus the task which lay before the Commission was, not to inaugurate a new system of administration but to reform the old.

At the time of the establishment of Commission the State was divided into six Foujdaries or administrative divisions; Mysore, Ashtagram, Bangalore, Chitradurg, Nagar, Madhugiri and Manjarabad, the last two having been formed by Krishnaraja Wodeyar. These were reconstituted into four divisions : Bangalore, Nagar, Chitradurg and Ashtagram. Each of these divisions came under an

European Superintendent with revenue and judicial powers. Under them was a Sadar Munsiff for each of the former Foujdaries. In 1834, European Assistants were added to the staff of the Division Superintendents. The Chief Commissioner had four assistants under him. The earlier four departments of administration came to be reconstituted and each function of government was organised under a separate department.

The judicial department was re-organised under the Governor-General's draft of rules of 27th October 1834 as follows :

The Amils' Courts :	Original jurisdiction in all suits not in excess of Rs. 100 and Rs. 500 when assisted by a panchayat.
The Town Munsiffs' Courts :	Original jurisdiction in suits relating to real and personal property up to Rs. 500 and Rs. 1,000 in the two classes of cause respectively.
The Sadar Munsiffs' Courts :	Original jurisdiction in suits relating to personal property not exceeding Rs. 1,000. The Sadar Munsiffs had appellate jurisdiction in cases from the Amils' courts.
Courts of European Superintendents :	Original jurisdiction in suits involving real property above Rs. 1000 and in personal property above Rs. 5000. They also had appellate jurisdiction in all cases from the lower courts.
The Huzur Adalat :	With three Indian judges, this court had generally only appellate jurisdiction except in cases specially referred to it as originally the Commissioner.
The Court of the Chief Commissioner :	This was the highest court of appeal.

In 1856, the Chief Commissioner was relieved of his judicial duties and a separate Judicial Commissioner was appointed. Under the Revised Constitution of Mysore Administration of 1862-63, the Huzur Adalat and the Munsiffs' courts were abolished. In 1874-75, there was further reorganisation largely in the nature of changing the names of the courts and some minor alterations in regard to their jurisdiction. Till 1854, there was no separation of civil and criminal

justice and procedure was, as detailed in the Memorandum on the System of Judicature. In 1872, the new Criminal Procedure Code Act X was introduced. From 1856, the following officers, dealt with criminal cause :

Judicial Commissioner.
Superintendents of Division.
Deputy Superintendents of Divisions.
European and Indian Assistant Superintendents.
Amildars.

One of the important departures in the penal code of this period was the use of fines. In criminal justice all cases of death sentences had to be submitted to the Government of India for confirmation. Both the criminal and the civil courts had a panchayat acting as a jury. A list of a large number of respectable and intelligent persons from the area under their jurisdiction was maintained in each court. From this a set of five persons in rotation was constituted to act as jury in all cases. There were detailed rules regarding the working of the panchayat.

The old police force—the Kandachar—survived till 1872 when, it was broken up; new police rules were introduced and a civil police force was created. However, in 1834 itself, under the Police Hukumnamah of that year, the Kandachar peons had their duties restricted to policing activities only. Under the Police Act V of 1861 and rules thereunder, the police force had to be trained regularly, trained officers had to pass an examination, they were relieved of their magisterial powers, their pay was to be in the form of rent-free land assignments, they came to have uniforms and were armed. The offices of the Inspector-General of Police, his deputy and the Deputy Commissioner of Police were created after 1856.

The land revenue and financial administration of this period may be studied under two heads :—

(1) 1831-1862. The period of the reforms introduced by Mark Cubbon, then the Commissioner, after making a thorough enquiry into the taxation and revenue system that existed, was able to report in 1855 that some 769 items of vexatious taxes had been swept away.

(2) 1862-1881. This period was characterised by the initiation of revenue survey and Inam settlements. In the first period, the Raiyatwari system was followed and no heroic remedies were

attempted. The entire system liberalised in its details and there was a general vigilance maintained in the working of the department. With the advent of Lerving Bentham Bowring as Commissioner in 1862, a period of strenuous reforms set in. In 1863 the Revenue Survey and Settlement Department was organised and the Inam Commission was organised in 1868. State was divided into eight districts and further sub-divided into taluks graded into five classes according to their extent and revenue. We have already noted that the revenue system under Purnaiah was very simple and there was neither uniformity in assessment nor any measurement of land. Even in the neighbourhood of Bangalore in 1862 there were more than 500 different rates of assessment on dry land alone. Bowring decided to introduce the Bombay system of settlement and survey the principal features of which were :—

(a) Measurement and demarcation of fields

(b) Soil classification

(c) Fixing the rates of assessment.

On these principles the survey commenced in 1863 and it was completed only in 1899 after the British Commission had left. We have already noted that one of the reasons for the Company taking over the Mysore administration in 1831 was the large scale alienations of land by Krishnaraja Wadeyar III. After the British Commission was organised, the need for an enquiry into the Inams was felt and the Inam Commission was organised in 1866. The Inams were settled on the following principles :—

(a) Sanads granted by Krishnaraja Wadeyar III or his predecessors with rights of heredity and alienations were treated as alienable.

(b) Sanads as above without powers of alienation were enfranchised upon payment of a quit-rent equal to one-eighth of assessment of the tenure.

(c) Sanads granted by incompetent persons less than 50 years old were forced to pay a quit-rent of one-half of assessment of the tenure.

Apart from land, coffee, alcohol and forest products, rent on monopolies, stamp paper, fines, forfeitures and postage were other sources of revenue to the state. The Mysore state had incurred a huge amount of debt during the administration of Krishnaraja Wadeyar III. Mark Cubbon as Commissioner cleared this debt by

1857. Side by side with the toning up of the administration, trade and commerce was also promoted.

Until 1856 June, there was no Public Works Department in Mysore. That year, in response to the Court of Directors' despatch, Sir Mark Cubbon formed it. In 1873 the department was separated into two branches : one for roads and buildings and the other for irrigation. Between 1856-1881 more than a crore of rupees was spent on public works in the State.

The activity of the Government in the field of education prior to 1854 may be gathered from Sir Mark cubbon's statement: "on the whole, it must be admitted that the administration of Mysore marks no particular show under the head of education."[1] Systematic activity in the field of education began with the Halifax despatch of 1854. The Directors of the Company in that despatch said : "It is one of our most sacred duties, to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of knowledge, and which in India may, under Providence, derive from her connection with England".[2] The despatch went on to make full provision for Universities and degrees, professorships and inspectorates, women's education, technical education and mass education. English was to be the medium of instruction yet, the vernaculars were also to be used gradually. One the basis of the Halifax despatch, the then Judicial Commissioner, Mr. Deverenx, drew up a scheme for a Directorate of Public Instruction consisting of a Director, two Inspectors, four Deputy Inspectors and twenty sub-Deputy Inspectors. Provision was also made about the members of schools and funds for them. The progress was slow till 1868, when the Hobli School Scheme of B. L. Rice was sanctioned by the Gevernment. Under this scheme schools were started in every hobli and each taluk came to have a vernacular school. By 1872 there were eleven District Schools and five High Schools in the State. In 1858 the Government established a High School at Bangalore affiliated to the Madras University and in 1861, a Normal School was established. Some of the old Missionary Schools were also taken over by the Government. Taking all the institutions in existence in 1872, the percentage at school was 1 in 99 of population. The history of

1. Mysore Gezetteer, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 496.
2. *Ibid.* pp. 494.95.

education in the State between 1872-1881 is one of steady progress. The position at Rendition was as follows :—

University grade—4 Schools —132 Scholars.
Secondary grade—166 " —30,848 "
Primary grade —10 " —1,145 "

Adoption Vs Annexation : Krishnaraja Wadeyar III had for years been bent upon getting his kingdom restored to him. Lord William Bentinck himself regretted that the takeover of the Mysore administration was based on technical grounds. Successive Governors-General also expressed that the State should be restored to the Rajah. However when Lord Dalhousie became the Governor-General the policy was changed. Lord Dalhousie was an expressed annexationist and he gave a clear formulation to the Doctrine of Lapse. In a minute he wrote on the subject he said that "as His Highness was sixty years of age at the time and had no male heirs and had never declared his intention to adopt one, the kingdom would lapse to the original donor."[1] After the uprising of 1857, the administration of India passed from the Company to the Crown and the Queen's Proclamation was issued. The Rajah encouraged by these circumstances wrote several letters to Her Majesty the Queen asking for justice. In 1866 the Rajah desired to adopt a son as heir and successor to the Sovereignty of Mysore. The Supreme Government, while recognising the right of the Rajah to adopt a successor as far as private property was concerned, informed that he had no right to adopt a successor to the State. This decision was upheld by the Home Government despite the Queen's Proclamation which made known to the princes of India that Her Majesty's government had no desire to extend its territorial possessions and that it would respect the rights, dignity and honour of native princes as its own. The Rajah however adopted a child in 1865 June. He intimated this to the Commissioner, the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India. The Mysore question assumed double aspect—the restoration of the administration and recognition of the adoption.

Vishwanath Narayan Mandalik, a well known contemporary scholar, took up the cause of the Rajah and in a pamphlet he criticised the Doctrine of Lapse. Mandalik reasoned that the Rajah was a Sovereign under a specific treaty; if he broke that treaty he could be punished in accordance with that treaty. It would be

1. Mysore Gazetteer, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, part IV, p. 2929.

wrong, he said, for the British Government to annex the State to merely satisfy its land hunger. The British Press also took up the cause of the Rajah. Papers like the Examiner, Allen's Indian Mail, The Morning Standard and the Daily News scathingly criticised the policy of the British Government in general and more particularly in regard to Mysore. The Examiner in its issue of April 1, 1865 briefly set out the Mysore Question and concluded saying "For very shame, let us hear no more of Mysore annexation." This debate in the Press influenced and shaped parliamentary opinion in England. On 22nd February, 1867, a momentous debate in Commons took place and resulted in a complete triumph to British justice and fairplay. The Derby Cabinet took steps to the Resolution of the House of Commons. On 16th April 1867, Sir Stafford Northcote, then the Secretary of State for India, sent out to a despatch on the Mysore Question. Her Majesty desired that His Highness's adopted son be placed upon the throne of Mysore upon terms corresponding with those made in 1799, so far as the altered condition of the time would allow. Although this despatch did not entirely satisfy the Rajah, he acknowledged gratefully, the decision of the British Government. Arrangements were made for the education and training of the young prince. Krishnaraja Wadeyar III did not long survive the Northcote despatch. He died in March 1868. The Governor-General in Council proclaimed Chamarajendra Wadeyar X'as Sovereign and he was installed in September 1868. When the prince attained the age of eighteen years, the Rendition of Mysore took place. Under an Instrument of Transfer, Chamarajendra Wadeyar X became the Rajah of Mysore.

The attitude of the British Government towards Mysore can be gleaned from Lord Lytton's despatch of 1879 May. The act of placing the Maharaja of Mysore at the head of a constitutional government was a novel experiment. The British Government had taken over the administration of Native States due to the mal-administration of the latter and they intended to train the Native States in the art of good government. They were, further, anxious to preserve the sense of political security, resultant from their administration.

The British rule in Mysore has been the point of much criticism. C. Rangacharlu, the first Dewan of Mysore after Rendition, made a thorough study of the Commissioners' Rule in Mysore. He criticized the administration in a pamphlet and concluded with the following significant observations :—

"Real progress came to an end with the introduction of peace and order and the first element of a regular government. All ideas of further improvement took the form of a continued introduction of new departments, one after another, after the fashion of those organised in the more advanced British territories, but with much less life, without any grasp of their real principles, and without any comprehensive attempt to adapt them to the circumstances of the province. The departments, under such circumstances, have had a shorter career of usefulness than elsewhere. The life and activity attendant on the first conception and organisation of a new system were wanting to what was simply an irritation, and the usual excitement of a change died out at an early date; and though kept in check for a while by the vigilant control of the more than ordinarily able administrator who introduced these changes, the department soon assumed unmanageable proportions with the invariable result in every instance Native by European agency and with the usual consequence of the claims, interests and aspirations of the government officials throwing into the background the interests and welfare of the public. And if any instances of more than ordinarily gross failures cropped up, they only supplied arguments for a further augmentation of the European agency. The revenues of the Province, notwithstanding that they have doubled themselves and notwithstanding a considerable reduction of the household or Palace charges of the Maharaja, are almost fully absorbed by these expensive establishments. As for the preparation of the government for native rule, it was an idea never seriously thought of for a considerable time; and, though of more recent years, the question had to be recognised and solved, the reduction of the overgrown machinery, which is a necessary preliminary, has become such a bewildering problem as to lead to the consideration of the subject being indefinitely put off. When the province was first assumed by the British Government the late Maharaja, with his usual prescience, saw that the real obstacle to the restoration of the Province to him would be presented by the English agency introduced in the province, and he is stated to have asked the Government whether the officers employed in the Commission whose employment would be lost by the restoration of the country, were to be the judges of the proper time for such restoration. This was in 1836, when the European agency was small, and what would have been his feelings and confusion if he had lived to see the enormous proportions and complications which that agency has now assumed, and from which

extrication seems all but hopeless. Reflecting minds cannot fail to see that it is not in empty forms and expensive establishments, or even in the material works which they might accomplish that the real foundation for a native rule lies; but that it rather consists in the instruction and training of the natives, and in giving them, in fact, the potentiality of evolving the elements of a good government for themselves."[1]

4. Rendition of Mysore and the rule of the Dewans

On the 25th March 1881, the Maharaja Chamarajendra Wadeyar X was invested with full ruling powers over territories of Mysore. The Rendition of Mysore had been carried out. In the words of C. Hayavadana Rao : "The practical result of the Rendition was that Mysore returned after half-a-century of British rule to Hindu rule, its position as an Indian state being assured with a good administration ready-made. There were, however, conditions included in the Instrument of Transfer which later proved too heavy for a progressive State and were modified in the light of the knowledge gained by its actual working." The conditions of the Instrument of Transfer were :

(1) The Maharaja and his successors were at all times to remain faithful and subordinate to Her Majesty.

(2) In return for the defence of the territories of Mysore, which the British Government undertook, the Maharaja was to pay an annual sum of rupees thirty lakhs in two half-yearly instalments.

(3) The Maharaja was not to build a new or repair old fortresses and strongholds without the sanction of the Governor-General in Council.

(4) The Maharaja was to abstain from interference in the affairs of other states and was to have no correspondence with other states without the sanction of the Governor-General in Council. Foreigners were not to be employed in State service without the sanction of the Government of India.

(5) Land free of charge was to be given to the British Government for the purpose of construction and working of railways and telegraphs.

(6) The Maharaja was not to modify or repeal any laws in force in his territory on the date of the Instrument without the sanction of the Governor-General in Council.

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1. Chandrashekara, N. S., Dewan Rangacharlu, pp. 74-76.

(7) The Maharaja was to conform to the advice of the Governor-General in Council in regard to the administration of the State.

C. Rangacharlu—1881-1883 : On the day of his investiture, the Maharajah appointed C. Rangacharlu as Dewan for the conduct of the executive administration of the State. Chettipaniam Veeravalli Rangacharlu was born in 1831. He entered the Madras Government's service in 1850 after a singularly brilliant academic career. By sheer intellectual brilliance and administrative acumen he rose to high positions and was later deputed to the Mysore administration successively as Conroller of the Palace, Assistant Guardian to the Maharajah and Revenue Secretary. The Maharajah also constituted a council consisting of the Dewan as the ex-officio President and of two or more members to be specially appointed from time to time. It was the duty of this Council to submit for the Maharajah's consideration, their opinion on all questions relating to legislation, taxation and other administrative matters. In this Concil, the Dewan was the ex-officio President, T. R. A. Tumboochetty was ex-officio member and P. Krishna Rao and A. R. S. Mudaliar were the other members. Their term of office was fixed at three years or during the pleasure of the Maharajah.

Five months after the date of the investiture, the Maharaja aided by his new Dewan proclaimed the formation of the Mysore Representative Assembly on the 25th August 1881. The object of this Assembly was to gauge popular opinion on administration and its functions were to hear from the Dewan a report on the previous year's administration, the outlines of what was intended to be carried out in the coming year, to make observations and suggestions and to watch and criticize the working of the Government. The first meeting of the Assembly was held on the 7th October 1881 and was attended by 144 members nominated by District offices. Generally the Assembly was to be composed of well informed merchants and landholders from all over the State.

The first measures of the new administration were directed to reductions of expenditure. A great famine had ravaged the state in 1874. The administration was burdened with a debt of Rs. 80 lakhs and on this amount it had to pay an interest of 5 per cent. The revenue of the State which was Rs. 109 lakhs in 1874-75 now stood at Rs. 101 lakhs. No new taxes could be levied. The Dewan persuaded the Gvernment of India to reduce the interest on the loan from 5 per cent to 4 per cent and to have the loan paid in 41 yearly instalments. Two districts, Chitradurga and Hassan, and

nine taluks were abolished. Four Munsiff courts and three sub-courts were abolished. The number of jails in the State was reduced from nine to three. A reduction was effected in the army. Owing to these measures a total saving of Rs. 2 lakhs per year was effected. The income from the Forest Department was meagre due to lack of organisation. The sandalwood grown in the state forests was almost entirely used up by the Palace. This was stopped and by reorganising the Department the revenue was increased.

Addressing the Dasara session of the Representative Assembly in 1881, the Dewan said: "His Highness's Government regards the opening out of the province by means of railways as a necessary preliminary to the development of its resources". A good system of communications was essential for the development of trade and commerce to raise the general prosperity of the people and to speed relief operations in times of distress. Utilizing the money saved, Rangacharlu had the rail link between Banglore and Mysore completed. A public loan of Rs. 20 lakhs at 5 per cent was floated and work was started on the construction of the railway link between Bangalore and Tiptur. The Dewan also put forward plans for more rail links. In the same speech, he also referred to the economic uplift, and measures necessary for the industrial development of Mysore. In fact it was a plan for the all-round development of Mysore and though he did not live to see all his plans achieved, he had started rebuilding the fortunes of the State and set it on the road to an enlightened and progressive administration.

Rangacharlu was interested in providing opportunities for young men to prosecute higher studies. He instituted scholarships for this purpose and among those who benefited was M. Visveswaraya (later Sir). Rangacharlu was a man of unblemished character, and the most important feature of his administration was its moral tone. He was a hard task master and was impatient of persons who were impatient or slow-witted. He was the first to establish a separate colony for Eurasians and Anglo-Indians in the country—Whitefield near Bangalore. The results of the energetic measures of the first Dewan can be seen from the following figures of income and expenditure for 1875-76 (the year of the famine) and the years of Rangacharlu's Dewanship.

	1874-75	1880-81	1881-82
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Income	1,09,50,000/-	1,01,00,000/-	1,08,50,991/-
Expenditure	1,09,50,760/-	1,00,95,281/-	1,19,33,157/-

Towards the end of 1882, the Dewan's health broke down and he died early in 1883.

Sir Kumarapuram Seshadri Iyer 1883-1901

It was the wish of the late Dewan that he should be succeeded by K. Seshadri Iyer, an Officer in the Mysore Service. Some three weeks after the death of C. Rangacharlu, K. Seshadri Iyer (later Sir) aged 38 was appointed as Dewan. A graduate of the Madras University, Seshadri Iyer entered Mysore Service as Judicial Sheristedar in 1868. Later he became Deputy Commissioner and also held the post of a District Magistrate before being placed on special duty in the Dewan's Office under Rangacharlu. His being chosen did not evoke any enthusiasm but, the sagacity of Rangacharlu's suggestion in regard to a successor was proved by Seshadri Iyer during his regime.

In spite of the economy measures of C. Rangacharlu, Seshadri Iyer found the finances of the State in a disorganised condition. The State was facing an annual deficit of 7 to 8 lakhs of rupees. Under the Instrument of Transfer the subsidy due had been enhanced by Rs. 10.5 lakhs annually. This enhancement had been remitted till 1886. Seshadri Iyer submitted a representation to the Government of India that the remission of the enhanced subsidy be extended. The Government of India waived the enhancement till 1896. The Dewan continued the policy of providing against famines. Railways and Irrigation Works were recognised as the most potent agents to this end. Railway construction was pushed on and by 1895, a total of 315 miles of railways had been constructed. Bangalore had been linked with Mysore, Hindupar and Gubbi. Mysore and Nanjagud had been linked as also Birur and Shimoga. Surveys for other lines were made. All this railway construction was not from State funds, but was aided by the Southern Mahratta Railway Company. Next to railways, irrigation engaged the attention of the Dewan. A number of small projects were undertaken and by 1895, a total area of 355 square miles were brought under irrigation thus increasing the revenue to the State. Loans were granted for digging wells and this benefited some 7,000 acres of land. With a view to improving administrative efficiency, a number of changes were introduced. According to Regulation I of 1884, a Chief Court with three judges, the Chief Judge being a European, was formed. Hindu or Mohammedan law was to form the rule of decision according to the religious affiliation of the parties. The Mysore Revenue Code was passed in 1889 there-

after limiting the prevalent uncertainties in revenue administration. The income of the State increased, the famine debt was extinguished, commencement was made towards payment of the railways' loan and by 1895 the State had in its favour Rs. 176 lakhs. This was not due to any new taxation but the effect of natural growth under the stimulus due to railways' expansion and irrigation works. The department of Agriculture and Statistics was formed in 1886 and an Agricultural exhibition was held in 1888. In 1889, the Anche or ancient Postal Service of Mysore was transferred and amalgamated with the Imperial Postal Service. A scheme of State Life Assuration, the Mysore Civil Service examination was adopted in 1891. A number of important regulations were passed in this period. Of the most noteworthy are : 1. Mysore Chief Court Regulation. 2. The Mysore Land Revenue Code. 3. The Mysore Factories Regulation. 4. The Mysore Railways Regulation. 5. The Mysore Infant Marriages Prevention Regulation.

Besides agriculture, industries also were developed. A fillip was given to coffee planting and in 1886, gold mining was started in Mysore. The Kolar gold fields fetched a royalty of nearly Rs. 7 lakhs. Bangalore becamc a centre of textile trade. The Mysore Spinning and Manufacturing Mills were started at Bangalore and in 1817, the Bangalore Woollen, Cotton and Silk Mills was started at the same place. The mileage of roads was increased thus giving an impetus to trade. In 1894 a scheme of Agricultural Banks was introduced.

In 1894, the Maharaja, Chamarajendra Wadeyar X, died. B. K. Rice writes of him thus from personal knowledge : "Dignified and unassuming his bearing was that of the English gentleman. An accomplished horseman and very fond of sport, a liberal patron of the turf, and hospitable as a host while at the same time careful in observance of Hindu Customs, he was popular with both Europeans and natives... the court of the Queen in England was not purer in tone than that of Mysore under the late Maharaja". The eldest son of the Rajah, Krishnaraja Wadeyar IV, was installed early in 1895. Since he was just ten years old the Rani Kempananjammanni Vanivillas Sannidana was appointed the Maharaja's Council. The powers and functions of the council were clearly defined. The Dewan-in-Council was to distribute the work of the State by departments between himself and the three councillors. The councillors discharged all ordinary work of their departments, all important matters being brought to

the notice of the Dewan. The Dewan could also refer any matter over and above the council to the Maharani Regent.

The Representative Assembly also witnessed a period of marked development. In 1885, the Maharaja took a step forward in widening the privileges of the members by investing the local boards with powers to nominate representatives. In 1887, a property qualification for representation was introduced and the names of members were published in the Official Gazette. Recognised Public Associations were also allowed to depute representatives. Prior to 1887, the Assembly had no rules of procedure. These were brought into effect in that year. In 1890, the representation was further widened and new qualifications were introduced. In 1893, a further reform was introduced by which the annual election was replaced by a triennial election.

Special impetus was given to the cause of education. In this regard the Dewan and the Maharaja vied with each other. By 1894, the number of schools increased to 1,797. Of these eight primary Vernacular schools, fifty English middle schools, four Industrial schools, two normal schools, thirty Sanskrit schools, one First Grade College and three Oriental Colleges were established during the reign of Chamarajendra Wodeyar X. Till 1886, education did not receive much support from the Government. That year the Dewan announced in the Assembly the educational policy of the State. He said that it would be the policy of the Government to bring secondary education within the reach of all classes, promote the study of the local vernacular and the Sanskrit languages, to improve and extend female education and to encourage professional, technical and higher education. One of the most notable features in the educational policy was the development of female education. In 1887, to commemorate the golden jubilee of Queen Victoria a girls' school was established at Tumkur. The Maharani's Girls' High Schools at Mysore underwent a revision in its system of studies and management. The Balika Pathasala was started at Bangalore. In 1892, an Industrial School was opened at Mysore with arrangements to impart instruction in carpentry, masonry, pottery, and drawing. The Maharajah's College affiliated to the Madras University was raised to the first grade. Scholarships were instituted for the benefit of Mysore students to pursue higher technical education. The Maharaja, a patron of Kannada and Sanskrit studies, founded the Mysore Oriental Library in 1887. In 1890, a separate Archaeological Survey Department was established under the charge of B. L. Rice.

Two very important measures introduced by Seshadri Iyer during the period of the Regency were the construction of the Marikanave reservoir and the Kaveri Electric Power Scheme. The construction of the Marikanave reservoir in the arid district of Chitradurga at a cost of Rs. 39 lakhs brought vast tracts of land under the plough. But the most noteworthy achievement of the period was the harnessing of the Kaveri river falling at Sivanasamudram and the installation of the hydroelectric power station. Electricity was supplied to Kolar Gold Fields and in 1905, Bangalore became the first city to be electrified in India.

Sri K. Seshadri Iyer retired from Dewanship in 1901 and soon after died. The eighteen years of his Dewanship, the longest in the modern Mysore, was a very memorable one. We can get a picture of the scale of his achievements from the figures of revenue and expenditure for a few years of his Dewanship:—

Year	Revenue in Rupees	Expenditure in Rupees
1883-84	1,09,47,008/-	1,29,98,267/-
1885-86	1,18,73,774/-	1,75,87,851/-
1887-88	1,32,54,526/-	1,56,86,868/-
1889-90	1,44,73,857/-	1,16,12,347/-
1891-92 15 Months.	1,60,43,703/-	1,05,53,096/-
1893-94	1,73,60,094/-	1,10,24,639/-
1895-96	1,82,86,356/-	1,62,82,081/-
1897-98	1,92,91,522/-	1,85,97,851/-
1899-1900	1,90,03,742/-	2,21,16,615/-
1901-02	1,91,95,773/-	2,14,61,022/-

In bidding farewell to Sir Seshadri Iyer, the Maharani recorded 'her high appreciation of the invaluable services rendered by this distinguished statesman'. In the words of Lord Curzon, he wielded for eighteen years "an authority that was a reflex of his powerful character and abilities, and that left its mark on every branch of administration."[1] In recognisation of his services the supreme Government created him C.S.I. in 1887 and K.C.S.I. in 1893. Lord Hardinge unveiling a statue of Sir Seshadri Iyer at Bangalore remarked, "his work is writ large on every page of Mysore History of that time". He was one of those great statesmen of India whose work has spread far beyond the borders of his labours.

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1. Mysor Gazetteer, Vol. II, Part IV, p. 3008.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 3010.

1902 to 1912

Sir P. N. Krishnamurthy, a descendant of Dewan Purnaiah, one of the earliest graduates of the Central College, Bangalore, was appointed as Dewan in 1902. The Regency was terminated and Krishnaraja Wodeyar IV was invested with ruling powers. One of the important measures of this period was the extension of local self-governing institutions. Sir Krishnamurthy retired in 1906 and V. P. Madhava Rao was appointed Dewan. He had been in Mysore Service and had steadily risen to become Inspector-General of Police and later Councillor. A very notable step taken in this period was the establishment of the Mysore Legislative Council in 1907 with not less than ten and not more than fifteen additional members, not less than two-fifths of that number being non-officials, to be nominated by the Government.

V. P. Madhava Rao retired early in 1909 and was succeeded by T. Ananda Rao, son of the great statesman Sir T. Madhava Rao. Ananda Rao had entered Mysore Service in 1873. During his regime the Kannambadi project took shape in 1911. The most notable step, however, was the inauguration of the Mysore Economic Conference which marked the beginning of planned efforts in the State.

Sir Mokshagundam Visveswaraya : 1912-1918 : T. Ananda Rao retired in 1912 and was succeeded by M. Visveswaraya (later Sir. M). Born and educated in the State, Visveswaraya entered the Bombay Government service in 1884. He retired in 1909 when he was 48 years old. The Viceroy Lord Hardinge visited Mysore late in 1913. He announced the decision of the British Government to replace the Instrument of Transfer of 1881, by a formal treaty bilaterally concluded. Accordingly the Mysore Treaty of 1913 was concluded whereby Article 22 of the Instrument of Transfer was modified limiting the scope of British interference. Article 23 of the Instrument of Transfer relating to the resumption of the State by the British Government in certain contingencies was omitted.

Although the period of Visveswaraya's Dewanship was one of excitement due to the war Mysore witnessed a period of all-round development. The Dewan was a financier and a very bold one in as much as he believed in incurring vast expenditure for the material advancement of the country. Railway construction which had been suspended for some time was resumed. A number of new lines were constructed and a tramway was also undertaken for construction

between Tarikere and Narasimharajapura. A Railway Committee was constituted in 1915, to advise the Government on matters of railway policy, finance, construction and establishment.

This was a period of great industrial development. The first stage of the Kannambadi dam had been completed. The area irrigated by the Kaveri river by the first stage of the dam was 1,15,000 acres. In 1916, the Government of India gave permission for the second stage and when completed it would irrigate an additional 1,25,000 acres. The Mysore Economic Conference inaugurated in 1911 had achieved many beneficial results and in 1913, the conference was strengthened by the election to it of eight members from the Representative Assembly. From 1916, it was decided to hold district and taluk-level conferences to stimulate public interest in economic development, To encourage industries and commerce, the Mysore Bank was established in 1916.

The following industries were started in this period : 1. The Sandal Oil Factory, Mysore, 2. Soap Factory, 3. Metal Factory, 4. The Chrome Tanning Factory, 5. The Central Industrial Workshop at Bangalore and 6. Iron &Wood Distillation works at Bhadravathi. The Mysore Chamber of Commerce was inaugurated in 1916. The object of the Chamber was to voice the grievances of industrialists, to study commercial questions and focus and consolidate commercial opinion on current topics.

In respect of education, the Dewan introduced legislation for compulsory education by stages. Female education was expanded, scholarships for students of backward classes were instituted and engineering, commercial and agricultural schools were established. Industrial and technical schools were established at district headquarters and the Chamarajendra Technical Institute was established at Mysore. Special scholarships for advanced technical studies in foreign countries were instituted. The Mysore University with the Maharaja as its Chancellor was founded in 1916. The Maharaja also made a donation of Rs.2 lakhs to the Benaras Hindu University. Visveswaraya was also responsible for the establishment of the Kannada Sahitya Parishad, the Century Club, Bangalore, the Cosmopolitan Club at Mysore and Public Libraries at Mysore and Bangalore.

A liberal statesman and a believer in democracy, Visveswaraya was keen on expanding the functions of local self-governing institutions. According to the Mysore Local Boards and Village Panchayats Regulation VI of 1918, elected majorities were provided in Taluk

and District Boards, Minor Town and City Municipalities with elected Vice-Presidents and Village Panchayats with elected presidents were to be set up. In 1915, the Legislative Council was given the privilege of asking supplementary questions. The membership of the council was also increased from 18 to 24 and included four representatives from the Assembly and four by territorial representation from the districts. The Representative Assembly was allowed to have a second session from 1917 called the Budget session. The executive council of the Maharaja was also expanded.

When war broke out in 1914, the Maharaja made generous contribution to the relief fund and Mysore troops fought with distinction in Egypt, Mesopotamia and Palestine. After the war the Dewan took various measures to arrest the spiralling prices and also remedied the shortage of food.

Visveswaraya retired from Dewanship at the end of 1918. In recognition of his services he was created K.C.I.E. in 1915. The Mysore Gazette extraordinary issued on the occasion of his retirement referred to his services in these terms: "During all this period Visveswaraya laboured with single-minded devotion to increase the material resources of the state. His administration as Dewan has resulted in important and far-reaching development in education, irrigation works, railway communications and industries and has laid the foundations for a prosperous and progressive future for the state".

1918 to 1926

Sardar M. Kantharaj Urs was appointed Dewan in 1919. The most important measure during his tenure of office was the passing of orders to give adequate representation to backward communities in public services. Kantharaj Urs retired in 1922 and was succeeded by Sir Albion Banerji. During his regime the Seal Committee to consider constitutional advance in the State was appointed. The Seal Committee submitted its report in March 1923. On the basis of this report the Maharaja issued a proclamation whereby the Representative Assembly was placed on a statutory basis. Its powers were increased, its strength was raised and franchise was widened. Special interests and communities were given separate representation. The strength of the Legislative Council was also raised and special interests and communities were given separate representation. The reformed Assembly and Council were inaugurated on the 17th of March 1924. Sir Albion Banerji retired in 1926.

Sir Mirza M. Ismail : 1926-1941

Mirza M. Ismail (later Sir Mirza), the private secretary of the Maharaja, became the Dewan in May 1926. His Dewanship also witnessed the industrial development of Mysore. A number of industries were started and of these mention may be made of 1. The Steel Plant, 2. Paper Mills, 3. The Cement Factory, all at Bhadravathi, 4. Porcelain Factory, 5. Glass Factory, 6. The Hindustan Aircraft at Bengalore, 7. Sugar Factory at Mandya, 8. The Cemical & Fertilizer Factory at Belagola and 9. The Match Factory at Shimoga. A number of new railways were constructed. The extension of irrigation received vigorous attention in this period. The Irwin Canal was excavated and it brought nearly 1,20,000 acres under the plough in the taluks of Mandya, Malavalli and T. Narasipur.

The Dewan was keen on developing village handicrafts and he helped establish a Khadi production centre at Badanval. This was the first ever of its kind to be managed by the Government. The Dewan took various steps to improve the state's trade and commerce. Marketing surveys were undertaken, the virtues of Mysore products came to be advertised in all leading English and Indian newspapers and a Mysore emporium was organised at Bombay to improve the sales of Mysore products. Further, study of the trade activity in Mysore led to appointment of a Trade Commissioner in London for Mysore. Agricultural education which received much his of attention made marked progress and to remedy the defects in the land revenue system in Mysore, the Mysore Land Record of Rights Regulation was enacted in 1927.

In 1929, the Viceroy Lord Irwin visited the state and announced a reduction of Rs. 10 lakhs in the subsidy. The same year the Maharaja celebrated the silver jubilee of his accession. This was an occasion for a number of memorials all over the state in the shape of hospitals, public halls etc. The Dewan was a great lover of parks and gardens. Even as secretary to the Maharaja Sir Mirza had done a great deal to make Mysore a garden city. As Dewan he made Bangalore a city of parks, promenades and well-lit squares. He succeeded in properly diverting the charities of philanthrophists in building schools and hospitals. He was also responsible for laying illuminated Brindavan Gardens at Mysore.

In the field of education the Elementary Education Regulation was passed. Its main object was to invest local bodies with the management and financing of elementary education while control was retained by the State Government. As an experimental measure

Kannada was introduced as a medium of instruction in High Schools. The Mysore University Senate came to represent more popular interests.

Local Self-Government was further improved by the increase in the elected element in Municipal Councils and the introduction of adult suffrage in minor Municipalities. The Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council also underwent changes. Two important measures passed in this period were the Workmen's Compensation Regulation and the regulation amending Hindu Law as to the rights of women.

The Maharani Kempananjammanni died in 1934 and the Maharaja Krishnaraja Wodeyar IV passed away in 1940. He was succeeded by Jayachamaraja Wodeyar. Sir Mirza continued as Dewan till 1941 and was succeeded by N. Madhava Rao. With the retirement of Sir Mirza, the era of the great Dewans in Mysore came to a close. A great all authoritarian yet, Sir Mirza was a democrat and a benevolent personality. Presiding over the destiny of Mysore at a crucial period in the history of the country, Sir Mirza's work can be described as Nish Kama Karma.

5. Freedom Struggle in Karnataka—To 1857

Definitions of 'freedom' need not detract us. Suffice it to note that the desire for freedom is deeply rooted in human nature. The history of the freedom struggle in Karnataka is part of that movement in India. The movement has an unbroken continuity and can be traced back to 1760. In its early phases, at least till 1857, the emphasis was on outbursts of hostility against the British who were gradually encroaching on the autonomy of local principalities with a view to establishing an Indian Empire. The first expression of this anti-British feeling was made by Hyder Ali. His relations with the European powers in India have been traced elsewhere. The death of Hyder Ali in 1782, removed one of the most formidable enemies that the British had faced in India. The anti-British Policy of Hyder Ali was carried forward by his son and successor, Tipu Sultan. By his activities, which have been noticed elsewhere Tipu Sultan proved to be a nightmare to the British. The defeat and death of Citizen Tipu opened another chapter in the history of Karnataka. Between 1799 and 1857 a number of attempts, mostly sporadic, were witnessed in Karnataka, the motive behind these futile attempts was to beat the British.

One of the first to resist the British after the death of Tipu Sultan was Dhondia Wagh. Dhondia Wagh was a horseman in Hyder's army. After Hyder's death he joined Tipu Sultan but upon refusing to convert himself to Islam he was imprisoned. In 1799, he was released and he returned to his native province Bidnur. Here he collected a vast body of discharged soldiers and other disaffected elements and began to carve out a principality for himself. Alarmed at his activities, the Company Government ordered Colonel James Dalrymple to subdue Dhondia. Dhondia began moving all over the north Karnataka area avoiding pitched battles. He began to instigate other petty rulers to attack the British. Beginning in 1799 August, the Company's forces assisted by certain Maratha Commanders, led by Wellesley pursued Dhondia into the Nizam's territory. Here, on the 10th September 1800, Wellesley was finally able to defeat this despicable enemy. Dhondia Wagh was a very formidable foe for the British. Physically powerful, known for remarkable military ability and resourcefulness, Dhondia Wagh would have become a second Hyder Ali, if his progress had not received a timely check.

In the territorial arrangements made after the fourth Mysore war, Koppal (in the district of Raichur) was assigned to the Nizam. One of the Zamindars of Koppal, Veerappa, unable to tolerate the irksomc control of the Nizam, who was safe under the cover of the Subsidiary Alliance, rose in revolt in 1819. In May that year Brigadier General Pritzler subdued Veerappa. After Koppal, Bidar rose in arms in 1820. Here again the cause was the irksome Subsidiary Alliance. The Deshmukh rebellion in Udgir in the Bidar District was led by Shivalingappa, Tirumal Rao and Meghsham. The next year they were put down.

By far the most important uprising against the British which Karnataka witnessed before 1857 was the insurrection of Kittur. As the editors of the History of Freedom Movement in Karnataka say : "It was as early as 1824 that Kittur, though a tiny spot on the map of India, set an example to the rest of India to emulate by resisting fearlessly the aggression of the East India Company and thereby commencing early the history of India's Freedom Movement".[1]

Shivalingarudra Sarja, the eldest son of the Desai of Kittur, succeeded his father in 1816. Shivalingarudra Sarja actively aided

1. History of the Freedom Movement in Karnataka, p. 99.

the British in their political entanglements with the Peshwas. In return for this active assistance the Desai was given a sannad in 1818 according to which, an annual tribute of Rs. 1,70,000 was to be levied on the Desai and in return, the Samasthan was to be continued to his children and their children from generation to generation. Shivalingarudra Sarja died without issue in 1824. He had tried to adopt a son named Shivalingappa but that adoption was set aside by the Political Agent at Dharwar in league with the British Commissioner for Deccan. These two authorities misled the Governor and precipitated a crisis in Kittur. Rani Channamma, the widow of the late Desai, Malla Sarja, the father of Shivalingarudra Sarja, tried to avert the crisis, but in vain. The Political Agent and the British Commissioner for Deccan, both corrupt officials, had an eye on the treasure in Kittur and in 1824 in a violent clash of arms, the English were defeated. British troops now arrived from Mysore, Sholapur, Bombay and Madras. In December 1824, the Kittur forces lost after a heroic struggle. Rani Channamma was imprisoned and Kittur came under the control of the British. In 1829, Channamma died in the fort of Bailhongal.

The Kittur struggle did not end in 1824. In 1829 Kittur fought for a second time. The man behind this rising was Sangolli Rayanna, a common citizen of Kittur. Rayanna had participated in the 1824 struggle and had been imprisoned. Set free subsequently, he collected a band of fighters and started guerilla war against the British with a view to installing the adopted boy Shivalingappa as the ruler of Kittur. Rayanna moved from place to place, burning Government Offices, pouncing on garrisons from behind, way-laying Government troops, and plundering treasuries. The British forces could not defeat Rayanna in battle and finally he was treacherously caught in April 1830. Rayanna was tried, found guilty and sentenced to death. The adopted boy, the legal heir to the Kittur Samastham, was also taken prisoner.

The year 1841 witnessed a flare-up in Badami. As a result of the subsidiary system the political condition of Hyderabad became deplorable. Taking advantage of the situation, Narasing Dattatreya Petkar, a Brahmin, who was said to be blind by one eye collected an army of a thousand men and captured the fort of Badami. Narasingrao hoisted the flag of the Rajah of Satara and started ruling. But the Company's forces from Dharwar and Belgaum were immediately sent to Badami and the fort was taken back by the British.

1857 in Karnataka

The uprising of 1857, whatever the causes and motives, was an event of significance in the history of India. The event has been interpreted as a national war and the first war of India's independence. Others have questioned such an interpretation. However, the significance of the event lies in its impact. For the first time, the people of India had showed to the Britisher, their resentment of his rule. The foreigner was henceforth cautious in making policy for India.

In Karnataka also the echoes of the 1857 uprising were heard. One of the first to protest against British rule in Karnataka were the Bedas of Halagaly. This community of North Karnataka was known for their courage, valour and loyalty. Another distinguishing feature of their character was their respect for their rights and privileges. Every Beda believed that it was his duty to possess arms, and this had derived a religious character as a result of long usage. The weapons were worshipped at certain festivals; he thought that any interference in his right to possess arms was an act of sacrilege towards his religion. In 1857 September, the Government passed the Arms Act by which everyone who wished to possess arms had to obtain a licence. The Beda community at Halagaly refused to comply with this order. All attempts by certain native officials to make the Bedas comply with the order failed. Finally, in November 1857, Lieutenant Seton Kerr was forced to set fire to the town of Halagaly and the Bedas were suppressed, their leaders were tried and hanged.

Surapur, now a small town in the Gulbarga District, was the scene of opposition to British rule in 1857-58. The British in league with the Nizam and the Mahrattas had reduced the state of Surapur to a miserable condition by their exactions. In 1841, Raja Krishnappa Naik of Surapur died and in 1853, his son Venkatappa Naik came of age and assumed the charge of administration. An educated youth Venkatappa Naik was aware of the prevalent discontent against the British administration. He slowly came in contact with Nana Saheb and other local zamindars who had their own grievances. Venkatappa's agents even attempted to incite the sepoys in the British armies to revolt. The British, aware of these activities, attempted to capture Surapur and Venkatappa Naik. They were able to reduce Surapur in February 1858, but Venkatappa escaped. While trying to regain his fortress,

Venkatappa was caught. He was tried and first sentenced to death, later the sentence was reduced to four years' imprisonment. While he was being taken to the place of his confinement Venkatappa shot himself dead. In 1861, Surapur was handed over to the Nizam.

Bhaskar Rao better known as Baba Saheb was the Zamindar of Nargund. He did not have any issue and the Government refused to accept the child adopted by him as legal heir. The reason given by the Government for the refusal to recognise the adoption was that the finances of Nargund were in a bad condition. The finances had indeed deteriorated but Bhaskar Rao was not actually responsible for that situation. Bhaskar Rao slowly began to rally the support of many neighbouring chiefs in an attempt to raise an insurrection. In obedience to the Arms Act Bhaskar Rao sent a part of the arms and ammunition at Nargund towards Dharwar. But on the way Bhaskar Rao's agents attacked the transporting party and carried away the arms. The British were suspicious of Baba Saheb but, they did not have any evidence to prove his actions. As in many other cases, here, too, traitors betrayed Baba Saheb. The seditious correspondence in his possession was revealed to the British and to render him completely ineffective the traitors mixed cowdung in the ammunition in the Nargund fort. In May 1858, the British took the fort of Nargund. A little later Bhaskar Rao who had escaped was caught, tried and sentenced to death.

Bheema Rao of Mundargi was a tahsildar under the British Government. Though not forced by any personal cause, Bheema Rao was in league with the anti-British elements and notably Nana Saheb Peshwa. His anti-British leanings were actually due to his education. Having left British Service, Bheema Rao collected a small force and began plotting. When the British sealed the fortified enclosure of the Desai of Hammige, Bheem Rao broke open the seal and plundered the arms and ammunition. Later he attacked and plundered the treasury at Dambal. Having plundered the Post and Telegraph Office at Gadag he reached Koppal. A strong British force was marched to Koppal and the fort was taken in May 1858. Bheema Rao fell fighting. With the death of Bheema Rao of Mundargi, the activities of the years 1857-58 in Karnataka came to a close.

National Movement : The First Phase 1858-1885

After the sporadic outbursts of the years 1857-58, Karnataka was quiet for a few years. There was calm in the sense that no

violent activity was witnessed. But beneath the surface a silent revolution was working. The anti-British mind was being transformed into the nationalist plank and the idea of freedom from foreign rule was coming into being. This transformation began in the nature of a reaction and the reaction brought forth a set of social reform movements : Ram Mohan Roy and the Brhamo Samaj, Dayananda Saraswathi and the Arya Samaj, the Theosophical Society, the Prarthana Samaj and the Rama Krishna Mission. All these movements originally started in the north and slowly spread to the south and to Karnataka. The Brahmo Samaj came to have votaries in southern Karnataka and the Prarthana Samaj was to be seen in the North Karnataka. At about the turn of the century, Bangalore came to have a branch of the Brahmo Samaj the moving spirit of which was Veeresalingam Pantulu. The Ram Mohan Roy middle school, the Vanitha Samaj at Bangalore and the Anathalaya at Mysore were due to the inspiration of the Brahmo Samaj. Swami Vivekananda visited Mysore in 1892. Two years later in a letter to the Maharaja of Mysore the Swami called on him to do his best to bring enlightenment to his countrymen who were steeped in ignorance. Ramakrishna Mission was established and the schools were started in many places. The Theosophical Society also came to have branches in various parts of Karnataka.

Revivalist activity was taken up on an extensive scale among the Lingayats and Vokkaligas in Karnataka. The other communities also followed suit. While these social and religious reform movements aimed at correcting the abuses in the Indian Society another parallel movement in education and literature brought back to the people of India their glorious heritage. William Jones, Max Muller, James Prinsep and a host of others showed to India her heritage. In Karnataka this movement of the revival of the past glories had many votaries. Mark Wilks, John Fleet, Kittel, Zeigler and B. L. Rice wrote a number of works on the history of Karnataka and other aspects of its culture. John Fleet wrote the Dynasties of Kanarese Districts; Mark Wilks authored A History of Mysore; Kittel and Zeigler compiled Kannada dictionaries. Among others mention may be made of the names of Reeve, Moegling and Weigel. These works brought back to the people of Karnataka their glorious heritage. The people attained self-confidence and a belief that they too had been great. Besides this revivalist literature, Western education also played its part in creating a national consciousness in the people. All these factors above discussed, namely, the socio-religious reform movements,

rise of revivalist literature and Western education witnessed their culmination in the founding of the Indian National Congress. In December 1885, the Indian National Congress was organised under the guidance of Allan Octavian Hume for the purpose of channelising public opinion in India.

National Movement : The Second Phase 1885-1922

The first period in the history of Congress between 1885 and 1907, was one of praying for reforms. The leaders were not persons of fiery nationalistic ambitions. They wanted a few reforms here and a few more posts for the Indians in the civil service. However, there were certain leaders like B. G. Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal, who were exasperated by this old school of Indian politicians of the Congress. They believed in direct action and the cult of the bomb. In Karnataka, persons like Bhima Rao Bevur, Babu Rao Gani and Dr. Handur were votaries of this reactionary and extremist national politics. The crisis came at Surat Congress of 1907. The extremists and moderates separated. At the Surat Congress a large number of people were representing Karnataka. Among these mention may be made of Alur Venkat Rao, Sreenivasa Rao Kaujalagi and Annachar Hoskeri.

After the Surat split, Tilak began working in Poona. The North Karnataka area came under the influence of Tilak and began opposing the moderates. The South Karnataka Districts and Bellary were led by persons like Srinivas Pai, Subbaraya Baliga, Panje Mangesh Rao, K. Venkata Rao, and Sabhapathi Mudaliar. The princely State of Mysore was ruled by a benevolent prince and already by 1883, the state had a Representative Assembly. In the districts, ruled by Nizam and Coorg political awakening was not as pronounced as in other parts. The extremist activity of Tilak and his followers invited governmental repression. The extremist politics did leave a lasting impact on the minds of the Indians. People woke up from the slumbar of ages and decided that their country must be all their own. After 1924, the revolutionary activities were on the wane. M. K. Gandhi entered the Congress in 1919. Gandhi gave a new turn to the Congress movement. By this time Karnataka was ripe for a momentous dash in the struggle for freedom. The Amritsar Congress of 1919 drew a large number of delegates from all parts of Karnataka and 800 delegates attended the Nagpur session in 1920. The years 1919-20 witnessed satyagraha mevement of Gandhi. The Congress had started war with the Britishers; only this war was different. It

was not a war of weapons, but one of non-violent passive resistance. It was not easy for those who fought in this war. People had to face rifles and bullets and worse humiliation passively with the belief that truth would not perish. For the first time, the Congress gained whole-time workers. Dedicated Satyagrahis like T. S. Naik, Kaka Karkhnis, R. R. Diwakar, Haridkar, Veerappa Vali staked their all in the cause of freedom. The boycott was also partially successful in Karnataka. The no-tax compaign, the boycott of schools and courts received a good response in various parts of Karnataka. Forty-eight national schools came into being with nearly 2,000 students on their rolls. Mangalore, Dharwar, Hubli, Baghalkot, Gadag, Belgaum, Sirsi and Siddapur were among the prominent centres of educational activity. Khadi propaganda, abolition of untouchability, anti-liquor campaign, village uplift were also taken up in Karnataka.

At the Belgaum Congress of 1921, the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee came into being. The press also took up the work of propaganda and in this regard mention may be made of journals like, Karmaveera, Navasakti, Satyagrahi and Karnataka Vaibhava. Many of the national leaders toured various parts of Karnataka between 1922-1925. The Government took repressive measures and men like R. R. Diwakar and D. R. Majli were sentenced. However, the most important event in Karnataka during the non-co-operation years was the police firing on a peaceful assemblage at Dharwar in 1921. Some of the prominent leaders of Karnataka were sentenced in this regard. The non-co-operation struggle was suspended after Chauri-Chaura. The years 1922-1928 though witnessed a lull in political activity, constructive programmes were continued. And in such activity even women participated with zeal. In the State of Mysore, the political condition was comparatively placid yet there was no lagging behind in the constructive side of the activity.

The Satyagraha Years 1930-1934

After the Lahore Congress resolution, Independence Day was celebrated in Karnataka in 1930. That year the provincial Congress committee reported to the National Congress regarding the situation in Karnataka. The report said that North Karnataka was eminently suited for launching the Civil Disobedience Campaign. A saytagraha committee was formed and pamphlets were issued describing the aims and methods of Civil Disobedience. Volunteers from Karnataka participated in the Dandi march. One week after the Dandi satya-

graha volunteers from various parts of Karnataka converged at Ankola to offer salt satyagraha and thus disobey the law. Amidst scenes of the momentous enthusiasm, M. P. Nadkarni prepared contraband salt at Ankola. The participants were arrested and the movement spread like wild fire. Mass raids were made on salt depots in various parts of north and south Kanara and open tax-free bazaars were held at Ankola and other places. Gandhi's arrest led to demonstrations and protest meetings in Karnataka also.

The salt satyagraha was followed by picketing liquor shops and breaking forest laws. Sirsi and Siddapur witnessed forest satyagraha under the leadership of K. A. Venkataramaiah. The participants were arrested, fined and even ill-treated. The cause of swadeshi also received a great impetus. The boycott of foreign goods was largely successful and the Karnataka Swadeshi Samiti did a lot of work in this direction. The Hindustan Seva Dal organised by Dr. Hardikar played a pivotal role in organising and training volunteers in the cause of satyagraha. After breaking salt and forest laws came the epic of no-tax campaign. Before launching this grim battle, leaders like R. R. Diwakar, Krishnabai Panjakar Basagod Rammaik and Subba Rao Nadkarni went touring the various districts educating the masses. Sirsi, Siddapur and Ankola were the main centres of agitation. The peasants refused to pay taxes and the Government resorted to coercive measures. This no-tax campaign was suspended after the Gandhi-Irwin pact.

The government did not keep its promise and satyagraha was launched again in 1932. Again Karnataka responded to Gandhi's call. In January 1932, the all-Karnataka Satyagraha Day was celebrated and the Congress leaders and the people resorted to a second round of no-tax campaign. Again Sirsi, Siddapur and Ankola were the main centres of agitation. The peasants refused to pay taxes. The police attached the property. The people refused co-operation with the police in every conceivable manner. The police could not get food or water in the villages in the first instance. Then, they could not get means of conveyance to carry the attached property. And finally when the attached property was auctioned, the satyagrahis fasted in front of the houses of those who had bought the auctioned property. Women participated in large numbers in this grim battle of wits opposing armed police. Unheard of atrocities were meted out to the participants, yet they braved it and came out of the fire and proved their mettle to the government. This struggle was withdrawn by a resolution in 1934.

The Final Phase 'Quit India' to Freedom

The Cripps Mission failed in 1942, and Gandhi decided to launch the 'Quit India' movement. This fight to the finish was launched in August, 1942. The scope and methods of the struggle were not defined. Gandhi and other prominent national leaders were immediately arrested. It was believed that everything was permissible subject to the limitations of violence to person and personal property. The war was to be waged in defiance of government activity by attack on seats of power and dislocation of communications. As on previous occasions Karnataka responded enthusiastically. Among the numerous names of men who fought, mention may be made of Mahadevappa Mailer and Channeppa Wali. Railway stations were burnt. Post Offices were attacked, bridges and culverts were destroyed, telegraph wires were cut and war materials were destroyed. Even according to governmental estimates more than 10 railway stations were destroyed and 186 persons were killed as a result of police firing on several occasions, This revolt was witnessed all over Karnataka and was in force till February 1943. It was completely suspended in 1944 on the release of Gandhi. The Quit India revolt closed in Karnataka resulting in near paralysis of the British Government. The great world war came to a close in 1945, and the Attlee government decided to give Independence to India. India became free in August, 1947.

6. **The Unification of Karnataka**

Perallel to the freedom struggle in Karnataka another movement for the unification of the Kannda-speaking people under a single administration was witnessed. The movement for linguistic provinces can be traced back to the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the Oriya-speaking peope were the pioneers in the country. During the closing years of the nineteenth century, the Biharis started the movement for a separate province.

The Partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon made linguistic provinces, question a nation-wide issue. The Hardinge Despatch annulling the partition of Bengal referred to the demand for linguistic provinces and supported it explicitly. The result was the creation of the provinces of Bihar and Orissa.

British statesmen like, H. H. Risley, and Lionel Curtis voiced the opinion that language should be the basis for any territorial redistribution. The Montford Report, the Simon Commission and the Nehru Report all recognised the fact that the provinces as existed

had no rational basis behind their creation. The Nehru Report appreciated the demands of the Kannada speaking people and recognised the need for a separate province. The Kannada-speaking people were scattered under some twenty-one administrations and they had to face certain hardships as minorities.

The founding of the Karnataka Sabha, the Kannada Sahitya Parishat and the organising of the Karnataka Political Conference were positive steps in mobilising the sentiments and consciousness of the Kannada-speaking people. The Indian National Congress recognised the necessity of a cultural and regional background for the national struggle. The Nagpur Congress accepted the principle of linguistic provinces and the Belgaum Congress inaugurated the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee. The years after 1924, witnessed an entire range of conferences interested in Khadi, ayurveda, industry, journalism and commerce on an all-Karnataka basis.

The Karnataka Sabha was named as the Karnataka Unification Sabha and it maintained a tacit understanding with the Provincial Congress Committee. Between the years 1921-1935, attempts were made to voice the need and demand for a separate Kannada-speaking province in the legislatures of Bombay and Madras. Karnataka Unification conferences were held annually up to 1940, suspended during the war years and again renewed after 1944. At the 1944 conference, Vallabhbhai Patel declared that one of the first acts of free India would be the creation of linguistic provinces. The year 1946 is important on account of the All Karnataka Convention which was jointly sponsored by the Karnataka Unification Sabha and the Provincial Congress Committee. The convention resolved to urge the Constituent Assembly to take express steps in the direction of the formation of Karnataka. The convention opined that Karnataka formation was very much necessary for the all-round development of the areas with Kannada-speaking people. In the projected Karnataka, the princely state of Mysore was also to be included. This convention became the nucleus of the Karnataka Ekikarana Maha Samithi.

After 1946 the final stage in the unification of Karnataka was set. The Constituent Assembly began functioning in December 1946 and the advocates of linguistic provinces became busy. A convention of the members of the Constituent Assembly and other supporters of linguistic provinces was held at New Delhi on 8th

December 1946 under the chairmanship of Dr. Pattabhi Seetharamaiah. The convention unanimously resolved to recommend to the Constituent Assembly the formation of linguistic provinces in 1947; the Bombay and Madras legislatures adopted the linguistic provinces resolutions.

Though India became free in 1947, linguistic provinces were not yet to be seen. The Constituent Assembly appointed the S. K. Dhar Committee in 1948 to expressly report on the formation of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Kerala. The Dhar Committee pronounced itself against the linguistic division of India. This report was universally criticised and the Jaipur Congress was forced to appoint Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and Dr. Pattabhi Seetharamaiah to delve into the question afresh. The JVP report conceded to the formation of Andhra Pradesh and rejected the claims of other areas. Upon the release of this report a crisis developed in the Karnataka Congress. The K.P.C.C. called upon its legislators to resign but the call went unheard at the Congress Working Committee. The legislators however tendered the resignations to the K.P.C.C.

The Constitution was inaugurated in 1950, even then the formation of Andhra Pradesh recommended by the J.V.P. report did not materialise. The linguistic provinces question became alive on the eve of the General Elections of 1951-1952. The All India Congress had adopted the formation of linguistic provinces as one of the principles in its manifesto. The Congress was returned to power and yet it took no initiative in this direction. In Karnataka a violent reactionary organization "The Akhanda Karnataka Rajyanirmana Parishat" was formed.

The Parishat called for an open agitation. By the end of 1952, many people courted arrest in this regard. Meanwhile, Potti Sriramulu had died fasting demanding the formation of Andhra Pradesh. This death caused riots in Andhra Pradesh, followed by a statement by the Prime Minister in the Parliament that Andhra Pradesh would be formed immediately. The State of Andhra came into being in 1953. On the eve of the formation of Andhra Pradesh according to the recommendations of the K.N. Wanchoo Committee, parts of the Bellary district were merged with the old Mysore state. Since the formation of Karnataka was not even in the air, the K.P.C.C. gave a call for direct action resulting in an announcement by the Prime Minister in the Parliament on

22nd December 1953, that a high-power committee would be appointed to go into the question. The Fazal Ali Committee consisting of H. N. Kunzru, K. M. Panikkar and Fazal Ali issued a press note in 1954 and visited various parts of Karnataka during the same year.

The Fazal Ali Committee published its report in 1955. By then certain sections of the population in Karnataka were against unification. It was felt that Karnataka formation would result in certain minority communities becoming powerful. Therefore, objections were put forward against unification. The Fazal Ali report declared that those objections were baseless and unequivocally recommended the formation of Karnataka. Accordingly, the State came into being on 1st November 1956. The State named Mysore was to include the following areas :

1. The princely state of Mysore including Bellary, which was added to it upon the formation of Andhra Pradesh.
2. The following regions from the Bombay State
   (a) Belgaum district except the Chandagad taluk.
   (b) The entire Dharwar, Bijapur and North Canara districts.
3. The following regions from the Madras State :
   (a) South Canara except Kasargod and the Amindivi islands.
   (b) Kollegal Taluk in the Coimbatore district.
4. The whole of Coorg.
5. The following areas from the Hyderabad State :
   (a) Gulbarga District except Kodangal and Thandur taluks.
   (b) Raichur District except Alampur and Gadwal taluks.
   (c) Bidar, Balki, Ouradh and Humnabad taluks from the district of Bidar.

However, before the inauguration of the new state there was opposition to its formation. Again certain of the recommendations of the committee were considered unjust. These would be problems which the new state would take up subsequently.

Princely Mysore Since 1941

In a previous section, we have told the story of the State of Mysore up to 1941. Sir Mirza Ismail retired and was succeeded by N. Madhava Rao as Dewan. Jayachamaraja Wodeyer succeeded

Krishnaraja Wodeyer IV. This was a period of momentous political significance. The struggle for freedom was continuing on the one hand and on the other, these were the war years. The State faced acute food scarcity and all developmental activity suffered. Yet the Dewan managed the finances of the State with tact. The Dewan saw to the implementation of the recommendations of the K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar Committee report on constitutional reforms. The status of the Assembly was raised and the various communities and interests were given representation. The strength of the Council was also raised. The Dewan continued to preside over the Assembly. The regime of N. Madhava Rao was a period of solving problems due to the war and the explosive internal situation. Madhava Rao retired in 1946 and was succeeded by Sir Arcot Ramaswami Mudaliar. In August that year an interim government was formed at Delhi and India became free in 1947. The political leaders of Mysore desired that the State should immediately join the Union. But the Dewan was in no hurry. After some wrangling the State sent representatives to the Constituent Assembly. Taking the cue from the neighbouring states of Travancore and Hyderabad the Maharaja declared his intention to retain Mysore as an independent State. The Dewan had also advised the Rajah to that extent. Agitation resulted and the Maharaja yielded. A Prime Minister was appointed for the state in 1947. Sir Arcot continued as Dewan till 1949 when that post was abolished. Mysore later accepted the draft Constitution; the Prime Minister became the Chief Minister and the State acceded to the Union in 1950.

7. From "Mysore" in 1956 to "Karnataka" in 1973

The new State was inaugurated on the 1st November 1956. Sri S. Nijalingappa became the Chief Minister. The State had to face a number of problems and these the party in power began tackling. Agriculture, industries, irrigation and education all had to be developed simultaneously. Besides these, Mysore was facing two major disputes with neighbouring States—the river water disputes and the border disputes. The border disputes arose over the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission report whereby certain areas with a Kannada-speaking majority had not been awarded for merger with Mysore. The river water disputes arose over the usage of the water in the Kaveri and Krishna rivers. Memoranda, propaganda in the press and even references in the Supreme Court resulted. Commissions were appointed to

examine both the problems and their reports welcomed or criticised according as they are favoured by the parties to the dispute. These problems have been solved partially.

With the development of education, and widening of communications, the State has been integrated emotionally. Throughout the period of her history, we have noticed that religious toleration has been a cardinal feature. This is now being furthered on the basis of secularism which is one of the features of the Constitution of India.

Political education has led to a number of political parties participating in the administration. Between 1956 and 1973, a number of Ministries succeeded under the stewardship of :

Sri S. Nijalingappa	1956-1959
Sri B. D. Jatti	1959-1962
Sri S.R. Kanti	1962
Sri S. Nijalingappa	June 1962-1968
Sri Veerendra Patil	1968-1971
President's Rule	A period of one year almost.
Sri Devaraje Urs	1972

In the year 1973, the State was renamed as Karnataka, and this was the culminating point in her integration. An agitation had been going on in this regard almost from the date of the inauguration of the State. After due consideration, the Chief Minister, Sri D. Devaraje Urs, inaugurated the renamed State of 'Karnataka' on 1st November, 1973.

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